The Portrait Potential
Gender, Identity, and Devotion in Manuscript Owner Portraits, 1230–1320

by
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Abstract

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As the representation of specific, identifiable persons in art, portraiture often reflects ideas of selfhood or individuality while simultaneously participating in their construction. Since the introduction of physiognomic likeness into the visual language of western portraiture in the mid-fourteenth century, this quality has come to exemplify the portrait’s capacity to represent an individual subject. Yet, although likeness and portrait have become synonymous in modern parlance, portraiture as a form of representation predates the addition of likeness to its semiotic system. This dissertation explores the reception of portraits in the absence of physiognomic likeness through a study of medieval “owner portraits,” the deceptively simple representations of book owners in their prayer books. A group of eight illuminated books of hours and psalter-hours produced in northern France between 1230 and 1320 displaying a remarkable number of owner portraits provides a wealth of evidence for the study of the motif.

Although formulaic in appearance, owner portraits have the capacity to convey a range of identities that shift and expand based on the context of their reception. As the first chapter demonstrates, owner portraits signify identity by inviting the self-identification of their viewers, who recognize their own performances of piety anticipated in the images. This understanding allows for further deconstruction of the markers of identity embedded within the portrait image. The second chapter examines the gendered imagery of the owner portrait through the metaphor of the mirror, as medieval rhetoric feminized the act of introspective viewing associated with mirrors and books alike. Rather than faithful records of religious use, owner portraits must be understood as ideological images that construct literate devotion in the Middle Ages as a feminine activity. The third chapter explores further the issues of gender and identity in manuscripts that juxtapose male and female
owner figures. In representing distinct masculine and feminine modes of prayer alongside one another, such manuscripts invite cross-gendered reception of owner images, even while asserting essentialist modes of devotion. The final chapter addresses the effects of repetition specific to this group of manuscripts. Portraits repeated throughout a book evoke a ritual time that collapses not only past and present, but also future. In looking to the future, the portraits embrace their subjects’ mortality, accommodating reception by later viewers while also promising eternal life.
To Margaret Cunningham Doyle

1927–2013

source of a proud tradition
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Figure 4-4  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 125r; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498677804/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz)

Figure 4-5  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 203v; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498845974/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz)

Figure 4-6  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 204r; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498317185/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-médiathèques de Metz)

Figure 4-7  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 214r; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498436343/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz)
Figure 4-8  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 209v; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498840704/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz)

Figure 4-9  Metz Psalter-Hours, MPH fol. 214v; flickr user bmmetz (Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz), “Livre d’heures à l’usage de Metz [B574636101_MS1588],” flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/12498483423/in/set-72157640916985905 (image © bmmetz, published with permission of the Département Patrimoines, Bibliothèques-Médiathèques de Metz)

Figure 4-10  Margaret Hours, MHB fol. 83r; British Library, “Add MS 36684,” The British Library MS Viewer, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_36684_f083r (published with permission of the British Library)

Figure 4-11  Margaret Hours, MHB fols. 87v–88r; Wirth, Les marges à drôleries, fig. 3.7.5 (published with permission of the British Library)

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Figure 4-13  Margaret Hours, MHM fol. 113v; The Morgan Library & Museum, “Book of Hours, France, Saint-Omer, between 1320 and 1329, MS M.754 fol. 113v,” Images from Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/201/128495

Figure 4-14  Chartres south rose window; flickr user profzucker (Steven Zucker), “Chartres, South Transept Rose and Lancet Windows,” https://www.flickr.com/photos/profzucker/5581528349/in/photolist-9vdMVp-apd77ve-9hMZy-apd6TF-o6juXu-5cvJDr-nP6ip-nx4Zw3-62pzPr-9jntRW-8BgJei-ovK45c-9brcW5-nx4c3b-6pBNbP-8kKLI1f-8kKNy5 (licensed for academic use)

Figure 4-15  Drawing after the tomb of Isabelle of Aragon in the basilica of Saint-Denis; Roger de Gaignières, Tombeaux des rois et reines de France (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 2), fol. 33; Artstor, “St. Denis. Queen Isabella of Aragon, d. 1271, effigy. Dogs at her feet. (Tinted version of Adhémar 321, still in St. Denis).” ID Number GoughGaignieres2_roll185A2_frame8, http://www.artstor.org (published with permission of the Bodleian Library)

Figure 4-16  Tomb of Meheus du Chastelier; Ariès, Images of Man and Death, fig. 82
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Conclusion

Figure 5-1  König Hours, KH fols. 226v–227r; photo by the author

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Figure 5-3  König Hours, KH fols. 84v–85r; Plotzek, *Ars vivendi, ars moriendi*, 98
Introduction
Manuscript Owners in the History of Portraiture

Consider the average portrait, standing in a portrait gallery with hundreds of others, waiting for someone to pay attention to it. Average portraits—that is, the conventional, official images of forgotten personages by forgotten painters—are the most forlorn figures of longing for recognition. No one cares about them except historians and specialists.¹

Portraits are at once some of the most evocative and enigmatic images in the history of art. In making their absent subjects present, portraits tantalize modern viewers with the promise of a personal encounter across time. Nevertheless, the culturally-conditioned conventions of the genre itself can pose a major barrier to images’ later reception. W. J. T. Mitchell’s account of the particular invisibility of a single portrait within a portrait gallery hints at some of the challenges in addressing the role of formulaic representation in the history of the genre.

The portraits in my study are indeed defined by their often conventional appearance, yet they do not appear side-by-side in the halls of any picture gallery. Rather, they are closed within medieval books that were held first in private collections, then increasingly in public libraries or museums, over the past seven hundred years. Nor do these images constitute exclusive exercises in portraiture; these medieval figures stand (or, more often, kneel) within the lush visual landscape of

deluxe illuminated devotional manuscripts made in commercial workshops across northern France at the turn of the fourteenth century. Through their pious gestures, contemporary dress, and iconic presentation, we understand these images to represent the anticipated owner or owners of the books in which they appear. Their context, however, has rendered them as invisible to a modern audience as the portraits in the gallery, as generic portrait images are easily overshadowed by a manuscript’s religious iconography, on the one hand, and its irreverent marginal illuminations, on the other. When they are noted by modern viewers, they are too often taken, not as elements in a system of representation, nor as the products of deliberate choices made by artists and patrons, but as transparent representations of historical reality. Yet these deceptively simple images exemplify complex assumptions and beliefs regarding identity, gender, embodiment, and time. In turning a lens on these often overlooked images, this study reveals hidden nuances within their simple forms.

The portraits discussed here form part of the painted decoration of personal illuminated devotional manuscripts such as psalters, psalter-hours, and books of hours. Elite lay Christians were avid consumers of these prayer books from the late twelfth century through the sixteenth. The psalter, the poetical Old Testament Book of Psalms, had long been used for private prayer in monastic settings. Attributed to the authorship of the penitent King David, the psalter was well-suited to the growing lay interest in penance and confession that developed over the course of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The importance of penance was codified at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in the twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which required annual confession of all men and women. By the end of the thirteenth century, a new text, the book of hours, had supplanted the psalter as the lay prayer book of choice in France, Flanders, and England.

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The popularity of the book of hours would continue to grow through the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. The core text of a book of hours (and the hybrid psalter-hours) is the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Hours of the Virgin, which capitalized on the growing devotion to the mother of Christ in the later Middle Ages. Its pairing in books of hours with the Office for the Dead reflected changing concerns for the fate of the soul after death in light of the developing doctrine of purgatory. The Hours of the Virgin provided prayers to be said at the eight canonical hours of the day. This practice mimicked that of monastic communities, which gathered at the canonical hours to recite the Divine Office. As the practice spread beyond the cloister, it retained its monastic associations, granting books of hours the distinction of offering their lay readers access to an originally monastic style of devotion. These expensive and often illuminated books were as much status symbols as they were devotional tools, yet even the finest examples examined here bear marks of use attesting to their successful performance in both roles (fig. I-1).

This study treats books of hours and psalter-hours from the first century of their production in northern France, from roughly 1230 to 1320. Each of these books can be linked stylistically with illumination from northern and northeastern France along the borders with Flanders and the Holy

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Roman Empire. Moreover, the liturgical use of the Hours of the Virgin and the Office for the Dead in nearly all of the books discussed corresponds with that of a diocese in the region. In terms of liturgical use and style of illuminations, the books here represent a range of geographical centers within the region. They were also commissioned, owned, and used by different families. Yet they are united by one feature: the repetition of kneeling figures known in modern scholarship as “owner portraits” throughout their copious illuminations. While many prayer books from this early period contain a single owner portrait, the manuscripts treated here emphasize portraiture to the extent of including dozens, even hundreds, of owner portraits in their illuminations. These manuscripts therefore each provide a wealth of evidence for the study of the owner portrait motif.

My study is not concerned with the intentions of these manuscripts’ authors. Whether the portrait figures comprise a considered visual statement on the nature of selfhood at the turn of the fourteenth century, or whether they were merely stock images repeated as a decorative backdrop for the manuscripts’ spiritual content does not impact my analysis. My focus, rather, is on the reception of these images by their medieval owners, readers, and users—the women and men who would have recognized themselves or their loved ones in the diminutive images of contemporary figures in prayer. A focus on reception allows me to approach owner portraits not as works of art but as

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images with a power, as David Freedberg has emphasized, to inspire cognitive and emotional responses in their viewers. It also allows me to ask, as Mitchell has done, what these images “want” and, further, what they invite or demand. Such an approach draws on anthropological theories of the agency of objects, articulated in the work of Alfred Gell among others, to consider the manuscript’s capacity to shape its viewer’s understanding, behavior, and even sense of self.

Understanding reception as a dialog between image and viewer, I account for the desires, expectations, and demands of each in my analysis. Approaching owner images through the lens of reception allows for an exploration of their dual function in devotion and subject formation, revealing the potential for portraiture in their generic gestures and features.

My focus on manuscripts’ reception requires an understanding of an individual manuscript’s use and the conditions under which a reader or viewer might encounter it. My analyses situate owner portraits not only within the words and images of the opening in which they appear, but also, often, the contents of the full section or quire. Furthermore, as prayer books encourage non-sequential reading, a reader might discern relationships between contents in disparate sections. A manuscript prayer book is not only an object rich with visual and textual contents, it is also an instrument for its reader’s devotional performance. My analysis takes function as its starting point, in agreement with

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7 Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*


9 I have found Elizabeth Moore Hunt’s method of analyzing imagery by gathering or quire to be at times revealing. Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 8–10.

Hans Belting’s conviction that “images ... reveal their meaning best by their use.” For the purposes of this introductory discussion, I assume a female reader, since, as we shall see, most books of hours from this period address themselves to a female audience; I will return to the issue of gender at length in Chapters Two and Three.

I have already noted that the strict use of a book of hours or psalter-hours involved performing the devotions of the eight canonical hours seven times daily. The two hours of Matins and Lauds would be spoken out loud together in the morning; Prime early and Terce later in the morning; Sext at midday and Nones in the afternoon; finally, Vespers in the evening and Compline at night. In addition to the Hours of the Virgin, many prayer books included also other, shorter offices to be recited daily, such as the Office for the Dead (which consists only of Vespers, Matins, and Lauds), the Hours of the Passion, and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Certainly not every owner of a book of hours carried out these devotions as prescribed. Praying throughout the day was an extraordinary time commitment that few thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Christians could afford. Advice books or journées from the later Middle Ages aimed at women suggest devotional solutions for those who had daily (or, indeed, nightly) household and family obligations: rather than pray throughout the day on the hours, women might instead condense their devotions to private meditation late at night or in the early morning. Many books of hours also included shorter texts and prayers that could be consulted as needed, including Litany and Suffrages and popular prayers such as *O intemerata* and the Joys of the Virgin, which might appear in Latin or the vernacular. It thus seems tenable that a pious book owner would have maintained at least daily engagement with her devotional book. Advice books further recommend a private place for prayer where women could

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meditate free from distractions and express their affective piety without inhibition.\textsuperscript{13} A prayer book was also useful at Mass, at which \textit{journées} likewise recommended daily attendance.\textsuperscript{14} Certain books contain prayers designated for recitation during the sacrament; in others, representations of the Eucharistic rite supplemented lay readers’ increasingly restricted access to the host.\textsuperscript{15}

A close reading of an opening from one manuscript treated in this study exemplifies the texts and images a reader could expect to encounter in the performance of her daily prayers (fig. I-1).\textsuperscript{16} This book of hours was produced after 1297, likely around the turn of the fourteenth century. While the illuminations were carried out by a workshop active in Lorraine, the text of the Hours of the Virgin does not correspond to any local liturgical use.\textsuperscript{17} Eberhard König identified elements reflecting the local rites of Lisieux in Normandy and Noyon in Picardy; he suggested that the book was commissioned either in anticipation of or in the course of its owner’s move from one region to the other.\textsuperscript{18} The manuscript, which I call the “König Hours” after its current owner, contains three offices with hourly prayers: the Hours of the Virgin, the Office for the Dead, and the Hours of the Passion. Its other contents, a prefatory cycle of devotional images, the Penitential Psalms, and the

\begin{itemize}
\item Hasenohr, “La vie quotidienne,” 61.
\item For Nicolaus and his workshop, see Margaret M. Manion, \textit{The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in the National Gallery of Victoria} (Melbourne: Macmillan Art Publishing and the National Gallery of Victoria, 2005), 131, and below. Alison Stones identified the manuscript’s use as Metz, but the text shares little with that of MPH, which also corresponds for the most part with Eric Drigsdahl’s description of Metz use. Stones, \textit{Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two}, 1:56, 60; Erik Drigsdahl and CHD Center for Håndskriftstudier i Danmark, “Hore Beate Marie Virginis - Use of Metz,” \textit{Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts - Books of Hours 1400-1530, 2009}, http://www.chd.dk/use/hv_metz.html.
\item König, “Lothringisches Stundenbuch,” 93.
\end{itemize}
Litany and Suffrages, supplement the resources for hourly prayer, while a calendar orients the reader within the liturgical year. The manuscript is illuminated throughout, providing visual as well as textual material for meditation. Opening the book to the early morning hour of Lauds, the reader encounters a large, seven-line initial framing a scene from the life of the Virgin Mary and Christ’s infancy. The ornate initial D(eus) interrupts the text, definitively marking the beginning of a new reading. The text it displaces is the familiar, formal opening that begins all of the hours save Matins: “Deus i[n] adiutoriu[m] meu[m] intende. Domine ad adiuuandu[m] me festina” (O God, come to my assistance; O Lord, make haste to help me; Ps. 69:2).19 The manuscript is written in a clear and legible textura or Gothic book-hand script typical of books of this type.20 The text that follows on subsequent pages combines biblical passages (psalms and canticles) with other prayers and antiphons to form the liturgical recitation. As the selection quoted above would suggest, these prayers script the devotee’s part of an intimate dialog between the speaker and a holy figure, whether God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, or a saint.21

In the initial, the Virgin Mary, dressed in gold, meets her cousin Elizabeth, six months pregnant with John the Baptist, according to the biblical narrative. In Luke’s account of the Visitation, Elizabeth greets her cousin saying, “Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Et unde hoc mihi, ut veniat mater Domini mei ad me?” (Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? Luke 1:42–43). In the illumination, Elizabeth’s hand on the Virgin’s abdomen translates her greeting into a gesture and indicates the significance of their encounter. Illuminated vines growing out from the initial frame the text block; the margins of nearly every page of this

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19 This and all further biblical translations, unless otherwise noted, are from Edgar and Kinney, The Vulgate Bible. Latin citations are taken from a manuscript source where possible.
20 Specifically, textualis quadrata. See Michelle P. Brown, A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 84–89.
Manuscript Owners in the History of Portraiture

manuscript are illuminated, but bold, rectilinear borders distinguish pages with large initials. Human, animal, and hybrid figures inhabit the borders, enlivening the visual character of the page, providing amusement, and, sometimes, challenging the reader to connect unconventional image to text. In the lower margin, the zone known as the bas-de-page, a woman kneels in prayer in front of a prie-dieu, accompanied by a white and black dog whose upward gaze echoes her own. Kneeling on a diagonal groundline, she tilts her head up towards the initial, appearing to witness the Visitation above. The kneeling woman’s fourteenth-century clothing distinguishes her from the figures in the initial, marked by their archaizing drapery. Nevertheless, her garb shares the gold and mauve tones of the Virgin’s costume, linking the two figures. The small book sitting, apparently closed, on the prie-dieu before her further reinforces the parity between the kneeling woman and the Virgin Mary, who holds a small, closed book in her left hand. Given the woman’s marginal status (she is represented in the book, but outside the frame of the biblical narrative) and her gestures of prayer (which the viewer, presumably, was soon to share), it is easy to understand this figure as a representation of the book’s owner. Yet the simplicity of this image is misleading. Indeed, it is this very simplicity that endows the image with its portrait potential, the flexibility to encompass a range of possible readings determined by the conditions of its reception.

I define a portrait as a representation of a specific, historical person, and, as I argue in the first chapter of this dissertation, the images of women and men in prayer in the margins and initials of illuminated prayer books have the capacity to meet this criterion for portraiture. There is much at stake in describing owner figures—indeed, any medieval images—as portraits. Portraiture is a critical genre in the history of art; as Marcia Pointon noted, the story of the Corinthian maid, the unnamed woman who traced the shadow of her departing lover’s profile on the wall, places portraiture at the
While the European Middle Ages are not as marginalized in the field of art history today as they have been in the past, the study of portraiture has proved to be a lasting holdout. Discussing manuscript owner images as portraits presents a challenge to the dominant history of portraiture in the west. Today, conventional understandings of portraiture privilege an accurate physiognomic likeness as an essential element of a portrait. Many acknowledge that likeness is not enough; as Lorne Campbell asserted in his definition of portraiture in the *Grove Dictionary of Art*, some evidence of the subject’s internal identity or essence is also crucial.

Nevertheless, likeness appears in Campbell’s account as a quality that unifies the category of portraiture, even if it does not define it. Another defining characteristic is the collaborative engagement between artist and sitter that makes the portrait a product of two creators; Iain Pears illustrated this in his novella *The Portrait*, in which a dysfunctional artist-sitter relationship makes the portrait a battleground for the two protagonists’ struggle over the sins of their shared past.

At the heart of these modern accounts of portraiture is the tension between image and essence, between the visible and the invisible characteristics of a subject. This tension rests on two quintessentially modern assumptions: the definition of the self as individual and unique; and the artist’s status as visionary genius. These assumptions produce a definition of portraiture that fails to accommodate cultural productions of many non-western societies, as well as historical eras of the

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26 I am grateful to Lori Felton and our many conversations on the definition of portraiture for helping to shape my thoughts on this issue.
west itself. Accounts of portraiture by Richard Brilliant and Shearer West have proposed more flexible definitions of the genre. West reframed the conventional, modern definition of portraiture as a trio of dialectics with which any given portrait necessarily engages: that of likeness and type, of external and internal character, and between artist and sitter (and/or patron). These critical dialectics present not an absolute definition of portraiture, but rather a set of continuums; a portrait’s placement on these continuums is determined by the personal, historical, and cultural factors in its creation.  

Brilliant, on the other hand, characterized the portrait as an essentially social art, “the representation of the structuring of human relationships” and “a response to the natural human tendency to think about oneself, of oneself in relation to others, and of others in apparent relation to themselves and to others.” These thoughtful definitions of portraiture are, as we shall see, capable of accommodating medieval representations as examples of the genre. Nevertheless, medieval portraits are absent from both discussions: neither treats any work produced between the fifth and the fourteenth centuries, neglecting nearly a millennium of European image-making.

A portrait is a specific and often sensitive representation of an individual historical person; it is also a collection of signs that not only indicate the identity of the subject depicted, but also flag the very status of the image as a portrait. Physiognomic likeness or specificity is one such sign capable of indicating both the image’s portrait status and its subject’s identity. In the modern period (from 1400 to the present day), likeness has come to dominate as a signifier of portraiture to the extent that, as discussed above, it has come to define it. The concept of likeness is not wholly foreign to medieval representations. Dominic Olariu’s recent study of the medieval roots of the mimetic portrait emphasized its use in verbal discourse to illuminate artistic practices.  

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identified resemblance and specificity as crucial connotations of the term *portraire* and its variants. His etymology of the word, beginning with its first appearance in Chrétien de Troyes’s *Philomena*, shows that medieval writers used *portraire* to designate acts of description of a range of subjects, whether informed by observation, geometry, or precise craftsmanship. As for the human figure, the term could refer to a subject’s physical appearance or close resemblance to a model, such as God. Olariu’s exhaustive study ties medieval discussions of portrayal to accounts of funerary practices, including embalming and the production of death masks, to identify a shift in understandings of the body and representation beginning in the thirteenth century. His focus on likeness or resemblance privileges a retrospective definition of portraiture while excluding a variety of medieval images, manuscript owner portraits included, which, despite eschewing likeness, nevertheless had the capacity to function for their viewers as portraits. The aim of my work is not to find the medieval vocabulary to describe the images in question but, rather, to determine the conditions under which they signified and, thus, to let them speak for themselves.

The status of the majority of portraits from the period around 1300 as types, not likenesses, contributed to their long exclusion from histories of portraiture. Within the framework of Shearer West, however, we can understand these representations as portraits located at an extreme end of the likeness/type spectrum. The tendency towards idealization reflects certain cultural conditions and pictorial conventions of the thirteenth century. As Willibald Sauerländer has pointed out, physiognomic specificity connoted not individuality but alterity, as exaggerated facial features were

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31 Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante*, 58.
used in this period to depict racial types.\textsuperscript{33} Further, Joan Holladay noted that, even without elements of physiognomic likeness, tomb sculptures around 1300 nevertheless “resemble their human models” in the evocation of their social (and, I would add, gendered) attributes.\textsuperscript{34} Holladay classified this as a “pre-portrait stage,” but I would say that portraits in this period simply employed a set of visual markers other than physiognomy to signal their portrait status and to represent their subjects as selves.\textsuperscript{35}

The shift towards physiognomic specificity that Olariu observed beginning in the thirteenth century became a sea change over the course of the fourteenth century. In the context of the French court, Stephen Perkinson has connected this rise of veristic representation to a growing interest in physiognomy and the capacity of a person’s physical features to reflect internal qualities. Yet Perkinson cautioned against understanding such images as likenesses in the modern sense; in the fourteenth century, physiognomic specificity was as much a means of describing a visual type as a specific subject.\textsuperscript{36} By the beginning of the fifteenth century, veristic representation had become a powerful marker of portraiture. But, as Perkinson’s study has shown, physiognomic specificity and likeness carried different significance and weight for medieval makers and viewers than they do for a modern audience. Perkinson wrote, “these images do not express a newfound admiration for the Burckhardtian individual; instead, they emerge from a culture in which loyalty and devotion were understood in terms of memory, and in which images of all sorts played a crucial role in manifesting


\textsuperscript{35} Holladay, “Portrait Elements in Tomb Sculpture: Identification and Iconography,” 220.

\textsuperscript{36} Stephen Perkinson, \textit{The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 142, 153.
and reinforcing interpersonal allegiances. Recent research in early modern portraiture also emphasizes the extent to which the role of physiognomic likeness and the expectations placed upon it were rooted in the contemporary cultural context into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Other scholars have looked outside the traditional canon of portraiture to consider alternative historical means of and motives for representing individuals. While not an examination of portraiture per se, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak’s work on seals as signs of identity in the long twelfth century provides illuminating parallels for the study of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century owner portraits. Just as artists throughout the twentieth century critiqued the utility of likeness to represent a portrait subject, scholars in the past twenty years have produced more nuanced accounts of its significance throughout the history of art, opening the door to consideration of portraiture in the absence of likeness.

Despite shared concerns regarding the applicability of the term “portraiture” to medieval representation, scholars of the Middle Ages, in contrast to historians of portraiture at large, have long taken the portrait status of certain medieval images as a given. The very phrase “owner portrait,” which came into use over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, implies affiliation with the portrait genre. The earliest printed use I have found of the term “owner portrait” is in John Plummer’s 1959 catalog of the Glazier Collection at the Morgan Library: Plummer postulated the inclusion of “a donor or owner portrait” in a now-missing Crucifixion assemblage in a mid-

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37 Perkinson, *Likeness of the King*, 190; see also 272.
thirteenth-century English bible. Lucy Freeman Sandler effectively established the term in her 1993 essay on “The Image of the Book-Owner,” defining an owner portrait as “the image of the owner, or intended owner, of a manuscript, self-commissioned, or commissioned by a donor on his or her behalf.” The term came into wider use after this point, especially in the work of Kathryn A. Smith and Alexa Sand.

Modern scholars have largely credited owner portraits with the capacity to convey information about the intended owner or audience of the books in which they appear. For example, owner portraits provide visual confirmation of Susan Groag Bell’s textual and archival findings that books of hours were the particular purview of women owners and readers, and images of women praying in the margins, miniatures, and initials of their prayer books mark the manuscripts as fertile sources for feminist scholarship. Scholars are also sensitive to the owner portrait as an indicator of the book of hours’ intimate nature; portraits, alongside other personalizing marks such as inscriptions, annotations, additions, erasures, and marks of wear, position books of hours as eloquent evidence for the inner lives of the people who owned and read them. Owner portraits, especially highly conventional examples, are most often addressed in this way, as a small part of a larger program that acts in concert with the greater network of illuminations to produce meaning.

In the paragraphs to follow, I review the key scholarly approaches to manuscript owner portraits. The variety within these analyses hints at the complex significance that an owner portrait

43 Susan Groag Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” Signs 7, no. 4 (July 1982): especially 752–60; Duffy, Marking the Hours, 11; Reinburg, French Books of Hours, 236.
44 Joni M. Hand, Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350-1550 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 104.
could hold for a medieval viewer. Yet few scholars have inquired how the conventions of the owner portrait itself produce meaning or, by extension, how the images fit within a history of portraiture. By addressing owner portraits as a discrete type of representation, while still considering their manuscript context, my study is able to focus attention on the powerful elasticity of their imagery.

My study of this largely overlooked imagery constitutes an argument for its historical, religious, and artistic importance. Such an assertion would seem to be at odds with the formerly dominant assessment of manuscript owner portraits as “a minimally intrusive presence.”46 In a brief survey of fifteenth-century illuminated books of hours, Joan Naughton argued that, while owner portraits “serve to arouse in the devotee an appropriate contemplative mood,” formal elements marginalize the owner’s figure within the composition in order to forestall any “interference[nce] with the potential efficacy of that image as an aid to contemplation.”47 While certain deluxe devotional books of the fifteenth century employ owner portraits in striking and sophisticated ways,48 the marginalization that Naughton observed is a dominant characteristic of fifteenth-century owner portraiture. Certainly, some earlier owner portraits likewise marginalize or diminish their subjects.49 The thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century examples that I treat here, however, emphasize the image of the book owner within their decorative programs. They demonstrate an engagement with the image of the devotee or reader that coincides with the period of expansion and transition that characterized lay devotional books at the end of the thirteenth century.

47 Naughton, “A Minimally Intrusive Presence,” 111, 118.
48 See, for instance, the portraits in the Buves Hours (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum MS W.267, f. 13v), Margaret of York’s Le dialogue de la duchess de Bourgogne à Jésus Christ (London, British Library Add. MS 7970, f. 1v), and the Hours of Mary of Burgundy (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1857, f. 14v).
49 See, for instance, the diminutive kneeling figure on the Nativity folio of a book of hours for Arras use of ca. 1310 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum MS W.104, fol. 32v).
Three threads run through the modern scholarly discourse on owner portraits in medieval illuminated manuscripts, highlighting their roles in subject formation, as behavioral models, and in the manuscripts’ spiritual programs. Kathryn A. Smith, especially, has foregrounded the theme of subjectivity in her work on English books of hours, which she has noted can serve as “indexes of lay subjectivity” for women otherwise largely absent from the historical record.  

Smith characterized the devotional manuscripts as playing an active role in subject formation, able both to “confirm and construct their owners’ sense of personal, familial, local and social identity.” Smith’s studies locate subjectivity in various aspects of the books they treat: in the selection of texts, the deployment of heraldry, the content and complexity of the books’ iconographic programs, and in their visual relationships with other books made within the owners’ family or social circle, as well as in the visual representations of the anticipated owners. Both Smith and Michael Camille, in his monograph on the Luttrell Psalter, cited Stephen Greenblatt to describe the function of illuminated devotional manuscripts in “medieval self-fashioning.” In both authors’ analyses, owner portraits play a supporting role in this project. Camille’s reading of Geoffrey Luttrell’s unusual equestrian portrait as a retrospective, even nostalgic, representation that proposes its subject as a model for his heirs reinforced his thesis of a manuscript as an object engaged in “producing, not reflecting, reality.” According to Smith, owner portraits work within their specific manuscript contexts to prompt an active, self-reflexive response in a viewer (who is also assumed to be the portrait’s subject). In her interpretation of the de Bois Hours, the owner portraits inserted into the prefatory cycle juxtaposing images of Christ’s Infancy with the Last Judgment serve to personalize the otherwise inhuman scale of the manuscript. 


51 Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, 5.


of sacred time and encourage the reader to reflect on her role in the salvation of her family.54 The
program of the Taymouth Hours, on the other hand, is more concerned with cultivating appropriate
devotional and social comportment in its royal female reader through the efforts of both “body and
mind.”55 Religious historian Virginia Reinburg likewise saw the owner portrait as an opportunity for
identity construction, noting that the pious persona evoked corresponded not necessarily to reality,
but to “the owner’s chosen identity.”56 Lucy Freeman Sandler’s examination of the portraits in three
highly personal manuscript compendia emphasized the role that self-representation could play in
constructing affective devotion and individual identity for the imaginative male subject in the mid-
fourteenth century.57 Finally, Alexa Sand’s recent study of owner portraits explored their “self-
reflecting” quality as evidence for medieval experiences and conceptions of interiority.58

Reinburg also stressed that owner portraits could serve as devotional models to their subject-
viewers, and this, too, is a prevalent theme in scholarly interpretations of devotional manuscript
portraits.59 Michael Clanchy described owner portraits as “ambitious models … of personal prayer”
for their subject-viewers and cautioned against understanding them as records of actual practice.60
Adelaide Bennett has emphasized the role of the owner portrait as model and exemplar in the

54 New York, Morgan Library MS M.700, fols. 1r and 1v; Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, 82–84.
of the Self in the Taymouth Hours,” in Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power,
Patronage, and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom, ed. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells, Studies in
the History of Christian Traditions 142 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 183.
56 Reinburg, French Books of Hours, 116.
57 Sandler, “Image of the Book-Owner.”
59 Reinburg, French Books of Hours, 116.
60 Michael Clanchy, “Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What Do They Signify?,” in The Church and the
Book: Papers Read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, ed. R.
N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 38 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004), 113.
Manuscript Owners in the History of Portraiture

unusual program of a book of hours in Cambrai, which I discuss at length in Chapter Two.61 Madeline Caviness’s reading of the petite Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux demonstrates the potential for the decorative scheme of a prayer book to model more than simply religious behavior.62 Caviness interpreted the minuscule manuscript, a gift to the young French queen from her new husband, Charles IV, around the time of their marriage in 1324, as a tool for the indoctrination of Jeanne in the restrictive sexual mores and expectations imposed on her by the church and the foundering Capetian dynasty alike.63 Caviness was careful to ground her radical reading in a specific moment in the book owner’s biography, pointing out that Jeanne was unlikely to be so intimidated by the imagery as a more mature reader.64

Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy similarly attended to owner portraits’ audience in their analysis of the fifteenth-century Bolton Hours from York. The authors interpreted this manuscript’s images of women in prayer as models not just for pious female behavior, but of larger social values for all members of a household.65 Rees Jones and Riddy argued that the association of books of hours with specifically female piety in medieval visual and textual cultures was a rhetorical device that does not necessarily represent actual historical practice. In their reading, the miniature of a father, mother, son, and daughter adoring the Trinity together balances representations elsewhere in

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62 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection 54.1.2.
64 Caviness, “Patron or Matron?” 41.
the book of single devotees to suggest its shared use within or on behalf of a family. Rees Jones and Riddy further suggested that conventional images of female devotees may signify in modes other than portraiture, reading the image of a young woman (maiden) at prayer before the figure of “Saint” Richard Scrope as a gloss on the local York saint’s celebrated celibacy. The “egalitarian” piety that Rees Jones and Riddy ascribed to books of hours applies more to the fifteenth century than to the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Nevertheless, their approach to the owner portrait type as significant outside the construction of an interior self has important implications for its study, and I return to issues of cross-gender and familial reception in the third chapter.

Apart from their roles in constructing identity and reinforcing behavior, owner portraits could also be critical elements in the theologically complex visual and textual programs of certain devotional manuscripts. In her study of the Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons, Alexa Sand emphasized the role of this manuscript’s striking owner portrait miniature in producing what she called “difficulty,” a tension between perception and knowledge that fosters productive devotional meditation (fig. 4-1). Sand identified a dissonance inherent in the form of the owner portrait between the reader-viewer’s self-identification with the depicted figure and the failure of the figure as an exact representation: the kneeling woman in the Hours of Yolande de Soissons (whom Alison Stones has identified as Comtesse de la Table, the initial patron of the manuscript) does not mirror her viewer exactly. She looks up at an image (or apparition) of the Virgin and Child rather

66 York MS 2, fols. 33v, 40v, 48r, 100v, and 123r; Rees Jones and Riddy, “Bolton Hours,” 227, 232.
67 York MS 2, fol. 100v; Rees Jones and Riddy, “Bolton Hours,” 253.
68 Rees Jones and Riddy, “Bolton Hours,” 227.
than down at her open book; moreover, her book is open to a page of text, not a miniature. Sand saw this dissonance as a hurdle set up for the careful viewer: “[t]he work required to overcome this difficulty, to reckon with the constructed nature of visual representation, and to move beyond the knowledge of its literal materiality to an understanding of its divine significance, is the work of devotion.”

This work of visual and intellectual reconciliation is “an oscillating movement of visual cognition” that, according to Sand, also distinguishes the process of reading the complex juxtapositions of text and image elsewhere in the manuscript. The portrait miniature is therefore also an encapsulation of the visual rhetoric employed throughout this heavily illuminated manuscript, “a pictorial excursus on devotional imagery” that serves as a guide to reading the book’s other images.

This brief review of the scholarly literature underscores owner portraits as critical images for the understanding of late medieval selfhood, piety, and representation. My project is to further interrogate the image of the owner portrait at the turn of the fourteenth century and to consider it in dialog with the history of portraiture in the later Middle Ages and the centuries to come. Sand’s 2014 book, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*, provided the first extended study of manuscript owner portraits, addressing French and English material from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. She situated the owner portrait within a visual culture engaged in renegotiating its approach to representation due to a new interest in the physical appearance of Christ. Owner portraits, she argued, constitute “a pictorial essay” on the new possibilities of vision and devotion engendered in the Holy Face. Certain themes of Sand’s study, including reflexivity, subjectivity, and gender, align with my own. Yet my focus on manuscripts produced within a century of the

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73 Sand, “Picturing Devotion Anew,” 143.
74 Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*.
earliest book of hours and containing numerous owner portraits within their illuminations has shaped my study around different questions. Most crucially, the repetition of owner portraits in my selection of manuscripts enables the observation of variation within the representations, raising important questions of reception and identification. The range of scholarly approaches to early owner portraits summarized here reflects the range of complexity and originality visible in the images themselves during this transitional period. As this study will further show, the iconographic simplicity of the owner portrait form masks the complexity of its signification within the visual and devotional contexts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Eight manuscripts dated from the 1230s to after 1318 form the central focus of this study.76 These heavily illuminated manuscripts, produced for elite lay consumers in various centers along the northern and northeastern borders of the French kingdom, each contain multiple representations legible as owner portraits. This feature constitutes a departure from the developing and dominant practices of illumination, in which a book might include one owner portrait of greater or lesser prominence. Two important early examples, the Morgan Hours from the 1230s and the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours of ca. 1250, contain four and seven portraits, respectively.77 The rest of the manuscripts, which I introduce briefly here, contain dozens, if not hundreds, of portraits or potential portraits.78 The books comprise a mix predominantly of psalter-hours and books of hours and date roughly from the three decades between 1290 and 1320. Two of the manuscripts, the

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76 For codicological descriptions and lists of portrait and potential portrait images, see the Appendix.
78 The assessment of portraits and potential portraits is naturally highly subjective. For the purposes of this introduction, I have erred on the side of generosity in calculating portrait totals. I discuss further criteria for assessing portrait status in specific books in the relevant sections of the text.
Franciscan Psalter-Hours and the Cambrai Hours, likely date before 1297 because of the absence of Saint Louis from their calendars. The two volumes or fragments of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, produced in Thérouanne, boast forty-five portrait types of women, men, and mendicant religious.79 The oversized Cambrai Hours, possibly illuminated in Reims, contains 155 female and male devotees as well as numerous heraldic references.80 Three further manuscripts from the eastern region of modern France date to the turn of the century. Two, the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book and the König Hours, were illuminated in the same Lorraine workshop, known only by the name of one artist, Nicolaus, who inscribed his name in the Aspremont-Kievraing manuscript.81 The two volumes of the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book contain a total of 164 portrait figures, many also associated with heraldry. The textual contents of this book are just as unusual as its illuminations. While its first volume contains a calendar and psalter, the second is an abbreviated breviary for Christmas and the four major Marian feasts. The more modest and conventional König Hours, which we examined above, contains sixty-one male and female portrait types. The third manuscript from this region, the Metz Psalter-Hours, asserts its eastern origin in its calendar, which commemorates bishops of Metz alongside the usual saints and holy days.82 This book includes forty-nine female portrait types among its rich illuminations. The final book in my study I call the Margaret Hours.83 Made after 1318 in Thérouanne, the two fragments of this manuscript contain 36 portraits, predominantly of women but also including two male children and one adult layman.

79 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 1076 (hereafter FP) and Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale MS 111 (hereafter FH).
80 Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale MS 87 (hereafter CH).
81 The Aspremont Kievraing Prayer Book is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 118 (hereafter AKP) and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria inv. 1254-3 (hereafter AKB). As noted above, the König Hours is on loan from the collection of Renate König to Kolumba, Cologne (hereafter KH). The “nicolaus” inscription appears on AKP fol. 142r; see Manion, The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts, 131.
82 Metz, Bibliothèques-médiathèques MS 1588 (hereafter MPH).
83 London, British Library Add. MS 36684 (hereafter MHB) and New York, Morgan Library MS M.754 (hereafter MHM).
While each of the eight manuscripts repeatedly employs owner portraits in its illuminations, their pictorial programs range from the highly conventional to the original and idiosyncratic. Accordingly, the representation and the role of their owner portraits vary from book to book.

My study of these eight manuscripts addresses the owner portrait as a complex, even elastic image capable at once of indicating ownership, modeling use, and providing a medium through which readers could negotiate both their own identities and their relationship with the divine. The first chapter treats the iconography of the owner portrait, defining the characteristics of the figural type that make it legible as a portrait. The owner portrait is a distinct figure type that shows its subject either in prayer or reading a book. Other portraits of the period, on tombs, stained glass, or wax seals, use inscriptions to convey their subjects’ identity. Owner portraits, in contrast, universally lack such naming inscriptions. Taking the Morgan Hours and the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours as examples, I show that owner portraits signify identity by eliciting the self-identification of their viewers, who recognize their own performances of devotion in the images. The relationship that this encounter establishes between viewer and image is evocative of the mirror, a popular metaphor in modern owner portrait scholarship. I explore the mirror model further in my second chapter, considering medieval conceptions of the mirror in order to at once refine the metaphor and test its limits. The two faces of the mirror in medieval didactic literature, its exemplarity and its carnality, both have a bearing on the understanding of the manuscript owner portrait. Owner portraits in the Cambrai Hours typify the exemplary mode of signification, while those in the Margaret Hours demonstrate the embodied quality of the type. My reevaluation of the mirror metaphor calls into question the status of gender in manuscript owner portraits: I argue that just as medieval discourses around the mirror feminized the associated activities of self-inspection and introspective viewing, the predominantly female owner figures feminize performances of penance and literate prayer. More
than records of ownership or use, owner portraits must be understood as ideological images that construct literate devotion as a feminine activity.

My third chapter looks beyond the metaphor of the mirror for other models of owner portrait reception. As owner figures can register simultaneously on an individual and an ideological level, this chapter dispenses with the assumption that the only audience for an owner portrait is an adult laywoman. Two case studies address the possibility of their reception across the boundaries of gender and social order. The first treats the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, which offers a range of male and female devotees, both lay and clerical, as possible positions for its readers to adopt in prayer. The second addresses the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, which prominently portrays its anticipated owners, Joffroy d’Aspremont and Isabelle de Kievraing, alongside other members of their families and social circle. While grounded in the specific contexts of these two manuscripts, these readings provide a framework for an elastic interpretation of manuscript owner portraits that reveals potentials for reception across social categories, even as the portraits themselves reinforce their strict distinctions.

The issues and effects of repetition form the subject of the fourth and final chapter, which addresses the reception of portraits in, over, and across time. Treating first the Metz Psalter-Hours, I argue that the repetition of its owner images evokes a sense of ritual time which, in embracing the reader’s past, present, and future experiences of prayer, collapses the distinctions between them. Repetition of images of figures in prayer serves to evoke a textured temporal landscape that shifts with each turn of the page between past, present, and future, linking a reader’s acts of prayer in life with her or his attainment of glory after death. In looking forward to their subjects’ salvation, owner portraits necessarily also account for their subjects’ mortality. As the Margaret Hours demonstrates, the persistent presence of owner figures in a book calls equal attention to the portraits’ absences within its illuminated pages. The conspicuous absence of the owner figure at the opening of the
manuscript’s two funerary texts constitutes a pointed acknowledgment of the portrait subject’s mortality. The portraits thus anticipate a further category of viewers who might perceive the portraits as representing not themselves but a dead loved one, or even an unknown person from the past. In accommodating this category of reception, owner portraits offer their subjects memorialization through the promise of future remembrance. As medieval Christians believed that the soul in purgatory relied on the prayers of the living to speed its way to heaven, the salvation of the book’s first owner depended as much on the prayers of later readers as on her or his own. Although the repetition of owner portraits is particular to the group of books discussed in this study, the examination of repetition’s effects has a bearing on the understanding of single owner portraits in other works.

This dissertation examines a segment of medieval portraiture that signifies not despite the absence of likeness, but because of it. My title, “The Portrait Potential,” refers not only to the marginal position of owner portraits in the history of portraiture, but also to their peculiar capacity to embrace a range of potential identities. These qualities grant manuscript owner portraits a distinctive place within the history of portraiture. This dissertation explores the relationships that these portraits fostered with their subjects and with their viewers and the parameters for reception that they inscribe. Mitchell’s account of neglected portraits in a gallery presents a failure of the historical portrait’s capacity to communicate with its audience—whether that audience is defined as the author himself or a gallery full of contemporary museum-goers. In contrast, the opening lines of Brilliant’s essay on Portraiture exalt the ancient portrait for its ability to “give life to historical persons.” Brilliant’s response exemplifies the capacity of portraits to signify, even after thousands of years, to those disposed to receive them. In the work that follows, I aim to elucidate some of the terms on which medieval viewers would have encountered and interpreted manuscript owner

84 Brilliant, Portraiture, 7.
portraits. I hope that my account will also serve to condition something of the images’ modern reception, as readers return to a perhaps familiar form with renewed vision.
Figuring Prayer, Imagining Identity

Iconography of Identity

A portrait is a representation of a specific, historical person. In order to be legible as a portrait, an image need not necessarily convey the identity of its subject, but it must convey that its subject has an identity. A viewer receives an image as a portrait, therefore, when she understands its subject to have a specific identity, whether or not she can herself identify the subject. As I discuss in the Introduction, physiognomic likeness is one means by which images from the mid-fourteenth century indicated their portrait status. In this chapter, I address the means by which the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century images that are the concern of this study signaled their status as portraits to their early viewers.

In an essay on reception in literature, Wolfgang Iser framed the reading of fiction as a participatory process in which a reader “bridges the gaps” between the contents of a text and its “blanks,” its explicit and implicit material.¹ Portraits, similarly, engage their viewers to bridge the gap between portrait and subject, whether through naming (the attribution of identity) or, further, the attribution of a personal history or inner life. Portraits without an evident identity exert a romantic appeal to a certain type of viewer, as the numerous novels and short stories about such

images attest. The best known modern work in this category is undoubtedly Tracy Chevalier’s novel *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, which has also been adapted as a movie and a stage play.² Echoing Iser’s language of literary reception, Chevalier described her storytelling impetus as a drive to “fill in that gap” between what a portrait shows and what it does not disclose.³ Chevalier’s project (also shared by many an art historian) to layer texts and contexts on to portraits responds to prompts within the images themselves.

Standing in contrast to this viewer response is Michel Foucault’s reading of Diego Velázquez’s *Las Meninas* of 1656. Indulging a radical formalism, Foucault undertakes to eschew proper names from his meditation on the painting.

These proper names would form useful landmarks and avoid ambiguous designations; they would tell us in any case what the painter is looking at, and the majority of the characters in the picture along with him. But the relation of language to painting is an infinite relation. ... [T]he proper name, in this particular context, is merely an artifice: it gives us a finger to point with, in other words, to pass surreptitiously from the space where one speaks to the space where one looks; in other words, to fold one over the other as though they were equivalents.

... We must therefore pretend not to know who is to be reflected in the depths of that mirror, and interrogate that reflection in its own terms.⁴

Yet, despite his stated intention to “interrogate [the image] in its own terms,” Foucault’s approach passes over the portrait’s assertions of identity and its desire to be recognized.⁵

Portraits employ an iconography of identity, visual cues that enable the viewer to either imagine or attach a specific identity to their depicted subjects. As I note in the introduction, physiognomic specificity and likeness dominate the modern experience of portraiture iconography, but these are not the only possible options. Depending on the cultural context, other recurrent signs

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⁵ For the desires of images, see Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 57–75.
of portraiture may include intimate framing, the absence of narrative elements, inscriptions, heraldry, and specific postures for the represented figures, such as profile or three-quarter length poses. Many of these qualities are ambiguous: while they are familiar, even necessary features of portraiture, they are not exclusive to it; they suggest, but do not guarantee, portrait status. The medieval images at the heart of this study, similarly, share a stable set of signs that are indicative of, but not exclusive to, owner portraiture. Rather than designating an image as a portrait, these signs reveal its potential for portraiture. The burden of identification—not only identification of the represented subject, but identification of the image as a portrait—rests with the viewer. As we shall see, portraits in devotional manuscripts rely not only on the wider iconography of portraiture, but on the specific conditions of their reception, to communicate their portrait potential.

In order to establish the iconography of owner portraiture, we may turn to one of the earliest extant books of hours, evidently made in Paris in the 1230s, but reflecting the liturgical use of a northern diocese, possibly Soissons. The growing popularity of books of hours over the course of the thirteenth century comprised a shift from the codified text of the psalter (typically containing a calendar, prefatory cycle of images, the 150 psalms divided into eight or ten groups, and canticles) to the more flexible form of a devotional miscellany. Books of hours and hybrid psalter-hours from this early period (roughly, 1230–1275) showcase experimental approaches to the adornment of these newly-popular texts. Several features of the Morgan Hours, as I shall call this book, are familiar from standard psalter design: it includes a prefatory cycle, an illustrated calendar, and an eight-part division of its main text. In contrast to the psalter, however, the eight parts of the

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Hours of the Virgin were to be read throughout the day, rather than over the course of a week.\(^7\) The Morgan Hours departs radically from the standardized format of the psalter in the variety of its texts, which included the monastically-inspired Hours of the Virgin and Office for the Dead as well as a number of vernacular prayers. It is in the context of these new texts that images with portrait markers appear.

Images of a woman in prayer appear four times within the illuminations of this book of hours. Her first appearance is in the opening initial of the Matins of the Virgin (fig. 1-1): the initial shows the Virgin and Child enthroned with angels swinging censers to either side, while a laywoman prostrates herself in prayer at Mary’s feet. The limited color palette of the illumination, which uses only rose, blue, and white pigments against a burnished gold background, confers visual unity on the figures. Details of costume, however, distinguish the praying woman from the heavenly figures: while the Virgin and angels wear heavy, archaizing cloaks, the unidentified laywoman wears a more contemporary tailored surcoat with armholes and a lowered hood; she also wears a toque fastened with a bandeau or barbette around the chin, a typical piece of female headgear in the first half of the thirteenth century.\(^8\) Compositionally, the laywoman’s form disrupts the symmetry of the holy scene: her humble prostration is juxtaposed to the vertical forms of Virgin and Child, and her liminal position—transgressing the border of the initial itself—reinforces her foreignness from the holy sphere. Her body nevertheless forms a visual bridge between the three spaces of the manuscript page: the margins, the text block, and the initial. As her face and hands directly overlay the figure of the Virgin, her body forms the viewer’s means of entry into the presence of the Virgin and Christ. This prostrate figure repeats twice more in subsequent sections of the book: in the initial beginning the Prayer of Augustine, a woman wearing a toque and barbette kneels low before the relatively


diminutive image of Christ enthroned and surrounded by six doves (fig. 1-2); a similar initial with a woman in prayer before an enthroned Christ begins the French prayer *Dex qui adam.* In each of these images, the laywoman’s body extends across the border of the initial as her praying hands reach towards the holy figure enthroned within.

The three representations of prostrate laywomen adapt the imagery of prayer in order to signify their portrait potential. Prayerful gestures long served as indicators of portraiture in manuscripts as well as more public contexts. The prostrate female devotee of the Morgan Hours carries on a tradition of author, donor, or patron portraits that emphasize their subjects’ humility before a holy figure. It appears as early as the depiction of Hrabanus Maurus in his *In honorem sanctae crucis* (written ca. 810-814, fig. 1-3). *In honorem sanctae crucis* is a *carmina figurata,* or “figural poem,” in which letters, geometry, and images create mystical meaning through their interpenetration. *Figura* 28, the final text-image of the work, features a human figure prostrate before the sign of the cross at the center, both of which serve as the ground for a selection of the poem’s evenly-distributed letters. The coincidence of letters and image identify the figure as a representation of the author, reading:

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R A B A
N U M M E
M E T C L E
M E N S R O G
O C R I S T E
T V E R
E O P I E
I V D I C I O
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(I ask O reverend Christ to protect by your judgment me, Hrabanus)

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9 HM fol. 120r.
Hrabanus, offering himself as a sacrifice to Christ, humbly figures himself on the sinister side of the cross, rather than the privileged dexter side occupied by the kneeling lady in the later book of hours.

Thirteenth-century author Matthew Paris recalls this visual formula in his own author portrait prefacing the autograph manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum*. Dating to the 1250s, Matthew’s *Historia* is contemporary with the expanded use of lay devotional books in England as in France (fig. 1-4). Here, the monk of Saint Albans appears prostrate beneath a full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child embracing. Matthew depicted the figures, drapery, haloes, and throne of the holy figures in dazzling color, with washes of green, red, yellow, blue, and brown; his own form, however, he left untinted, a pale shade beneath the radiant vision of Mary and Jesus. A prayer to the Virgin, possibly written in Matthew’s own hand, fills the space beside his face and around his raised hands. An inscription on the reverse of the folio further asserts the portrait status of the figure (fig. 1-5). The dedication inscription appears, also in Matthew’s hand, beneath the full-page table for calculating the date of Easter:

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Hunc librum dedit frater Mathaeus parisiensis

(Matthew Paris gives this book. May the soul of Matthew and the souls of all the faithful dead rest in peace. Amen).
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The inscription frames the figure on the page’s recto not only as the author of the work, but as its donor.

Like Hrabanus’s *In honorem sanctae crucis*, Matthew’s authorial portrait forms part of an original and inventive compilation. The Virgin and Child miniature follows an eight-page cartographic itinerary from London to the Holy Land. Indeed, it faces the final page of this itinerary, which

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12 Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, 224.
features the earliest map of England, Scotland, and Wales in the history of cartography, the imaginary return destination of Matthew’s reader-pilgrim. Katharine Breen has argued that Matthew’s layout of the itinerary pages aims to locate for his readers England relative to the Holy Land and to recast the island as a new sacred space in place of the lost Jerusalem. In the manuscript, Breen observes, the representations of Jerusalem and the Holy Land are inseparable from that of England, appearing on opposite sides of the same folio. As Breen reads significance in the superimposition of the maps of the Holy Land and England on either side of folio 5, we might also see a congruency in the alternate sides of folio 6. On the recto of the folio, the upper part of the page features a tender, humanizing scene with Mary and the infant Christ; on the verso, meanwhile, in the same position are the tools for calculating the feast of Christ’s divine rebirth. Likewise, as a figural depiction on the recto presents Matthew adoring the Virgin and Child, the author asserts his presence again through textual inscription on the reverse. Whereas the representation on the recto relates Matthew’s living performance of piety, that on the verso anticipates his death. As Matthew appears at once as author and donor, his portrait serves not to establish his learned authority, but to inspire faithful remembrance on the part of future readers.

The image of Abbot Suger in the Infancy window at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, renovated in the 1140s, similarly combines the categories of donor and author to link the creation of works to memory, prayer, and salvation (fig. 1-6). The Annunciation panel, featuring Suger’s portrait, is one of the few to have survived Alexandre Lenoir’s disastrous removal of the abbey’s

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stained glass for installation in the Musée des monuments français after the Revolution.16 Two drawings from the eighteenth century reveal changes in the panel’s ornamental elements and the placement of the inscriptions, but confirm the correspondence of the current composition with the original program.17 There, as in the window today, Suger appears as a prostrate devotee, breaking the lower segment of the composition’s round frame as he reaches towards the Annunciate Virgin. While it is not a manuscript portrait, the iconographic and compositional details link it with the examples already discussed. As in the representations of Hrabanus Maurus and Matthew Paris, inscriptions of Suger’s name above his figure reinforce the glazed image’s portrait status as well as identify its subject. Indeed, Suger inscribed his name throughout the church; his record of these inscriptions in De administratione, his memoir of the renovations, provided a dual assurance of his legacy.18

In each of the three compositions, the prayerful pose, in conjunction with explanatory inscriptions, establishes the subject as an individual presenting himself before God. I use the term “individual” deliberately, but with caution, as numerous scholars have questioned its applicability in a medieval social context. Much of the discussion has focused on the twelfth century. While scholars such as Colin Morris and Robert Hanning tried to reclaim the term from the Renaissance, others, such as John F. Benton and Caroline Walker Bynum, responded with more nuanced models that distinguished medieval conceptions of selfhood from modern.19 Bynum, for instance, stressed that

twelfth-century writers used terms such as *anima* (soul), *seipsum* (self), or *homo interior* (inner man) rather than *individuum*. She noted further that the twelfth-century investigation of interiority was matched by an equally eager interest in external manifestations of selfhood, such as group affiliation and social orders. Benton, meanwhile, contrasted the modern idea of “personality,” an inner trait at the root of selfhood, with the medieval concept of “persona,” an external characterization not intrinsic to the self. Fewer scholars have explored subjectivity in a thirteenth-century context. Benton’s discussion of religious factors relevant to the conception of self noted changes brought about in the early thirteenth century by the rise of mendicant orders. More recently, Dallas G. Denery has addressed the way that Dominican pastoral literature shaped conceptions of self for clerics and penitents alike in the thirteenth century. Prayer and, especially, the growing emphasis on penance provided frameworks for medieval subjects to define, examine, and revise their behaviors, emotions, and desires. It is therefore unsurprising that prayer should be one of the primary means of marking the portrait potential of an image.

The highly inventive compositions of Hrabanus Maurus, Matthew Paris, and Suger each employ a posture of prayer not only to indicate their portrait status, but to convey the relationship of the subject to the work in which his image appears. Each portrait appears as a small part of a larger work and identifies the portrait subject as the agent behind its creation. Despite the humble

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overtones of prostrate prayer, these three portraits convey the privileged authority of their subjects to appear before their adored figures. In representing their subjects engaged in the ritual of prayer, these representations further enfold a sense of temporality. The stained glass representation of Suger at prayer shone in the very church where he prayed, echoing his pious practice during his lifetime and perpetuating it thereafter. Matthew Paris’s portrait similarly represents a practice of prayer while explicitly anticipating its author’s death with the inscription on the reverse of the folio. Portraits of prayer thus have a further valence: in addition to authority, such compositions visualize and crystalize practice, which translates, in many cases, to use.

The image of the suppliant woman in the early Morgan book of hours adopts the iconography of an established devotional portrait type to signal the representation of a specific, contemporary person. Visual and contextual nuances, however, distinguish her images from those of the male authors and patrons discussed above. First, and perhaps most striking, is the lack of identifying inscription associated with the prostrate woman. The apparent anonymity of the devotee shifts the tone away from that of laudatory self-presentation or emphatic memorialization. The markedly different context and audience for this earliest known book of hours also affects the intended and received meanings of its illuminations. While Hrabanus Maurus distributed iconographically identical copies of his work widely among the intellectual and spiritual elite of western Europe, this eclectic devotional compilation was most likely made for a single woman and, possibly, her intimates. While Hrabanus charted the complexities of the Christian mystery for the theological edification of his elite readers, the didactic program of the book of hours is decidedly

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more personal. The presentation of familiar texts from the psalms and other prayers, the book of hours asks scrupulous self-examination of its reader and instructs her in atonement. Although visually similar, the portraits of Hrabanus and the Morgan Hours devotee addressed different audiences from within different contexts. Furthermore, the status of the portrait subject in the Morgan Hours represents a radical departure from its iconographical antecedents. While the figure adopts the form of an author or donor portrait, she in fact represents not the work’s creator, but the audience its creators anticipated.

In addition to the three illuminations already discussed, the Morgan Hours represents its anticipated owner once more, in a fourth portrait that departs from the pictorial pattern established in the first three. The fourth image of a laywoman appears in the final section of the book and marks the beginning of six Salutations to the Virgin in French (fig. 1-7). The woman’s costume remains the same and she still appears at prayer, but her attitude and her setting have changed. Rather than lying prostrate before an adored figure, the laywoman kneels upright and alone in this four-line initial D. Her hands, moreover, no longer make a gesture of prayer; instead, they hold a book, angled outward to face the viewer. Her face is not oriented towards the book but towards the piece of furniture only partially visible within the frame of the initial, either an altar or a tabernacle.

The combination of prostrate and kneeling postures in the owner figures of the Morgan Hours reflects the shift that took place over the course of the thirteenth century in representations and practices of prayer. The imagery of prostration, or *proskynesis*, that we have seen in the examples

28 Bennett, “Making Literate Lay Women Visible,” 133. The incipit is similar to Sonet 427, a text of nine Salutations to the Virgin. HM is not catalogued by Sonet or in Sinclair’s expansion: Sonet, *Répertoire*, s.v. 427; Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français*.
so far had a long history in the Christian church as a gesture of humility, submission, and awe. An
alternative gesture, upright kneeling with joined hands or genuflexio recta, appearing sporadically in
depictions of prayer from the twelfth century, would take hold by the end of the thirteenth. The
gesture was familiar from a feudal context: a vassal would kneel with joined hands to commend
himself to a lord, who would then close the vassal’s hands in his own in acceptance. Gerhart
Ladner noted that the adoption of a feudal gesture is consistent with papal appropriation of feudal
power over the course of the thirteenth century. He postulated that it was not the gesture’s
political connotations, but its introduction into the liturgy of the host that solidified its status as the
dominant gesture of prayer for western Christianity.

The kneeling devotee would, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, become the most
visible and recognizable portrait type within Christian art. In the early decades of the thirteenth
century, however, it, like the book of hours, was a relative novelty. One early example is the portrait
of Abbot Suger among the resurrected dead in the Last Judgment tympanum over the central portal
on the west façade of Saint-Denis. While the other figures in the Resurrection frieze along the
bottom of the tympanum, all nude, stir within their coffins as if awakening from sleep, Suger alone is
clothed and adopts a posture of prayer from his position just beside the right foot of Christ. As with

29 Gerhart B. Ladner, “The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth
Centuries,” in Didascaliæ: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Alvarado, ed. Sesto Prete (New York: Bernard M.
Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting,” Art History 16, no. 1
(March 1993): 3–4 for the continued association of this gesture with feudalism.
33 Pamela Z. Blum, Early Gothic Saint-Denis: Restorations and Survivals (Berkeley: University of California Press,
1992), 32–33. Although the majority of the figure on the façade today is a nineteenth-century restoration, its
twelfth-century silhouette remains visible and confirms its original upright kneeling pose.
his prostrate portraits in the choir, an inscription once identified the portrait subject. 34 Examples of kneeling devotees from the early thirteenth century can be found in the windows of Chartres, which feature lay as well as ecclesiastical devotees in the lowest register of numerous lights. While inscriptions identify the representations of church canons, the noble donors, which outnumber them, are identified primarily through their heraldry (fig. 4-14). 35 Examples from the later thirteenth century demonstrate the increasing visibility of the kneeling type in a variety of contexts. Two kneeling royal devotees, perhaps representing Louis IX and his queen, Marguerite of Provence, flank the Coronation of the Virgin in a tympanum begun between 1260 and 1271 above the Porte Rouge of Notre Dame (fig. 1-8). 36 In the case of this sculpture, M. Cecilia Gaposchkin argued that the kneeling gesture retained its feudal associations of “entreaty and subordination to authority,” serving to remind its royal subjects of the supremacy of the Church. 37 The viscera tomb of Louis’s daughter-in-law, Isabelle of Aragon, employs a similar composition (fig. 1-9). 38 The relief tomb, commissioned by her husband, Philip III, after her death in 1271, shows Isabelle and Philip kneeling in adoration to either side of the Virgin and Child in a composition recalling that above the Porte Rouge. The context of the later commission, however, suggests that the gesture held a different connotation for its royal patron. The Porte Rouge tympanum employed the gesture of kneeling

34 “Suscipe vota tui, judex districte, Sugeri; / Inter oves proprias fac me clementer haber” (Receive, O stern Judge, the prayers of Thy Suger; / Grant that I be mercifully numbered among Thy own sheep). Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, Abbot Suger, 48–49; Blum, Early Gothic Saint-Denis, 33.
38 Gaposchkin, “The King of France,” 64; see also Julian Gardner, “A Princess Among Prelates: A Fourteenth-Century Neapolitan Tomb and Some Northern Relations,” Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 23 (1988): 29–60; and Perkinson, Likeness of the King, 105–106. I discuss the tombs for Isabelle of Aragon’s viscera, in Cosenza, and her bones, at Saint-Denis, further in Chapter Four.
prayer to reduce the suppliant rulers to generic types in order to make a political statement regarding the relationship between the church and the crown. In the context of a tomb, on the other hand, the gesture designates its bearers as specific subjects whose devotion has earned them an audience with the Virgin. By the end of the thirteenth century, upright kneeling had replaced prostration as the dominant marker of devotional patronage and portraiture. The glazing program in the Saint-Vincent Chapel of Beauvais Cathedral, for example, carried out in the 1290s, shows its patron, Raoul de Senlis, kneeling in four of the six windows, presenting miniature representations of the windows to saints represented above (fig. 1-10).  

The kneeling woman in the Morgan Hours echoes the gestures of these more public portraits. Yet, as in the case of the prostrate portraits, certain compositional and iconographic features distinguish the manuscript portrait from its public counterparts. Most notable is the absence of a holy figure to serve as the object of the lady’s devotion; instead, she kneels before a piece of devotional furniture without even a cross or holy image. Even more than the representations of prostrate prayer, this initial emphasizes the performance of devotion itself, foregrounding the actor (the laywoman devotee), her tools (the book), and the setting (a space designated for prayer by devotional furniture).

An examination of the Morgan Hours portrait initials and their precedents reveals that manuscript owner portraits in the thirteenth century adopted the imagery of prayer as an iconography of portraiture. Gestures of prayer served to indicate that a specific identity belonged to the depicted figure. Such gestures, however, were anything but exclusive to portraiture; on the contrary, they appeared widely throughout Christian art as well as in certain secular contexts. The

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39 Michael Watt Cothren, *Picturing the Celestial City: The Medieval Stained Glass of Beauvais Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 127–130. In the original arrangement (of which the current installation is a dim reminder), the donor Raoul appeared in the four lights to the left and right of the central windows, each of his four representations facing towards the altar.
prayerful pose signaled the potential for identity, but could not signify its specifics. Outside of manuscripts, inscription proved essential both to indicate portrait status and to assign identity to the subject. Yet inscription is entirely lacking in the Morgan Hours, as in most other contemporary and successive devotional manuscripts. Indeed, the explicit identification of subjects appears to be extraneous to the owner portrait form. For, while some portrait subjects wear or kneel beside familial coats of arms, others appear with no distinguishing signs of identity whatsoever. In the absence of a naming inscription, the image alone is unable to convey specific identity. The work of identification must instead be shared between the image and its viewer, who takes on the task of filling in the gaps the image provides, guided at once by the codified forms of portraiture, discussed above, and the contexts for viewing, discussed below.

**Implicit Identities**

A case study of another early book of hours, the de Brailes Hours, serves to illustrate the role of the often rich manuscript context in the interpretation of the potential portrait figures within and the flexibility of that interpretation. While this English book falls outside the main scope of this dissertation, its early use of the owner portrait type is revealing for our understanding of its significance across the Channel. The portraits and potential portraits in the de Brailes Hours illustrate the semantically slippery nature of portraiture in the thirteenth century. The figures include praying women, hypothesized to be owner portraits, and praying clerics, some identified with inscriptions as portraits of the illuminator, William de Brailes. The juxtaposition of illuminator

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40 The royal portraits above Notre Dame’s Porte Rouge are the only examples discussed here to lack an inscription, a feature that perhaps provided a political buffer for the canons in the case of this essentially unauthorized portrait. See Gaposchkin, “The King of France,” especially 67.

portraits named with rubrics to the predominant absence of inscriptions from the potential owner portraits underscores the incompatibility of naming inscriptions and owner portraiture. The de Brailes Hours provides the basis for a discussion of the role of reception and performance in the identity function of manuscript owner portraits.

Along with their cousins in the Morgan Hours discussed above, the female owner figures in the de Brailes Hours demonstrate the close relationship between the owner portrait and the developing genre of the book of hours. Dating to around 1240, the de Brailes Hours is the earliest known English example. Its textual contents are less eclectic than the Morgan Hours, including only the Hours of the Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, and the Gradual Psalms, with additional prayers and remembrances added in French later in the thirteenth century. What distinguishes the de Brailes Hours are the narrative cycles that play out within the small, historiated initials that begin new psalms or prayers. The cycles run within and across the discrete Latin texts, adding an exegetical layer to the daily experience of prayer. Anglo-Norman rubrics in the margins identify the individual images and guide the reader through the visual narratives. As noted above, the rubrics function further to identify the subject of two apparent illuminator self-portraits, naming praying clerics in initials as “w. de brail[es] q[u]i. me depeint” (William de Brailes who painted me) and “w. de brail[es]” (figs. 1-14). Rubrics also accompany some of the initials with praying laywomen, but none identify her so explicitly as they do the illuminator. While one scholar has speculated that one of the rubrics names the book’s anticipated owner, identity is rarely absolute in this manuscript’s images and inscriptions.

Five images in the de Brailes Hours of laywomen kneeling in prayer share the characteristics of owner portraits. These small initials show a kneeling woman wearing a toque and barbette over

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43 Add. 49999, fols. 43r and 47r.
loose brown hair. The first such image appears in the last initial of Compline in the Hours of the Virgin; a second follows at the beginning of Psalm 101 in the Penitential Psalms.\textsuperscript{44} The following two begin collects at the end of the Litany and appear on facing pages (figs. 1-11 and 1-12).\textsuperscript{45} The final potential portrait initial appears a few pages later to open Psalm 119, the first of the Gradual Psalms (fig. 1-13).\textsuperscript{46} Two of the five initials have rubrics: an inscription to the right of the initial for Psalm 101 reads, “oreisuns” (prayers). This might suggest that the praying woman be understood as a generalized devotee, perhaps even a sort of illustration of the psalm she accompanies: “Domine exaudi orationem mea[m] : [et] clamor meu[m] ad te ueniat” (Hear, O Lord, my prayer, and let my cry come to thee; Ps. 101).\textsuperscript{47} Similarly, the rubric for the initial opening the Gradual Psalms, “ele clama deu en la t[ri]bulaciun” (She cried to God in tribulation) echoes the language of the psalm it begins, “Ad dominum cum tribularer clamaui” (In my trouble I cried to the Lord; Ps. 119).\textsuperscript{48} In a footnote to her work on female patronage in England, Loveday Lewes Gee proposed that “ele” in this inscription is not the third person feminine pronoun, but rather the name of Ele or Ela Longspee, whose Oxford connections make her a candidate for patron of the de Brailes Hours.\textsuperscript{49} Intriguing as this claim is, it is founded on little more than a linguistic coincidence in one of the book’s several potential owner portraits. If it does surreptitiously name the book’s owner, the further content of the rubric undercuts the specificity of naming by framing her, as in the initial before Psalm 101, as an illustration of the text that follows.

The presence of the narrative Susanna cycle in the Gradual Psalms further complicates the question of portraiture. The final three portrait initials discussed above lead into and even overlap

\textsuperscript{44} Add. 49999, fols. 64v and 75r.
\textsuperscript{45} Add. 49999, fols. 87v and 88r.
\textsuperscript{46} Add. 49999, fol. 90r.
\textsuperscript{47} Add. 49999, fol. 75r.
\textsuperscript{48} Add. 49999, fol. 90r.
with the biblical story of Susanna (Dan. 13). The de Brailes Hours presents a selective telling of the narrative. It excludes the voyeuristic passage that would become a mainstay of later European art, the elders’ intrusion into Susanna’s garden while she bathed and her refusal of their proposition. The focus here is instead Susanna’s salvation from the elders’ false accusation of adultery: Susanna is brought before the judges; Daniel questions the elders separately and reveals their deception; the elders are executed; a grateful Susanna praises God and is carried to heaven after her death. While I have described the initial opening the Gradual Psalms as a potential owner portrait with elements of word illustration, it is also legible as part of the story of Susanna, whose arrest for adultery certainly qualifies as “tribulaciun” (tribulation). The initial that follows signals more clearly the shift into a narrative mode: Susanna, dressed as before, protests her innocence before a standing crowd and a seated judge. The inscription is only partially preserved, but it appears to have been brief, as it occupies only one line. Susanna’s name appears only in the final rubrics of the cycle, after her trial and the execution of her accusers. In one initial, an image of Susanna in prayer recalls precisely the compositions in the collects and Psalm 119. Here, however, the figure wears white and a rubric indicates more explicitly the composition’s narrative context: “susanna est detiure del faus crime” (Susanna is acquitted of the false crime). The next initial shows Susanna’s ultimate reward: her dead body lies below as angels carry her soul to heaven, as the rubric reads, “lame susanna uet a deu” (Susanna’s soul comes to God). The textual identification of the cycle’s female protagonist is retrospective, as she is only named in its final installations.

In his initials with praying laywomen, William de Brailes layered the illuminations with numerous possible interpretations. While prayerful gestures mark the figures as potential portrait
types, the rubrics accompanying some of them frame them rather as word illustrations, a concept I return to below in my discussion of the Paris-Baltimore Psalter-Hours. The final interpretive layer is specific to the de Brailes Hours, as it distributes potential portraits around and within series of narrative initials. Three of the potential owner portraits precede the Susanna cycle, yet they can also be understood as preludes to or even the opening scenes of the biblical narrative. The initial opening the Gradual Psalms is at the crux of these three potential interpretations, legible at once as an owner portrait, an illustration, and a narrative scene. Narratives such as Susanna’s, furthermore, enhance the adjacent portraits by providing a biblical exemplar for their subjects. Susanna offers a model of female virtue that emphasizes chastity, modesty, and piety. Similarly, the two earlier owner figures appear in the context of a series of initials from the life of David, a setting that frames them as contemporary, female counterparts to the penitent biblical king.54

Proximate narratives enhance not only the potential owner portraits, but the illuminator portraits as well. While images of the praying laywoman preface the Susanna cycle, those of the illuminator William de Brailes interrupt the course of two narratives of clerical devotion to the Virgin Mary. William first appears in the last initial of the hour of Terce, just before the end of the story of the repentant monk Theophilus (fig. 1-14).55 Like the female devotees in and around the Susanna story, William’s praying form, clerical garb, and tonsure recall those of the supplicant Theophilus on preceding pages (fig. 1-15).56 Likewise, William’s second rubricated portrait appears at the end of the hour of Sext, opposite an initial from the story of the ignorant priest.57 Both the priest and William kneel in prayer, the one in supplication to St. Thomas Beckett, the other in praise

54 The David cycle appears between Add. 49999 fols. 66r–79r; see Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 105–110.
55 Add. 49999, fol. 43r. For the narrative of Theophilus and the de Brailes Hours cycle, see Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 69–76.
56 Add. 49999, fols. 38r, 39v, and 41v.
57 Add. 49999, fols. 46v and 47r. For Saint Thomas Beckett and the ignorant priest, see Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 81–91.
of God. A further initial, which interrupts the series of laywomen preceding the Susanna cycle, shows another cleric in prayer, but this lacks a rubric.58

In the de Brailes Hours, narrative series inform and enhance the portrait types interjected in and around them. Within the stories of Theophilus, the ignorant priest, David, and Susanna, these contemporary clerics and laywomen, whether named or not, represent a continuity of ritual and penance between biblical time, hagiographic history, and contemporary practice. They also conflate the identity of the contemporary devotee with that of the biblical or exemplary model. Appearing in the midst of the Theophilus cycle, the kneeling cleric identified as William de Brailes is at once the illuminator and the penitent monk of the exemplum. This visual slippage was intentional: despite being a commercial illuminator and married to a woman named Celena, William depicted himself with a tonsure, although his habit corresponds to no known order.59 The Susanna cycle, meanwhile, begins abruptly and ambiguously, its first rubrics referring to their protagonist in the third person. To a reader familiar with the sequence of the manuscript’s visual narratives, as a medieval owner diligent about her prayers could have been, the initials with kneeling women preceding the Susanna cycle might appear at once as potential portraits of herself and as anticipations of the Susanna story that follows. While scholars such as Julian Gardner and Roland Recht have dismissed the crypto-portrait as inconsistent with principles of thirteenth-century representation, the de Brailes Hours demands a reconsideration of that assessment.60 Its representations of the illuminator and the

58 Add. 49999, fol. 88v.
female devotee blend the emerging owner portrait type with the layered identities of a crypto-portrait.

The images of female devotees in the de Brailes Hours—like those in the Morgan Hours—are characterized by, on the one hand, the iconography of prayer, and, on the other, an apparent lack of specificity through the absence of clear inscriptions or narrative markers. This lack of textual specificity has a genericizing effect on the images, allowing them to signify as anything from a specific woman acting in time to a personification of the act of prayer. The absence of rubrics and inscriptions in these two prayer books, however, also reflects the redundancy of a verbal identifier in the case of such images. The consistency of figure types and attributes among the otherwise unidentified devotees in each book suggests even more strongly that these types reflect a single, specific person. By depicting figures engaged in the same activity and making the same ritual gestures as their anticipated viewers, owner portraits mark the reader as their subject. Owner images thus function on a principle of self-identification, inviting reader-viewers to recognize themselves in their attributes, attitudes, and gestures. The distinction between an owner portrait and a generic devotee therefore exists only in the eye of the beholder: an owner portrait signifies as such when a viewer recognizes her- or himself in the image.

Self-identification is the mechanism that allows owner portraits to function as such without incorporating identifiers such as inscription. This mechanism enables owner portraits to combine interpretive adaptability with a great affective capacity. There is, however, another identifier that may appear in conjunction with owner portraits or elsewhere in illuminated manuscripts: heraldry.61 Coats of arms in manuscript illuminations often belong to the book’s anticipated owner, though

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they could also indicate patronage or donation, ancestry, or political affiliation. The addition of a blazon to the owner figure, as in the Aspremont-Kie враing Prayer Book, diminishes its adaptability, but could certainly heighten the value of an illuminated book for its patrons and first owners. It might, for instance, expand the function of the prayer book to include a role as a dynastic monument. The two volumes of the Aspremont-Kie враing Prayer Book exhibit the heraldry of its original possessors in the line endings of nearly every page, as well as on jousting knights, decorative escutcheons, and the costumes of kneeling devotees (see, for example, fig. 3-23). As I discuss further in Chapter Three, Alison Stones has suggested that the production of this prayer book may have straddled a dynastic transfer of power on the death of Joffroy III d’Aspremont to his son Gobert. In Stones’s account, the manuscript began as a manifestation of the union of two titles through Joffroy’s marriage to Isabelle de Kievraing in 1285 and his later assumption of her family title with his own. Production of the book seems to have stalled, however, with Joffroy’s death in 1302, to resume around 1305 with a new mandate: the celebration of the marital alliances amongst the younger generation.\(^\text{62}\)

Correspondingly, however, illuminated heraldry could pose a problem for later owners of the manuscript who were not necessarily members of the same family. After leaving the possession of the Aspremont family, one of the book’s two volumes passed through the hands of Walter Cromer, physician to Henry VIII of England, in the sixteenth century, and subsequently to the Pennant and Tuke families. At some point in its history, an owner had the original heraldry painted out on the kneeling figures, in the line endings, and throughout the decoration, replacing it with generic gold curvilinear designs on a red field.\(^\text{63}\) The effacement of their heraldry occluded the genealogical

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\(^{62}\) Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two*, 1:68–71. I am grateful to Dr. Stones for generously sharing this research in advance of its publication.

specificity of the male and female figures in the Aspremont-Kievraing Hours. It is unlikely that the
aim of the later, interventionist owner was to restore the potential for self-identification in the
manuscript’s numerous devotee figures; in the space of the fourteenth century alone, cultural
expectations of portraiture underwent drastic change, and the figures in this prayer book would no
longer have fit its criteria. The removal of the Aspremont and Kievraing arms, however, reasserted
the figures’ essential generic qualities, providing new possibilities for reception by their later viewers.

Identity in an owner portrait, with or without heraldry, is a construction dependent not only
upon the qualities of the images, but of the imagination and expectations of its viewer. Owner
portrait identities are thus fundamentally unstable, as different viewers may assign different identities
to—or find it impossible to identify—the same image. As we saw in the Morgan Hours and the de
Brailes Hours, this is an essential quality of the owner portrait: unmoored from the naming
inscription, portraits in devotional manuscripts encompass what Roland Barthes described as “a
‘floating chain’ of signifieds”—in this case, potential identities. Heraldry, when present, anchors
the depiction with a more explicit indicator of identity. As a personal sign, however, heraldry
operates by relating individuals to their fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, relatives, or ancestors. As
heraldry frames identity through familial affiliations, it, too, is a floating signifier on the body of a
devotee. The two women wearing the arms of Aspremont on one folio of the prayer book might be
understood to represent any number of historical persons: Joffroy’s sister; his wife, setting aside her
own family’s arms in favor of his; or his daughter, in honor of whose marriage this section of the
book might have been made (fig. 1-16). With or without heraldry, owner portraits rely on their

64 See Perkinson, Likeness of the King.
viewers “bridg[ing] the gaps” to construct an identification based on their own context. This process of identification must be understood as integral to the owner portrait itself.

**Portrait and Illustration**

Following on early examples such as the Morgan Hours and the de Brailes Hours, illuminated books containing the Hours of the Virgin, whether books of hours or hybrid psalter-hours, incorporated potential portraits more and more into their decorative cycles. Although owner portraits were not limited to psalter-hours and books of hours, it is within these texts that they most frequently appear. As illuminators in the later thirteenth century grappled with strategies to illustrate the new texts their patrons were demanding, one approach to the Hours of the Virgin was to open each hour with an initial containing a figure at prayer, typically a woman. Adelaide Bennett termed this trend a “woman devotee cycle.” Like the devotees in the de Brailes Hours, the praying figures in these initials straddle the boundary between portrait and illustration, even as they conform to the now established iconography of owner portraiture. The increasingly closer ties between the representation of devotees and the texts of the prayer book aptly illustrate the dual status of such images. Manuscript owner portraits, as distinct from other types of medieval portraiture, embrace and employ the ambivalence of their portrait status and the potential for self-identification. Discrete devotee cycles in particular play with the categories of specific and generic, portrait and illustration, demonstrating that portraits within devotional manuscripts necessarily perform across representational genres.

One late thirteenth-century manuscript with a series of female devotees adorning its initials is a little-studied psalter-hours from north-eastern France, either Reims or Metz. I call this book the

Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, after the current location of its two fragments. The first half of the prayer book contains the Calendar, Psalter, and Canticles, while the second portion contains the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, Litany and Suffrages, and the Office for the Dead followed by Latin prayers. The visual unity of the two fragments is striking. Yet, despite a note by François Avril in the bibliographic file of the Paris manuscript linking the two, they have thus far only been cataloged and published separately. In her catalog entry on the psalter fragment in Baltimore, Lilian M. C. Randall dated the manuscript on stylistic evidence to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Alison Stones dated the Paris Hours section to ca. 1250, which is more in line with the costumes of its owner figures. Randall further noted a strong emphasis on saints from the region of Metz in the fragment's calendar. Studies of the Paris fragment, however, have pointed to the neighboring diocese of Reims as a likely place of origin: Victor Leroquais connected the use of the Hours to that of the Augustinian foundation of Saint-Denis in Reims, while Knud Ottosen showed that the Office for the Dead also displays the elements of Reims use.

The Psalter section of the manuscript employs a standard series of initials depicting scenes from the life of King David, revered as the author of the psalms. The eight canonical hours of the Hours of the Virgin, in contrast, are adorned predominantly, but not exclusively, with non-narrative images of contemporary laywomen in prayer. The opening of the office features the female devotee

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68 Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum MS W.113 (BPP) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS nouv. acq. lat. 915 (BPH).
71 Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part One, 2013, 2:408.
72 Randall, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, 1: <i>France, 875–1420</i>:86.
73 Leroquais, Les livres d’heures, 2:278; Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 144.
in a smaller initial beneath the large initial with the Virgin and Child enthroned (fig. 1-17).\textsuperscript{75} The large initial begins the usual opening lines of Matins, taken from Psalm 51: “Domine labia mea aperies Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam” (O Lord, thou wilt open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise; Ps. 50:17). The small initial, with the devotee, continues the prayer: “Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuvandum me festina” (O God, come to my assistance; O Lord, make haste to help me; Ps. 69:2). The kneeling laywoman in this initial directs her gaze towards the larger holy figures above, and a small closed book sits on the ground before her. At the opening of the subsequent hours, the devotee herself appears in the large initials kneeling before an altar, her book either open in her hands or closed before her. As in the Virgin and Child initial at Matins, white hangings at one or both sides frame the kneeling woman. At Lauds, Sext, Vespers, and Compline she kneels with an open book (fig. 1-18), while at Terce and Nones her book is closed as in the first, small initial at Matins (fig. 1-19).\textsuperscript{76} Prime is the only hour to break with the female devotee cycle, with an image of the Flagellation of Christ.\textsuperscript{77}

Books are present in each devotee initial, and they play a prominent role in the pictures’ portrait functions. As in the final Morgan Hours portrait, the books here, whether open or closed, work with the altar and the draperies to evoke the material experience of prayer. Furthermore, when devotees hold open books, they orient them towards the picture plane, making both pages available for the viewer’s inspection. This recursive pictorial device invites the viewer to see herself not only as the reader of a book, but also as the reader of the book within the book. The painted book amplifies the markers of manuscript portraiture discussed above—prayerful pose, consistent characterization, and absence of specific identifying features—to deepen the viewer’s capacity for self-identification with the image. The placement of the painted prayer book within the hands of a

\textsuperscript{75} BPH fol. 1r.

\textsuperscript{76} Initials with female devotees appear on BPH fols. 18r, 30v, 32v, 35r, 37r, and 42v.

\textsuperscript{77} BPH fol. 27r.
kneeling woman reinforces an association between women and devotional books, a factor that will be discussed further in the next chapter. Furthermore, in the hands of the kneeling woman, the painted book likewise implies a prototype: the prayer book within which it is depicted. The presence of the book heightens the already recursive relationship between portrait and subject-viewer, bringing them closer through the shared experience of reading the same book. With the prominent inclusion of prayer books as functional tools, the devotee cycle of this psalter-hours invites the self-identification of its reader with the kneeling woman in the initials even more explicitly and emphatically.

Yet, as in the earlier example of the de Brailes Hours, even as these illuminations employ the markers of manuscript portraiture, their position and repetition at the opening of the hours suggests a relationship to the text as well as its reader. The initials in the Psalter section are not narrative, but rather recall certain specific words in the psalms they precede. Likewise, the devotees in the Hours of the Virgin illustrate the texts of the canonical hours through visual references to key words. Psalter illumination has a longstanding tradition of employing “literal illustration” or “word imagery,” particularly in so-called “fully-illustrated psalters,” in which each of the 150 psalms are accompanied by an illustration or pictorial gloss.78 From the Utrecht Psalter in the ninth century through luxury books of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, designers and illuminators determined the subjects of representation based on key words in the appropriate psalm.79 Studies of these fully illustrated psalters testify to the heterogeneous and often complex strategies through

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79 Utrecht, University Library MS 32; van der Horst, Noel, and Wüstefeld, The Utrecht Psalter.
which such “word-images” engaged both the biblical text and its readers. The devotee cycle in the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours also draws its material from words in the subsequent text, namely, the explicit references to prayer that appear throughout the psalms, hymns, and prayers that comprise the text of each canonical hour. The text at Matins refers to the mouth and lips of the supplicant in speaking the prayer; many of the psalms included in the office also describe acts of prayer or communication between the speaker and the divine. At the opening of Terce, the same psalm that featured one of the potential owner portraits in the de Brailes Hours, Psalm 119, reads, “Ad dominum cum tribularer clamaui & exaudiit me” (I cried to the Lord in distress, and he heard me clearly, fig. 1-19). Similarly, Psalm 122 opens the hour of Sext: “Ad te leuaui oculos meos qui habitas in celis” (I lifted my eyes to you, who resides in Heaven, fig. 1-18). The fantastic landscapes of the Utrecht Psalter or the mnemonic initials of the thirteenth-century Cuerden Psalter draw out the distinctive elements of the texts they preface and provide additional material for a reader’s contemplation. In the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, the repetition of the devotee motif emphasizes instead a common thread that unites the texts within the Hours of the Virgin. As at Matins, each of the subsequent devotee initials begins the personal plea to God for aid (“Deus in adiutorium meum intende ...”). What each of the reading devotees in the psalter-hours illustrates is the concept of a speaking subject—“meum,” “me”—addressing God. The conception of the portrait—and, thus, its subject-viewer—as a word-image of the text facilitates an even more intimate relationship between the reader and the book. Through the mediation of the repeated devotee

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81 BPH fol. 30v.

82 BPH fol. 32v.

83 New York, Morgan Library MS M.756; see Carruthers, The Book of Memory, 281–287.
figure, the reader is able not only to see her portrait in her book, but to conceive of herself as a likeness of its sacred words.

**Prolific Portraits**

By the end of the thirteenth century, narrative cycles of Christ’s Infancy or the Passion would supersede series of women in prayer as illustrations for the Hours of the Virgin. Yet the image of the devotee did not disappear from the devotional book. A small number of examples even maintain her presence at the opening of each hour, where she kneels in the margins rather than the initial itself. The connection between the opening initial and the female devotee remains strong in the book I call the “Margaret Hours,” a book of hours from Saint-Omer with a *terminus post quem* of 1318. With two exceptions, each of the thirty-four remaining historiated initials in this fragmentary manuscript is accompanied by a laywoman kneeling in prayer in the right margin, sometimes holding an open book (e.g. figs. 2-15 and 2-22). As we saw in the introduction, the König Hours likewise features a devotee equipped with a prie-dieu and sometimes a book at the opening of many new sections (fig. I-1). In fact, the image of the female devotee seems to multiply throughout the book, appearing at the bottom of non-cardinal pages as well as in numerous small initials. The devotee may even appear twice on one page, as at the opening of the hour of Sext in the Hours of the Passion (fig. 5-2): while a woman in a hairnet and a gold cloak kneels facing left in front of a prie-dieu with a cloth-bound book closed in front of her, another, smaller woman prays in the two-line initial at the bottom of the text block, directing her gaze towards the initial above showing the Discovery of the True Cross.

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84 London, British Library MS Add. 36684 (MHB) and New York, Morgan Library MS M.754 (MHM); for the date, see Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320, Part One*, vol. 2, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France (London: Harvey Miller, 2013), 593.
Looking beyond the holy offices, images of female devotees also occur particularly in conjunction with the Penitential Psalms, the Gradual Psalms, and the popular Marian prayer *O intemerata.*\(^{85}\) Female devotees remain more visible, yet men are also depicted in prayer. While male and female devotees appear in almost equal numbers in the Thérouanne manuscript that I call the “Franciscan Psalter-Hours,” the only devotee to appear in a historiated initial is a laywoman, who kneels at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms (fig. 3-7). A smaller, yet still striking, composition later in the same manuscript shows a laywoman kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child enclosed within the initial *O* that begins *O intemerata* (fig. 3-9). *O intemerata* is also a frequent site for “gendered language” in a book of hours, producing another layer of visibility for the female book owner; the Franciscan Psalter-Hours is one of many examples in which the text is altered to accommodate or indicate a female speaking subject.\(^{86}\)

As we have already seen in the König Hours, owner portraits or devotees can also appear in the margins and text block throughout a prayer book. In addition to marking the openings of important sections and texts such as the Penitential Psalms and *O intemerata*, devotee types legible as owner portraits appear throughout the margins of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours. In the Metz Psalter-Hours, meanwhile, numerous minor texts in both the Psalter and the Hours sections of the book open with a small initial with a female devotee. The book owner also appears in the margins beside psalter texts in various devotional postures: kneeling, reading, prostrate, or standing with a rosary.

The extreme proliferation of owner portraits is specific to the manuscripts treated in this dissertation. These illuminations saturate the book with the image of the (often female) owner in prayer, reinforcing continuously her devotional engagement with the text and images of her manuscript. This relationship between the image and its viewer, who is also its subject, calls up

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85 Bennett, “Issues of Female Patronage.”
86 FH fols. 151v and 152r; Bennett, “Issues of Female Patronage,” 245.
strong associations with the mirror, a common metaphor for owner portraits in scholarly literature. The next chapter addresses the applicability of this metaphor and its gendered implications. Up to now, I have described mainly female portrait types, and I have assumed a female audience for them. In the next chapter I scrutinize this assumption and the role of gender in owner portraiture through a close reading of two manuscripts as mirrors of and for the women who appear to have owned them.
Specular Devotions
Exemplarity and Embodiedness

In the previous chapter, I discussed the means by which an owner portrait signifies its identity: the portrait prompts its viewer’s self-identification. The viewing context that the owner portrait thus implies for itself is one of a solitary viewer inspecting, and identifying with, the image of a solitary devotee. This scenario—the private viewing of the image by the subject represented—is logistically simple, but conceptually far from straightforward: the viewer’s reception of the image occurs on a number of cognitive levels, resonating with and informing physical experience, devotional aspiration, and subject formation. The terms of Charles Sanders Peirce are useful to illustrate the complexity of the owner portrait, which embraces in one simple image elements of the icon, the index, and the symbol.1 In its status as an abstracted representation of a culturally-determined type, the owner portrait is a symbol, yet it is also iconic in its anticipatory mimesis of the subject-viewer’s prayerful pose. The representation is also indexical in its referential relationship with the subject-viewer. Peirce’s semiotic system allows us to isolate the intimacy and immediacy of the owner portrait. It transcends the status of symbol or even image as an uncanny (but imprecise) reflection of the viewer’s immediate experience.2 Yet, as we shall see, this mimesis is reciprocal, as the owner image encourages its viewer to conceive of her own posture as a reproduction of her

2 See Sand, “Picturing Devotion Anew,” 143; see also above, Chapter One.
portrait figure. In this sense, the owner portrait type is not only intimate, but specular: the imagery of the owner portrait calls on medieval tropes of mirrors in order to encourage a mode of self-reflection in the viewer. Furthermore, owner portraits’ evocations of specularity reinforce the rhetorical association of books of hours with women readers and owners. This chapter explores the currency of the mirror metaphor in two books of hours made for women around the turn of the fourteenth century. By pressing on the critical themes of exemplarity and embodiment in prayer book illuminations, it also tests the limits of this popular but little interrogated metaphor, revealing medieval and scholarly assumptions regarding gender, prayer, and representation.

This chapter examines the connections between specularity, intimacy, and gender in two books of hours: a book of hours for the use of Reims with a Paris calendar, the Cambrai Hours,3 and a book of hours for Hospitallers use with a vernacular Life of Saint Margaret, the Margaret Hours.4 Both of these books create a rich, complex, and intimate environment for their female readers, providing them with a space not only for prayer, but also for self-reflection and even subject formation. In so doing, the books establish a visual system akin to that of the mirror. In the Middle Ages, as today, the mirror carried a wide range of significations, including self-knowledge, self-inspection, and self-improvement. In its over one hundred images of laywomen in prayer, the Cambrai Hours presents a straightforward model of mirrored exemplarity. The Margaret Hours, meanwhile, reflects the darker side of the mirror metaphor, the dialectic between exemplarity on the one hand and desire, luxuria, and idleness—the mirror’s embodied gaze—on the other. Through the exploration of specularity in these devotional manuscripts, we shall see that the assumption of a female viewing subject is not a simple or passive reflection of the audience for books of hours in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It stems, rather, from the gendered didacticism embedded

3 Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale MS 87 (CH).
4 London, British Library Add. MS 36684 (MHB) and New York, Morgan Library MS M.754 (MHM).
within the developing form of the book of hours that frames women specifically as the active agents of prayer within the family.

Mirrors and Manuscripts in the Medieval Imagination

The principle of self-recognition on which the owner portrait depends calls strongly to mind the idea of the mirror as an agent—actual and metaphorical—in subject and identity formation. Although the Lacanian “mirror stage” may now be the most prominent iteration of this association, its roots stretch into the Middle Ages and earlier. Yet while many scholars have alluded to a relationship between mirrors and manuscripts, especially devotional manuscripts, none have explored the significance of the mirror metaphor for manuscript owner portraits within the medieval context. Like illuminated manuscripts, mirrors of glass or highly polished metal were luxury items and status symbols at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Eustache Deschamps (sometimes known as Eustache Morel) lampoons mirrors and manuscripts together in his poem *Le miroir de mariage*. Both figure in the long list of household and personal goods an insistent wife demands from her husband to maintain the appearance of their standing:

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Et miroir, pour moy ordonner,
D’ivoire me devez donner;
Et l’estuy qui soit noble et gent,
And a mirror to arrange myself
You must give me—in ivory;
And with it a case that is refined and beautiful
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Pendu à cheannes d’argent.
Heures me fault de Nostre-Dame,
Si comme il appartient à fame
Venue de noble paraige,
Qui soient de soutil ouvraige,
D’or et d’azur, riches et cointes,
Bien ordonnées et bien pointes,
De fin drap d’or très bien couvertes ;
Et quant elles seront ouvertes,
Deux fermaulx d’or qui fermeront,
Qu’adonques ceuls qui les verront
Puissent partout dire et compter
Qu’om ne puet plus belles porter.7

Hanging from chains of silver.
I need [a book of] hours of Our Lady,
Such as belong to a woman
Who comes from noble birth,
Which [the hours] must be of subtle work
Of gold and azure, rich and elegant,
Well-composed and well picked out
Well covered with a fine cloth of gold;
And when they are opened,
The two clasps of gold that close it,
Now those who see it
Can throughout say and recount
That no one could carry a finer one.

As Deschamps describes, medieval mirrors were often contained within ivory cases; such cases, further, were often decorated with scenes of courtship (fig. 2-1). Books with delicate illustrations and fine covers, like mirrors in carved ivory cases, were potent status symbols for their wealthy thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century users; the illustrated book of hours was only democratized in the late fifteenth century with the introduction of printed prayer books.8 While in Deschamps’s poem the speaker’s gaze does not seem to penetrate the rich surfaces of her imagined book—the “gold and azure” of the page are quickly covered up with the “fine cloth” of the cover and the “two clasps of gold”—many actual women and men did take advantage of the spiritual and even intellectual riches also contained within. These riches were unlocked by close and careful looking, a gaze attracted and sustained by the pictorial wealth and variety of the manuscript page. The manuscripts in this study display many signs of use: worn pages, smudged illuminations, and textual corrections or additions that demonstrate pious readers’ sustained engagement with their contents.9

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8 See Duffy, *Marking the Hours*; Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*.
Mirrors likewise demanded their users’ visual attention and promised rewards for careful looking. The association of mirrors with an attentive gaze is evident in Thomasin von Zerclaere’s *Der Welsche Gast*. Describing the desired relationship between lord and subjects, Thomasin writes, “wir suln uns gar an in schouwen: ir sit der spiegel, wir die vrouwen” (We should be able to see ourselves reflected in you [the lord]: you are the mirror, we the ladies). Thomasin’s text was itself a mirror in relation to which his readers could shape their behavior; *Der Welsche Gast*, written in southern Germany around 1215, was conceived as an illustrated guide to courtly conduct in which painted images as well as textual exempla could serve as sites for the reader’s contemplation. Thirteenth-century sermons use similar metaphors. Jacobus de Voragine conflates looking with purification in his interpretation of the creation of the tabernacle’s washing basin from women’s bronze mirrors in Exodus 38:8: “Qui autem maculas uult lauare, debet ad similitudinem mulieris in speculo respicere, et maculas que sunt in facie eius abluere” (Whoever wishes to cleanse [his] stains should look in the mirror like a woman, and wash away the stains that are on [his] face). The associations of inspection and self-improvement are central within the rich semantic field surrounding the mirror in the Middle Ages. But perhaps even more fundamental to medieval discourse on the mirror was its association with female users evident in the examples cited above. The strong cultural association with women is another commonality between mirrors and devotional manuscripts, especially books of hours, before the mid-fourteenth century.

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Mirror and manuscript thus occupied similar territories within the late medieval imagination, and we can see further parallels drawn between them in contemporary literary and visual representations. The French mystic writer Marguerite d’Oingt marries the images of mirror and book in *Speculum*, a third-person description of her visionary meditations. The vision Marguerite describes in the first of the work’s three chapters centers on a closed book held by Christ with inscriptions describing his life, persecutions, and sacrifice on its cover. Having read and meditated on these texts, Marguerite turns to the book of her own conscience (“el livro de sa [con]cienci”). Marguerite describes the two texts in parallel, establishing a mirrored relationship between them, but finding her own lacking beside the example of Christ:


When she regarded the humility of Jesus Christ, she found herself full of pride. When she thought that he wanted to be despised and persecuted, she found the opposite in herself. When she regarded his poverty, she did not find in herself that she wanted to be so poor that she would be despised. When she regarded his patience, she found none in herself. When she thought about how he was obedient to the point of death, she did not find herself to be as obedient as she needed to be.

Marguerite’s description of the eventual opening of this book in the second chapter makes the book’s role as a mirror explicit:


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13 *Speculum* 7.
14 *Speculum* 14–16.
Not long after, she was in prayer following Matins and she began to regard her book [as in the previous vision] as she had become accustomed to do. When she was not prepared, it appeared that the book opened itself; she had never seen it open before. This book was inside like a beautiful mirror, and it had only two pages. Of what she saw in the book, I cannot tell you much, for I do not have a heart capable of conceiving of it, nor a mouth that can describe it. … In this book … appeared a very glorious light, which was divided into three parts, as if into three persons; but the mouth of man is incapable of speaking of this.

The mirror, in Marguerite’s text, is the device through which the light and the wisdom of God can be seen; it is also the device through which the penitent can inspect the state of her own soul. She obtains access to this mirror, however, through prayers and meditations on the book that, in her visions, appears in the hands of Christ. This book is a visionary counterpart of the material books Marguerite and her Carthusian sisters would have used in their prayers; the book is the bridge between the temporal and the mystical realms.

While mirrors frequently appear in literature as sites of learning, wisdom, and contemplation, their visual representations are rarely so straightforward or positive. Rather, mirrors in prayer books most often signify vanity and a failure of vision, as the woman in the Margaret Hours who is so absorbed with her own image in her mirror that she fails to notice the male figure in the margin above preparing to defecate on her head. This failure encompasses understanding of moral or spiritual truths more often than literal sight: in the Margaret Hours Office for the Dead, marginal images of women with mirrors and combs are paired with the faces of skulls in the initials (fig. 2-2). The König Hours also features women gazing into mirrors in its illuminations for the Office for the Dead. Another mirror-gazer depicted in the manuscript reflects the fleshliness of the activity: in a bas-de-page in the Hours of the Cross, an ape gazes into a circular mirror (fig. 2-3).

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15 See Catherine M. Müller, *Marguerite Porete et Marguerite d'Oingt de l'autre côté du miroir* (New York: P. Lang, 1999) for an in-depth analysis of mirror imagery in the works of Marguerite d'Oingt.
16 MHB fol. 51v.
17 MHB fols. 103v–104r. Mirrors also appear on MHM fols. 20r, 32r, 61r, 62v, and 72r.
18 KH fols. 150r and 160r.
19 KH fol. 245r.
The animal is restrained by a collar and chain, representing its attachment to sensuality and sin.\textsuperscript{20}

Seated prominently in the bas-de-page, the mirror-gazing ape acts as the negative counterpart of the diminutive woman kneeling in prayer in the small initial above.

This overwhelmingly negative iconographic tradition presents a challenge to depicting the more positive aspects of mirror-gazing. An illumination in the Bute Psalter echoes the vision of Marguerite d’Oingt in drawing a parallel between the two faces of an open book and the twin surfaces of an open bivalve mirror (fig. 2-4). Here, in a confrontational frontal composition, a woman in the bas-de-page holds a bivalve mirror open in one hand while framing her face with the fingers of the other. This illumination combines the mirror’s two major, although in many ways opposing, strands of significance during the Middle Ages: it was at once a symbol of vanity and lust and an instrument of knowledge, light, wisdom, and purity. While the woman’s gesture towards her face might suggest a commentary on female vanity, the pairing of this figure with the opening of Psalm 26, “Dominus illuminatio mea” (The Lord is my light), activates the productive, contemplative implications of mirror-gazing.\textsuperscript{21}

An illumination in the de Lisle Hours, made for Margaret de Beauchamp, also posits the mirror as a site for the potential contemplation of God: the representation of boyhood in the Ages of Man cycle shows a young man combing his hair before a hand-held mirror (fig. 2-5). A woman, possibly a personification of Reason, asks him, “Kay remines tu beu pire” (What do you trace of God the Father?), and the boy replies, “Si Iesu beus ea line” (I am descended from beautiful Jesus).\textsuperscript{22}

The act of self-admiration can be infused with pious significance if the aim of the viewer is to seek out traces of the divine in himself. A miniature in the de Lisle Psalter, however, made for Margaret

\textsuperscript{20} H. W. Janson, \textit{Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance} (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952), 147–148.


\textsuperscript{22} Transcribed and translated in Sand, “The Fairest of Them All,” 539.
de Beauchamp’s husband, Robert de Lisle, shows a similar mirror-gazer in a more negative light (fig. 2-6). As the Ages of Man in the de Lisle Hours may be based on this miniature, it complicates the interpretation of the mirror-gazing boy in Margaret de Beauchamp’s prayer book. In the de Lisle Psalter Wheel of Life miniature, childhood appears again as a young man with a mirror and a comb. The artist of the miniature, the Madonna Master, mistakenly placed this medallion in the second position on the wheel, but the appropriate legend surrounds the third: “Vita decens seculi, speculo probatur” (A life worthy of the world is tested by the mirror). The legend for the following, fourth medallion refers back to the previous: accompanying the image of an older youth hawking on horseback, the legend reads, “Non ymago speculi, sed vita letatur” (Not the mirror’s image, but life itself delights). Alexa Sand interpreted these two medallions in opposition, contrasting contemplative mirror-gazing with the worldly, pleasure-driven activity of the hawking youth. Yet the final medallions, in which the man continues to speak after death, throw both into a wider perspective. The childish mirror-gazing in this cycle is not a naïve spirituality later disrupted by the worldly distractions such as riding and hawking, but rather a gateway into the life of those secular pleasures. In the inscription around the penultimate medallion, the dead man reflects while a cleric performs his funeral mass: “Putavi quod viverem, vita me decepit” (I thought that I would go on living, life has deceived me). He repeats this refrain in the final medallion, which shows his tomb in a graveyard: “Versus sum in cinerem, vita me decepit” (I have been turned into ashes, life has deceived me). The life that has deceived him is the “vita decens seculi” associated with the mirror; the apposition of “seculi” and “speculo” in this earlier legend calls attention to the phonetic similarities of the words and underlines the relationship between the two concepts. The exclusively

24 This and further transcriptions and translations from this manuscript are from Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 147.
secular association of the mirror in the de Lisle Psalter casts a shadow on the potential spiritual reading of the similar image in the de Lisle Hours.

In the de Lisle Hours and Bute Psalter illuminations, the negative iconographic associations of the mirror cannot be dismissed, but rather must co-exist with its spiritual applications. This is appropriate to the context of the illuminated prayer book, which likewise presents dangerous potentials for vanity and cupidity, as Eustache Deschamps shows. In the lavish visual realm of the illuminated prayer book, it is difficult to conceive of a mirror uncomplicated by the dangers of the excessive or inappropriate gaze. The mirror’s double capacity to enable both spiritual and carnal self-regard is at the heart of its significance to illuminated prayer books.

An examination of the devotional owner portrait through the lens of the mirror emphasizes its exemplary role for the reader. In the first part of this chapter, which focuses on the Cambrai Hours, I explore the owner portrait as an exemplary image while revealing and questioning the rhetoric with which that exemplarity is produced. This study also examines the role of the reader’s body within the system of exemplarity: as mirrors, owner portraits engage the reader bodily as well as mentally in the processes of penance and salvation. In the second part of the chapter, on the Margaret Hours, I address the question of the body in the owner portrait, revealing strategies within prayer book illuminations for both engaging and transcending the reader’s physical body. The illuminated prayer book promises more than any actual mirror could provide, and the owner portrait is a means by which the illuminated book could at once co-opt and exceed the mirror’s appeal.

The Exemplary Mirror

The metaphor of the mirror was prominent in medieval literature, frequently evoked in scientific, devotional, and conduct texts from the twelfth century onwards. Herbert Grabes identified two major categories for the mirror metaphor current in medieval book titles. The first is
the “factually informative mirrors,” which claim to present either an accurate or a comprehensive review of their (often expansive) subject, such as St. Edmund of Abingdon’s *Speculum ecclesiae* (1213–14, translated into French as the *Mirour de seinte eglise*) or the *Sachsenspiegel* legal code.²⁶ The second, the “exemplary mirror[s],” utilizes narrative exempla to reveal “the way things should or should not be,” as in the thirteenth-century *Miroir des bonnes femmes* or Durand de Champagne’s *Speculum Dominarum*.²⁷ Some scholars have called upon these metaphors to address aspects of devotional manuscripts. Michael Camille evoked both valences of the mirror in his study of the Luttrell Psalter. While the manuscript presents a “picture of the world,” he argued, it is not a passive reflection: inasmuch as the function of the medieval mirror was to enable viewers to improve themselves intellectually, morally, or spiritually, the manuscript mirror is engaged in “producing, not reflecting, reality.”²⁸ While Camille read the Luttrell Psalter as a mirror of the world, Kathryn A. Smith has interpreted devotional manuscripts such as the Taymouth Hours as a mirror of the self: the illuminated book serves as a devotional tool with the dual capacity to at once reflect and construct appropriate religious behavior, thus honing the viewer’s spiritual and bodily performance of piety.²⁹ Most recently, Alexa Sand has highlighted the relationship between reflexive owner portraits and representations of the Holy Face, which adapted the forms of medieval mirror images.³⁰ My


investigations in this chapter build upon these works, but also test their assumptions, finding meaning in the limits of the mirror metaphor for medieval prayer books.

Within scripture, the mirror was an important metaphor for contemplation of God as well as self. Two verses from the Old and New Testament, respectively, form the basis for much of the subsequent theological discourse on mirrors. The first is from the Book of Wisdom, 7:26: “candor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius” (For she [wisdom] is the brightness of the eternal light and the unspotted mirror of God’s majesty and the image of his goodness). The second is from Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians, 1 Corinthians 13:12: “Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum” (We see [the truth] now through a glass [speculum] in a dark manner, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known). The mirror is a metaphor not only for wisdom, but for God himself and the moment of judgment. As Sand has shown, mirror imagery informs the frontal representations of the Holy Face common within thirteenth- and fourteenth-century prayer books, from the astonishing full-page miniature in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons to the comparatively minuscule initial in the Cambrai Hours (fig. 2-7). The prayer that accompanies the image of the sudarium in the Cambrai manuscript makes the connection explicit, citing 1 Corinthians 13:12:

Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui in memoriam tuam ueronice imaginem in sudario impressam relinquire uoluisti per passionem et crucem tuam tribue nobis (quesumus) ut in ita nunc in terris p[er] speculum et in enigmate uenarari adorare ac honorare ipsum ut facie ad faciem tunc uenientem super nos iudicem securi uideamus.33

Oh, God, who, having sealed us by the light of your countenance, wished to leave as your memorial your image stamped on the veil of Veronica, we ask by your Passion and cross: grant (we beseech) that we, as now on earth we are able to venerate, adore, and honor your

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33 CH fols. 111v–112r, emphasis mine. Text in parentheses added in a later hand.
image] through a glass and in a dark manner, may then safely see it face to face, coming as a judge over us.

Although, as we shall see below, explicit representations of mirrors in medieval prayer books are rarely positive or exemplary, implicit mirror imagery nevertheless suffuses devotional illuminations, tying themes of exemplarity, contemplation, and desire to the act of looking.

If the owner portrait is a mirror, it is far from a passive reflection of pious practice. It is, rather, an exemplary mirror, presenting models of devotion for the attentive study and active emulation of a reader-viewer. A remarkable series of initials in the Cambrai Hours builds on the tradition of the devotee cycle discussed in the previous chapter to present its subject as an active force against sin. Following an image of the Annunciation at Matins, the remaining hours of the Hours of the Virgin open with images of the book owner resisting a series of demonic temptations. As in the examples already addressed, the book owner is recognizable by her lay dress and prayerful pose. In the six surviving initials, the owner figure turns her back on a variety of worldly distractions, directing her attention and her prayers instead towards heaven, represented by a pink and blue cloud in the upper right of each composition. The six initials begin the canonical hours of Lauds through Compline; the seventh, opening Prime, is missing, but likely showed another scene of temptation. Throughout this manuscript’s idiosyncratic illuminations, the figure of the book owner presents a vibrant model for her subject-viewer to emulate.

It might be natural to expect a seven-image temptation series to depict the Seven Deadly Sins, yet the iconography of these initials matches no other examples, contemporary or otherwise. Noting the predominantly material nature of the temptations and the gender of the devotee resisting them, Adelaide Bennett has suggested understanding them as warnings against specifically feminine
faults. In the initial for Lauds, for example, a man with two faces—one human, one demon—attempts to lure the praying woman into bed (fig. 2-8); others tempt the devotee with wealth, food and drink, music, and hawking. The text of the Cambrai Hours is similarly gender-specific, with feminine word forms in numerous Latin and French prayers throughout the manuscript that frame the speaker most often as peccatrix or pecheresse (feminine forms of “sinner”). Sand, on the other hand, has proposed a creative interpretation that does align some of the illuminations with the mortal sins. While Bennett identified the scene at Lauds as one of “adultery,” Sand suggested “sloth,” a mortal sin with particular appeal at the early morning hour at which the prayer would have been said. Whether the temptations depicted in the initials are mortal sins or no, they implicate the pious devotee, even as she resists them. With the temptations in her background, her prayers read as penance for these sins. Bennett characterized the series as “a mirror held up to the beholder, who would have recognized her flaws.” This mirror shows negative and positive models simultaneously, mapping out for the reader her progress from sin to salvation.

Distinguishing themselves, furthermore, from negative associations with idle mirror-gazing, the Cambrai Hours illuminations frame this penitential progression as an active exertion. The repetition of her form in the initials of the Hours of the Virgin as throughout the manuscript represents the devotee in an unwavering performance of piety. The initial beginning the Penitential Psalms, following directly after the Hours of the Virgin, shows the book owner again in an unusual

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34 Bennett, “A Woman’s Power of Prayer,” 99–100. Bennett is currently preparing a full-length study of this manuscript, and I look forward to her findings.
35 CH fols. 43v, 47r, 53v, and 60r.
36 These include Sancta maria mater domini … (CH fols. 107r-108r); O intemerata (fols. 108r-109v); In bnuis igitur … (fol. 109v); Misericordiam tuam quesumus domine… (fol. 112v); a prayer for the elevation of the host, En la presence de uostre saintime cors … (fols. 193v-195v); and the French translation of O intemerata, O tu vierge ententine et coi … (fols. 203r-207r).
37 Bennett, “A Woman’s Power of Prayer,” 92; Sand, Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation, 197–8. For further discussion of these initials and the Seven Deadly Sins, see Doyle, “Visual Pleasure.”
composition (fig. 2-9). The owner kneels outside the initial that opens the first of the seven psalms, Psalm 6. The interior of the initial D(omine) is divided into two registers: the devotee points with one hand to the dungeon of Hell below, where flames rage behind an iron grill; the other hand she extends, palm open, to Christ, who sits enthroned above, leaning benevolently towards his petitioner. Although her plea to Christ indicates that it is only he who can grant her salvation from the torment depicted below, it is she who takes the most dynamic, active pose within the composition, reinforcing her agency within the penitential economy.

The Cambrai Hours owner also appears in the suffrages, where again the mirror provides a model for understanding the role of the owner portrait. Suffrages are short prayers addressed to members of the Trinity or to individual saints, spoken either after the morning hour of Lauds or the evening prayer of Vespers. In accord with the direct and personal tone of the texts, the twenty-six suffrages in the Cambrai Hours are illustrated with paired images of the appropriate saint and a woman in prayer. These paired placements recall Marguerite d’Oingt’s parallel comparisons of her flaws with Christ’s favors. Rather than stress the differences, however, these illuminations emphasize the likeness between devotee and saint, modeling visually the process of imitation that Marguerite’s comparison would have spurred her to pursue. This thirteen-folio section is especially saturated with images of the devotee, who often appears twice in an opening, doubling her image across the page.

On one opening, the kneeling book owner appears twice in prayer before the virgin saints Agnes and Margaret (fig. 2-10). On the left page, the young saint Agnes stands inside a historiated initial, a martyr’s palm in one hand and a closed, red book in the other (fig. 2-11). The devotee kneels just below, on the terminus of the decorative border, bringing her upright body into line with the left edge of the initial. The devotee and the saint connect with a gaze, and Agnes’s book, which she holds away from her body in her right hand, appears as an offering as much as an attribute. The

40 Leroquais, Les livres d’heures, 1:XXI.
closed book of the saint, signifying her wisdom and spiritual authority, recalls the book in which it is depicted, open in the reader-viewer’s hands. On the opposite page, although the text block stands between Saint Margaret and the adoring devotee, their forms still resonate visually with one another (fig. 2-12). In the upper left corner of the page, the praying Margaret bursts through the back of a hairy, winged dragon, her blue robe intact and unsullied by the blood evident on her adversary’s wound. Below, a laywoman in a white dress kneels on the vegetative lower border, raising her hands in prayer towards the saint. Despite her distance, the devotee mirrors the saint not only in her gesture, but in her position: uniquely in this manuscript, the upper portion of the devotee’s body breaks the boundary of the text block, inserting itself between the end of the text and the beginning of the illuminated flourishes that fill out the line. The figure of the devotee bursts into the space of the text just as Margaret erupts out of the malevolent creature that has swallowed her. The mirroring of postures, attributes, and behaviors by saints and devotees in the Suffrages models the mirror relationship of the book to its reader.

The emphasis on reflection and reciprocity in the Suffrages implicates not just the gaze, but the body of the book’s reader. This same bodily intimacy is the currency of the actual mirror image, which alone can represent the immediate appearance of its beholder. In a hand mirror, the embodiedness of the reflected image—which is subject to age, flaws, and change—dissociates it from the static, miniature figures of the carved ivory case (fig. 2-1). The construction of the mirror reinforces this dissociation, as the reflected image appears on the opposite side of the relief carvings. In a way, the diminutive illuminations of praying figures have a similar relationship to their embodied beholders. (This disjunction of scale is perhaps best illustrated in the photographs of manuscripts into which the errant thumbs of librarians and researchers intrude, fig. 2-3.) But whereas the change in scale between the two sides of the ivory-cased mirror disrupts a sense of

equivalence between the ivory and the reflection, the structure of the open book allows the reader-viewer and her representation to inhabit something like the same space: body, hands, parchment, and illumination exist on a spectrum. Moreover, no literal reflection intervenes in the relationship between viewer and miniature: the depicted devotee preempts and replaces a reflected image. This is perhaps most appropriate to the manuscript’s mirror function, as the role of the exemplary manuscript mirror is to show not only what is, but what ought to be.

Despite the visual basis of the mirror metaphor, the work of reflection carried out with a prayer book is internal as well as external. The internal work of self-inspection goes hand-in-hand with the processes of confession and penitence. The rising popularity of prayer books such as psalters and books of hours among lay elites correlates with the increased emphasis on regular confession over the course of the thirteenth century. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 codified the practice of annual confession for all men and women in its twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus.*  

42 Even earlier, however, a genre of pastoral literature had developed to address the needs of confessors and their increasingly penitent parishioners. 43 Dallas G. Denery has argued that these confessional handbooks, or penitentials, taught penitents to see themselves through their confessor’s eyes and to question the relationship between the interior, emotional life and its external manifestations. Penitentials and the practices of confession they espoused instilled new modes of self-examination and self-awareness in later medieval Christians. 44 Denery observed that, in

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replicating privately the interrogative dialogue of confession, “the penitent looked on himself as if he were someone else, not immediately but through the mediation of the confessional representation itself.” Penitential self-reflection splits the penitent self into two aspects: the examiner and the examined. The continual process, moreover, of examining the soul for sin and striving for perfect contrition ultimately frames the self as indefinite, imperfect, and unknown. The self-inspection of the confessional parallels that performed piously before the mirror—and, I argue, before the prayer book.

Owner portraits in the Cambrai Hours thus provided exemplary mirrors for their subject-viewer, modeling not only the physical performance of penance, but its mental processes as well. Yet our awareness of the mirror metaphor as rhetoric forces a re-assessment of the exemplary owner portrait as a rhetorical form. Images of women kneeling in prayer participated in the same gendered rhetoric as the textual references cited above that associate mirrors with female beholders. The overwhelming number of female owner portraits indicates a relatively high rate of use of illuminated prayer books among elite medieval women of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth centuries; this pictorial evidence is supported by other signs of ownership and use, such as gendered language in prayer (as in the Cambrai Hours) and, occasionally, the inclusion of an owner’s name in the text, as in the thirteenth-century book of hours in the Cloisters made for a woman named Marie. Andrea Pearson’s assertion, however, that “men’s likenesses are simply non-existent” in books of hours before 1370 is incorrect. Male devotees appeared regularly in books of hours and

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47 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection L.1990.38; see Bennett, “Hours for Marie.”
48 Andrea G. Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1530: Experience, Authority, Resistance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 63; see also 5n9. Pearson draws her data from a survey of published manuscript catalogs that omits significant collections, such as those in Oxford and Cambridge and the municipal libraries of France.
Specular Devotions  

psalter-hours, especially in those with numerous owner portraits. In the Cambrai Hours, the female devotee represented over one hundred times is joined in four instances by a man, identified by his heraldry as Gauthier de Châtillon d’Autresche. Gauthier was presumably the husband of the Cambrai Hours owner. Although no record of his wife’s name has been uncovered, her own heraldry as depicted in the book suggests that she may have been related to Henri de Louvain, seigneur de Gaesbeck. Despite Gauthier’s presence, however, the illuminations frame his wife as the more expert in matters of devotion and reading. The two appear together beneath the prologue to the Seven Requests to Our Lord. While both kneel in adoration of Christ in the initial above, Christ faces the kneeling woman as he gestures towards a book that rests, closed, on a lectern between the two devotees (fig. 2-13). Christ’s gesture suggests discourse, as if the son of God were delivering the instructions contained in this prefatory text to his devotee personally. On the facing page, in the initial beginning the prayer proper, the kneeling woman has taken and opened the book, and reads from it piously (fig. 2-14). She also appears alone in the subsequent initials of the prayer, modeling active and diligent devotion for the benefit of her illuminated husband as well as her actual reader. As mirror-gazing women might be the models of the type of attentive looking prescribed in Der Welsche Gast, so might reading women set the standard for piety within their own households. As gendered owner portraits reflected female use of devotional manuscripts in general and books of hours in particular, they also shaped their female users into models of devotion themselves. By framing female devotion especially as exemplary, illuminated devotional books transformed their...
actual female readers into mirrors of devotion for their families, encouraging and enabling emulation by their husbands, children, and other relations. We should hesitate to read owner portraits simply as a passive reflection of practice, but rather recognize them as rhetorical devices that participated in shaping that practice from the thirteenth into the fourteenth centuries.

**The Embodied Image**

Medieval mirror rhetoric emphasized the exemplary capacity of the mirror’s image. Yet the embodied quality of an actual reflection posed a danger to the idealized model of the mirror, potentially distracting or detracting from the mirror’s exemplary function. This darker side of the mirror is not absent from literary treatments; rather, it forms a distinct category of references that emphasize the mirror as a medium for desire, vanity, misdirected attention, and unclear vision. In the *Roman de la Rose*, the magical fountain of Narcissus, *li mirouër perilleus* (*the perilous mirror*) enables Amant’s first glance of his beloved, the Rose that, in Guillaume de Lorris’s original text, he will be unable to obtain; a mirror is also an attribute of the character of Oiseuse (Idleness). Desire is the attribute evoked most explicitly on medieval mirrors themselves. Ivory mirror cases or backs, most of which are datable to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, gloss the reflective surface they contain with images of courtship. As *Le miroir de mariage* suggests, mirrors in ivory cases were often courtship or marriage gifts, and their iconography frames heterosexual relationships within a paradigm of male desire and female receptiveness or acquiescence. In his conduct book addressed to young ladies, Geoffrey de la Tour Landry warns against such selfish and Narcissistic gazing in his story of the woman who passed too much of the day in arranging her appearance before her mirror.

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52 Guillaume de Lorris, *Le Roman de la rose*, l. 1569.
As she was constantly late for church, her fellow parishioners asked God to send her a nasty vision, and God obliged: “ainsi comme elle se miroit à celle heure, elle vit à rebours l’ennemy ou mirouer qui lui monstroit son derrière, si lait, si orrible, que la dame issy hors de son sens comme demoniacle” (just at that moment when she was regarding herself, she saw the enemy from the reverse in the mirror showing her his hindquarters, so ugly, so horrible, that the lady left her senses like a demoniac). In Geoffrey’s tale, as in the *Roman de la rose*, the mirror reflects not an exemplary, but a false or misleading image. God miraculously alters the mirror’s image to reflect its subject’s spiritual state, rather than her physical appearance, and it is only by turning away from the mirror that she can repair the state of her soul.

While in literature, these two mirror images—the exemplary and the embodied—can exist separately, visual representations of exemplarity cannot escape its embodiedness, as they necessarily implicate the body of their beholder within their systems of reception and signification. We have already noted the difficulties in representing an exemplary mirror-gazer within the context of a prayer book; in the Bute and de Lisle prayer books, the ambiguous source of the mirror’s image—whether it traces the divine, or provides a fleeting and misleading image of the mortal body—complicates the viewer’s assessment of its significance. This is likewise the case, I argue, for manuscript owner portraits, exemplary images nevertheless tied to the bodily state and performance of their subjects. In the system of specular exemplarity so far described, the relationship between the illuminated figure and the embodied viewer is prescriptive: saint and devotee alike model postures for the viewer’s imitation. Yet we have also seen that, in practice, the relationship of the reader’s body to the images in the book she holds is more complex than simple *imitatio*. If the imitating body is dependent for its form on the images on the page, the images are likewise dependent on the body

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to hold the book and enable their visibility. While this is true for any devotional manuscript, the prayer book I call the “Margaret Hours” articulates this interdependency of body and book explicitly, and provides the vehicle for exploring their relationship and respective roles in salvation. In the Margaret Hours, the owner portrait stands between realms of fleshly and heavenly existence, positioning the female body as the means of transition from one to the other.

The illuminations of the Margaret Hours reflect both sides of the mirror already discussed. While actual mirrors in the hands of the book’s marginal figures warn of the dangers of vanity, distraction, and self-obsession, the over thirty owner portraits serve, like those in the Cambrai Hours, as exemplary mirrors for their reader-viewer. In the Margaret Hours, portraits appear paired with the large historiated initials that open each new section of the book; the image of the book owner in this manuscript is thus tied to those of the adored figures appearing within the initials. This organization evokes parallels between the book owner and other paragons similar to those in the Cambrai Hours Suffrages. Initials with the Virgin Mary especially suggest a mirror relationship between the Virgin and her lay devotee, themselves both mirrors for the viewer (fig. 2-15). Yet the body is a major theme in the illuminations of the Margaret Hours. Most approaches to the manuscript have highlighted the imagery of pregnancy and generation found throughout, whether in the iconography of fish and ovens, the occasional appearance of naked figures, or the carnally generative apes that dominate the marginal imagery. Human and animal bodies appear exposed, distorted, fragmented, and hybridized throughout the book’s illuminated margins. The juxtaposition

of these illuminations with the straightforwardly exemplary images in the center of the page exemplifies the dialectic of the sacred and the fleshly that runs throughout the Margaret Hours. The bawdy marginalia in this manuscript contain the same double significance as the image in the mirror, at once enmeshed in bodily concerns and capable of spiritual elevation.

While parallels between the book owner and female paragons continue in the illuminated Life of Saint Margaret, the narrative focus on the saint’s passion and martyrdom and the cultural associations of Margaret with childbirth further foreground the theme of the body. The text opens verbally and visually with the bodily assumption of Christ, the disappearance of his body from the earthly realm (fig. 2-15). The book owner is also present at the opening page, and while her body does not appear in the subsequent illuminations, the representations of Margaret echo her form. While Margaret’s archaized, youthful dress contrasts with the sumptuous and entirely current costume of the lay devotee, the two are united in their commitment to their devotions and their shared prayerful posture. The illustration of Margaret saying her final words before martyrdom shows her kneeling in the margin of the page, supported by a vine scroll (fig. 2-16). Her plain and humble veil, her halo, and the appearance of the haloed head of God in the margin above distinguish her from the lay devotee. These distinctions are notably absent in the next, final representation of Margaret, which illustrates her martyrdom (fig. 2-17). Margaret’s body lies prostrate in the bas-de-page, her detached head to the right. While the saint retains the gesture of prayer from her previous representation, her attributes are now entirely those of the book owner: she wears a heavy, lined cloak over her robe, and her head, now lacking a halo, is covered with the more complex veil, barbette, and wimple that the book owner wears in the majority of her portraits. The figure is still, nevertheless, that of Saint Margaret: at the right, the Holy Spirit descends from

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59 For a full catalog of images with this text, see Margaret Alison Stones, “Le ms. Troyes 1905, le recueil et ses enluminures,” in *La Vie de sainte Marguerite*, by Wace, ed. Hans-Erich Keller, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 229 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 233–235.
heaven, just as described in the narrative text above. In this image, the boundaries between exemplar
and imitator, subject and reflection, blur.

While the representations of Saint Margaret in the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours
alike evoke the exemplary mirror, the connections between Saint Margaret and the body, specifically
the female body, implicate her in the other, fleshy aspects of the mirror image. Margaret was
venerated throughout the Middle Ages as the protector of pregnant women, as her experience of
bursting from the belly of a dragon was held as a parallel experience to childbirth. This connection
with childbirth is explicit in the Margaret Hours vita: just before her execution, she promises safe
deliveries to pregnant women who remember her during childbirth:

\[
\text{Toi me ci je dieu [et] requier […]} \quad \text{I thank you, God, and request […]}
\]
\[
\text{Que [ue] dame qui soit enceinte} \quad \text{That a woman who is pregnant,
}\]
\[
\text{Puis que ele serra seignie} \quad \text{As long as she receives the sign of benediction
}\]
\[
\text{Du liure ou ma uie sera} \quad \text{From the book that contains my Life
}\]
\[
\text{Et dedenz regarde aura} \quad \text{And looks inside
}\]
\[
\text{Et desus lui metra le liure} \quad \text{And puts the book beneath her
}\]
\[
\text{Que tu sans peril la deliure}\text{\textsuperscript{61}} \quad \text{May you [God] deliver her without danger}
\]

This literary directive was indeed answered with actual practice: in the fifteenth century, physician
Anthonius Gauainerius of Pavia advocated reading Margaret’s vita to parturient women;\textsuperscript{62} and
parchment amulets containing her vita on their folded surfaces testify to a larger body of ephemeral
devotional objects meant to aid in childbirth.\textsuperscript{63} The profusion of regenerative imagery in the

\textsuperscript{61} MHM fols. 129r–129v. For this text, see Stones, “Le ms. Troyes 1905,” 202.
marginal illuminations throughout the Margaret Hours underscores the textual emphasis in the Margaret *vita* on reproduction.\(^{64}\)

The narrative of Margaret’s life frames female bodily experience as a struggle between the devout self and the body—specifically, the uterus. The saint’s iconic confrontation with the demon comes in the course of her torture for resisting the advances of the local lord, Olibrius. While imprisoned by Olibrius, Margaret is visited by two demonic beasts: the first appears and swallows her, but she bursts from his body with the sign of the cross; the second, described in the text as “i. home noir … plus noir que i. egyptyen” (a black man, blacker than an Egyptian), she defeats in debate.\(^{65}\) After these confrontations, a dove descends to crown her and angels comfort her, but promise that she will suffer more before she achieves paradise. Margaret’s two demonic confrontations during her imprisonment recall the temptation of Saint Anthony, who is pictured at the start of this passage in the Margaret Hours.\(^{66}\) As with Anthony, Margaret’s temptations have a corporeal subtext. Jean-Pierre Albert has shown that the womb was popularly conceived of as an animal, specifically a reptile or amphibian: *ex-votos* concerning uterine health were made in the shape of frogs, and a remedy for drawing down the uterus with smoke echoes a method for either attracting snakes to a trap or driving them away.\(^{67}\) In the Margaret Hours, Margaret’s first assailant is described as “dra[gon]” and “serpent,” and the illuminations depict it as a winged dragon (fig. 2-18).\(^{68}\) Margaret’s struggle in her *vita* is a parable for a woman’s relationship with her reproductive organs. This association between Margaret’s dragon and female genitals is particularly visible in the representation of the saint from the Cambrai Hours suffrages (fig. 2-12). Whereas in the Margaret

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\(^{65}\) MHM fol. 123r.

\(^{66}\) MHM fol. 122r.


\(^{68}\) MHM fols. 122r and 122v.
Hours representation, the saint stands on the back of a slight and distinctly reptilian dragon, the Cambrai Hours artist depicts the dragon with a round body covered in brown hair. Margaret emerging from its back in a bloody, vaginal wound completes the parallel between this beast and a woman’s external genitalia. Despite the apparent irony of a virgin saint acting as the patroness of pregnant women, Albert’s reading demonstrates that Margaret’s struggle does not apply exclusively to pregnancy; rather, it models a relationship with the female body that promotes struggle, rejection, and mastery.

The body, in its carnal and its sacred forms, plays a major role in the manuscript beyond the Margaret vita, as well. Throughout the marginal illuminations, human and animal bodies appear exposed, open, fragmented, and generative. The sacred text of the book also emphasizes the body: in addition to the vita of St. Margaret, the Margaret Hours contains an unusual office known as the Hours of the Holy Sacrament or the Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. The focus in this office on the Eucharistic body of Christ is reflected in its marginal illuminations, which both parody and reinforce the focus on the divine body. The illuminations in the margins and initials of this section of the book exemplify the dialectic of the sacred and the fleshly that runs throughout the Margaret Hours.

Sand has argued that medieval mirrors themselves embrace this dialectic: the themes of desire, petition, and struggle commonly depicted on ivory mirror cases correspond to contemporary discourse on lay spirituality. Imagery of courting couples or of the Attack on the Castle of Love thus signals the more serious subject of the struggle for spiritual perfection. Therefore, while Susan L. Smith stressed the role of the mirror in shaping the erotic female gaze, Sand revealed its

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70 Similar images of chivalric struggle also mark the pages of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century devotional manuscripts, as I will discuss in the following chapter. See also Howard Helsinger, “Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters,” The Art Bulletin 53, no. 2 (June 1971): 161–76.
potential for spiritual application. The dialogue between the two themes is even more pronounced in a devotional manuscript, where the spiritual component is both explicit and central, framed in the monumental initials that begin each new section. Michael Camille explored this dialogic relationship between center and margin in his works on marginal art, which featured the Margaret Hours prominently. Camille used the Margaret Hours to develop his concept of the “anti-illustration” or the “anti-image.”

The term “anti-illustration” describes marginal images that respond in some perverse way to text in the center of the page; in Image on the Edge, Camille cited as an example the image of two reclining nude figures engaged in what might appear to be oral sex while a bird penetrates one from behind (fig. 2-19). He interpreted the scene instead as a man “diving back into the womb” in response to the verses of the psalm below, “this man and that man were born in you. The habitation of all delights is within you.” In a related essay stemming from a conference paper, Camille seemed to broaden the category to include images that refer not to specific sections of text, but to the larger spirit or significance of the book. He drew especially on Mikhail Bakhtin’s conceptions of the “carnivalesque,” the topsy-turvy world periodically and cathartically performed within medieval communities, and its attendant “grotesque realism,” which frames the body as at once self-destructive and regenerative: it “is unfinished, outgrows itself, transgresses its own limits.” For Bakhtin, the carnival and the laughter it inspired were equalizing elements in medieval society; for Camille, however, the humor in the margins simultaneously sustains the center’s status

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71 Camille, Image on the Edge, 54; Camille, “Play, Piety and Perversity,” 175, 190.
72 Similar images with birds can be found in FP fol. 42r and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 6, fol. 102v.
73 As translated in Camille, Image on the Edge, 54.
74 Camille, “Play, Piety and Perversity,” 175, 190.
76 “The people’s festive laughter … is also directed at those who laugh;” thus, “all were considered equal during carnival.” Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, 10, 12.
The anti-image is dependent on its centrally-placed referent for meaning; its presence tempers, but ultimately reinforces, the significance of the central image.

This is especially the case in the section of the Margaret Hours devoted to Eucharistic adoration, the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. In its historiated initials, its marginal illuminations, and the representations of the book owner, the Hours of the Holy Sacrament delivers a meditation on the body, in its fleshly and its heavenly forms. The textual emphasis on the Eucharistic body of Christ is reflected in its marginal illuminations, which both parody and reinforce the focus on the divine body. This office is a unique inclusion in prayer books for the laity from this period, and its illustration presented the Margaret Hours illuminator with an iconographical challenge. The artist’s solution is a series of initials comprising an eclectic combination of Old Testament, New Testament, and contemporary scenes, some of which blur the boundaries between these three categories (see Table 1).

Table 1: Historiated Initials in the Hours of the Holy Sacrament (MHM fols. 25r–54r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fol.</th>
<th>Hour</th>
<th>Historiated initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25r</td>
<td>Matins</td>
<td>Sacrifice of Abel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33v</td>
<td>Lauds</td>
<td>Melchisideck at an altar with chalice and wafer, recalling contemporary scenes of the Elevation of the Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38r</td>
<td>Prime</td>
<td>Contemporary scene of oblation recalling Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac in the Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40r</td>
<td>Terce</td>
<td>Contemporary scene of beggars and cripples eating bread, perhaps representing the charitable distribution of food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43r</td>
<td>Sext</td>
<td>Miracle of Manna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45r</td>
<td>Nones</td>
<td>A soldier-king receives communion from Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47v</td>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>Elijah asleep beneath a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51r</td>
<td>Compline</td>
<td>Christ washing the apostles’ feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two themes predominate: sacrifice, as with Abel and the contemporary scene of oblation; and sustenance, both bodily, as with the beggars eating bread, and spiritual, as with the scene of

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78 MHM fols. 25r–54r.
Christ administering communion. The Old Testament scenes of Melchisidek at an altar, the Miracle of Manna, and Elijah asleep represent spiritual as well as bodily sustenance. Melchisidek’s offering of food and drink to Abraham, described in Genesis 14:18–24, was understood as a prefiguration of the Eucharist (fig. 2-20). The image of Elijah asleep comes from the narrative of the prophet’s flight into the desert: he falls asleep under a tree and prepares to die, but instead is fed and comforted by an angel (fig. 2-21). It is unclear why the artist decided to show the youthful Elijah asleep in the moment either before or after receiving his Eucharistic sustenance. Elijah, the prophet, and Melchisidek, the king and high priest, are both prefigurations of Christ, who likewise appears in two of the initials. In the first, enigmatic initial, he administers communion to a soldier-king with no halo (fig. 2-22). His second appearance is a more familiar iconography, the Washing of the Disciples’ Feet: as described in John 13:4–17, this scene from the Last Supper exemplifies Christ’s humility, but also foreshadows the cleansing power of his future sacrifice.

The theme of Eucharistic sustenance recurs in the marginal illuminations accompanying the office. Yet rather than the sacred sustenance of the Manna or Melchisidek’s proto-Eucharistic bread, the images of the production and consumption of food in the margins are decidedly bodily and profane. In addition to the Melchisidek initial, chalices appear in the margins on several pages near the beginning of the office. Two of these four representations involve either the deposit of excrement within or its consumption from the Eucharistic chalices. The first such illumination appears in the hour of Matins: an ape inserts an implement into the rectum of a nude, armless

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81 3 Kings 19:5–6: “Proiecitque se et obdormivit in umbra iuniperi, et ecce: angelus Domini tetigit eum et dixit illi, ‘Surge, et comede.’ Respexit, et ecce: ad caput suum subcinericus panis et vas aquae, comedit ergo et bibit, et rursum obdormivit” (And he cast himself down and slept in the shadow of the juniper tree, and behold: an angel of the Lord touched him and said to him, ‘Arise and eat.’ He looked, and behold: there was at his head a hearth cake [literally, bread baked under the ashes] and a vessel of water, and he ate and drank, and he fell asleep again).
82 MHM fols. 26r, 27r, 28r, and 35r.
human figure and collects the resulting excretion in a silver pitcher, while a hybrid creature waits below with a chalice at its feet (fig. 2-23). The composition of the illumination recalls a medical illustration of the treatment for hemorrhoids, save that the ape physician in the Margaret Hours appears to use a rod rather than a knife (fig. 2-24). The former image appears in the margin beside a hymn from the Corpus Christi liturgy, *Pange lingua gloriosi*, which glorifies both the body and the blood of Christ: “corporis misterium sanguinisque precioso” (the mystery of the body and the precious blood). The illumination to the side graphically echoes this line, as the figure with the deformed body gives up its blood: drops of red liquid flow from the figure’s anus to the open pitcher in the ape’s hand. This illumination might refer to anti-Semitic rhetoric current in the early fourteenth century that characterized Jewish men as especially prone to hemorrhoids, a divine curse equivalent to menstruation visited upon Jewish men for their role in the spilling of Christ’s blood. In contrast to the “precious blood” of the hymn, the blood that the ape collects in its pitcher is doubly tainted by its anal origins and its apparent Jewish nature.

A few pages later, a similar pitcher and chalice appear in the hands of a merry ape, who drinks while sitting atop an oven (fig. 2-25). In the margin below, a second ape bends over to defecate into a second chalice while a woman watches. The text these marginal illuminations accompany, however, does not refer to Eucharistic wine, but rather to the bread as the body of Christ:

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83 London, British Library Harley MS 1585, fol. 9r. I am grateful to Dr. Sarah J. Biggs for publicizing this image and bringing it to my attention. Sarah J. Biggs, Twitter post, June 5, 2014, 4:01 p.m., https://twitter.com/SarahJBiggs/status/474551511691702272.
86 Camille briefly discusses images of women observing defecation or collecting feces: Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 115.
Dominus ih[esu]c in qua nocte tradebatur accepit panem et g[ra]cias agens fregit et dixit accipite et manducate hoc est corpus meum quod pro uobis tradetur (1 Cor. 11:23–24).

Lord Jesus Christ in the night that he was betrayed took the bread and, giving thanks, broke it and said, “Take and eat; this is my body which is given over for you.”

This verse appears a second time in the office, in the evening hour of Vespers, and again the marginal illuminations parody the bodily associations of the Eucharist (fig. 2-26). As an ape in the right margin carries four loaves of bread on a tray on his back, a larger ape in the bas-de-page tends a domed brick oven. Visible emerging from the oven, however, is not more bread, but the hindquarters of a third ape, which the baker prods in the anus, releasing wavy lines that could signify escaping sounds, smells, or gasses. Loaves of bread similar to those on this page appear earlier in the office, on the opening page of Sext, on a table laid for a laywoman and a pair of beaked hybrids.87

Yet the Vespers page makes it clear that the “bread” found in the margins of this office is not the body of Christ, but rather the fecal product of an animal body. This juxtaposition of the textual Host to a parodic illumination echoes actual concerns about the state of the Eucharistic body of Christ within the human digestive system. Lollards in the mid-fourteenth century would revive the heretical Stercoranist argument of the tenth century that Christ’s body was incorporated into (and, thus, defecated out of) the human body like other food.88

Related to concerns regarding the body of Christ falling into the privy was the equally taboo issue of cannibalism inherent in the discourse around the sacrament.89 We can see echoes of these heresies throughout the margins of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament, where animal and hybrid bodies continually swallow, extrude, or penetrate other bodies. Three apes at the bottom of a page in

87 MHM fol. 43r.
89 See Rubin, Corpus Christi, 359–360; Morrison, Excrement, 82.
Matins appear to be simultaneously consuming and producing themselves and each other through their various bodily orifices (fig. 2-27). The ape in the center swallows the arm of the animal on the right, while pressing its anus against that of the one on the left; the ape on the left swivels its head to consume its own body with an open mouth. As this ape turns to face right, the animal opposite holds out its remaining hand with the palm open, as if offering a plea. The bodies of these apes grow into and out of each other, their corporeal boundaries in a constant state of flux. Rather than the communion of a fallen, mortal body with the perfect body of Christ, this image depicts the interplay of three Bakhtinian animal bodies with no pretensions to sacrality. Still, in raising the taboo issue of cannibalism in reference to the Eucharist, the illumination evokes the mystical kernel of the sacramental rite; as Miri Rubin notes, the central power of the sacrament lies in “combining the most holy with the most aberrant/abhorrent—an image of the fulness of life-giving, which dwells in the image of utmost transgression.”

At the root of understanding these illuminations in the Margaret Hours are questions of the role of marginal images in Gothic manuscripts and, more broadly, the role of images in devotion. In his recent book on marginal illuminations, Jean Wirth discussed this series of illuminations as evidence that some artists read and understood the texts they adorned. In his view, however, the illuminations reflect a lack of serious devotion on the parts of the illuminator and the future reader alike: “The painter could not have been much more pious than the lady for whom the manuscript was intended, but, unless a cleric kept watch beside him to suggest the naughty interpretations, we must admit that he [the painter] understood the liturgy perfectly.” Wirth, like Camille, recognized the illuminations as a response to the text on the page. In opposition to Camille’s “anti-illustration,”

90 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 360.
91 Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries dans les manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)*, Matériaux pour l’histoire publiés par l’École des chartes 7 (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 32. “Le peintre ne devait pas être beaucoup plus pieux que la dame à laquelle le live était destiné mais, à moins qu’un clerc ait veillé à côté de lui pour lui suggérer les mauvais coups, on admettra qu’il comprenait parfaitement la liturgie.”
however, Wirth denied the images any capacity for spiritual significance. For Camille, on the other hand, the illuminations exemplify the relationship between center and margin in medieval representation, in which the “consciously constructed signs of incoherence and disorder on the edges [are] crucial to the construction of coherence and order at the centre.”92 In other words, center and margin in the Margaret Hours have a reciprocal relationship: not only do the marginal images draw their own form and meaning from the page’s textual center, but they in turn elucidate and amplify the significance of the sacred text.

The three apes in the Matins section of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament form a visual reference to the text on the page, a reading from Gratian’s *De consecratione*, the third section of the *Decretum*, on the problem of the Eucharist and the unity of the body of Christ:

Sicut namque diuinitas uerbi dei una est que totum implet mundum; ita licet multis locis et innumerabilibus diebus illud corpus consecetur; non sunt tamen multa corpora xpi[st]i nequa[ue] multi calices. sed unum corpus xpi[st]i et un[us] sanguis xpi[st]i. cum illo quod su[m]psit in utero uirginis et quod dedit apostolis.

For just as the divinity of the word of God is one, which fills the whole world, thus, even if that body is consecrated on innumerable days in many places, there are not many bodies of Christ, nor many chalices, but one body of Christ, and one blood of Christ, with that [body] which he took in the womb of the Virgin, and which he gave the apostles.

The three apes below, with their bodily give and take, appear as a pictorial gloss on the learned discourse on the Eucharist above. As such, the image does more than illustrate the text on the page; it also functions as would a textual gloss to juxtapose the present text with another, related concept in order to aid in its understanding or to expand upon its meaning. In conjunction with Gratian’s insistence on one body and one blood of Christ despite the proliferation of Eucharistic bread and wine, the three linked bodies of the apes below evoke the Trinitarian doctrine of *perichoresis* or *circumcessio*, which describes the members of the Trinity as containing one another while nevertheless

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92 Camille, “Play, Piety and Perversity,” 172.
remaining distinct. This doctrine was explicit in the Athanasian Creed (also called *Quicumque vult*), a text included in numerous contemporary prayer books:

Fides autem catholica hac est ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate unerem[ur]
Nequ[ue] confundantes personas, nequ[ue] substantiam separantes. 

Moreover, the catholic faith is this: that we worship one God in the Trinity, and the Trinity in unity
Neither mixing together the persons, nor dividing the substance.

Rather than distract from or undermine the pious reading of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament, the marginal illuminations facilitated and elevated the reader’s engagement with the theological underpinnings of this unusual text.

The Margaret Hours’s embrace of imagery emphasizing the embodiedness of Christian theology parallels the dual capacity of the medieval mirror to reflect the grotesque even while it revealed the ideal. In the mirror of her manuscript, the Margaret Hours reader could see at once the perfect persons of Christ and Mary and the proverbial devil’s bottom inflicted on the vain mirror-gazer in Geoffrey de la Tour Landry’s exemplum. In Geoffrey’s story, the role of the profane image was to turn its viewer away from her distracting vanity and, ultimately, back to the church. In the Margaret Hours, however, attention to the apparently distracting image ultimately leads the viewer back to the focus of the center of the page. Certainly not all marginal illuminations operate in this way, nor is this the only way the Margaret Hours illuminations could have been understood by a contemporary viewer. In a manuscript, as in a mirror, a viewer sees only what she is trained and what she is disposed to see. In this case, the original and fundamentally typological series of initials, the use of the marginal images as a visual gloss, and the inclusion of the unusual text itself all

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95 Quoted from the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 118), f. 176v; of the books within this study, the Creed also appears in the Cambrai Hours, the Amiens Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 10435), the Franciscan Psalter-Hours (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 1076), and the Metz Psalter-Hours (Metz, Bibliothèques-médiathèques MS 1588).
anticipate and indicate an advanced reader of visual as well as textual material. Such a reader is a far more likely audience for this expansive and lavishly illuminated manuscript than the not terribly pious audience imagined by Wirth.

The emphasis on the body in the Margaret Hours is not restricted to the Hours of the Holy Sacrament; as in the microcosm of this office, it is a prominent theme throughout the book. Illuminations in the Office for the Dead call attention to the moldering, mortal body with skeletons and skulls populating the margins and small initials (fig. 4-11), while the texts and images in the Hours of the Holy Cross focus on the suffering body of Christ. In addition to the bodies of holy figures and the bodies of profane apes is the body of the book owner, who appears at the beginning of nearly every new section or hour in the book. Camille, who examined this book through the lens of marginality, discussed the devotee’s body almost exclusively in relation to the “worldly, fragmentary and fleshly” margins; for him, the devotee, too, embodied a Bakhtinian flux, “chang[ing] shape, costume and size, sometimes swelling up larger, sometimes elongated and emptied.” Equally important to understanding this owner’s portraits, however, are the elements of stability in her appearance: she always appears kneeling with her hands together in prayer or holding an open prayer book; and, with the exception of a miniature in which she kneels alone, she always appears in the margin to the right or the left of a large historiated initial (see figs. 2-15, 2-20, 2-21, and 2-22). Although she is situated primarily in the margins, her presence depends more strongly upon that of the adored biblical figures within the large initials. She belongs exclusively to neither

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97 MHB fols. 83r–123v; see below, Chapter Four.
98 MHM fols. 55r–76r.
realm, but rather occupies a liminal zone between the sacred bodies at the center of the page and the profane bodies of the margins. The status of her body is equally unclear: her prayerful posture reflects that of the living reader and imbues her form with qualities of immediacy and embodiedness; at the same time, however, the static nature of her pose and her close relationship with the figures of biblical history lend her figure memorial overtones. The painted body of the book owner, therefore, exists not only between the spatial zones of the page, but also between the temporal realm of the living reader and the imagined kingdom beyond.

The book owner’s appearances in the Hours of the Holy Cross especially draw attention to the status of her body in the margin. As Christ undergoes the bodily mortification of the Passion in the office’s initials, the body of the book owner moves from the right margin into the left, appearing in the honored dexter position on six of the eight opening pages. On the Matins page, moreover, the book owner appears contained within an ornate marginal miniature with a diapered background in gold, pink, and blue and an architectonic frame akin to the large initial to the right (fig. 2-28). This attention to the status of the mortal body in the Hours of the Holy Cross and the Hours of the Holy Sacrament resonates with the role of the body in salvation and penitential manuals. In the *Mirour de seinte eyglyre*, Edmund of Abingdon wrote that the knowledge of God rests upon the subject’s knowledge of self, both body and soul. The bodily knowledge upon which Edmund insisted is the understanding of the body’s degradation: he writes, “Vus fustes engendree de si grant ordure de s’est hunte a numer e abhominacion a penser. Vus serrez livree a verms pur vus devurer e manger” (You were created from such great filth that it’s shameful to name and an

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100 See below, Chapter Four.
101 This office is variously referred to as the “Hours of the Passion” or the “Long Hours of the Cross.” I refer to it here as the “Hours of the Holy Cross” on the basis of the rubric that introduces it in the Margaret Hours: “Hic incipiunt hore de sancta cruce” (MHM fol. 55r).
102 MHM fols. 55v, 63v, 65v, 67v, 69v, and 74v. She appears in the right margin at the opening of Lauds (MHM fol. 59v) as well as at the opening of Vespers (MHM fol. 71v), where a kneeling layman, presumably her husband, occupies the dexter position.
abomination to consider. You will be delivered to worms for them to devour and eat you). Yet this proper understanding of the nature of the flesh is the basis from which a knowledge of God must be sought. Suzannah Biernoff characterized the penitent Christian’s experience of the flesh as itself a sort of passion that transforms the subject from a state of sin to one of salvation. The subtle emphasis on the book owner’s body in conjunction with the Passion cycle in the Margaret Hours reinforces the important role of the body in salvation.

While these compositional alterations emphasize the owner’s painted body in the Hours of the Holy Cross, the inclusion of an open book in three of the office’s eight portraits further implicates the body of the viewer within the representation. The kneeling devotee holds an open book on three pages in the Hours of the Holy Cross: at Lauds, beside the Buffeting of Christ (fig. 2-29); at Nones, at the Crucifixion; and at Compline, before the Entombment with the anointing of Christ’s body (fig. 2-30). While a book is her attribute in representations throughout the manuscript, the book, like its reader’s body, is particularly emphasized in this office: in the latter two representations the open pages of the book are edged in gold, endowing it with a luminous and reflective surface. These representations track a triadic relationship between the book, the body of its reader, and the body of her savior. Within the context of the Passion cycle, the book recalls Christ’s status as Logos, placing his body symbolically within her hands. Yet the book also resonates with the actual codex in which it appears, an element of *mise-en-abyme* that emphasizes and narrativizes the salvific properties of the prayer book.

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105 MHM fols. 59v, 69v, and 74v.
106 The devotee is depicted twelve times either holding or kneeling beside an open book: MHB fols. 43v, 46v, 60r; MHM fols. 5v, 13v, 45v, 47v, 59v, 69v, 74v, 78r, and 113v.
In the owner portrait accompanying the Buffeting of Christ at Lauds, the book owner holds an open book, but she is not necessarily reading: she directs her gaze across the page to Christ in the initial, not down towards the book in her hands (fig. 2-29). As is standard in depictions of book owners reading, the book is tilted dramatically so that its open face is parallel to the picture plane. Although the owner does not read it, the viewer is invited to try. The two subsequent representations in the Hours of the Holy Cross emphasize the book as display: while the owner figure at Lauds holds the book with her left hand on the left page and her right hand on the right, those at Nones and Compline show the hands in the reverse position, holding the book for display rather than reading (fig. 2-30). The presentation of the object’s visual surface to the manuscript’s actual viewer recalls depictions of mirrors elsewhere in the book, as well as the bivalve mirror of the Bute Psalter (figs. 2-2 and 2-4). Moreover, the shining, gilded pages of these latter two painted books recall Marguerite d’Oingt’s vision of a book with mirrored pages in the hands of Christ. As in Marguerite’s vision, the illumination invites its viewer to discover in its pages the nature of God and the state of her soul. However, the body that the viewer finds in the Margaret Hours—a body that represents at once the living body of its subject and a memorial form that anticipates her death—has no cognate either in Marguerite’s vision or in the surface of an actual mirror. Although manuscript owner portraits adopt in many ways the rhetorical strategies associated with medieval mirror metaphors, mirrors and manuscripts ultimately diverge over the status of the book owner’s painted body.

As in the Cambrai Hours, the rhetoric of the body in the Margaret Hours has a gendered aspect. The concomitance of an emphasis on the embodied image with the representation of a female book owner is no coincidence. As the literary and visual examples in this chapter have shown, the dangers of excessive mirror-gazing, especially of vanity, selfishness, and idleness, were associated rhetorically most frequently with women. By adopting some of its strategies, illuminated
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manuscripts sought not to complement, but to supplant the mirror as an object of the female gaze. Attracting the gaze with a flattering picture of the self which, unlike the image in the mirror, never changes, ages, or dies, the prayer book aimed to divert women’s gazes from the mirror to the shining page. The vibrant and varied illuminations in the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours alike seduce their viewers into the sustained looking necessary for their salvation. In so doing, however, these lavish books create a space for female speculation, imagination, and delight that is at least somewhat ecclesiastically sanctioned. Unlike the female lovers on ivory mirror cases, the illuminated book owners take the active roles in their depicted petitions. These books of hours, thus, ascribe agency to their female readers, even as they seek to control their gaze.

The medieval mirror has proved to be a rich metaphor for the manuscript owner portrait, but every metaphor has its limits. We have so far explored the standard, female owner portrait within its own rhetoric, which, like the rhetoric of the mirror, paints a portrait of gendered use. The manuscripts we turn to in the next chapter, however, break with the typical tropes of the genre to depict men alongside praying women in significant, even equal numbers. An examination of these two further manuscripts will allow us to probe the rhetoric and the reality of gendered use of the devotional book at the turn of the fourteenth century.
The Fractured Mirror
Reading Gendered Performances of Prayer

The mirror model discussed in the previous chapter situates owner portraits within a closed system of reference and reception: it assumes one beholder for one portrait, with one identity shared between them. This model accommodates very well the portraits discussed in the previous chapter: the numerous, repeated images of women in prayer. Yet the illuminations of the Cambrai Hours and the Margaret Hours alike both include devotee figures that fall outside of this description. In the Cambrai Hours, a male devotee joins the female owner in four illuminations (fig. 2-13); the couple’s paired heraldry elsewhere in the book provides another means of representing their relationship. Similarly, one page in the Margaret Hours features a layman kneeling opposite the female owner, while two others pair her with a male child (fig. 2-21). As I suggest for the Cambrai Hours, above, such figures paired with the female devotee position her as the household’s devotional leader. They also provide visual reinforcement of the ways in which textual and other sources indicate books circulated within families. Mothers taught their young children to read with the aid of prayer books, as the illuminations in Marie’s Book of Hours affirm; young women about

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1 CH fols. 71r, 195v, 203r, and 217r.
2 CH fols. 200v, 207v, 208r, 209r, 211r, 212v, 215r, 217r, and 229v. The Châtillon d’Autresche arms also appear on fol. 203r.
3 The layman appears on MHM fol. 71v; the child on MHM fols. 17v and 47v.
to be married received them as gifts from either old or new family members, as was perhaps the case of the Cambrai Hours; a family member might also be willed a prayer book after the death of the owner, so that it became a memento or souvenir of a lost loved one. Beyond their very personal functions, devotional books could serve as material testaments to familial relationships.

The mirror model strains to accommodate a wider audience for a book and its portraits. If images of husbands and children among a book’s portraits suggest that other family members may have been among a manuscript’s audience, how would these readers have interpreted the portraits of women that are, in the cases of the Cambrai Hours and the Margaret Hours, much more prominent in the illuminations? How, moreover, would female readers have received the portrait-type representations of men, children, and other family members, or even monks and nuns? This chapter addresses these questions through a study of two manuscripts featuring numerous portraits of men and women of different generations, families, and social orders. The Franciscan Psalter-Hours balances representations of men and women in prayer while further juxtaposing the lay portrait types to images of Franciscan friars. The two-volume Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, meanwhile, features portraits of its patrons, Joffroy d’Aspremont and Isabelle de Kievraing, alongside members of their family and social circle. I use these two case studies to explore the possibilities of relation to or identification with owner portrait- and devotee-type figures across the boundary lines of social and religious orders, familial affiliation, and, most importantly, gender.

While the conventions of generic portraiture rely on the stability of these divisions, their

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6 Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners,” 748–750.
7 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 1076 (FP) and Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale MS 111 (FH).
8 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 118 (AKP) and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria inv. 1254-3 (AKB).
transgression in the imagination, at least, of a viewer permits the expansion of their function and significance while ultimately reinforcing the social order they inscribe.

Gender is the single identifying characteristic that every owner portrait (or owner portrait type) displays. In the dominant scholarly framework, as we have seen, the representation of a portrait type provides a transparent indication of ownership. Consequently, the preponderance of female figures within owner portraits of this period has engendered a relatively narrow perspective on gender and the illuminated prayer book. However, if gender is considered as a rhetorical device, as is outlined in Chapter Two, owner portraits can reveal a more nuanced and complex history of use. In this chapter, I apply the model of gender as rhetoric to two manuscripts that figure prayer as an activity performed by both women and men, albeit differently. In both of the illuminated books discussed below, gender inflects the depicted performance of prayer, creating distinctions between masculine and feminine devotion. Yet, even as the illuminations inscribe and reinforce distinct gender roles, the availability of both modes for the inspection and emulation of a reader creates the opportunity for their transgression. Examination of owner portraits through the lens of gender reveals the element of performance and the potential for transgression inherent within the devotee type and its reception by readers.

Medieval medical conceptions of gender were guided largely by the Galenic model of sexual difference, which figured female anatomy as an imperfect, inverted permutation of the male.9 As Jacqueline Murray remarked, this oriented male and female not as binary opposites, but as extreme points on a spectrum. Murray charted the relation of this “one sex” model to conceptions of gender in the medieval world, proposing that, through care for their bodies and for their souls, medieval

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people navigated a “sex/gender continuum.” Humoral balance determined a subject’s position on the continuum, with the female side characterized by cold and wet, the male as hot and dry. Murray noted a theme of humoral manipulation in narratives of saints’ lives, in which men and women strive to counterbalance the extreme nature of their own biological states through the application of either hot or cold, wet or dry. Holy men cooled their lust by jumping into frigid water, moving themselves away from the masculine extreme of heat and dryness towards the feminine end of the spectrum. Some holy women, meanwhile, practiced mortification through heat, counteracting their natural coldness. Other women, such as Galla and Wilgefortis, accumulated unusual heat through chastity, resulting in masculine characteristics, such as beard growth. Murray argued that the conception of “sex and gender as mutable … allowed for the accommodation of multiple identities underneath a dominant discourse of binaries.”

Gender inversion was a prominent feature of Carnival and other such feasts throughout medieval Europe. But gender fluidity could also be a source of anxiety, as depictions of transvestism in late medieval literature reveal. As Ad Putter noted, literary representations of knights in drag typically serve to display either the subject’s deserved humiliation or his essential, indomitable masculinity, thus ultimately reinforcing gender difference. Female transvestism, meanwhile, most often functioned as a temporary solution to a narrative dilemma, the resolution of which comes about with the revelation of the cross-dresser’s true identity and the reassertion of

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12 Murray, “One Flesh,” 49. Murray’s account of gender in the Middle Ages echoes Judith Butler’s postmodern formulation of gender as a performed identity wholly detached from a subject’s biological sex. See Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (New York: Routledge, 1990), especially 112.
gendered social order. Valerie Hotchkiss showed that narratives of cross-dressing saints often underscore their protagonists’ hidden femaleness by ironically exposing her to traditionally female situations, such as sexual vulnerability or childcare. Addressing theatrical material, Robert Clark and Claire Sponsler highlighted the pleasure authors, actors, and audiences took in cross-dressing, but also emphasized its status as a transgressive and destabilizing activity that necessitated confinement within the frame of a dramatic performance or narrative arc. The fundamental danger of transvestism, Putter argued, is the threat that, with the collapse of the gender binary, other social orders might follow. Significantly, Clark and Sponsler also discussed “transstatus” performances alongside transgender, investigating transgressions of social order in Robin Hood plays enjoyed by townsfolk and monarchy alike. I shall return to the issue of transstatus reception in my discussion of the images of lay and mendicant devotees in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours below.

In contrast to its constrained treatment in literature, religious and mystical texts draw widely on themes of gender inversion. The motif of Jesus as mother, prevalent from the twelfth century onward, attaches the traditionally feminine qualities of “emotion and nurture” to the savior. The inversion of Christ’s gender allowed for the conceptualization of a more intimate relationship between God and his devotee in line with contemporary conceptions of maternal roles. Conversely, the widespread characterization of the soul as female allowed Christians of either gender to imagine their relationship with the male Christ as the mystical union described in the Song of Songs. While

15 Clark and Sponsler, “Queer Play,” 339.
16 Valerie R. Hotchkiss, Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 25, 28.
Caroline Walker Bynum argued that the motif of the female soul in mystical union with Christ was most characteristic of female writing, she noted that some monks did “describ[e] themselves or their souls as brides of Christ.” Sarah Bromberg has built on this notion to examine possibilities for male reception in the Rothschild Canticles, which had previously been discussed primarily as a book for a female patron. While the manuscript has been discussed primarily in the context of female patronage, Bromberg and others have suggested that it might have had an audience of female and male readers. Bromberg argued that the Rothschild Canticles presents a potential monastic male viewer with a range of gendered and genderless figures, including the sponsa, with which to identify. The manuscript thus invites its readers’ self-identification both within and across categories of identity. Bromberg concluded, “perhaps it is necessary to triangulate between gendered and ungendered readings/viewings to comprehend the complexity of this manuscript.”

I approach the visual programs of the books I discuss in this chapter in a similar way, triangulating between a constellation of represented personal and gender identities and a range of potential reader-viewers to receive them. I argue that the image of a female devotee need not anticipate exclusively female use; rather, like the feminized representation of the soul identified with the mystical sponsa, she frames the performance of prayer as a feminized activity, but does not exclude a male subject from its practice. In my discussion of the Cambrai Hours and the Margaret Hours, I demonstrated that the visual programs employed owner portraits to construct a specifically female piety. The two books I discuss here at once reinforce and resist the notion of a feminized

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21 Bynum, Jesus as Mother, 161.
devotional performance through the incorporation and, often, juxtaposition of lay and monastic male figures within the owner portrait types. Whereas the books discussed so far emphasize women in their owner portraits, the Franciscan Psalter-Hours and the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book portray women and men in relatively equal numbers. The representations of masculine piety alongside the feminine offer distinct models of devotion while at the same time inviting the reader’s participation in either. The performance of gender thus overlays the performance of devotion, and the prayer book provides a private space for transgression and experimentation with both.\(^{25}\) In presenting a range of devotee types for the reader’s emulation and identification, including lay men and women, Franciscan friars, and possibly also nuns, the Franciscan Psalter-Hours invites contemplation of the role of subject positions in prayer. Subtle distinctions between the representations of men and women encourage readers to attend more closely to their own devotional strengths and practices. Moreover, the monastic emphasis recalls the monastic origins of the style of prayer such devotional manuscripts encourage and represent.\(^{26}\) In appropriating monastic styles of prayer, the lay owners and users of psalters and books of hours clothed themselves in monastic practices, if not monastic habits. The Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book similarly juxtaposes masculine and feminine modes of prayer. However, this manuscript draws a stronger distinction between the two in order to explore the potential for a masculine, specifically martial, performance of devotion. In both cases, the prayer book provides a space in which the reader can imaginatively—even transgressively—inhabit a range of subject positions and, through them, negotiate an intimate, personal relationship with the divine.

\(^{25}\) This discussion naturally calls on Judith Butler’s groundbreaking work on gender and performativity. Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

Transcending Gender: The Franciscan Psalter-Hours

The marginal illuminations of this psalter-hours from the region of Thérouanne evoke a chorus of prayer comprising male and female, monastic and lay voices alike. While the manuscript is known as the “Franciscan Psalter-Hours” for its imagery of Saint Francis and Franciscan friars, the prominence of lay devotees, especially in compositions including the saint, suggests that the illuminator anticipated a lay audience. Male and female devotees appear once together in adoration of Saint Francis (fig. 3-18). They appear separately on further pages throughout the manuscript, sometimes joined in their devotions by Franciscan friars. The illuminations of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours illustrate a universal performance of prayer shared across the lines of gender and social orders. Yet while practices of devotion are shared, their results are not equivalent. Praying subjects of different identities demonstrate different spiritual abilities and affinities. The variety of devotee types depicted within this manuscript invites the reader to negotiate his or her own spiritual identity among or between the discrete subject positions presented. As a manuscript with multiple portrait subjects, the Franciscan Psalter-Hours fractures the mirror model with its panoply of figures for the reader’s potential self-identification. These illuminations challenge assumptions concerning devotees as transparent representations of book owners. Owner portrait types in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours do more than simply identify the manuscript’s owner; they permit its reader or readers to expand their devotional practice through access to different modes and models of prayer not only across the boundaries of gender, but across social orders.

The Franciscan Psalter-Hours comprises two manuscript volumes, one in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the other in the Bibliothèque municipale of Marseille.27 The Paris manuscript contains a Thérouanne calendar and a ten-part ferial psalter, while the Marseille volume contains offices and prayers common to a book of hours: the Hours of the Virgin for Rome use, Penitential

27 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 1076 (FP); Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale MS 111 (FH).
Psalms, Litanies, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Office for the Dead, Gradual Psalms, Hours of the Passion, and Suffrages. Although illuminated by different artists, the two volumes are united by their near-identical page layout, duodecimo collation, stylistic similarity, and their shared iconographic themes of Franciscan devotion, animal life, and lay women and men in prayer. The volumes also share a Provençal provenance: the psalter, now in Paris, was known to be in the Aix collection of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc in the early seventeenth century; the hours, meanwhile, have been in the Marseille library at least since Jauffret’s catalog of its holdings, made between 1818 and 1840. The visual and structural unity of the two manuscripts, combined with the evidence of their different workmanship, suggests that this prayer book was conceived of and executed as a two-volume work. The use of the Office for the Dead is attributed to the Hospitallers or Thérouanne, but either use supports the Thérouanne localization suggested by the calendar. The omission of Saint Louis in the calendar, meanwhile, suggests a likely date before his canonization in 1297.

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28 The psalter measures about 195 x 135 mm with a mise-en-page of 115 x about 73 mm. The hours volume measures 188 x 129 mm with a mise-en-page of 113 x 72 mm.
31 While Victor Leroquais, Les livres d’heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1927) 1:XXXIX initially identified the Office for the Dead with Thérouanne use, Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 106, demonstrated its affinity with offices in Hospitallers manuscripts, including the Margaret Hours. In her catalog of Hospitallers manuscripts, Cristina Dondi asserted a use of Thérouanne rather than Hospitallers, but provided no supporting data (nor, incidentally, did her study include the Margaret Hours, which Ottosen also attributes to Hospitallers use). Cristina Dondi, “Hospitaller Liturgical Manuscripts and Early Printed Books,” Revue Mabillon n.s. 14 (vol. 75) (2003): 238.
32 François Avril dates the manuscript to the 1280s, whereas Alison Stones favors the 1290s. Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, L’Art au temps des rois maudits, 308; Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part One, 2013, 2:576.
While the Franciscan emphasis encouraged one author to suggest a monastic patron such as a Poor Clare or a female tertiary, the predominance of lay devotee figures, women and men alike, suggests an elite lay owner with aspirations to mendicant-style devotion. Elizabeth Moore Hunt suggested one such candidate on the basis of the manuscript’s sparse heraldry. Two devotee knights wear ailettes bearing the arms of the kings of Jerusalem (or a cross argent, gold with a silver cross). The presence of the Jerusalem arms accords with the manuscript’s possible Hospitallers flavor. Two further marginal knights carry the arms of Flanders (or a lion rampant sable, a black lion rampant on a gold field), but neither is in prayer. The few other instances of heraldry are apparently fictive; all employ the same blue and gold color scheme. While the heraldry may reflect its owner’s political affiliations rather than identity, Hunt found the inclusion of the Flanders arms suggestive in light of the psalter artist’s work on another illuminated manuscript likely made for a patron in the Flemish court. On the basis of the Flanders heraldry and the female saints of noble backgrounds depicted in the margins of the psalter, Hunt tentatively proposed a female owner from the immediate family of Guy de Dampierre, who was the count of Flanders from 1287 to 1305. Isabelle de Luxembourg, Guy’s second wife, established a Clarissan abbey with him at Beaulieu, near Pettegem.

33 P. Gratien, “Miniatures Franciscaines,” Les Amis de St François 22 (February 1939): 44.
35 FP fols. 58v and 64v.
36 Hunt, Illuminating the Borders, 69. These include blazons of azure a bend or (FP fol. 106r), azure on a chevron sable cotised or seven bezants or (FH fol. 8v), and or a chevron azure (FH fol. 33r).
37 Hunt, Illuminating the Borders, 74. This manuscript is a collection of Arthurian literature, possibly made for Guy de Dampierre’s son, Guillaume de Termonde: New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript library MS 229 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 95. For this manuscript, see Stones, “Illustrations,” 229; Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part One, 2013, 2:550–575, especially 572.
38 Hunt, Illuminating the Borders, 72. Saint Ursula appears twice holding a bow and arrows (FP fols. 51v and 55r). The saint who in a grey habit holding a monstrance, whom Hunt identifies as Elizabeth of Hungary, is more likely Clare of Assisi (FP fols. 130r and 164v); see Gaston Duchet-Suchaux and Michel Pastoureau, La bible et les saints: Guide iconographique (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), s.v. “Claire.” Clare appears again in a brown habit holding a crozier and a book on FP fol. 160r. Frédéric Elsig, “La ridiculisation du système religieux,” in Les marges à drôleries dans les manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350), by Jean Wirth, Matériaux pour l’histoire publiés par l’École des chartes 7 (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 290 interprets Ursula’s presence differently, suggesting that she may be the name saint of the book’s owner.
Isabelle was buried there in 1295, and Guy ten years later. Hunt suggested that the manuscript might have commemorated this foundation. Joseph Billioud, in contrast, proposed an owner with a connection with a Franciscan house within the diocese of Thérouanne on the basis of his localization of the calendar and the Office for the Dead. He suggested that the house of the *cordeliers* in Saint-Omer, founded in 1238, would accord best with the Picard dialect of the manuscript’s French rubrics.

While scholars have been nearly unanimous in attributing the Franciscan Psalter-Hours to a female owner, its illuminations and its texts in fact accommodate multiple potential readers and invite readers to imaginatively enter different subject positions. Among the lay devotees, men and women appear to roughly the same degree across the two books, but women appear in more prominent positions, especially in the hours volume. Sixteen laymen appear in prayer across the two volumes, usually in lay dress, but three times in armor. Praying women appear a total of nineteen times, including in the large initial opening the Penitential Psalms (fig. 3-7). Female devotees also appear in other privileged positions, such as beside representations of the Annunciating Gabriel (fig. 3-11), the Deposition of Christ, and the Virgin and Child (fig. 3-9). This last illumination appears at

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43 FP fols. 102r, 118r (knight), 149r, 153v, and 156r (knight), and FH fols. 14v, 15r, 27A, 29v, 85v, 95v, 112r, 141v, 143r (knight), and 156v (small initial).
44 FP fols. 21r, 66v, 69r, 76r, 148r, and 159v, and FH fols. 3Ar, 16r, 30r, 40r (large initial), 66v, 136v, 138v, 141r (small initial), 141v, 144r, 148v, 151v, 154r, and 156r.
the start of *O intemerata*, which features feminine endings, anticipating a female speaker.\textsuperscript{45} The male devotee receives privileged placement, however, in illuminations featuring Saint Francis. On the page with the double portrait of a man and woman adoring Saint Francis, the man’s figure is larger and more defined than the woman’s (fig. 3-18). He also appears praying directly at Francis’s feet at the start of a section of Psalm 118 (fig. 3-17). Here and elsewhere, mendicant friars also join the laity in their prayers. Monks in grey Franciscan habits with knotted cords appear three times in the psalter and seven times in the hours volume (figs. 3-2, 3-6, 3-17).\textsuperscript{46} Some figures among the women enumerated above may be interpreted as nuns, a possibility I will discuss further below (fig. 3-15). In the analysis that follows, I will address the representations of each figure type within the Franciscan Psalter-Hours. The mendicant, laywomen, and laymen devotees each model a distinct subject position for prayer. As each type employs the visual markers of an owner portrait, the figures invite their viewer to adopt that subject position, not only evoking the diversity of the Christian chorus of prayer, but adding variety to the performance of the individual reader.

Kneeling men, women, friars, and possibly nuns figure throughout the manuscript. Devotees appear on cardinal pages beside initials of holy figures and on otherwise unadorned text pages alike. Women and men, clergy and laity all share the tasks of prayer, and many representations suggest an ideal of equivalence between male and female and lay and clerical devotion. Among the women, men, and friars in prayer, each type appears once across from a large historiated initial: the layman kneels before the initial of David playing the bells opening Psalm 80 (fig. 3-1); a Franciscan friar supplicates before the Visitation in the Hours of the Virgin (fig. 3-2); and a woman kneels beside the Deposition in the Hours of the Passion (fig. 3-3). Praying figures of all types likewise frequently

\textsuperscript{45} FH fols. 151v–153r.

\textsuperscript{46} FP fols. 85r, 159v, and 162r and FH fols. 6r, 8r, 17v (preaching), 21r, 71r, 101v, and 107v. Mary Galway Houston, *Medieval Costume in England & France: The 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1950), 38.
appear in the lower right corner of a page, a visual anchor on an otherwise little illuminated folio (figs. 3-4, 3-5, and 3-6). The formal repetition of the praying figure in the same position (and in others) across both volumes of the book has the effect of flattening the distinctions between them. The illuminations of different figure types in prayer, moreover, represent devotion as an activity at once singular and communal. These representations accord with the variation in the grammatical voice of the manuscript’s text. The text switches frequently between the singular and the plural throughout the book. Within the Hours of the Virgin, for instance, while the opening prayer is an intimate cry in the singular for God to open the speaker’s lips, the psalm that follows is in the first person plural: “Uenite exultemus d[omi]no iubilem[us] deo salutari n[ost]ro” (Come; let us praise the Lord with joy! Let us joyfully sing to God, our saviour; Ps. 94:1). While the text of O intemerata, as noted above, is customized for a female speaker, other prayers, in drawing from biblical sources, reflect masculine and feminine subjects. Yet, despite the repetition in the prayerful figures, certain trends emerge distinct to each figure type. The numerous representations of praying subjects establish subject-specific modes of prayer while simultaneously downplaying the images’ potential functions as markers of ownership. Despite first appearances, the illuminations do not present a parity of prayer; rather different strengths and areas of efficacy distinguish the devotions of each figure type. In the course of his or her own devotions, the reader negotiates this variety of available subject positions, integrating her or his own voice into their chorus of prayer.

The praying laywoman is the most prominent devotee in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, and her representations follow the forms familiar from the other prayer books already discussed. She is

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47 Women appear in this position alongside Psalms 17, 55, the Hours of the Virgin, the Suffrages, and miscellaneous prayers: FP fols. 21r, 69r and FH fols. 30r, 148v, and 154r. Laymen appear in the lower right twice alongside Psalm 118 as well as in the Hours of the Virgin, the commendatio animarum, and the Hours of the Passion: FP fols. 149r, 156r (knight), and FH fols. 14v, 29r, 85v, and 143r (knight). Finally, friars anchor pages in the Hours of the Virgin and the Office for the Dead: FH fols. 21r and 101v.

48 FH fol. 3r.
the only potential portrait figure in the manuscript featured in a large initial. At the opening of the Penitential Psalms, she kneels before an altar draped with a white textile with a multi-color fringe (fig. 3-7). She is as sumptuously adorned as the altar, wearing a blue mantle with gold buttons down the front and gathered false sleeves over a red gown with a white veil and wimple. A golden chalice sits on the altar, while above it a hand emerges from clouds to bless the devotee. Adelaide Bennett noted that the presence of a female devotee at the opening of the Penitential Psalms is a strong indicator of female ownership, remarking that all such occurrences “complement textual evidence for gendered use,” as indeed they do here.49 Yet the text of the first Penitential Psalm, that following the initial of the female devotee, adopts a masculine voice: “Miserere mei q[uonia]m infirmus sum” (Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak; Ps. 6:3).50 To do otherwise would be strange, not only because it would mean altering a biblical text, but also because the speaker here was widely understood to be King David. As the author of the psalms, David appears throughout the large initials of the psalter portion of the Franciscan manuscript. Kneeling at the opening of the Penitential Psalms in the prayer book’s other volume, the female devotee stands as a modern type for the penitent king. Indeed, her initial replicates that opening Psalm 101 in the psalter section, in which David kneels before an altar with a draped chalice and receives a blessing from a heavenly hand (fig. 3-8). As in the slightly earlier Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, this substitution figures the laywoman as an updated and more accessible avatar of David, the original penitent. In the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, the presence of a female devotee at the opening of the Penitential Psalms suggests not necessarily female ownership, but rather the greater applicability and adaptability of the

50 FH fol. 40r.
female penitent type. The female devotee functions as a figure through which any reader could access the appropriate attitude of penitent prayer.

In addition to framing its female devotee as a modern David, the Franciscan Psalter-Hours privileges her with a special relationship with the Virgin Mary. The illumination opening the popular Marian prayer *O intemerata* draws the two women together in an intimate composition (fig. 3-9). The three-line initial *O* frames a seated Virgin and Child. Mary, in a red gown and blue mantle, holds Christ on her lap and offers him a small, green object, perhaps a fig. The devotee kneels in prayer directly to the left of the initial in a blue robe with a white veil and wimple. The visual parallels between the two women create a mirror effect akin to those in the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours. The devotee’s costume, posture, and facial characterization echo those of the Virgin beside her, and her position directly beside the initial on this relatively spare page heightens the intimacy of the encounter. A second illumination in the Hours of the Virgin further asserts a parity between the female supplicant and the Virgin. The hour of Matins opens with a traditional image of the Annunciation (fig. 3-10). In the large initial *D*(omine), Gabriel stands to the right with an empty scroll and points to Mary, who faces him holding a closed book. The marginal illuminations of the following opening echo the iconic scene (fig. 3-11). Gabriel stands in the right margin pointing upwards with one hand and holding a scroll in the other. Here, however, a praying laywoman replaces the Virgin Mary in the lower left margin. The female devotee’s imitation of Mary is so effective that the two are practically interchangeable.

The female devotee’s special relationships with Mary and David seem to empower her to transgress more readily the visual and conceptual boundaries of the page. The illuminations discussed above show her penetrating the space of the large initial and stepping into roles from biblical narrative. The female devotee further transgresses the boundaries of the *mise-en-page* in a marginal illumination beside the suffrage to all saints where the kneeling woman extends her hands
into the text block (fig. 3-12). The exaggerated size of her hands and the length of her reach emphasize her pictorial intrusion. She holds her outstretched hands slightly apart as if accessing the words not through prayer, but through touch. Not only is the female devotee a prevalent figure throughout the book, she is deeply enmeshed within its visual, narrative, and sensory systems. The depiction of women as readers underscores the perception of female intimacy with the form of the book (fig. 3-4). While female readers are not as common in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours as in the Paris-Baltimore Psalter-Hours, the Cambrai Hours, or the Margaret Hours, it is nevertheless striking that, among the lay figures at least, it is only women, never men, who carry or read books.

The female devotees in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours share many similarities with the owner figures of the manuscripts already discussed in this study: they present an accessible model of penance; they are mirrors of and surrogates for the Virgin Mary; and they have an intimate, reflexive relationship with the book in which they appear. Yet their status in the manuscript as one devotee type among several distinguishes this book from those discussed before. While the compositions discussed so far privilege the female devotee, in others she is supplanted or only a secondary figure. Furthermore, elements of the traits that define her are echoed or shared by the other devotee figures. Just as she has a relationship with the Virgin Mary, her male counterpart receives special access to Saint Francis. And, while none of the laymen hold books, they are a prominent attribute of the Franciscan friars that appear throughout the manuscript’s two volumes. The markers of portraiture—prayerful gestures, privileged access, and reflexivity—are scattered among the diverse devotees of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, each capable of reflecting back to the viewer some aspect of his or her self.

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51 Women kneel with books on FP fols. 66v, 76r, and FH fol. 30r. Seated women read on FP fol. 159v and FH fol. 137v.
While the Franciscan Psalter-Hours was most likely made for lay use, the numerous representations of mendicant saints and friars impart a distinctly monastic flavor to the manuscript. Regardless of how one interprets the presence of the arms of Flanders, the illuminations in this book prioritize Franciscan leanings over representations of familial affiliation, setting it apart from heavily heraldic examples such as the Cambrai Hours and, as we shall see, the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book. Francis appears over thirty times across the manuscript’s two volumes, wearing either a grey or a brown habit, most often displaying the stigmata or carrying a closed book. Mendicant saints Clare of Assisi, Dominic, and Peter the Martyr also figure in the illuminations. Franciscan friars in grey or brown habits also appear nine times in the manuscript’s margins. While images of saints are largely collected in the Psalter volume, their followers appear more frequently in the Hours. As noted above, some of these representations have direct equivalents in lay devotee figures. Images of kneeling friars in prayer mirror the anticipated behavior of the manuscript’s reader and provide a positive model for and reflection of the viewer’s performed activity. Other illuminations portray mendicant figures with distinct privileges and expertise. Like the lay devotee type, they invite the reader’s imaginative self-identification and emulation; in so doing, they allow the reader access to the privileges of monastic prayer.

Both major mendicant orders of the thirteenth century, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, prioritized spiritual education and pastoral care. Founded by Francis of Assisi in 1209, the Franciscan Order (or Order of Friars Minor) gained early momentum from Innocent III’s call for

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52 Saint Francis appears on FP fols. 59r, 71r, 75v, 78r, 81v, 87v, 104v, 105v, 108v, 112v, 135v, 141r, 142v (receiving the stigmata), 145v, 151r (with Saint Dominic), 153v, 154r, 156r, 158r, 159v, 161r, 161v, 163r, 165r, 170r, 172r, 173r, and 181r and FH fols. 74r, 139r, and 141v. An additional, unnimbed friar in a brown habit displays the stigmata on FP fol. 113v.

53 Clare of Assisi appears on FP fols. 130r, 160r, and 164v, Dominic on FP fols. 151r (with Francis) and 156r, and Peter the Martyr on FH fol. 24r.
increased preachers and confessors at the Fourth Lateran Council. The order spread quickly through France, with 195 houses founded before 1275, including five in the modern department of the Pas-de-Calais. While Francis’s vision was of a spiritual brotherhood committed to poverty and simplicity, over the course of its first century the order also came to emphasize learnedness and literacy as the path to spiritual perfection. Franciscans and other mendicants were at the forefront of the shift within European Christian spirituality towards an emphasis on introspection, personal responsibility, and an intimate relationship with God. These ideals were manifested in the practices of penance and contrition, for which mendicant preachers, confessors, and advisers provided direct support to the laity. Mendicant authors produced a body of penitential literature to support this new endeavor, literature that by the end of the thirteenth century had become popular with elite lay Christians striving to hone their devotional practice. Deluxe editions or adaptations of spiritual and pastoral texts, like the Franciscan Speculum theologiae or the Somme le roi, written by the Dominican Frère Laurent for Philip III, testify not only to the high value placed on mendicant advice, but also to an increasing attention to practices and processes of devotion among the lay elite. This is the context for the spread of the manuscript owner portrait, which, similarly, guided and promoted its subject-viewers’ self-awareness in their practices of prayer. In the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, images

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56 Şenocak, The Poor and the Perfect, especially 76–143.


of friars go beyond self-inspection to provide lay readers a view, ostensibly, into the devotional practices of monastics.

Franciscan friars appear in a variety of postures and scenarios, including prayer, preaching, and study. Monks appear as devotees, as we have seen, but they also stand more frequently as teachers. Illuminations of Franciscan friars assert their authority on the basis of their connection with the founder of their order as well as the apostolic tradition. In one expanded bas-de-page composition, the image of a friar preaching to a small audience anticipates the image cycle of the Apostles preaching that accompanies the Hours of the Holy Spirit, another office with brief prayers for the canonical hours (figs. 3-13 and 3-14). This image does not invite the viewer’s identification with the preaching friar. Indeed, the reader of this prayer book might have been more likely to see him or herself in the mixed audience listening to the sermon: a woman in a grey mantle is most prominent, sitting in front of a tonsured man in blue and a layman in orange. The variety of listeners suggests the mendicants’ wide-ranging influence and authority.

Books also frequently serve to mark the learnedness and spiritual lineage of Franciscan friars. In contrast to the representations of reading women, few monastic readers use their books in devotion. Francis holds a closed book in fifteen illuminations; a female saint in an all-white habit and Peter the Martyr also hold closed books. Two of the marginal friars likewise carry closed books, an attribute that connects them more with their founder than with images of the book owner as reader. Two reading friars recall representations of reading owners in holding their books open for the viewer’s gaze, yet neither friar appears to be in prayer, as one is seated and the other stands.

59 FP fols. 59r, 71r, 75v, 80r, 81v, 104v (hiding his face), 108v, 111v, 141r, 151r, 156r, 156v, 172r, and 181r, and FH fol. 74r.
60 FP fol. 153r and FH fol. 24r.
61 FP fol. 162r and FH fol. 107v
62 FP fol. 156v and FH fol. 71r. Another reader, a prostrate cleric in a dark robe, turns his open book away from the viewer, hiding its contents (FP fol. 85r).
These varied interactions with books, in combination with other representations presenting friars as supplicants, allow Franciscans in this manuscript’s margins to bridge the categories of lay devotees and saintly intercessors. The authority established in these representations adds extra weight to the representations elsewhere of the friars’ prayers. It also reinforces the efficacy of the psalter-hours itself, which was adapted for lay use from monastic devotional practices and texts. Monastic figures in its margins remind a lay reader of the high standards of devotion to which she or he might aspire.

The potential representation of female monastics offers lay readers further opportunities to imagine themselves in a monastic role. Certain figures among the female devotees already discussed may be interpreted as nuns. While these figures wear dark grey, hooded mantles rather than the particularized habits of the female saints in the psalter volume, the identification is plausible. Eva Schlotheuber stressed nuns’ abilities to improvise their dress within (and sometimes beyond) the relatively loose strictures of the habit. In addition to their clothing, another quality distinguishes the nun-like figures from the manuscript’s other female devotees: their extreme performance of devotion. Many of the figures appear in exaggerated postures of prayer, while others read books. The figure in the margin of Psalm 53, for example, prostrates herself on the vine border, holding a book open before her face (fig. 3-15). As we have already seen, the active use of books in devotion is largely restricted to female devotees. By placing books in the hands of potential nuns, the illuminations of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours further align devotional reading with a more professional practice of prayer. As has already been discussed, the recursive sign of the open book invites the reader’s performative self-identification with the reading figure; the depicted book grants

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63 Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders*, 74, 75; Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 577. Stones identifies the figures on Paris fols. 66v, 76r, 148r, and 159v as nuns. I add the figure cloaked in light grey on Marseille fol. 156r to the list of potential nuns.

64 See, for instance, the saints on FP fols. 130r and 153r.

the reader access to the more learned devotional practice of cloistered women. Even as these figures’ costumes mark them ambiguously as female monastics, their attributes and activities flatten the difference between monastic and lay devotion. The women’s ambiguous costumes, which suggest but do not confirm a cloistered identity, further enable this identification, promoting fluidity between the social orders of laity and clergy and encouraging appropriation of their distinct modes of prayer.

Images of praying friars and, possibly, nuns provide lay readers imaginative access to an alternative subject position from which to direct their prayers. The image of the lay male devotee, I argue, has the capacity to function in the same way. The praying layman appears to have particular devotion and special access to Saint Francis. While Francis most often appears alone in the manuscript’s illuminations, three pages depict him before adoring worshippers, and lay male devotees predominate in each of these compositions. Given the dramatic emphasis on Francis and Franciscan imagery throughout the prayer book’s two volumes, the privileged position of the lay male devotee with respect to the saint raises questions about the relationship between depicted devotees and anticipated owners and readers.

As I note above, sixteen laymen appear in prayer in the illuminations of the Franciscan Psalter-Hours. Three of those appearances are in adoration of Saint Francis. In one, a knight with non-specific heraldry kneels in prayer at the lower right corner of the page, a frequent site, as we have seen, for portrait types in this book (fig. 3-16). The figure’s voluminous chain mail and surcoat grant him a bold silhouette that curves dramatically upwards towards the object of his devotion. Francis, meanwhile, stands towards the top of the opposite margin on top of the small initial C(lamaui) that begins the new section of Psalm 118 (Ps. 118:145–152). Dressed in a grey habit,

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66 Laywomen also appear twice with books: Marseille fols. 30r (in prayer) and 137v (reading).
67 Saint Francis appears with other figures on FP fols. 153v, 156r, 159v (no worshipper; rather, a reading woman), and FH fol. 141v.
Francis holds a closed book in one hand and a staff or walking stick in the other as he eyes the small dragon that has emerged below him from the border’s vine-scrolls. While the composition of this page affords its devotee no special access to or intimacy with the saint, he nevertheless has the distinction of being the only devotee to appear alone before Saint Francis. The next two examples, which pair lay male devotees with Franciscan and female counterparts, also privilege the male devotee by placing him in enviable proximity to the saint.

The first of these images falls a few pages before that with the kneeling knight (fig. 3-17). Francis stands in the upper left margin of the page beside the small initial opening a different section of Psalm 118 (verses 97–104), here displaying the stigmata on his hands, feet, and side. Two devotees, a layman in a pink robe and white cap, and a Franciscan friar, kneel in adoration. Surprisingly, the lay supplicant achieves greater proximity to Saint Francis than the friar of his own order: the diminutive layman kneels in prayer directly behind the saint, while the friar kneels in the bas-de-page, his bare feet overlapping the border. The relative positions of the two devotees echo the third verse of the psalm, “Super omnes docentes me intellexi quia testimonia tua meditatio mea est” (I have understood more than all my teachers because your testimonies are my meditation). The composition of this page suggests that a pious layperson can bypass the learned teachings of mendicant clerics through focused meditation on the stigmata of Saint Francis, a testimony to Christ’s Passion. Its inscribed hierarchy subverts the imagery of authority crafted elsewhere in the manuscript for the Franciscans. The composition underscores the book’s lay sympathies; as a mendicant reader would likely have balked at the reversal. Yet the composition does not reject the monastic devotee. Rather, his position at the bottom of the page provides a visual point of entry into the devotional scene. Both figures provide productive models for a reader, and both invite emulation and identification through their utilization of owner portrait forms.
Another image of devotion to Francis also contrasts the layman’s prayer with that of another (fig. 3-18). A page in the hour of Compline in the Hours of the Passion shows the layman and the laywoman in prayer before Saint Francis, their only appearance together. Francis stands in an initial beginning a collect, the text of which begs intercession from first the Virgin Mary, then John the Evangelist, and finally Francis:


May the glorious Virgin Mary intercede on our behalf we beg of you, Lord Jesus Christ, in your clemency, now and in the hour of our death—she whose soul the sword of sorrow pierced in the hour of your Passion. The devout prayer of blessed John the Apostle and Evangelist recommends [us] to him who, while dying on the cross, commended [John] to his mother, Virgin of virgins. We beg, O Lord, may the splendid merits of our most holy father Francis aid us—he in whose wonderful body the original stigmata of your Passion were renewed.

The composition of the page visualizes the process of intercession evoked in the collect, in which the successful prayers of pious Christians receive the attention and support of an influential saint.

Francis, tonsured, bearded, and gaunt, stands with limbs and grey habit arranged to display his five bleeding wounds, his intercessory credentials. The framing device of the narrow initial I(nterueniat) reinforces the status of Francis’s stigmatized body as the living image of Christ.69 The elaborate, architectonic frame recalls representations of reliquaries and monstrances elsewhere in the manuscript, for instance in the hands of Clare of Assisi.70 The frame rests on the back of a male caryatid, recalling a common motif of Gothic architectural sculpture. The devotees, meanwhile, are oriented on the page in axial reference to the saint. The wimpled woman kneels below in a mauve

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68 FH fol. 141v.
70 FP fols. 130r and 164v.
dress with a blue mantle. The man, meanwhile, kneels in the right margin, wearing a white cap and a more elaborate, vair-lined cloak with open sides pinned below the arms over a gold robe. The male devotee is proportionately the largest figure on the page: positioned across from Francis, he is almost as tall kneeling as the saint is standing. The relatively diminutive woman, in contrast, kneels in the lowest extreme of the left margin.

While the female devotee occupies privileged positions elsewhere in the manuscript, here she appears beneath the image of Saint Francis and, likewise, beneath the debased caryatid supporting the Francis initial. Bent under the initial’s weight, the male figure is bald with a long beard and wears a sheer white garment through which the forms of his arms and legs can be seen. Francis’s bloody right foot overhangs the threshold of the initial, making him appear to step on the man’s head. The composition recalls the figural pedestals common in architectural sculpture that position a diminutive, subjugated figure beneath a standing hero or saint as, for instance, in jambs of the south portal at Chartres, which feature figures of the Apostles standing over the pagan rulers who ordered their deaths.  

The crouching posture of the man and the proximity of Francis’s foot to his face present the figure in an unflattering light. The man’s debasement is confirmed by the vine scroll that grows up and under his tunic, a subtle suggestion of anal penetration. While reminiscent of bawdy imagery from the Margaret Hours, this is one of only a few such images in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, and its presence on such a prominent page is noteworthy.  

The bent and violated body of the elderly man stands in contrast to the perfect body of the saint marked by its five holy wounds. The juxtaposition of the two figures thematizes bodily penetration and permeability, distinguishing between the hidden sites of transgression and the open revelation of God’s image. The placement of the female devotee even further below the caryatid that Francis symbolically conquers colors her

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72 A more graphic image of anal penetration appears on FP fol. 42r.
figure with some of his debasement. The association resonates with the Bakhtinian view of the female body as open and permeable.73

The play of gazes across the page also suggests a division between the upper and the lower registers. While both devotees adore Saint Francis, neither looks at him. The woman’s gaze is directed, instead, up towards the man, while his gaze, in turn, follows an upward trajectory roughly perpendicular to hers. Nor does Francis acknowledge them with his gaze; rather, he looks off to the left, the direction opposite his bodily orientation. The only figure actually to gaze upon the saint is the caryatid, who seems to eye the bloody foot in the corner of his vision. The directed gazes of the figures on the lower half of the page—the kneeling woman and the crouching man—guide the reader’s eye to the male figures in its upper register. The gazes of Francis and his male devotee, meanwhile, diffuse this focus, suggesting they are privy to a spiritual rather than a corporeal vision.74

The upward trajectory of the gazes in the illuminations complements the direction of the text. Thus, as the reading eye travels down the page through the prayer for intercession, the female figure at its conclusion re-directs the viewer’s gaze upward towards the images of enlightenment. The reader’s visual ascent of the page mirrors the anticipated spiritual ascent of the devoted penitent. The illuminations of another contemporary prayer book by the artist of the Cambrai Hours figure intercession quite literally as an ascent of the page, showing a devotee laboriously climbing the foliate border towards the initial, where Mary intercedes with Christ on his behalf (fig. 3-19).75 In the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, Francis, evoked as intercessor in the text of the collect, is the fulcrum on which the devotees’ spiritual ascent rests. His architectonic frame with caryatid pedestal reads at once as a niche (holding a sculpture) and a portal (enclosing a living figure). Just as the initial I is the visual doorway into the text of the intercessory prayer that follows, Francis, the saint who is at once

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73 See above, Chapter Two.
75 The “Ruskin Hours,” Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig IX 3, fol. 45v.
man and image, is the spiritual doorway through which a pious soul might enter heaven. The devotees, on the other hand, evoke stages of meditation and spiritual ascent framed in the paradigm of gender difference. While the woman is aligned with the degraded body of the crouching caryatid, her male counterpart achieves elevation to the level of Saint Francis and access to spiritual vision. Regardless of gender, a viewer approaches the illumination through the perspective of the woman and aspires to that of the man.

The multiplicity of devotee types in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours accommodates a range of viewers and invites them, regardless of gender or social order, to imaginatively assume the practices and abilities embodied within a range of subject positions. Engagement with the different devotee types pictured in the psalter-hours—female and male, lay and monastic—provides a variegated experience of prayer, perhaps an important feature for a reader who expected a lifetime of use out of this book. The distinctions, however, are subtle. As we shall see, the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book differentiates strongly between masculine and feminine practices of devotion. Yet both it and the Franciscan Psalter-Hours flatten distinctions between men and women and between lay and monastic supplicants by making all available to the reader, whomever she or he might be.

**Family Portraits in the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book**

In the books discussed in the last chapter, the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours, laymen in prayer are a barely perceptible presence. In the two-volume Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, in contrast, female and male devotees share the spotlight as co-owners. While the lay

devotees in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours appeared just over a dozen times each, the owners of the
Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book figure over one hundred times throughout the book’s two
volumes. Heraldry on the figures and in the line endings of every page identifies the owner figures as
a married couple, Isabelle de Kievraing and Joffroy III d’Aspremont, her husband. With over eighty
total appearances, Isabelle is the more prominent figure of the two; Joffroy nevertheless makes a
strong showing with at least forty-four representations. Several prominent pages in the book’s
second volume depict the couple as partners in prayer.77 In their double portrait beneath the initial
of the Annunciation that opens the hour of Compline for the Vigil of the Office of the Nativity of
the Virgin, Joffroy and Isabelle kneel in prayer together, their heraldic cloaks still recognizable
beneath the sixteenth-century overpainting (fig. 3-20). Yet stark differences categorize each owner’s
devotional performance. While Isabelle’s portraits conform predominantly to the iconographic
models discussed so far, Joffroy’s constitute a wider range of figure types, many of which enact a
radical departure from the portrait model described in Chapters One and Two. The contrast
between representations of the two owners suggests that the portraits of Isabelle were capable of
providing an exemplary model not only for their subject, but for her husband. It also lays bare the
performative nature of piety and emulation: depictions of exemplary female piety (to which
Isabelle’s portraits conform) provide a model for male and female readers alike, casting male piety
as, to some degree, a performance of femininity. Whether it was both or just one of the two
represented owners who was the primary user of the book, its illuminations would have confronted
that reader constantly with representations of the other. In the ensuing discussion, I address the
capacity of the portraits of Isabelle de Kievraing and, especially, Joffroy d’Aspremont to

Image of the Patron in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth-Century France,” Melbourne Art Journal 6 (2003):
5–24; Margaret M. Manion, The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne:
Macmillan Art Publishing and the National Gallery of Victoria, 2005), 98–203; Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part
Two, 1:60–72.
77 AKH fols. 5v, 11r, and 31v.
accommodate a wider audience than their portrait subjects alone. As the manuscript’s illuminations thematize family, I consider its conception and reception within the Aspremont family, in particular by Joffroy’s heir, Gobert VIII, in the moment of its commission and in the tumultuous years to follow.

The book I refer to as the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book is a two-volume prayer book in which textual and pictorial elements range from typical to idiosyncratic. The first volume, now Bodleian MS Douce 118, contains the psalter (with an eight-part psalm division), preceded by a calendar with saints local to Metz, Verdun, and Toul, and followed by the Canticles, the Athanasian Creed, Litany, and Petitions. The contents of the second volume, now National Gallery of Victoria inv. 1254-3, are more unusual, comprising not the Hours of the Virgin, but the abbreviated offices for five feasts: Christmas and the four major Marian holidays of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, and the Nativity of the Virgin. The prayer book appears to have been designed and executed in two volumes, with the first quires of each (excluding the Calendar) prepared concurrently, likely followed by the Psalter volume, then the abbreviated breviary or “Hours” volume. Alison Stones presented an intriguing hypothesis that the death of Joffroy (along with the majority of the French knighthood) at the Battle of Courtrai in 1302 interrupted the manuscript’s production after the completion of the Psalter volume, with work only resuming on the Hours volume some years later. She stresses, however, the unity of the program

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78 Morgan, “Gendered Devotions,” 8; Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two, 1:71.
79 The Aspremont-Kievraing Hours is part of a small group of contemporary abbreviated breviaries, but its inclusion of the Office for Christmas is unique. Judith H. Oliver, Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c. 1250 – C. 1330) (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988), 1:87.
81 Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two, 1:68–71.
of illuminations between the two volumes, which Margaret Manion attributed to “Nicolaus” or “Nicholas” on the basis of an inscription in the margin of Psalm 118.  

The pictorial emphasis on the heraldry and the figures of the patron family is one feature that unifies the two prayer book volumes. The arms of Aspremont (gules a cross argent; red with a silver or white cross) and Kievraing (or a chief bendy of six argent and gules; a gold field with diagonal silver and red stripes above) are present in dozens of initials and on numerous figures as well as in the line endings of every page. While this heraldic barrage might suggest that the book was created to mark the marriage of Isabelle and Joffroy, the hypothesis sits poorly with the apparent production date of the manuscript. Joffroy and Isabelle were married by 1285, as they appear as husband and wife in Jacques Bretel’s poem *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, which commemorates a tournament held in that year. The illuminations of the prayer book, however, and the other manuscripts attributed to Nicolaus’s atelier suggest a date much closer to the end of the thirteenth century, or perhaps even the first years of the fourteenth. The joined Aspremont and Kievraing arms may have celebrated Joffroy’s attainment of the *seigneurie* of Kievraing after the death of his father-in-law, Nicholas de Kievraing; Joffroy first identified himself as “sires d’Aspremont et de Kievraing” in a charter of 1294. Alternatively, if some of the illumination was carried out after 1302, it may also have served to assert the rights of inheritance of Joffoy’s son, Gobert VIII, whom Mathias Auclair contends was still a minor at the time of his father’s death (see fig. 3-21, Family Tree). The portrait figures in the  

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82 Nicolaus me fecit qui illuminat librum. AKP fol. 142r; Manion, *The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts*, 105, 131; Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two*, 1:70.  
86 Mathias Auclair, “Grandeur et décadence d’une famille seigneuriale lorraine: Le lignage d’Apremont des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle,” *Lutherancia* 10 (2001): 155; Théodore Bernier, “Chronologie historique des seigneurs de Quévrain,” *Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons* 20 (1887): 263 notes that Gobert was elected to the *seigneurie* in 1304. Gobert did retain the *seigneurie* of Kievraing during his lifetime; it then passed to the
manuscript, identified in many cases with either Aspremont or Kievraing heraldry, have primarily been discussed as representations of Joffroy and Isabelle. Stones’s suggestion that the illumination of the Hours section was carried out after Joffroy’s death complicates a straightforward identification of the figures, especially the men. I will return to questions of owner portraits and memorialization further in Chapter Four. However, for the purposes of this discussion, I will continue to assume that owner figures with appropriate heraldry or which lack heraldry altogether would have been understood by contemporary readers primarily as representing Isabelle and Joffroy.

Despite their visual unity, the two volumes of the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours would have had very different uses. The Psalter volume could be used on a daily basis for the recitation of psalms at morning and evening prayers. In contrast, the offices of the Hours volume are specific to Christmas and the four major Marian feasts, and it is possible that this volume was used at most five times a year. The numerous portraits of the patron couple and their extended family prompt the question of who, exactly, is likely to have used the book. In an early catalog entry, Margaret Manion and Vera Vines argued that the presence of feminine word forms in a collect in the Office for the Feast of the Assumption, “suggests that the book may have been primarily designated for use by the lady of the house and her female relatives.” The feminine singular endings, however, were added after the initial book production as an interlinear gloss, providing an alternative, not a replacement, to the text’s standard masculine plural forms. Both text and image alike, therefore, appear to invite the use of varied readers and to exclude none. Manion later reversed

87 AKB fol. 99v. Manion and Vines, Manuscripts in Australian Collections, 175. The endings are feminine singular, not feminine plural, as Manion and Vines report.
her position on the book’s audience, and her latest publication names Joffroy and Isabelle “co-patron[s]” of the book.  

Of the total 167 portrait types in the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours, 106 (63%) represent women while sixty-one (37%) represent men. Of the women, seventy-six (71%) appear in the margins, small initials, and large initials as laywomen in normal clothing; fifteen (14%) wear garments charged with the Aspremont arms, while eight (8%) wear Kievraing heraldic garments; the final seven (7%) are dressed as nuns. While figures in lay garments form the majority of female portrait types, only thirteen of the sixty-one male figures (21%) appear in everyday lay garb. Here, the most common type is instead the armored knight, with heraldry invariably expressed on either costume or equipment. Twenty-eight knights (46% of male portrait figures) bear the Aspremont arms; an additional seven knights (11%) display the arms of Kievraing, while five knights (8%) use the arms of both families—for instance, an Aspremont surcoat and a Kievraing shield (fig. 3-22). One knight in the Psalter section bears the Aspremont arms differenced with a white label, most likely identifying one of Joffroy’s sons.  

An additional five knights appear in bas-de-page jousts with the arms of individuals or families related to Joffroy and Isabelle. One joust refers to conjugal matches the couple made for their children: the knight on the left wears the arms of Guillaume de Dampierre, who was married to Marie d’Aspremont by 1317, while the other wears the arms of the de Bar family, a daughter of which married Joffroy’s heir, Gobert d’Aspremont, in 1296 (see the Aspremont-Kievraing Family Tree, fig. 3-21). The appearance of another knight refers more obliquely to the younger generation’s marital connections. Gaucher de Châtillon, comte de Porcien (or Porcéan), appears twice jousting against a Kievraing knight (fig. 3-23). Gaucher was a

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89 AKP fol. 77r.
90 AKB fol. 29r; Auclair, “Grandeur et décadence,” 147; Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two*, 1:68.
91 AKP fol. 127r and AKB fol. 7r.
prominent local figure, constable of Lorraine from 1284 and constable of France from 1302 until his
death in 1329. His son, Gaucher II, married Marguerite de Dampierre, Guillaume’s sister, in 1305;
while the date of Guillaume’s marriage to Marie d’Aspremont is unclear, it is possible that Joffroy’s
and Isabelle’s daughter was sister-in-law to Gaucher’s son by the time of the manuscript’s
production (fig. 3-21). There may also have been another family connection to Gaucher de
Châtillon, as Joffroy’s brother Thomas was calling himself the seigneur de Chaumont-en-Porcien
from 1295.92 The arms of the final knight, who jousts against a Kievraing contender, are now
illegible due to overpainting.93 The additional two male figure types are clerics, who appear in prayer
with a layman and with a nun, respectively.

The opening pages of both manuscripts feature heraldic owner portraits in border
medallions: on both, a mounted knight equipped with Aspremont armor and barding holds his
hands in prayer in the bottom center medallion, while a woman in a Kievraing garment kneels at a
prie-dieu in the lower right corner.94 These opening pages lay the foundation for identifying laymen
throughout the rest of the book with or without Aspremont arms as Joffroy and laywomen with or
without Kievraing arms as Isabelle. Numerous other permutations among the portrait types are less
clearly identifiable. Joffroy’s dual claim to the seigneuries of Aspremont and Kievraing might form a
basis for identifying the Kievraing knights, too, as portraits of him; however, the appearance of
Kievraing knights alongside Aspremont knights on two cardinal pages suggests otherwise (fig. 3-
23).95 A reader might, however, recognize Joffroy in the figures of the Aspremont knights carrying
shields or pennants emblazoned with the Kievraing arms. One such knight does appear in a
devotional posture: in the bas-de-page beneath Psalm 60, an Aspremont knight kneels in prayer

92 Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Part Two, 1:68.
93 AKB fol. 57r.
94 AKP fol. 7r; AKB fol. 1r.
95 AKP fol. 127r; AKB fol. 7r.
while a Kievraing shield hangs on the tree behind him (fig. 3-22). Others are iconographically more ambiguous; I include them among Joffroy’s portraits here, but address the question further below. Isabelle would have a stronger claim to the Aspremont arms, as it was customary for a woman to adopt her husband’s arms either in addition to or to replace those of her own family, and Jacques Bretel refers to Isabelle as “ma dame daspremont” in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*. It is evident, however, that not all women wearing the Aspremont arms can be identified as Isabelle. One Aspremont woman, shown with a bird and a lure, stands in apparent contrast to pious Isabelle, who kneels at a prie-dieu on the opposite page. Two further paired portraits—one featuring a Kievraing devotee leading an Aspremont women in prayer, and the other pairing two Aspremont women of evidently different ages—suggest that the Aspremont arms signified a range of identities for their female bearers (fig. 1-16). For the purposes of this discussion, I include them as likely depictions of Isabelle. It is thus possible to identify some eighty of the portrait types as Isabelle (excluding “duplicate” laywomen when two are shown together) and some forty-seven as Joffroy. In both cases, the portraits are split evenly between Psalter and Hours volumes.

The vast majority of Isabelle’s portraits correspond to the typical owner portrait type: Isabelle appears kneeling in prayer, whether she is alone or with companions; whether she is kneeling at an altar, at a prie-dieu, or without furniture; whether praying with a book, an image, or neither; and whether or not she is visited by the person to whom she prays. The only exception is the depiction of a laywoman, possibly legible as Isabelle, giving alms to a cripple (fig. 3-27). In the Hours volume, Joffroy’s portraits are similarly formulaic, with variations primarily in his costume, which shifts between heraldic armor and lay clothing. In the Psalter section, in contrast, images

97 AKP fols. 122v–123r.
98 AKB fols. 30r and 41v.
99 AKP fol. 50r.
associated with Joffroy encompass a much broader iconography. Of the twenty-four figures identifiable as Joffroy in the Psalter, only ten are engaged in prayer, while fourteen participate in a variety of other activities that refer to their subject’s courtly social status. While Joffroy’s portraits throughout the Hours volume conform to the standard morphology of owner portraits discussed in Chapter One, figures in the Psalter volume display some semantic fluidity. This fluidity is enabled by the artist’s use of Aspremont and Kievraing heraldry both to identify portrait figures and as a decorative motif throughout the illuminations; heraldry creates the potential to interpret an image as a portrait, but it does not guarantee the accuracy of this interpretation. Many display other strong markers of portraiture, while others, which I term para-portraits, employ ambiguous signs of identity. At the far end of the spectrum are the uses of the Aspremont armorials in contexts that actively prevent identification with Joffroy through their evident parodic or satirical quality. These para-portraits reveal that identity is not a binary proposition; the potential for the identification of an image resides in a spectrum.

The first chapter of this study isolated an iconography of owner portraiture, a series of visual cues that effectively convey identity in the context of prayer book use. Yet the portraits of Joffroy d’Aspremont in his family psalter demonstrate that adherence to this iconography is not the only way to signify identity in a prayer book. Joffroy’s portraits also employ heraldry to signify identity regardless of standard owner portrait iconography. While heraldry reinforces the reflexive self-identification of a devotee portrait (as in fig. 3-20), it replaces the element of reflexive immediacy in Joffroy’s non-standard portraits. Thus, the representations of Joffroy standing in full armor, as in the bas-de-page beneath Psalm 31, rely on heraldry, rather than a set of shared gestures, to signify identity (fig. 3-24). While the presence of heraldry permits this alternative means of signification, it does not explain why Joffroy’s portraits deviate from the standard type. After all, the portraits of Isabelle de Kievraing also employ heraldry, yet a comparatively minuscule proportion diverges from
The typical portrait model. Joffroy’s status as a man—and, moreover, a knight—seems to allow for more freedom in his representation, making him available for parody in a way that Isabelle is not.

Examination of Joffroy’s strictly devotional portraits provides a context for understanding his more divergent para-portraits. Within the range of his potential portraits, Joffroy d’Aspremont most often appears equipped for battle or, more likely, a tournament. Although he sometimes dons the costume of a lay nobleman, he wears armor in thirty-five of his forty-eight portraits (73%). His armor consists of chain mail on his chest, arms, and legs covered by a surcoat emblazoned with the Aspremont arms, a white or silver cross on a red field. His heraldry also appears on his shield as well as on his ailettes, heraldic shoulder elements in leather or textile introduced in the last quarter of the thirteenth century to facilitate identification of knights in combat. Several of Joffroy’s most prominent appearances include his horse, which may also be equipped with Aspremont barding. In his paired portrait with Isabelle beneath the initial with the Adoration of the Magi, Joffroy kneels before in armor, with Isabelle behind in a blue robe with a mauve cloak and white veil and wimple (fig. 3-25). A diminutive squire in a parti-color tunic stands to the left with Joffroy’s sword and horse. Joffroy’s accoutrements of knighthood here balance Isabelle’s attribute of the prie-dieu; like his wife’s liturgical furniture, Joffroy’s horse and sword are tools for performing his socially-mandated role which, through their inclusion in his devotional portraits, also cross over into attributes of identity. In three large initials featuring a portrait of Joffroy, the horse’s head and forelegs emerge from behind the praying knight or he is riding. Joffroy and his steed appear as a unit in the bas-de-page portrait beneath Psalm 36, where knight and horse alike are covered head-to-

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101 AKB fols. 49r, 92v, and 121v. Joffroy appears without his horse in large initials on AKB fols. 66r, 74r, and 134r.
tail with a continuous surface of Aspremont blazonry (fig. 3-26). Two border medallion portraits present a similar effect in miniature.102

Joffroy’s status and experience as a knight appear in these portraits to contribute to his performance of devotion. Reciprocally, his interactions with the divine appear to ordain his knighthood. In the equestrian portrait beneath Psalm 36, a haloed hand makes a gesture of blessing upon the praying knight and his well-equipped steed. A few pages later, Joffroy kneels to receive his emblazoned shield from a divine hand (fig. 3-27). The hand emerges from a verse of Psalm 39, “Ego aut[em] mendicus sum et pauper,” which continues on the next page, “Dominus sollicitus est mei. Auditor meus et protector meus tu es d[eu]s meus ne tardaueris” (But I am a beggar and poor. The Lord is concerned for me. You are my listener and protector; my God, do not delay). This composition appears opposite that of a woman, perhaps Isabelle, giving alms to a kneeling cripple, drawing a parallel between the two transactions. The juxtaposition figures Joffroy as a beggar, installed in his station only by the grace of God. Yet the depiction of the symbol of his familial and chivalric identity being handed down from heaven also validates and reinforces Joffroy’s knightly status. A second, non-devotional portrait similarly depicts Joffroy’s performance of his chivalric status as divinely ordained. In the margin beneath Psalm 117, a gold-helmeted Aspremont knight raises his shield and sword aggressively, although no threat is evident on the page (fig. 3-28). Instead, a hand surrounded by a cruciform halo emerges from the text block above to bless the knight. The silver cross in the hand’s halo echoes those on Joffroy’s shield and surcoat and ties his martial exertions to Christ’s struggle and triumph over sin. Just as the illuminations in the prayer book depict Joffroy’s performance of devotion as informed by his chivalric identity, they likewise depict that identity as divinely determined.

102 AKP fol. 7r; AKB fol. 7r.
This interrelationship between chivalric identity and devotional performance might go some way towards explaining the variety of non-devotional portraits of Joffroy throughout the margins of his family prayer book. The fourteen non-devotional representations of Aspremont men all reference explicitly Joffroy's chivalric status and martial engagement. Joffroy has a martial attitude in eleven of the images. Seven of these show him in an active pose, either swinging his sword or riding his horse with a lowered lance. The remaining four show him standing with his armor and heraldry on display. Although these portraits lack the typical markers of manuscript owner portraits, they resonate with the visual and textual traditions of the Psalter, in which volume the majority appear.

The struggle of the soul against sin is a major theme throughout the psalms. This struggle was often figured in manuscript margins as jousts or stag hunts, especially on psalters’ opening Beatus pages. Joffroy’s depicted performance of knightly masculinity also echoes the model of martial piety embodied by Saint George, who appears three times in the psalter volume (fig. 3-29). Each representation shows George dressed as a late thirteenth-century knight, in armor with surcoat, shield, banner, and ailettes bearing his arms of a red cross on a white field; his halo alone distinguishes the saint from one of Joffroy’s contemporaries. The cult of the soldier martyr Saint George had been growing in the Latin West since the First Crusade. By the time of the Third Crusade in the late twelfth century, his name had become a battle cry for the English soldiers. The appearance of George in the so-called “Martyr’s Portal” of Chartres Cathedral testifies to his importance for French soldiers, too. By the middle of the thirteenth century, when Jacobus de Voragine produced his influential compilation of saints’ lives, later to be known as the Legenda Aurea,

103 Helsinger, “Images on the Beatus Page.”
104 AKP fols. 109v, 119v, and 149v.
George’s Life had three major components: his encounter with the dragon and his subsequent conversion of the Saracen princess and her people; his torture on the wheel and his martyrdom; and his inspiring appearances before the knights of the First Crusade. George’s presence in both the calendar and the litany of the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter confirms his importance for the users of this book.

Joffroy’s heraldry and his other chivalric trappings destabilize the boundary between his visual identity and that of the saint. A fourth image in the manuscript’s margins appears to allude to George’s hagiography. In the margin beneath Psalm 22, a knight stands with his sword over his head, preparing to strike at a dragon before him (fig. 3-30). Images of George slaying the dragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries presented the saint as a miles Christi, a chaste knight of Christ triumphant against a potent symbol of sexuality. While Paul initially used the concept of the miles Christi to distinguish service to God from worldly service, the rhetoric of Crusade ultimately collapsed this distinction, lauding actual soldiers and armies as knights of Christ. Saints such as George and literary figures like Galahad represented the ideal of the miles Christi: chaste, yet active and effective against the enemies of the Christian soul and Christendom itself. The helmeted knight in the Aspremont-Kievraing manuscript, however, bears not the arms of Saint George, but their inverse: a silver cross on a red field, the arms of Aspremont. Without this detail of heraldry, the image would be easily legible as Saint George, especially since the figure of Saint Catherine with her


wheel on the opposite page at once reinforces the hagiographical theme and recalls the circumstances of George’s own martyrdom. The inclusion of the Aspremont arms on the dragon slayer renders the image semiotically ambivalent. The blend of hagiographical and portrait elements prompts the viewer to consider whether Joffroy is depicted in the guise of Saint George, or if it is the other way around. In his marginal representations in the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter, Saint George provides a model of martial piety that informs the portraits of Joffroy, even those without an overtly devotional tone. In appropriating George’s attribute and adapting his heraldry, the figure of Joffroy likewise appropriates the saint’s status as a miles Christi. This comparison, along with the devotional portraits that depict Joffroy with all the trappings of knighthood, elevates the martial endeavors of its chivalric subject from acts of violence to acts of faith. In the very performance of his social role as a knight, Joffroy may be seen to be enacting a type of chivalric piety specific to his gender and social order.

Certain figures depicted with Aspremont arms, however, would appear to undercut the gravity of their purported subject’s station. A second category within the non-devotional portraits promotes a theme of hunting. Two depictions, which overlap with the category of martial portraits, show a knight on horseback charging with a spear and heraldic shield after his quarry, which flees from a hunting dog on the opposite page. The first, beneath Psalm 38, shows a helmeted knight in blue with a Kievraing shield and an Aspremont pennant on his spear pursuing a stag, who runs beneath the initial of Saul anointing David; the second, appearing beneath the Canticle of the Three Children, shows a helmeted knight with an Aspremont shield, but different, perhaps fictive, heraldry on his spear and ailettes riding in pursuit of a rabbit.\footnote{AKP fols. 48r and 172r.} A third, possibly related image shows an Aspremont knight tilting in full tournament armor; his quarry appears to be the rabbit about to be caught by a hunting dog on the opposite page (fig. 3-31). Whether or not they are interpreted as
portraits, these comically over-equipped hunters carrying the Aspremont colors cast a different light on the more neutral depictions of Joffroy in his armor. Although frequently depicted as ready for battle in his portraits and para-portraits, Joffroy rarely faces an actual, combative adversary, nor does he participate in any of the manuscript’s four bas-de-page jousts.

Such representations of knights with Aspremont heraldry edge into parody; others engage in outright satire. A monstrous double of Joffroy sits opposite his equestrian devotional portrait beneath Psalm 36: this figure, a bright red ape with rabbit-like ears, sits astride a lion and holds a pennanted spear as well as an Aspremont shield (fig. 3-32). The visual opposition echoes the text of the psalm, which compares the behavior of the impious with that of the just and faithful: “Quia b[e]n[e]dicentes ei h[e]r[e]ditabunt t[er]ram: maledicentes aut[em] ei disperibunt” (for such as bless him shall inherit the land but such as curse him shall perish). The Aspremont arms also appear in a parody of the bas-de-page jousts, enacted by two hybrids with the torsos of knights on the bodies of dogs.\textsuperscript{111} The blazon of the knight on the left, \textit{azure two chevrons argent}, is unidentified and possibly fictive, but his opponent carries the Aspremont arms.\textsuperscript{112} The placement of the jousts beneath the initial of the fool at Psalm 52 further marks these knights as the grotesque antitheses to the knights celebrated on other cardinal pages. A third illumination uses the Aspremont arms to lampoon both the knighthood and the clergy: a naked and tonsured blue man rides a dog to tilt at a snail with a distaff.\textsuperscript{113}

Each of these illuminations attaches a sign of Joffroy’s identity, the Aspremont arms, to the grotesque figures typical of marginal illumination. Moreover, they appropriate the attributes of his social status. These elements are at odds, however, with the other facets of the images that prevent a

\textsuperscript{111} AKP fol. 60v.
\textsuperscript{113} AKB fol. 12r.
straightforward identification. As their descriptions suggest, these pictures present a nonsensical arrangement of visual signs that resist identification with a single portrait subject. Rather than indicating a portrait, the Aspremont shield in these contexts serves to emphasize those characteristics that most distinguish the marginal grotesques from Joffroy’s model of chivalric piety and prowess. Aspremont blazonry marks these creatures as negative exemplars for the men who carry those arms. The portraits of Joffroy d’Aspremont and their parodies work in tandem to mirror comparative exempla of good and bad behavior for their viewer. Together, the portraits and parodies instruct the viewer in the performance of the specifically masculine role of knight, lord, and soldier and aid the negotiation between social duties and religious obligations. Whether the program was conceived before or after Joffroy’s death in battle, such depictions were likely important for his family in the years directly following 1302. They provided a means to maintain his martial legacy, to model it for his young children (their eldest son had not yet reached his majority), and to ensure their late father’s memorialization and salvation. The social expectations of gender and rank alike inform depictions of Joffroy throughout his family prayer book, including his devotional portraits. Despite their apparent divergence from the typical owner portrait type, Joffroy’s portraits embrace a similarly specular didactic mode, with positive and negative exemplars available for study in his manuscript. The chivalric emphasis in the illuminations of the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours is not only a solution to the problem of representing a male subject within the feminized genre of the owner portrait; it also addresses the specific needs of the Aspremont family at the turn of the fourteenth century.

Examination of Joffroy’s eclectic portraits in the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours likewise sheds light on the depictions of Isabelle in the manuscript and of female book owners in other, contemporary books. While Joffroy’s portraits often differ radically from those of female devotees—including his wife, Isabelle—there are nevertheless significant parallels. Both Isabelle and
Joffroy employ a small set of subject-specific attributes in the performance of their devotions: while Joffroy often prays with his armor, shield, and horse, Isabelle’s devotional tools are her prayer book and prie-dieu. In one of her earliest pictures in the Psalter, a kneeling Isabelle receives a clasped and cloth-bound book from a haloed figure emerging from heavenly clouds (fig. 3-33). This portrait anticipates that of Joffroy receiving the Aspremont shield in the subsequent section of psalms (fig. 3-27). Isabelle’s attributes, although related more explicitly to devotional practice, nevertheless function like Joffroy’s to reveal her social class and obligations. The presence of devotional furniture in her portraits further implies a private domestic space in which Isabelle would have been at leisure to perform her daily prayers. Contemporary devotional manuals for elite women prescribe such an arrangement; some, further, recommend establishing an altar furnished with religious images in the woman’s private room.114 The several representations of Isabelle (and, once, Joffroy) at prayer before an altar (sometimes adorned with different images) might thus have signified either private prayer or prayer in a church. Such practices of rigorous, monastic-style devotion by laywomen depended upon a significant degree of social privilege and leisure; thus, the allusions to such devotional practices in Isabelle’s prayer book serve to assert an elite social identity for its owner. Furthermore, read alongside the representations of Joffroy, Isabelle’s portraits, like those of the unnamed devotees in the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours, reinforce social as well as devotional expectations of women for their viewers.

Moreover, the persistent portraits of Joffroy and Isabelle in their prayer book demonstrate that the audience for owner portraits was wider than the portrait’s single subject. In the case of their shared use of the book, Isabelle and Joffroy would have formed the audience for their own as well as their spouse’s portraits. Yet even for an individual reader, both owner figures stand as devotional exemplars and are available for potential self-identification. This reception would necessarily cross

114 Clark, “Constructing the Female Subject,” 171–172.
gender lines. A male user, whether Joffroy or his son, might have found his performance of prayer reflected in the devotional portraits of Isabelle as well as the Aspremont knight. Indeed, Isabelle’s frequent attribute of a prayer book, as well as her consistently devotional attitude, would have reflected much more strongly the reader’s ongoing devotional efforts. Regardless of gender, a reader of the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours finds a powerful model for devotional reading in Isabelle. Conversely, the rhetoric of spiritual struggle provides an avenue through which a female reader might identify with representations of knights. Indeed, this provides a compelling framework for interpreting the Kievraing knights, who appear prominently in three of the four bas-de-page jousts.\footnote{AKP fol. 127r; AKB fols. 7r and 57r.}

The appearance of a Kievraing knight is puzzling, as Isabelle’s father, Nicholas, was most likely dead by the time of the manuscript’s production and had left no male heirs. Joffroy had assumed his title of seigneur de Kievraing by 1294, but as Joffroy appears in prayer on two of the three joust pages, identification of the Kievraing knights with him seems unlikely. An early reader might have interpreted the jousts as memorials: Nigel Morgan asserts that knights of Kievraing and Châtillon-Porcien likely met on the tournament field, perhaps at Bar-le-Duc during the marriage celebration of Henri de Bar and Eleanor of England in 1294.\footnote{Morgan, “Gendered Devotions,” 8.} Alternatively, a reader such as Isabelle might have interpreted the knight as the continuing force of the Kievraing seigneurie. Isabelle’s ties to her homeland remained strong: the inclusion of Saint Gertrude in the litany of her prayer book attests her continued investment in a Hainault cult during her life in the Lorraine.\footnote{Morgan, “Gendered Devotions,” 8.} In her lifetime, moreover, Isabelle witnessed, and perhaps even directed, the transfer of power between four different seigneurs de Kievraing, each close relations of hers: her father, her husband, her son, and finally her son-in-law (fig. 3-21). Isabelle brought the seigneurie to Joffroy after her father’s death.
and ensured its subsequent inheritance by their son, Gobert. After his death in 1325, the seigneurie left the house of Aspremont, passing instead, through Gobert’s sister Mahaut, to her husband, Simon de Lalaing. Isabelle eventually returned to Kievraing, perhaps after the death of her son Gobert in 1325, when she would have ceded the Aspremont dower property of Dun to her daughter-in-law, Marie de Bar. It is possible that her daughter Mahaut and son-in-law Simon de Lalaing moved to Kievraing at the same time in order for Simon to assume the seigneurie. At Simon’s death in 1333, Mahaut entered the Franciscan abbey at nearby Valenciennes and the title passed to their son, also named Simon. Isabelle died on Candlemas four years later and was buried in the church of her daughter’s religious house; Mahaut and her son were eventually buried there, too, in 1373 and 1386, respectively. Although she did not herself inherit the Kievraing title, Isabelle was in a strong position to guide it through a long period of change. The Kievraing knight, although he may represent no single living person, embodies the continuing line of the Kievraing seigneurie, and asserts a power, relevance, and vitality that Isabelle would work throughout her lifetime to maintain.

This examination of portraits and potential portraits within the Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours demonstrates possibilities for their reception by a mixed audience. The presence of a variety of portraits available for self-identification throughout the manuscript enables, perhaps even encourages self-identification across gender boundaries. Read alongside representations of Isabelle, Joffroy’s portraits present an emphatically masculinized performance of prayer and assert gender difference as a factor in devotional performance. Nevertheless, the parallel presence of both invites

121 Bernier, “Chronologie historique,” 264–266.
the reader to explore a self-identification with either. Even as the portraits of Joffroy and Isabelle assert a gendered performance of prayer, they also undermine it. The illuminations of the Aspremont-Kievaing Prayer Book, like the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, invite a transgressive self-identification across the boundaries of gender and social order. In their explosion of devotees of different types, these manuscripts reveal the owner portrait type to be a complex, even elastic image capable at once of indicating ownership, modeling use, and providing a lens through which readers could negotiate and re-negotiate both their own identities and their relationship with the divine over a lifetime or even generations of use. I address this last condition, the ritual return to the prayer book, in the final chapter on repetition, time, and memory.
Presence and Absence
Portraits in Time and Memory

The quality that distinguishes the owner portraits treated in this study from those in other, contemporary devotional manuscripts is repetition. Some of the most striking and significant owner portraits from this period—for instance, those in the Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons or the Somme le roi commissioned by Jeanne d'Eu—are isolated images: appearing only once within an often lavishly illuminated book, they simultaneously presage and present a single moment of visual clarity for the reader-subject (fig. 4-1). Alexa Sand and others have emphasized that these singular images establish a mirror relationship with their viewer. In contrast, the repetition of owner portraits in the books examined here refracts this initial mirroring, compounding the specular relationship between the image and its subject-beholder. With the repetition of owner portraits, the mirror effect extends throughout the book, reflecting not only the longed-for glimpse of enlightenment, but also the practice or experience of engagement and return that is the key to achieving it. The phenomena examined in the previous chapters, moreover—the construction of feminine and masculine forms of prayer, the evocation of familial and spiritual communities, and the parodies of the portrait subjects—are all enabled and enhanced by the repetition of owner portraits and portrait types. The following chapter explores further some ramifications of repetition. It posits, first, that the capacity

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1 New York, Morgan Library MS M.729, fol. 232v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 6329, fol. 1v.
of a portrait to surprise its subject-viewer adds a further layer to the reader’s experience of the owner portraits, tying them more explicitly to bodily performance than vision. Second, it argues that the repetition of the owner portrait form calls attention to its absence, most notably in the context of funerary sections, anticipating the death of its subject. In inscribing its mortal counterpart’s death, the owner portrait again disrupts the mirror model, as it comes to reflect not only the living, performing body of the reader, but the perfected, resurrected body she would obtain after death.

The Portrait in Time in the Metz Psalter-Hours

Owner portraits repeat, even reverberate throughout a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century psalter-hours from the Franco-Germanic border territory of Metz. The large initial opening the Hours of the Virgin in the Metz Psalter-Hours includes a kneeling female book owner in the composition of the Virgin and Child enthroned, placing the devotee in direct proximity to the addressees of her prayer (fig. 4-2). The two heavenly figures offer a crown to their kneeling supplicant, figuring her moment of spiritual accomplishment after death. In contrast, the manuscript’s forty-eight other representations of kneeling laywomen present not this achievement of their spiritual goal, but the practice of prayer on which it will be founded. Indeed, on the verso of the Matins page, a small initial shows the woman again in prayer (fig. 4-3). Rather than the heavenly audience depicted monumentally on the folio’s recto, an altar marks the devotee’s space as solidly

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terrestrial. In this manuscript, repetition of owner portraits brings variety to their depiction of the practice of prayer: figures appear in different configurations of kneeling or standing, praying, reading, or counting a rosary, with or without an altar. This variety applies a temporal dimension to the representation of the owner, reflecting not only momentary enlightenment, but sustained use. Attention to repetition in the Metz Psalter-Hours portraits reveals an artful balance of presence and, as we shall see, absence that at once resonates with the reader’s lived experience and anticipates her rewards in the hereafter.

The Metz Psalter-Hours is an elaborately illuminated manuscript. Its fine materials, distinctive iconography, and conspicuous use of gold leaf all suggest a deluxe commission for an exacting patron. The first quires of the book are poorly preserved: with the exception of January, the upper portion of each calendar page, containing the Labors of the Months and the Zodiac cycles in roundels, has been removed; following the calendar, an entire quire, likely containing a prefatory cycle, has been cut out of the binding. The Beatus page is also missing. In addition, one bifolio containing the beginning of Psalm 107 was removed from the center of a quire between folios 130 and 131, and one further leaf, containing the beginnings of psalms 112 and 113, was cut out between folios 135 and 136. The fact that these last two removals were likely average text pages testifies to the richness and variety of illumination throughout the manuscript. With the exception of the initial opening Psalm 1, the manuscript’s other large initials and miniatures are intact. The eight-part psalter, which now follows the calendar, is illuminated with a fairly standard cycle including scenes from the life of David along with the Fool at Psalm 52, singing clerics at Psalm 97, and the Trinity at Psalm 109.\footnote{The initials appear on MPH fols. 37v, 53v, 68v, 83r, 101v, 116v, and 134r.} Canticles and the Athanasian Creed follow the psalms. The Hours of the Virgin for Metz use opens with the initial of the owner kneeling before the Virgin and Child about to be crowned by Christ (fig. 4-2). The initials for the hours that follow display scenes from the Passion:
Betrayal, Flagellation, Christ carrying the cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, the preparation of Christ’s body, and finally the Three Maries at the Tomb (figs. 4-6, 4-8, and 4-9).\(^5\) Two further initials open the Penitential Psalms and the Office for the Dead: one François Avril identified as David elevating his soul to God; the other presents a funerary mass.\(^6\)

Laywomen in prayer figure throughout the Metz Psalter-Hours. Twenty-seven female devotees appear in the manuscript’s psalter section.\(^7\) The final sections, meanwhile, which include the Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litany, and Office for the Dead, feature twenty-two.\(^8\) A breakdown of portraits by quire shows that an elevated number of owner portraits correlates with the presence of a large historiated initial: of the nine quires containing three or more portraits, seven also contain large initials (see Table 2, below).\(^9\) Conversely, of the ten quires containing one or more large initials, seven also contain a proliferation of owner portraits. Portraits and initials alike appear more frequently in the manuscript’s final six quires, which contain the Hours. The historiated Matins initial described above posits the female devotee’s close relationship with the Virgin and Child; the frequent repetition of the devotee’s form throughout the subsequent pages reinforces this effect. The Hours of the Virgin also sees the most prominent appearances of the devotee. In addition to her presence inside the Matins initial, the praying laywoman kneels in the margin beside the large initial showing the Crucifixion at the beginning of Sext (fig. 4-6). Christ hangs on a green cross, while the Virgin and John mourn to either side; Mary’s raised hands and the sword positioned over her chest heighten the initial’s affective quality. The forms of the Virgin and the devotee once again echo one another: both cover their blonde hair with identical veils, and the colors of the

\(^5\) MPH fols. 190r, 197r, 201r, 204r, 206v, 209v, 214v.
\(^6\) Fols. 218r and 229r. Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, L’Art au temps des rois maudits, 315.
\(^7\) MPH fols. 1–180.
\(^8\) MPH fols. 183–258.
\(^9\) The initials are those to Psalms 26, 38, 68, and 109, the eight opening the Hours of the Virgin, and the Penitential Psalms.
Virgin’s dress and archaizing cloak are the inverse of the laywoman’s more modern costume. The laywoman’s third major appearance in the Hours of the Virgin is in the bas-de-page miniature at the end of Vespers (fig. 4-7). Here, she kneels on the threshold of the scene to witness Christ’s resurrection from the tomb while the three soldiers sleep below. These three portraits are exceptional within the book, and I will return to them shortly.

The rest of the manuscript’s forty-nine owner portraits lack the prominent placement of these large-scale compositions, adorning instead small initials and margins throughout the text. While the three portraits associated with larger initials or miniatures depict a vision of or audience with the divine, the vast majority of the remaining portraits emphasize the subject’s devotional practice rather than its results (e.g., fig. 4-3). The two exceptions show a heavenly face appearing in
response to the devotee’s prayers. The majority of the manuscript’s owner portraits feature in the small, three-line initials that begin new texts within the book’s larger sections; these account for twenty-eight of the manuscript’s forty-nine female devotees, or 57%. Among the laywomen featured in small initials, seventeen (60%) pray before an altar (which sometimes supports a gold or white cross) while eleven (39%) kneel with an open book; there is some overlap between these two subcategories, with seven women kneeling with open books before altars (e.g., fig. 4-7). While most of the figures in small initials kneel, two sit reading on benches and a third prostrates herself in prayer. A further twelve devotees (24%) kneel, stand, or prostrate themselves in the manuscript’s margins. Five of the marginal women read books, while a closed book is drawn (but not painted) before a sixth. A further six female devotees also appear in the vertically-oriented initials I, usually standing, but sometimes kneeling. While altars and books are the most common attributes of female devotees, five of the forty-nine use or carry rosaries. These are usually portrayed as a simple strand of white beads, but one elaborate example is depicted with beads of different sizes and colors (fig. 4-4).

The haphazard placement of portraits in the Metz Psalter-Hours—and their capacity to surprise a reader in the course of her devotions—distinguishes them from those in other books discussed in this study. In the thirteenth-century psalter-hours now divided between Baltimore and Paris, the owner image repeats at predictable intervals, appearing exclusively at the start of canonical hours in the Hours of the Virgin. Similarly, in the Margaret Hours, the devotee appears with rigorous regularity beside the opening initial of each new text throughout the book (the two exceptions are discussed below). In contrast, portraits in the Metz Psalter-Hours, as in the Franciscan Psalter-Hours discussed in the previous chapter, are scattered throughout the book. In the Metz manuscript, owner portraits appear on initial and text pages alike and occupy various zones

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10 MPH fols. 50v, 86r.
11 MPH fols. 39v (prostration), 54v, and 135v (seated reading).
within the page: the large initial, the small initial, the margin, and the miniature. Whereas the portraits in the Margaret Hours and the Baltimore-Paris prayer book initiate a devotional session, those in the Metz Psalter-Hours interject throughout it. This placement suggests an emphasis on the practice of prayer over its goals. Especially in the Hours of the Virgin, with its higher concentration of owner portraits, those in the small initials and margins stand in contrast to the glorious scene of near-coronation that opens the section. Indeed, the presence of the small portrait initial on the verso of the Matins page provides an immediate corrective to the aspirational composition on the recto. Rather than reiterating its promise, it instead re-orient the reader to her present performance.

The repetition of portraits within the Metz Psalter-Hours also creates variety, as individual illuminations employ a range of different attitudes, attributes, and settings in their compositions. This variety provides another means of calling attention to the reader’s own performance, as the reflexive structure of the owner portrait prompts the reader to compare self and image. The changing details of the owner portraits necessarily either resonate with or stand in contrast to the reader’s ongoing experience, which could conceivably have incorporated all or none of the devotee’s pictorial attributes. Whether resonances or discrepancies, these attributes foreground the reader’s embodied experience of her devotional praxis, calling attention to the physical circumstances of her prayer through invited comparison with the image. As I have argued elsewhere, such images amplify the reader’s multi-sensory engagement with the illuminated book. The open book heighten the awareness of the viewer’s own situation as reader, but other elements likewise call attention to the physical circumstances of her prayer, whether or not they reflect them accurately. The draped altar in certain small initials, for instance, prompts focus on the space of prayer, while the varied surface of the rosary depicted in others calls attention to the sensations of the reader-viewer’s own fingers (figs. 4-3 and 4-4).

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12 Doyle, “Visual Pleasure.”
The various devotional tools, settings, and postures depicted would have been familiar to a devout reader, recalling her experiences of prayer both past or present. As I note in the Introduction, devotional manuals and conduct books advised at least daily prayer. Used to its full potential, the psalter-hours supported prayer seven times daily. Prayer took place both in church and at home, in designated and ad hoc spaces, and with a variety of implements. An illuminated book would have been one of the most expensive of these devotional tools, which could include rosaries, crosses, or small images. The elite reader of this manuscript can be expected to have carried out prayer with any number of these implements and in a variety of settings over the course of her life. Their reference, then, in the repeated owner portraits of the Metz Psalter-Hours expands the temporal field of the book’s illuminations. Images depicting their subjects holding open books play on the immediacy of the reader-viewer’s encounter with them in the open book she holds. In contrast, those that show the devotee engaged in activities other than reading—for instance, praying with a rosary (fig. 4-3)—disrupt the portrait’s reflexive immediacy by attributing to the subject-viewer an activity which she is unlikely to be doing while also holding her open book. Instead, these images look forward or look back to a time when the subject-viewer was or will be doing the related task of saying the rosary or praying at an altar. Thus, not only does repetition of owner portraits echo the reader’s sustained engagement at the moment of viewing, it also reverberates through time. Maurice Bloch argued that ritual makes the past present in the present time. I suggest that the repeated representations of rituals in the Metz Psalter-Hours encompass not only past, but future performances. The fixed image stills and collapses the movement of time, compressing the isolated moments within the bound and clasped volume of the prayer book.

The three major images of the book owner in the Hours of the Virgin underscore the compressed temporality of the repeated portraits. By articulating the temporal extremes of past and

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future, these illuminations bracket her portraits of practice within the larger Christian narrative of
sacrifice and salvation. The opening image of the Virgin and Child enthroned granting the supplicant
a golden crown presents at the outset her wished-for future, the final salvation to which the
Christian reader aspires (fig. 4-2). Later on in her day of prayer, the subject-reader encounters the
historical events underpinning her salvation, witnessing the Crucifixion at the midday hour of Sext
(fig. 4-6) and Christ’s Resurrection in the evening transition between Vespers and Compline (fig. 4-7).
Kneeling outside the frame of the Crucifixion initial, the devotee appears more strongly aligned
with the Virgin Mary. As at Matins, the Virgin’s appearance mirrors that of the devotee across the
page. Blonde curls escaping the sides of their short veils frame their round faces with rosy cheeks
and lips. The Virgin’s raised hands and straight brow suggest her emotional state, which is illustrated
more explicitly through the sword pointed at her chest. The Sword of Sorrow or Compassion refers
to Simeon’s prophesy at the Presentation of Christ in the Temple as related in Luke 2:34-35: “And
Simeon blessed them and said to Mary, his mother, ‘Behold: this child is set for the fall and for the
resurrection of many in Israel and for a sign which shall be contradicted; and thy own soul, a sword
shall pierce, that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed.’”

In this initial, the line the sword
draws from Christ’s bloody side wound to Mary’s body underscores their shared suffering. The
neutral expression of the supplicant, on the other hand, suggests none of Mary’s grief at the
suffering depicted before her. It is the role of the reader-viewer, rather, to bridge the emotional
divide between the figures of the initial and her detached surrogate.

While the devotee at the Crucifixion initial forms a pendant to the Virgin inside the
composition, her form outside the frame is further balanced by the illuminations of the opposite
page, which likewise refer to the historiated initial they face (fig. 4-5). The final collect for Terce,

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14 Carol M. Schuler, “The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-
which begins with another small portrait initial, fills only nine of the page’s nineteen ruled lines; the remainder of the text block contains a miniature of six Jewish men either looking or pointing towards the Crucifixion across the opening. One of the men stands at a remove to the right, pointing at Christ and holding a scroll that reads, “VERE FILIVS DEI” (Truly [he is] the son of God). This miniature is one of only two such compositions in the manuscript; other illuminations adorn initials or occur within the unbounded space of the margins. While the Terce miniature fills the ten unused lines of the text block, other pages with similar text gaps, for example at the end of Prime or Nones, are left empty. The inclusion of a miniature at the transition from Terce to Sext, like the presence of the devotee in the opposite page’s margin, marks it as an important opening. The reader encountering this miniature at the end of her mid-morning prayers looks forward, prompted by the pointing fingers, to the image of the Crucifixion marking Sext. While the inscription within the miniature ostensibly verifies Christ’s identity, its reader should require no such authentication to recognize an image of the Crucifixion. The opposition of her kneeling form to the Jewish men of the miniature underscores her longstanding conviction in contrast to their sudden conversion. The doubling of the devotee’s form across the opening performs a similar function: while the miniature and the initial present singular historical events, the doubled image of prayer that brackets them evokes the subsequent acts of devotion they inspired.

The devotee’s third major appearance falls at the end of the hour of Vespers, in a bas-de-page miniature of the Resurrection (fig. 4-7). Unlike the manuscript’s miniature at the end of Terce, this does not fill a significant empty space on the page; only two lines of the text block remained unused at the end of the section. This miniature, like the other, was not merely a solution to a design challenge, but rather an intentional addition to the visual program of the text. Moreover, like the manuscript’s previous miniature, the Vespers miniature continues and augments the Passion

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15 MPH fols. 200v and 209r.
Presence and Absence  |  157

narrative of the initials. The hour opens with an initial of Christ’s Entombment: Nicodemus anoints Christ’s shrouded body as Mary and John observe to either side (fig. 4-8). The dead Christ rests on the lip of a dark green tomb edged in gold with a trefoil cutout at its base. Returning to the miniature at the end of the hour, the same dark green tomb fills the lower register of the composition, its lid now cast off and propped upright between the devotee and the resurrected Christ. Christ emerges from the tomb, having discarded his white shroud (now draped over its sides) for a gold cloak and cruciform staff. The devotee kneels in prayer to the left; her body overlaps the vertical border of the miniature while the lower border extends beyond it, acting as a ground line for her form. An angel appears in a cloud at the upper right, and three soldiers, wearing surcoats of blue or rose over chain mail armor, sleep in the foreground. Although divided compositionally by the lid of the sepulchre, the devotee and Christ gaze directly at one another, his sign of blessing answering her gesture of prayer. Both are united by their liminality: the woman on the edge of the frame and Christ just emerging from the unseen recess of his tomb. Although physically separated, the two share a connection that recalls the intimacy of the Matins initial with the devotee’s imminent coronation.

Presence is the dominant theme of the final page of Vespers. In the miniature, the devotee is present before Christ, who is miraculously present after his death. In the page’s other illuminations, small initials beginning the hour’s collects, the devotee is doubly—perhaps triply—present. The uppermost initial, a small \( C \) (oncede), shows a veiled laywoman in a red dress and cloak kneeling before an altar while reading from an open book. The diminutive figure at the top of the text block echoes in miniature her counterpart in the miniature: both kneel with their arms in similar positions to support either reading or prayer; both wear a laywoman’s costume of veil, gown, and cloak delineated with sharp, vertical lines. The vertical emphasis in their clothing, moreover, reinforces their compositional relationship, at the upper and lower extremes of the left border of the text.
block. Between them, completing the vertical axis, another woman stands in the tall and narrow space of an initial I(nfirmitatem). While the woman above, with her kneeling posture and open book, falls readily into the owner portrait category, the characterization of the standing woman is more ambiguous. She stands in profile, facing the text to the right, one hand drawing her light green cloak across her body, the other raised in front of her mouth but now somewhat illegible. Although her veil and wimple match those of the kneeling woman above, the unusual color of her cloak and its position across her body give the standing woman an archaizing appearance: while the contemporary devotee appears consistently in a heavy cloak that falls in straight lines, figures in Biblical narrative scenes, such as the Entombment, all wear light cloaks drawn or fastened across their bodies. Although only ambiguously tied to them, the standing woman unites the two devotees compositionally and completes the column of women stacked along the spine of the text block. Together, the three figures create an axis of women engaged with the material of the page beside them, whether that is the book painted within the book, the actual text of the page, or the image of Christ emerging beneath the text. The devotee’s abundant presence on this page answers and underscores Christ’s miraculous presence on the edge of his tomb.

As Christ’s living presence is the central theme of the Resurrection miniature, his subsequent absence from the tomb is the subject of the narrative’s next composition. The hour that follows, Compline, opens with the image of the Three Maries at the Empty Tomb (fig. 4-9). Appearing on the verso of the Vespers miniature page, the composition echoes and reverses the motives of the preceding two. The tomb is the same shade of green as in the previous two compositions; the trefoil in the Vespers initial reappears, here occupied by the three sleeping knights in precisely the same poses they hold in the miniature on the recto. The upper register of the composition reverses that of the recto miniature: while the devotee knelt at the left, the three Maries now approach from the right; and as Christ climbed out of the tomb at the right, here an angel sits in the tomb on the left.
The propped lid of the tomb still divides the composition’s main figural groups. While the Terce miniature was positioned across the opening from the Sext Crucifixion initial, the Vespers/Compline illuminations do not share an opening. Rather, they are two sides of the same page, viewed not together, but in succession, one image replacing the other at the turn of the page. In the shift from Vespers to Compline, the presence of Christ gives way to his absence, announced by the angel. Similarly, in witnessing Christ’s absence, the three Maries supplant the devotee, the sole female witness to his Resurrection; she does not even appear on the page opposite the initial. The Compline initial is thus a reversal of both the composition and the content of the Vespers miniature: the shared presence of Christ and the book owner is replaced by the conspicuous absence of both.

The complementary themes of the two sides of the page are representative of the deployment of owner types throughout the manuscript’s illuminations. While the owner portraits, taken together, produce a portrait of pious practice conducted over a lifetime, the Vespers/Compline illuminations tie that practice explicitly to the beginning and the end of Christian salvation history. The presence of the devotee before the resurrected Christ in the Vespers miniature at once projects her form backwards in time into biblical history and presages her future meeting with Christ as her judge at the end of time. While the simultaneous presence of Christ and his devotee collapse present and past, their subsequent absence looks forward to the future: to the devotee’s own resurrection and salvation as depicted in the Matins initial. The other owner images also encompass elements of futurity: often appearing at the start of devotional texts, they depict prayer that is not underway, but about to begin. In tying the reader’s present experience of devotion to her memories of past prayers as well as anticipated future worship, these deceptively simple images flatten present, past, and future within the depiction of the ritual moment. Furthermore, in so doing, the Metz Psalter-Hours illuminations link their reader’s lived experience to the continuum
of salvation history. The owner portrait positions its subject as a central player within the Christian narrative, the exemplary soul for whom Christ sacrificed. This trans-historical everyman story, couched in the gendered language of devotion, is at once universal and, through its context within a private devotional book, deeply personal.

The confrontations of the owner figure with first the crucified, then the resurrected Christ in the Metz Psalter-Hours is a confrontation between the present and the past. The use of the Passion cycle to illustrate the Hours of the Virgin has the effect of making the past present on a daily basis for a devout reader of the manuscript. Liège manuscripts with Passion cycles in the Hours of the Virgin sometimes map the events of the Passion onto the hours of Christ’s last day, from the Betrayal at Lauds through his death at Nones to the Entombment at Compline. When presented thus, the Passion is no longer an isolated historical event but a daily recurrence, a living memory. The oscillation of the book owner between states of presence and absence is likewise a daily occurrence. While her visual status is indefinite, the repetition of her form imprints her image onto the reader’s memory, ensuring that her absence is just as meaningful as her presence. In its sporadic repetition of owner portraits, the Metz Psalter-Hours marks the historical presence of its reader while simultaneously presaging her absence through death. The stilled images of past or present practice function simultaneously as a memento mori; in her position as the mimetic imitator of the image, the reader might experience something similar to the “micro-version of death” that Roland Barthes identified in his process of posing for photographs. The perception of oneself as already dead provides a powerful impetus to prayer and penance.

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16 See also Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, 82–119.
17 Oliver, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination*, 92.
For the viewer who does not self-identify with the portrait images, they carry an additional, commemorative function. While I have argued in previous chapters for the broad potential for self-identification within owner portraits, self-identification is not the only context in which an owner portrait image can signify. A reader who inherits a manuscript from a close family member, for example, might associate its owner figures more closely with the book’s previous owner than with her- or himself through knowledge of the book’s past use. Similarly, a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century owner of a thirteenth-century prayer book might fail to self-identify with figures depicted in what had become an antiquated style. Later revisions of owner portraits suggest scenarios in which a later owner found it intolerable not to be able to self-identify with the image. In the mid-thirteenth-century Psalter-Hours of Ghuluy de Boisleux, for example, the original initial of a laywoman adoring the Virgin and Child was overpainted a century later with an updated, Italianate version of the scene.19 The specificity of the book’s two new portraits—the addition of a crown to the head of the kneeling devotee in one and her depiction with a husband, a son, and three daughters in the other—suggests that the absence of these attributes in the older portrait contributed to its need for modernization. In the hours volume of the Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, in contrast, while overpainting effaced the manuscript’s prolific heraldry, the owner figures were largely untouched.20 This suggests that they functioned adequately for their later owners, whether as reflections of self, imaginary ancestors, or generic, non-portrait devotees. The changes to these two manuscripts provide evidence of their reception in the centuries after their initial production. Yet the relative rarity of such interventions on owner portraits from this early period suggests that, on the whole, 

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20 Eric Millar suggested that this overpainting was carried out in the sixteenth century while the manuscript was in the possession of Walter Cromer, physician to Henry VIII of England, who also added a Paris calendar and Hours of the Virgin for Sarum use to the manuscript. Millar, “Livre d’heures,” 26, 26n4.
owner portraits continued to function successfully in some capacity for their later owners, for whom the books might have been historical or artistic treasures as well as devotional tools. The owner portrait’s engagement with memorialization and commemoration, discussed further below, likely contributed to its continued effectiveness as the manuscript passed between generations of owners and readers. For them, the owner figure’s periodic presence may have prompted meditation on absent family members or loved ones, as well as their own mortality.

The Afterlife of the Owner Portrait

As in the Metz Psalter-Hours, the book owner is also conspicuously absent from certain pages in the Margaret Hours. As I note in my discussion of the latter manuscript in Chapter Two, two of the manuscript’s thirty-four large initials break with the pattern of featuring the kneeling devotee in the left or right margin (figs. 4-10 and 4-17). These initials begin the two funerary texts in the book of hours: the Office for the Dead and the *Commendatio animarum* (Commendation of the souls).²¹ Both initials feature scenes from funeral services, with clerics chanting over a coffin in a space lit by hanging lamps and massive candle tapers. The conjunction of the funerary content of the initials and the absence of the book owner from her usual place in the margins suggests that her absence from the margins in fact presages her eventual death. Indeed, the prominent placement of a coffin in each of the two initials further implies that the book owner is not so much absent as displaced, hidden within the ornately draped coffin. The two initial pages thus not only anticipate their reader’s death; they illustrate its commemoration for her. In so doing, the illuminations to the manuscript’s funerary texts prompt a re-consideration of the status of the body that features in the portraits throughout the book: do they represent her living body engaged in the practice of prayer, or her resurrected body, the desired result of her piety?

²¹ MHB fols. 83r–124v and 125r–155r.
The first of the two texts to lack an owner portrait, the Office for the Dead, is the penultimate text in the British Library volume of the Margaret Hours. The Office for the Dead, which contains liturgy for Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, was a central component of late medieval funeral services. Its inclusion in books of hours attests to its growing use in private commemoration, too: although rarely included in earlier psalters, it is one of the most popular and consistent texts in books of hours from their inception. Daily recitation of the office was understood in the fourteenth century to lessen the time the reader’s deceased loved ones would spend in Purgatory.

In the Margaret Hours, the office opens with a fifteen-line historiated initial P(lacebo) displaying a draped coffin with two candles burning to either side at the right (fig. 4-10). The topmost layer of fabric displays a twelve-pointed cross at the right side of the coffin lid. While the tonsured clerics standing to either side do consult an open book, they are not performing the same text on which the reader is about to embark. Rather, the aspergillum that one cleric uses to sprinkle holy water over the coffin indicates that they are performing the Absolution, which followed the recitation of the Office for the Dead and the Requiem Mass in a medieval funeral. While the cleric in the initial asperges the deceased, swinging censers in the margins around the initial spread incense, the other component of the Absolution ritual. In the left margin, where the book owner sometimes appears, stands instead a diminutive angel swinging a censer over its head. Below the angel, a disembodied hand supports another censer, and three more swing in the right margin: one hanging from a leaf on the vegetal border, another raised by a disembodied hand, and the third supported by another angel flying in from the lower right. The censing subjects—vegetable, animal, and angelic—complement and complete the performance of the Absolution

depicted in the historiated initial. Here, more than on any other of the manuscript’s principal pages, the content of the center spills over into that of the margins.

Also in the left margin, above the tiny angel, floats a skull in three-quarter profile, its empty eye sockets turned towards the funeral. While only one skull appears on this page, subsequent openings elaborate on the theme, featuring skulls, bones, and even entire decaying corpses. One opening shows ten skulls, either free-floating or attached to a corpse or to living hybrid bodies; one is in a small initial, and another is in a marginal birdcage (fig. 4-11). Skulls appear with attributes of all genders and social orders: the two hybrid skulls have short, masculine hairstyles, while another across the opening has a tonsure; in the right bas-de-page, another wears a woman’s hairnet; five skulls on an earlier page all wear crowns.25 While the margins revel predominantly in dead flesh, a pair of flails in the outer margin of the right page evokes the mortification of living flesh, reinforcing their equivalence. The visual emphasis on mortal bodies, especially pronounced in the first twenty pages of the office, underscores the absence of the book owner’s body from its opening margin.

The absence of the owner figure from the opening pages of the Margaret Hours funerary texts is conspicuous in the context of the manuscript’s otherwise unbroken pattern of including her form beside every historiated initial. It is consistent, however, with the other books examined in this study: even within books featuring unusually high numbers of owner portraits, portraits do not appear at the opening of funerary texts. Of the books discussed in this study, the majority include the Office for the Dead. Of these, three others also contain the Commendatio animarum, either directly before or directly after the Office for the Dead.26 While portrait types may appear in other manuscripts within the texts of the funerary office and the Commendatio, none of the books include a

25 MHB fol. 86r.
26 The Morgan Hours, the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, the Cambrai Hours, the Franciscan Psalter-Hours, the Metz Psalter-Hours, and the König Hours all contain the Office for the Dead. The Morgan Hours, the Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, and the Franciscan Psalter-Hours also include the Commendatio.
portrait on an opening page. As in the Margaret Hours, the Office for the Dead typically opens with an image of a funeral service. The opening initial in the Cambrai Hours features two clerics standing with open books behind a massive golden coffin that fills the lower register of the illumination, while four candles and a golden cross mark the space above (fig. 4-12). In the margins, a censing angel anticipates the iconography of the Margaret Hours, while two women read in the bas-de-page. The paired marginal readers face each other with open books, echoing the clerics in the initial. Their dress corresponds with that of lay devotees throughout the manuscript, but their posture is closer to sitting than prayerful kneeling. With their seated posture and paired orientation, the two women seem to be not owner types, but mourners. More traditional devotees appear throughout the text of the office, but the depiction of the two women readers on its opening page suggests that while these other figures are still legible as owner portraits, they have a secondary role as mourners. Viewed as owner portraits, they encourage reader’s remembrance of her late loved ones for whom she recites the office; viewed as mourners, they mourn the living reader in advance of her death.

Just as the absence of the owner figure from the opening of the Margaret Hours funerary texts anticipates the reader’s eventual death, the representations of mourners filling the margins in her absence promises her continued remembrance—at least, within the pages of her prayer book. In this way, the devotees in the Cambrai Hours Office for the Dead have a function akin to that which Laura Gelfand and Walter Gibson ascribe to devotional portraits in fifteenth-century panel painting. Gelfand and Gibson term these portrait figures “surrogate selves,” arguing that images of devotion were thought of as enacting their subjects’ prayers in absentia. Thus the prayers of the

27 The opening page of the Office for the Dead in the König Hours is unfortunately missing (between fols. 127 and 128).
28 See also HM fol. 58r; BPH fol. 67r; FH fol. 86r; MPH fol. 229r.
image persist after the death of its subject, lessening time in Purgatory and ensuring swifter salvation. In manifesting images of mourning, the Margaret Hours and the Cambrai Hours present themselves as agents in their owner’s salvation: after her death, the illuminated books themselves will continue to pray for her. The manuscripts also remain as her advocate among the living. As Gelfand and Gibson note about panel portraits, their presence in the church reminded descendants and clergy alike of their obligations to pray for donors’ salvation. Similarly, the representations of mourners and mourner-devotees existed as a prompt to remembrance for later readers. In the Margaret Hours, the striking absence of the book owner from the margins of the manuscript’s two funerary texts enacts—whether prospectively or retrospectively—the actual owner’s eventual death. Whether her death is in the distant past or still to come, her absence is immediate and tangible to the viewer of these pages, strengthening the call to the reader to join the illuminated mourners in speeding her salvation. The heavenly encounters anticipated in her portraits throughout the rest of the manuscript depend as much on their piety as hers.

Returning to the Margaret Hours owner portraits with mortality in mind reveals a different cadence. In my earlier discussion of the portraits, I stressed their embodied qualities: the performative immediacy of their reflexive status and their contextual emphasis on the flesh as a route to salvation. Michael Camille further emphasized generative flux in the varying representations of the book owner’s form, writing that, “she appears to change shape, costume and size, sometimes swelling up larger, sometimes elongated and emptied” (compare, for instance, figs. 2-15, 2-22, and 4-13). Indeed, as in the Metz Psalter-Hours, the variations in the image of the owner of the Margaret Hours inject her representations with liveliness and immediacy. In dialog with this flux, however, is the element of stasis across the book owner’s images. While portraits in the Metz Psalter-Hours vary

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32 Camille, Image on the Edge, 54.
widely in size, posture, placement, and attributes, the more minor variations among the Margaret Hours portraits stand in contrast to the overarching stability of the devotee’s pictorial form. This dialogic tension highlights the memorial capacity of the owner portrait: even as the portraits activate and reciprocate their subject-viewer’s prayerful pose, they freeze her gesture, memorializing her active body and visually anticipating its resurrection.

This tension in the Margaret Hours portraits between variation and stasis recalls ideas of the relationship between the flesh and the body that developed over the thirteenth century. As Alain Boureau and Suzannah Biernoff have shown, distinctions between the flesh and the body helped to define the form of the post-resurrection body for theologians from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through the late Middle Ages.33 Biernoff traced the distinction in a short treatise written by Robert Grosseteste between 1225 and 1230.34 She noted that Grosseteste’s discussion of claritas (clarity) and impassibilitas (impassability) as dotes or wedding gifts from the Bridegroom to the newly resurrected faithful frame the resurrected body as free from the trappings of the flesh, including its clumsy weight and vulnerability.35 Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Bonvesin de la Riva incorporated the dotes into his popular poem Il libro delle tre scritture (The Book of the Three Scriptures).36 Two of its three sections, the Black Scripture and the Golden Scripture, contrast the decaying fleshly body with the perfected resurrected body:

There is no man sick or ailing or in pain or too short or too tall or crippled or ruptured or old or misshapen or mute or leprous or lame or crooked or blind or freckled—Instead, each

35 Biernoff, Sight and Embodiment, 38.
one there is healthy and lively, of middling size, whole and beautiful and fresh and well-formed .... 37

The Margaret Hours owner portraits evoke aspects of both bodies: while variation between repeated portraits points to a subject-viewer’s lived, fleshly experience, their static posture and appearance invokes the perfect, fleshless body after resurrection.

The book owner’s form appears especially stable when juxtaposed with the animated fluidity of the manuscript’s margins (fig. 2-29). In contrast to the devotee in the Metz Psalter-Hours, the Margaret Hours owner has a fairly limited pool of attributes which recur throughout her representations: in addition to the book she often holds, a small dog sits or lies beside her in some portraits (figs. 2-15, 2-21). While her costumes change, their cut remains largely the same: a cloak with a distinctive wide collar, sometimes lined with fur, and her hair contained in a net. Most conspicuous is her spatial stability: with the exception of the funerary texts, she appears in the margins beside each of the book’s surviving large initials, where she kneels to face a venerated subject (figs. 2-22, 2-30). In the rare exceptions to her otherwise strictly regular placement on the page, her posture remains the same: the devotee kneels in prayer in the miniature at the end of John’s account of the Passion as in the three-line initial opening the Canticle of Simeon (Nunc dimittis) in the Hours of the Holy Spirit (fig. 4-13). 38 The repetition of her form reinforces the appearance of the persistence of her prayer. Like the surrogate selves in later panel portraiture, the manuscript owner portrait assures the permanent continuation of its subject’s transient devotion. Permanence, persistence, and stability are not qualities attributed to the fleshly body. Rather, their presence in the Margaret Hours portraits overlays the living female body of the subject-viewer with the image of its future, resurrected form.

38 MHM fols. 113v and 20v.
Gestures of prayer play a critical role in these representations: not only do they collapse past, present, and future, as discussed above, they also bridge the qualities of the fleshly and the resurrected bodies. As devotional portraits in manuscripts grew over the course of the thirteenth century, prayerful gestures also became increasingly prominent in public portraits, including donor portraits and funerary effigies. These monumental figures in glass and stone formed the backdrop, both literal and figurative, against which images of devotees in manuscripts would have been read. Thomas E. A. Dale has shown that, in the Romanesque figural effigy of Rudolph von Schwaben, visual and conceptual parallels with seals and reliquaries called upon the rhetoric of the resurrected body as recast and radiant. In contrast, the gestures of prayer in portraits of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as in the Margaret Hours, overlay the perfected, eternal stasis with signs of bodily specificity and living performance.

The tension between the flesh and the perfected body in late medieval portraiture is visible, for instance, in a group of glazed donor portraits in Chartres cathedral that incorporates children and adults as well as the living and the dead among its subjects (fig. 4-14). This composition beneath the transept’s south rose window portrays a donor family that includes a wife and husband, one daughter, and one son joined in adoration of the saints depicted above them. The combined arms of Dreux and Bretagne, consisting of a gold and blue checked field with a red border and an ermine canton in the corner (checky or and azure a bordure gules, a canton ermine), ring the rose window; they also appear prominently on a shield in the bottom register of the central lancet, below an image of the Virgin and Child. The kneeling figures in the lancets to either side of the large escutcheon also wear

the arms. The heraldry identifies the couple as Alix de Touars, countess of Brittany, and Pierre Mauclerc, count of Dreux. Alix kneels at the Virgin’s dexter with her husband opposite. Their two children appear in the outermost lancets: Yolande to the left of her mother, Jean to the right of his father. While the two parents kneel in prayer, their children stand to both signal and mitigate their youthful height. Yolande’s loose hair and Jean’s short tunic further indicate their juvenile status.41 Beat Brenk dated the commission of the window program to just before 1226, making Yolande and Jean no older than eight and nine or ten, respectively.42 The decision to depict Jean and Yolande as children injects the portraits with temporal specificity, asserting that the portrait represents the family as it was at its creation. The inclusion of Alix de Thouars in the family portrait, however, ran counter to this assertion of contemporaneity, as Alix had died in 1221, some four or five years before the commission of the window.

Although the countess was dead at the time of its design, she nevertheless appears kneeling in the window next to her living daughter and opposite her living husband. Her privileged position in the lancet to the dexter of the Virgin might refer to her deceased status. It might also reflect the debt Pierre owed his wife: Alix was a crucial figure in the family’s recent history, providing her husband with a drastic increase in wealth.43 Alix’s prominent, posthumous presence in the window served to establish the lineage of her daughter and son, both of whom bear her family’s arms as well as their father’s. Regardless of the motivation, the fact of her depicted presence among her still-living family members guides the viewer’s understanding of the status of all the praying figures beneath the south rose. The portraits might be understood as representing the past, yet they could just as well reflect the future, showing the family restored and reunited in the afterlife. Yet the

depiction of Yolande and Jean as children runs counter to the dominant theological understanding that all, including children, would be reborn at the perfect age of thirty or thirty-three.\textsuperscript{44} In depicting the living children in their youthful, corporeal bodies and their dead mother as alive, the portraits bridge the immediate, temporal circumstances of their subjects and their anticipated salvation. The reunited family is united, moreover, in prayer. While other portraits from the same campaign show subjects as donors, presenting a miniature window, those of the Mauclerc family emphasize their shared performance of personal devotion.\textsuperscript{45} Stained glass surrogates would have reminded a family already separated on earth (and any other viewers) that their prayers for each other would reunite them in heaven.

From the end of the thirteenth century, gestures of prayer also appear with increasing prominence in explicitly memorial portraits such as sculpted tomb effigies. While earlier tomb sculptures placed greater emphasis on a performance of social office (a feature they shared with sigillary portraiture), imagery of devotion began to filter into lay effigies around the same time that images of book owners in prayer began to regularly appear in their illuminated manuscripts.\textsuperscript{46} The two funerary monuments of Isabelle of Aragon, wife of Philip III, provide an early example of the shift in the conventions of funerary portraiture. Isabelle’s death abroad from a riding accident required the division of her body parts: her organs were entombed locally at Cosenza (fig. 1-9), while her bones returned to Paris for burial in Saint-Denis. While her tomb in Saint-Denis does not survive, a drawing by Roger de Gaignières shows that it conformed to the established conventions for the effigies of French queens (fig. 4-15). The recumbent figure, dressed in contemporary fashion

\textsuperscript{44} Caroline Walker Bynum, \textit{The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 265. Perkinson, \textit{Likeness of the King}, 98–102 discusses visual evidence for a conceptual shift away from this belief in tomb effigies of children in the mid- to late thirteenth century. Visual evidence suggests a shift on this position among the laity in the thirteenth century, as I discuss below.


\textsuperscript{46} For early tomb portraits and their relationships with seals, see Dale, “Romanesque Portraiture,” 717–28.
with the signs of her office, pulls with her right hand at the cord of her cloak, a gesture that denotes her courtliness. The Cosenza monument, in contrast, shows Isabelle not prone, but kneeling across from her husband in adoration of the Virgin and Child. The Cosenza tomb portrays the deceased in her capacity as queen, certainly, but in her gestures she embodies not her office, but an individual soul praying for her salvation. The possibility that her face was sculpted after a death mask further marks this monument as a departure from the established conventions of the genre. Despite this personalization, the gesture of prayer encompasses a paradoxical pair of significances: it signifies at once individual reckoning and salvation and the shared, corporate performance of Christianity.

Depicted gestures of prayer activate the social qualities of the medieval portrait. The prayerful gesture demands an answering gesture from the viewer, effectively transforming an effigy into an active advocate for its subject’s salvation. The devotional effigy can function as a surrogate to pray for its subject’s soul; it can also exhort onlookers to do the same. This is the case in an early devotional effigy for a woman, Meheus du Chastelier, originally in the Priory of Saint-Lô in Rouen (fig. 4-16). The figure’s prayerful gestures and angelic companions in the incised stone effigy position Meheus between death and rebirth. Her body is contained within an architectonic frame inscribed within the trapezoidal shape of the tomb slab. An inscription in French and Latin running around the perimeter addresses the viewer:

47 Perkinson, Likeness of the King, 96.
49 Rouen, Musée des Antiquités, inv. 1838. See Rouen, Musée des Antiquités and Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Trésors des abbayes normandes (Rouen: Musée des antiquités, 1979), 228–229.
Here lies Meheus du Chastelier; may God Jesus Christ aid her. You who regard this tomb, why do you not spurn mortal things? For every man is shut within a dwelling such as this.

A pair of angels holding lit candles shares Meheus’s space beneath the trefoil arch, while two more angels, above, bridge the space within and without the Gothic frame with their swinging censers. The attributes of these angels recall the rite of Absolution that was part of a medieval funeral service, also depicted in the Margaret Hours at the opening of the Office for the Dead (fig. 4-9). At the top of the arch, meanwhile, a fifth angel descends with a heavenly crown for Meheus, evoking the imagery of salvation the Metz Psalter-Hours Matins page. With their varied attributes and offerings, the angels appear to celebrate Meheus’s death and rebirth simultaneously. Meheus’s gesture of prayer is as applicable in death as it was in life; indeed, it is depicted here as the means by which she transcends states of being. The combination of gesture and inscription exhorts onlookers to pray not only for Meheus but for themselves. Here, as in the sculptures of Isabelle and Philip and in the Mauclerc family portraits, gestures of devotion transcend life and death, flesh and perfection, even self and other, uniting families separated by death and guiding the salvation of individual Christians. In owner portraits, too, the gesture of prayer is multivalent, resonating with the reader’s lived experience while simultaneously anticipating her future salvation.

The images of the praying book owner throughout the Margaret Hours embody their subject’s past, present, and future states simultaneously. This atemporal—or, better, multitemporal—representation accords with the tone of the texts she accompanies, which often speak at once to the reader’s present (in requesting audience) and future (in pleading for salvation);

50 After inscription recorded in Rouen, Musée des Antiquités and Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Trésors des abbayes normandes, 229; see also Robert Favreau, Épigraphie médiévale, L’Atelier du médiéviste 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 160–161.
they may also be retrospective in their commemorative function, as for example in the Office for the Dead. Likewise, the historiated initials that introduce these texts span a vast temporal breadth, from the history of the Old and New Testaments to scenes from the present day and the longed-for future of judgment and salvation (see figs. 2-20, 2-28, 4-9, and 4-16). Even more so than in the Metz Psalter-Hours, the consistent association of the book owner with these initials removes the depicted laywoman from her early fourteenth-century context and implicates her in the entirety of salvation history, overlaying the image of her living body with its glorious resurrected counterpart. As earlier chapters in this dissertation have established, such devotee images invite a reflexive response from the reader, who is encouraged to self-identify with the position and activities of the depicted woman. The representations of the book owner in the Margaret Hours embraces the capacity of the multivalent image to stand not just as a mirror, but as a memorial. The praying book owner in the Margaret Hours represents at once the fleeting mirror image of the living reader with whom she shares her pose, the prospective tomb effigy that will mark her future absence from the world, and the heavenly body into which she could aspire to be incorporated after death.

The illuminated manuscript stands simultaneously with and apart from its human user. Even as owner portraits connect with their subject-viewers through imagery of use, the concomitant imagery of death contrasts the brevity of human life with the long existence of an illuminated manuscript.51 Indeed, the image of the book appears to replace that of its owner in the margins opening the manuscript’s second funerary text, the *Commendatio animarum* (fig. 4-17). While the initial opening the manuscript’s second funerary text, the *Commendatio animarum* (fig. 4-17). While the initial

51 Many fine examples of illuminated manuscripts were known by the fourteenth century for their age and even their status as relics. Certain ones, such as the Book of Kells, were venerated throughout the Middle Ages as contact relics, an understanding that can be seen as a continuation of the “talismanic” status (to quote Dominic Marner) Gospel books held in the early Middle Ages. George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-Books, 650-800* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 179–198; Dominic Marner, “The Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God and the Book of Deer,” *Medieval Archaeology* 46 (2002): 2; Lawrence Nees, *The Gundobinus Gospels*, Medieval Academy Books 95 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1987), 195–198; see also John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxeury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London: The British Library, 2000), 172, 343–344.
for the Office for the Dead showed the performance of the Absolution in a fourteenth-century funeral, the opening of the *Commendatio* shows, ironically, clerics reading the Office for the Dead. A text almost as long as the funeral office itself, the *Commendatio animarum* performed a similar function for lay readers as the funeral office: a rubric in Marie’s Book of Hours identifies the series of psalms as to be said “ou seruige des mors” (in the service of the dead).\(^52\) As on the opening page of the previous section, the book owner is absent from the margins, and her presence in the initial is implied, instead, in the draped coffin at the center of the funerary rite. At the left, three clerics chant from an open book behind a draped coffin, while two candles again burn to either side at the right. Taking the book owner’s usual place in the right margin is a standing cleric, also holding an open book. The book unites the marginal cleric with his colleagues in the initial. It is also the frequent attribute of the missing book owner, and its presence in the margin further underscores her absence from the page.

While the body of the book owner has disappeared from view, her attribute has multiplied: a further six books appear with the marginal creatures across the page. In contrast to the book owner herself, who never looks at the book she holds, some of the creatures do seem to read their books. Two hybrids with human heads balance open books between their animal legs. In the bas-de-page, one of the apes uses a vine scroll as a lectern. Its companion, on the other hand, either balances its book on its buttocks or excretes it. The bird hybrid in the margin below closes an open book within its wide metallic beak, a parody of the chanting clerics’ open mouths. The explosion of books on this page and of censers around the opening of the Office for the Dead connects the activity of the margins with that depicted in the center of the page. Far from empty echolalia, these repetitions activate the margins to participate in the activity of the page’s center. In sharing in the depicted

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\(^{52}\) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS L.1990.38, fol. 132v. Bennett, “Hours for Marie,” 32.
funerary service, the figures of the margins also mirror the reader’s performance of remembrance and mourning. Performing their mourning in the absence of the reader’s surrogate, the owner portrait, the marginal creatures in fact appear to be mourning the missing portrait figure. Their activity in her absence, moreover, implies their persistence in the anticipated absence of the portrait’s referent, the reader: even after her death, her book will pray for her soul.

The imagery of death in the Margaret Hours illuminations asserts the autonomy of the illuminated book from its mortal reader as well as its agency to effect her salvation after her death. Within this scheme, the owner portrait, while on the one hand an essentially reflexive image, also simultaneously anticipates the resurrected body also evoked in more public devotional portraits of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In part through its visual economy, the flexible form of the owner portrait thus accommodates both the living body of its subject and her future, resurrected body. As the owner portrait form invites identification across the boundaries of gender and social order, it also anticipates the spiritual needs of viewers in the present of its creation and the future alike. Throughout, it presents a promise to its readers: although they will die, their book will remain, and their book will remember them.
Conclusion

This brief survey of owner portraits in a selection of manuscripts produced in northern France around the turn of the fourteenth century demonstrates the capacity of this deceptively simple image type to embrace a range of potential interpretations by its medieval audience. While the Introduction situates the manuscript owner portrait within the history of portraiture, the first chapter explores the mechanisms by which owner portraits convey identity. In each subsequent chapter, I have traced the signification of the owner portrait type through expanding rings of reception. From the intimate mirror model described in Chapter Two and the possibilities of shared use addressed in Chapter Three to the reception of the book through time addressed in Chapter Four, I have called on different possibilities for reception in order to explore the rich significance of this visually simple imagery.

The preceding chapters have presented a series of case studies from manuscripts distinguished by a wealth of portrait types in their illuminations. While these analyses are grounded in the specifics of each manuscript, my findings apply broadly to owner portraits throughout manuscripts of this period. For an example, we might return to the König Hours, a book I treat in the Introduction but which figures little in the subsequent discussions. Prayer characterizes each of the numerous portrait types in this manuscript (fig. 5-1). The intimate scale of the manuscript further contributes to the conditions under which a reader would self-identify with the image of the
devotee. The repetition of the devotee’s form across an opening—or, even, within the composition of a page (fig. 5-2)—multiplies the mirror effect. At the same time, the repetition undermines its intimate immediacy by evoking at once the ritual repetition of prayer over time and the larger community of Christian devotion. Although this small book is unlikely to have been used by more than one person at once, its portrait types incorporate representations of both male and female devotees. In an opening with the historiated initial of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the female devotee holds a prominent position in the bas-de-page, as she does beneath most of the manuscript’s large initials (fig. 5-3). Across the page, however, the hymn *Veni creator* opens with a small initial that features a man in prayer before an apparition of the face of God. Although male devotees figure only in small initials and marginal medallions, they outnumber female portrait types by a small margin of thirty-two to twenty-nine. The König Hours presents its reader, whoever that might be, with plentiful exemplars of either gender. It is up to the reader to determine the identities of these figures and to define her or his relationship to them. Here, as we have seen throughout the preceding case studies, owner portraits and potential portraits rarely announce their identity; rather, their ambiguous forms invite the viewer’s participation in the production of meaning.

Naturally, this is not the whole of what could be said about these captivating images, either in the König Hours specifically or as a genre. One clear direction for further consideration is the issue of the owner portrait in space, both the space of the page and the space that an open manuscript codex creates for its reader. Owner portraits bridge the boundary between the historiated initials in the center of the page and the more unconstrained space of the margins; the status of the portrait within the space of the manuscript page deserves further study. As the mechanisms of signification and reception in early owner portraits were the concerns of this dissertation, I have also left other issues germane to the understanding of this group of manuscripts unexplored. These books were commissioned, created, and consumed within the context of the elite
social circles on the shifting borders of the French kingdom. Further consideration of this cultural context might reveal additional reasons why these books emphasized the portrait to the extent seen here.

Nevertheless, the case studies in the preceding chapters should provide concrete examples and comparisons for further studies of manuscript owner portraits. I hope, moreover, that they will also provide a basis for a wider discussion of portraiture at the turn of the fourteenth century. As I touch upon in Chapters One and Four, the thirteenth century witnessed a rise in representations of devotional selves, not only in manuscript prayer books but in donor portraits, funerary effigies, and private devotional images across media. The relationships between these representations would provide fertile ground for study. Non-devotional portraits, too, on seals and coins, in histories and genealogies, and in artists’ representations of themselves at work offer further material for a study of figural representations of the medieval self. Heraldic and epigraphical representations are just as important to a wider understanding of medieval portraiture. The conditions of medieval portraiture challenge the dominant, modern definitions of the genre. Its further study will participate in the ongoing project to probe the boundaries of this critical genre in the history of art. Moreover, it will continue to reveal the subtle complexities in the relationships historical viewers had with their images.
Appendix
Catalog of Manuscripts

This catalog provides brief codicological descriptions and lists of portrait and potential portrait images for the eight books treated in depth in this study. For complete iconographical descriptions, consult Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, where cited. References to digital resources are verified as of May 2015.

Catalog of Manuscripts

1. Morgan Hours (HM)
2. Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours (BPP, BPH)
3. Franciscan Psalter-Hours (FP, FH)
4. Cambrai Hours (CH)
5. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book (AKP, AKB)
6. König Hours (KH)
7. Metz Psalter-Hours (MPH)
8. Margaret Hours (MHB, MHM)

Concordance

Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W.113 (BPP) ................................................. 2
Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale MS 87 (CH) .................................................. 4
Cologne, Collection of Renate König, on loan to Kolumba (KH) .................. 6
London, British Library Add. MS 36684 (MHB) ....................................... 8
Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale MS 111 (FH) ............................................. 3
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria inv. 1254-3 (AKB) ................. 5
Metz, Bibliothèques-médiathèques MS 1588 (MPH) .................................... 7
New York, Morgan Library MS M.92 (HM) .................................................. 1
New York, Morgan Library MS M.754 (MHM) ............................................. 8
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 118 (AKP) ....................................... 5
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 1076 (FP) ......................... 3
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS nouv. acq. lat. 915 (BPH) .... 2
1

Morgan Hours

New York, Morgan Library MS M.92 (HM)

Book of hours for Soissons use, ca. 1230s

140 leaves; 165 x 110 mm; 29 lines

Portraits and Potential Portraits

21r Large initial; laywoman prostrates herself in prayer beneath enthroned Virgin breastfeeding Christ child (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)

93v Large initial; laywoman prostrates herself in prayer beneath Christ encircled by six doves (Prayer of Saint Augustine)

120r Large initial; laywoman prostrates herself in prayer beneath Christ enthroned between two candles, holding an open book and making the gesture of blessing (Dex qui adam e even formas)

130r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with open book before an altar or tabernacle (Dex te saut sainte marie pleine de grace)

Digital Resources

Morgan Library & Museum, Corsair, Catalog entry for “Book of hours (MS M.92),”
http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=77348 (includes links to digitized curatorial files and images)

Select Bibliography


2

Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours

Baltimore, Walters Art Museum MS W.113 (BPP)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS nouv. acq. lat. 915 (BPH)

Psalter-hours for Saint-Denis de Reims use with Metz calendar, ca. 1250

BPP: 190 leaves; 143 x 108 mm; 18 lines
BPH: 106 leaves; 135 x 95 mm; 18 lines

Portraits and Potential Portraits

BPH 1r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with closed book beneath large initial of the Virgin and Child (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
18r Large initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar with a cross (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)
30v Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with closed book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)
32v Large initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)
35r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with closed book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)
37r Large initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
42v Large initial; Laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)

Digital Resources

Select Bibliography

3
Franciscan Psalter-Hours
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 1076 (FP)
Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale MS 111 (FH)
Psalter-hours with Hours of the Virgin for Rome Use and Office for the Dead for Thérouanne or Hospitallers use, before 1297

FP: 184 leaves; 195 x 132; 19 lines
FH: 160 leaves; 188 x 129 mm; 19 lines
Collation: I2, II–III12, IV10+1, V–XIV12, XV12–6

Portraits and Potential Portraits
FP
21r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 17)
66v Bas-de-page; laywoman or nun prostrate with open book (Ps. 53)
69r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 55)
76r Bas-de-page; laywoman or nun kneels with open book (Ps. 63)
85r Bas-de-page; friar in black habit with knotted cord kneels with open book held away from viewer (Ps. 70)
102r Right margin; layman kneels in prayer before initial of David playing bells (Ps. 80)
118r Right margin; knight kneels in prayer, arms of Jerusalem on his ailettes (or a cross argent; Canticle of Habakkuk)
148r Bas-de-page; laywoman or nun kneels in prayer (Ps. 118, Beati immaculati)
149r Right margin; layman kneels in prayer (Ps. 118, Retribue seruo tuo)
153v Left margin; layman kneels in prayer before Saint Francis (Ps. 118, Quomodo dilexi lege[m] tuam)
Bas-de-page; Franciscan friar kneels in prayer (Ps. 118, Quomodo dilexi lege[m] tuam)
156r Right margin; knight kneels in prayer before Saint Francis (Ps. 118, *Clamaui in toto corde*)

159v Upper margin; laywoman or nun sits with open book (Pss. 122, 123)

FH 3Ar Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before Annunciating Gabriel (Hours of the Virgin: Matins, *Quem terra*)

8r Right margin; Franciscan friar kneels in prayer before initial with the Visitation (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

14v Right margin; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

15r Small initial; bust of layman in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

16r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Prime, Ps. 84)

17v Bas-de-page; Franciscan friar preaches to an audience of two men (one tonsured) and a woman (Hours of the Virgin: Prime, *Exaudi nos deus*)

27Av Bas-de-page; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers, *Concede nos famulos tuos*)

29v Right margin; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Compline, Canticle of Simeon)

30r Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book (Hours of the Virgin: Compline, Ps. 44)

40r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar with a chalice, above which the hand of God makes a gesture of blessing (Penitential Psalms)

66v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Compline)

85v Right margin; layman kneels in prayer (*Commendatio animarum*)

95r Bas-de-page; layman kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 22)

101v Right margin; Franciscan friar kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 41)

107v Left margin; Franciscan friar stands, making gesture of blessing (Office for the Dead: Lauds, Ps. 66, Canticle of Ezechias)

112r Small initial; layman in bust in prayer (Office for the Dead: Lauds, *Deus cui[m] miserat[ione]*)

136v Right margin; laywoman in prayer before initial with the Deposition (Hours of the Passion: Vespers)

137v Bas-de-page; laywoman sits with open book (Hours of the Passion: Vespers, *Qui pressura mortis*)

138v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Vespers, *Domine ihesu xpriste qui hora vesp[er]tina iam morte[m] ...*

141r Small initial; laywoman in bust in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Compline, *Domine ihesu xpr[ist]e qui bora diei ultima in sepulchro quievisti ...*)

141v Right margin; layman kneels in prayer before Saint Francis (Hours of the Passion: Compline, collect to Saint Francis)

143r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before Saint Francis (Hours of the Passion: Compline, collect to Saint Francis)

144r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Compline, *Deus qui de beate marie ...*)

148v Right margin; laywoman kneels with hands outstretched into the text block (Suffrage to All Saints)

151v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial with the Virgin and Child (O intemerata)
154r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Prayer to God, *Benedicat me deus pat[er] ...*)
156r Right margin; laywoman or nun prostrate in prayer (Suffrage to Saint Bartholomew)

**Digital Resources**

Bibliothèque nationale de France, “Psalterium ad usum Fratrum Minorum. Latin 1076 (cote), Mazarin 778 (ancienne cote), Regius 4441 (ancienne cote),” *Archives et manuscrits*, http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000058995


**Select Bibliography**


4

**Cambrai Hours**

**Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale MS 87 (CH)**

Book of hours for Reims use with Paris calendar, before 1297

Also published as the “Hours of Mahaut d’Artois” and the “Hours of Isabeau de Rumigny”

240 leaves; 250 x 180 mm; 15 lines

Collation: I⁰, II¹, III¹, IV¹, V¹, VI–VII⁸, VIII⁸⁻¹, IX–XI⁸, XII⁸⁻¹, XIII–XXXIII⁸

**Portraits and Potential Portraits**

20v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)

23v Small initial; young man stands in prayer before Christ (Hours of the Virgin: Matins, Ps. 23)

25r Small initial; layman and laywoman stand in prayer on either side of Virgin and Child (Hours of the Virgin: Matins, *O beata maria quis tibi dignæ*)
Small initial; Mary intercedes with Christ on behalf of a kneeling layman, at right (Hours of the Virgin: Matins, *Admitte piissima dei genitrix*)

Small initial; laywoman and elderly, bearded layman stand in prayer on either side of Virgin and Child (Hours of the Virgin: Matins, *Sancta maria succurre miseris*)

Large initial; laywoman in prayer resisting the temptation of a bicephalic figure, who points to a bed (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

Marginal initial; three kneeling figures (a friar, a laywoman, and a layman) pray beneath David playing the harp (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds, Ps. 99)

Small initial; bearded old man kneels in prayer towards the sun (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds, Ps. 62)

Small initial; figure stands in prayer towards cloud (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds, Canticle of Zachary)

Small initial; elderly, bearded layman and youthful layman kneel at either side of a Crucifixion (Hours of the Virgin: Prime, Ps. 116)

Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Prime, *Famulorum tuorum quesumus*)

Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer, resisting the temptation of a bicephalic figure with symbols of avarice: a coffer, moneybag, and whip (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)

Small initial; layman kneels in prayer towards sun and clouds (Hours of the Virgin: Terce, *Ueni creator spiritus*)

Small initial; layman kneels while a demon aims a bow at him from behind (Hours of the Virgin: Terce, Ps. 119)

Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before Christ seated on (or emerging from) a mound of dirt (Hours of the Virgin: Terce, Ps. 120)

Small initial; the Virgin protects a laywoman, kneeling in prayer, from two men with a sword (Hours of the Virgin: Terce, *Protege domine famulos tuos*)

Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer, resisting the temptation of a bicephalic figure with symbols of gluttony: meat and drink (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)

Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Sext, Ps. 122)

Large initial; laywoman stands in prayer while a demon aims a bow and arrow at her from behind (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)

Small initial; layman with long hair stands in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Nones, *Ueni creator spiritus*)

Small initial; layman and laywoman sit at table with hands in prayer while the hand of God descends above (Hours of the Virgin: Nones, Ps. 127)

Small initial; layman with long hair kneels before Virgin and Child (Hours of the Virgin: Nones, *Felix namq[ue] es sacra virgo maria*)

Large initial; laywoman stands in prayer between two other women, one of whom plays a gittern, while a demon holds a grapnel to the praying woman’s back (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)

Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before Christ, above, who prevents two demons to either side from attacking him with clubs (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers, Ps. 128)

Small initial; man in a soil furrow stands in prayer towards clouds (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers, Ps. 129)

Small initial; layman with long hair kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers, Ps. 130)
57v  Bas-de-page; knight with heraldic ailettes (or a saltire gules) kneels before lady holding chaplet and pennant bearing the same arms (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)

60r  Large initial; laywoman stands in prayer resisting the temptation of a bicephalic figure behind her holding a falcon and lure (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)

60v  Small initial; layman kneels with arms out while a demon holds his shoulder (Hours of the Virgin: Compline, Ps. 12)

62v  Small initial; layman stands in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Compline, Ps. 130)

63v  Bas-de-page; woman kneels in prayer beneath small initial with Crucifixion, while behind her a hybrid woman calls a falcon back with a lure (Hours of the Virgin: Compline, Oratiam tuam quesumus domine)

65r  Bas-de-page; woman kneels in prayer beside dogs fighting over a bone (Hours of the Cross in French: Prime)

70v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before enthroned Christ (Prayers on the Passion: Deus qui voluisti pro nostra redemptione)

71r  Large initial; laywoman kneels and layman stands in prayer before the Virgin being raised by two angels in a mandorla (Five Joys of the Virgin)

72v  Marginal initial; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath heavenly canopy of clouds (Five Joys of the Virgin: Collect, Interueniat pro nobis)

73r  Large initial; laywoman kneels beside initial with hellish citadel below and enthroned Christ above (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 6)

74r  Small initial; laywoman kneels beneath clouds (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 31)

75v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 37)

77v  Small initial; laywoman kneels, pointing towards marginal Crucifixion (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 50)

79v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 101)

82v  Small initial; laywoman in a soil furrow stands in prayer (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 129)

83r  Small initial; laywoman stands in doorway, demon with grapnel behind (Penitential Psalms: Ps. 142)

84v  Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book (Litany)

88v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer, bound at the neck (Litany: Collect, Deus cui proprium est)

89r  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Trinity (Suffrage to the Trinity)

89v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Suffrage for Advent)

90r  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Suffrage to the Holy Spirit)

90v  Left margin; two laywomen and a layman kneel in prayer before small initial of the Crucifixion (Suffrage to the Passion)

91r  Left margin; two laywomen kneel in prayer before small initial of the Virgin and Child (Suffrage to the Virgin Mary)

91v  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of three angels (Suffrage to the Angels)

92r  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Baptism of Christ (Suffrage to John the Baptist and the Patriarchs)

92v  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Christ with Saints Peter and Paul (Suffrage to Saints Peter and Paul)

93r  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Last Supper (Suffrage to John the Evangelist)
93v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before six apostles (Suffrage to the Apostles)

94r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Stoning of Saint Stephen (Suffrage to Saint Stephen)

94v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Saint Lawrence on the Griddle (Suffrage to Saint Lawrence)

95r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before the beheading of a saint (Suffrage to All Martyrs)

96r Left margin; laywoman kneels before small initial of the martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr (Suffrage to Saint Peter Martyr)

96v Left margin; laywoman kneels before small initial of Saint Nicholas and the three youths (Suffrage to Saint Nicholas)

97v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Saint Dominic (Suffrage to Saint Dominic)

98r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before marginal initial of three saints (Suffrage to the Confessors)

98v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Saint Agnes (Suffrage to Saint Agnes)

99r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before marginal initial of Saint Margaret emerging from the dragon (Suffrage to Saint Margaret)

99v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Mary Magdalene (Suffrage to Saint Mary Magdalene)

100r Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Saint Lucy dragged by oxen (Suffrage to Saint Lucy)

100v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Saint Apollonia (Suffrage to Saint Apollonia)

101r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer in forest (Suffrage to Mary of Egypt)

101v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Collect: Orison pour ses amis morts [et] uis / Pietate tua quesumus)

106r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Virgin and Child (Indulgenced prayer to the Virgin, Deprecor te domina sancta maria ...)

107r Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of Virgin and Child (Prayer to the Virgin, Sancta maria mater domini ...)

108r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin and Child (O intemerata)

109v Marginal initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin and Child (In huius igitur sacratissimi amoris ...)

110v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Indulgenced prayer to the Vernicle: Cest li orisons de la veronike ... / Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis ...)

112r Small initial; laywoman with closed eyes kneels in prayer (Prayer to Saint Cedonius for the eyes: Cest li orison[s] pour les iex / Deus qui beatum cendonium confessorem ...)

112v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Prayer to Saint Cedonius for the eyes: Misericordiam tuam quesumus domine ...)

113r Bas-de-page; two laywomen kneel facing one another with open books (Office for the Dead)

113v Small initial; laywoman dressed in black kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead: Vespers, Ps. 119)

114r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Crucifixion (Office for the Dead: Vespers, Ps. 120)
116r Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Christ with two angels (Office for the Dead: Vespers, Ps. 137)
117r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Virgin and Child (Office for the Dead: Vespers, Canticle of the Virgin)
118r Left margin; laywoman kneels with open book beside small initial of Christ enthroned holding the world (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 5)
119v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 6)
121r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer, while a lion attacks him from behind (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 7)
126r Small initial; laywoman stands in orans pose (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 22)
128v Small initial; laywoman stands in orans pose behind knights standing with hands together in prayer (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 26)
130v Left margin; laywoman prostrate before small initial with Christ enthroned on a rainbow (Office for the Dead: Matins, Lesson 4, Job 13:23–28)
132v Marginal initial; laywoman kneels in prayer behind Saint Michael, who raises a sword against two demons with grapnel (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 34)
136r Small initial; layman stands in soil with hands in prayer as Christ grasps his wrists and rabbits run to either side (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 39)
138r Small initial; laywoman stands in prayer in forest with deer and stream (Office for the Dead: Matins, Ps. 41)
140r Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial with Christ seated on a rainbow (Office for the Dead: Matins, Lesson 7, Job 14:13–16)
147r Small initial; laywoman and two laymen kneel in prayer (Office for the Dead: Lauds, Ps. 66)
148r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Crucifixion (Office for the Dead: Lauds, Canticle of Ezechias)
155r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Nativity (34 Aves with French rubrics: Ave prudens consiliarius ...)
156v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Virgin tending Christ in a cot (34 Aves with French rubrics: si ke diens fu nuris)
157v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Baptistism of Christ (34 Aves with French rubrics: Si comme diens fu baptisies)
158v Left margin; layman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Resurrection of Lazarus (34 Aves with French rubrics: De ses miracles)
163r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Arrest of Christ (34 Aves with French rubrics: Si comme diex fu trais)
168r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Christ before Herod (34 Aves with French rubrics: Comment il fu menes de pylate a herode)
173v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Christ before Pilate (34 Aves with French rubrics: Con[i][m]e[n]t il fu injies a mort)
175v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Christ carrying the cross (34 Aves with French rubrics: si quil fu menes fors de la porte portans sa crois)
177r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Crucifixion with blood running from the side wound (34 Aves with French rubrics: Si quil fu mis en la crois et pria pour ciaus qui locioient)
178r Small initial; laywoman prostrate before Crucifixion, adoring the wound in Christ’s right foot (34 Aves with French rubrics: A le plaie del diestre piet)
Small initial; laywoman prostrate before Crucifixion, adoring the wound in Christ’s left foot (34 Aves with French rubrics: *a la plaie del senestre pié*).

Small initial; laywoman stands before Crucifixion, adoring the wound in Christ’s left hand (34 Aves with French rubrics: *A le plaie de la seniestre main*).

Small initial; laywoman stands before Crucifixion, adoring the wound in Christ’s right hand (34 Aves with French rubrics: *A le plaie de la destre main*).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels beneath small initial with Longinus cured of blindness (34 Aves with French rubrics: *A le plaie del costet qui raluma lo[n]gin*).

Left margin; laywoman kneels beneath small initial with Crucifixion and the two thieves (34 Aves with French rubrics: *Comment il fu laidengies et gabes entre .ii. lar[n]js*).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels beneath small initial of Harrowing of Hell (34 Aves with French rubrics: *Si quil descendi en infer et deliura ses amis*).

Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (34 Aves with French rubrics: *de lauenement del saint esperit*).

Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before guardian angel (Prayer to guardian angel, *O benois angeles*).

Left margin; woman kneels in prayer before medium initial of the elevation of the Host (Prayer for the Mass, *En la presence de uostre saintime cors* ...).

Bas-de-page; laywoman and layman kneel in prayer with a book closed on a lectern between them beneath small initial of Christ (Seven Requests to the Lord: Prologue).

Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels beneath small initial of the Annunciation (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of seated apostles (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Left margin; laywoman stands pointing to Saint Peter denouncing Christ (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Crucifixion with Mary and John (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels with a rosary beneath small initial of the Crucifixion (Seven Requests to the Lord).

Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer wearing a heraldic cloak (gules three pales vair, on a chief or a lion issuant sable, and sable a lion rampant argent crowned or) before large initial of the Annunciation (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial of the Visitation (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initials with scenes from Christ’s Infancy (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Bas-de-page; laywoman and layman kneel in prayer before small initials with scenes from the life of the Virgin (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of the Virgin and Child (Nine Joys of the Virgin).

Small initial; laywoman kneels with a rosary (Rubric for Nine Joys of the Virgin [preceding] and *O intemerata* [following]).

Large initial; laywoman and knight in heraldic surcoat (gules three pales vair, on a chief or a lion issuant sable) kneel in prayer to either side of the Virgin and Child (French translation of *O intemerata*).
204r  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before John the Evangelist (French translation of *O intemerata*).

207r  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath large initial of the Coronation of the Virgin (Prayer to the Virgin attributed to Gautier de Coinci, *Marie mere de concorde*).

210r  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beside medium initial of the Virgin ascending into a Gothic portal (Prayer of Theophilus, attributed to Gautier de Coinci).

213r  Left margin; hybrid woman with vine tendril body stands frontal, holds hands together in prayer.

217r  Large initial; knight and laywoman, both in heraldic garments (*gules three pales vair, on a chief or a lion issuant sable*), kneel in prayer to either side of the Virgin (Prayer to the Virgin, *O bele dame tres piue empeeris*).

219r  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin and Child (Prayer to the Virgin, *Biaus sire pere a qui me complaindrai*).

231v  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Mary helping Christ to carry the cross (Five Sorrows of the Virgin on the Passion).

232v  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Christ nailed to the cross (Five Sorrows of the Virgin on the Passion).

233v  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer beneath small initial of Longinus piercing Christ’s side at the Crucifixion (Five Sorrows of the Virgin on the Passion).

235v  Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial with Virgin and Child enthroned (Sequence to the Virgin, *Salve mater salvatoris*).

237v  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before small initial with Mary as Queen of Heaven (Antiphon to the Virgin, *Salve regina misericordie*).

**Digital Resources**


**Select Bibliography**

5
Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 118 (AKP)
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria inv. 1254-3 (AKB)
Psalter and abbreviated breviary with offices for Christmas, the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, and the Nativity of the Virgin, ca. 1295–1305
AKB is ex. MS Felton 2, MS Felton 171/3
Also published as the “Aspremont Psalter-Hours” and the “Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter-Hours”

AKP: 182 leaves; 228 x 150 mm; 18 lines
Collation: I–IV8, V6, VI–XVI8, XVII2, XVIII–XXIII8, XXIV6

AKB: 139 leaves; 215 x 150 mm; 18 lines
Collation: I8+4 (fols. 3–6 misbound in IX), II–VI8, VII8+1, VIII8, IX8+1+4, X–XV8, XVI4, XVII8, XVIII8+1

(AKB description after Manion, The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts, 202)

Portraits and Potential Portraits

AKP 7r Lower border medallion; helmeted knight in prayer on horseback; horse's barding and knight's surcoat bear Aspremont arms (gules a cross argent; Ps. 1)
Lower right border medallion; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu wearing dress with Kievraing arms (or a chief bendy of six argent and gules; Ps. 1)
13v Bas-de-page; laywoman in turban kneels in prayer before priest with pointed hat holding nude child (Ps. 9)
24v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before an angel, who appears from heaven to give her a book with a cloth cover (Ps. 19)
25r Bas-de-page; crowned man stands with raised sword and Kievraing shield (Ps. 20)
25v Bas-de-page; woman with black veil kneels at prie-dieu with an open book (Ps. 20)
26r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 21)
27r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight rides a horse, raising shield and sword; horse's barding, knight's surcoat, and shield all bear Kievraing arms (Ps. 21)
28r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont shield and surcoat raises sword against a dragon (Ps. 22)
28v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Ps. 23)
29r Bas-de-page; layman in Aspremont tunic and gold turban stands holding a squirrel and a dog on leashes (Ps. 24)
29v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield kneels in prayer or romantic devotion to figure across opening (see below, fol. 30r; Ps. 24)
30r Bas-de-page; crowned woman stands frontally in vair-lined mantle holding pennants with Aspremont and Kievraing arms to either side (Ps. 24)
37r Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, shield, and pennant stands (Ps. 31)
38r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before cleric performing Mass (Ps. 32)
40r Bas-de-page; laywoman with Aspremont mantle kneels in prayer with prie-dieu before cross (Ps. 33)
42v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before the face of God (Ps. 35)
45r Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight on horseback with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and barding in prayer before nimbed blessing hand (Ps. 36)
48r Bas-de-page; helmed knight on horseback with Kievraing shield charges, aiming spear with Aspremont pennant towards dog chasing stag across the opening (Ps. 38)
49v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer while hand from above bestows Aspremont shield (Ps. 39)
50r Bas-de-page; laywoman gives alms to a cripple (Pss. 39, 40)
51v Small initial; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 42)
52r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 43)
54v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Ps. 45)
55v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin Mary (Ps. 47)
56r Bas-de-page; layman in Aspremont tunic and hat stands holding hawk and lure (Ps. 47)
57r Bas-de-page; laywoman in Kievraing surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before crucifix (Ps. 48)
59r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Virgin Mary (Ps. 50)
61v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 53)
62 Bas-de-page; laywoman in Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer before crucifix (Pss. 53, 54)
64r Bas-de-page; laywoman in Aspremont mantle kneels in prayer before nimbed bishop (Ps. 56)
67r Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat and ailettes and Kievraing shield kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 60)
70v Bas-de-page; laywoman in Kievraing surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Ps. 65)
72r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Ps. 67)
73r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat and shield and Kievraing pennant stands frontally (Ps. 67)
74v Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield raises sword (Ps. 68)
76v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels with open book before cross making sign of benediction (Ps. 69)
77r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 70)
79v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight stands with differenced Aspremont arms on shield and surcoat (gules a cross argent, a label of five points argent) and an Aspremont pennant (Pss. 69, 70)
81v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 73)
83r Bas-de-page; crowned woman in vair cloak stands with hawk and lure (Ps. 73)
85r Bas-de-page; woman with black veil kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before God, who blesses (Ps. 77)
89v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 78)
91v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before cross (Ps. 79)
96r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 85)
97v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 87)
104r Bas-de-page; knight with blazoned shield (party per pale fessy argent and azure dimidiating or on a bend gules a bend argent dansetty) kneels holding scroll (ie suis cortois ie suis dartois, Ps. 91)
104v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels low in prayer at a prie-dieu before an altar with an architectonic reliquary or image (Ps. 93)

106v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 95)

109r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight on horseback with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, shield, and barding charges, aiming staff at dog chasing rabbit across opening (Ps. 98)

110v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield kneels in prayer holding scroll (domine exaudi or[ati]onem me[am]; Ps. 101)

116v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before cross (Ps. 104)

120v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 106)

122v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before seraphim (Ps. 106)

123v Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat stands holding spear and shield with fictive blazons (Ps. 107)

127r Bas-de-page; helmeted knights wearing the arms of Kievraing and Châtillon-Porcien (paly gules and vair, on a chief or a martlet sable) joust (Ps. 109)

129r Bas-de-page; nun in black habit kneels with open book at prie-dieu before cross (Ps. 112)

132r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat and shield raises sword against cross-nimbed blessing hand (Pss. 116, 117)

136v Bas-de-page; nun in black habit kneels with open book at prie-dieu before altar with cross and chalice (Ps. 118, Memorial esto u[er]bi tui)

137r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 118, Portio mea domine)

138r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer with closed book on prie-dieu before nimbed blessing hand (Ps. 118, Manus tue fecerunt)

138v Bas-de-page; layman stands in chaplet and short Kievraing tunic holding hawk and lure (Ps. 118, De fecit in salutare)

139r Small initial; bareheaded knight in Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer (Ps. 118, In eternum domine)

139v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 118, Lucerna pedibus meis)

141v Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with spear on horseback with Aspremont barding, surcoat, ailettes, shield, and pennant (Ps. 118, Iustus es domine)

142v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 118, Uide humilitate[m] meam)

143r Bas-de-page; knight in chain mail coif with Aspremont surcoat and shield stands with spear (Ps. 118, Principes persecuti sunt)

144r Small initial; two laywoman kneel in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 120)

146r Bas-de-page; layman kneels in prayer (Pss. 124, 125)

148r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 130)

150r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 134)

152v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 137)

153r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 138)

154v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels with open book (reading domine [...] deo) at prie-dieu (Ps. 139)
155v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 140)
156r  Bas-de-page; knight in chain mail coif with Aspremont surcoat and shield stands holding spear with a pennant bearing a different blazon (azure a bend sinister argent; Ps. 141)
160r  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before the face of God (Ps. 145)
161v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Ps. 148)
167r  Bas-de-page; laywoman in Aspremont surcoat kneels with open book (reading domine deus me[n]is) at prie-dieu (Canticle of Habakkuk)
169r  Bas-de-page; laywoman with small dog kneels with open book at prie-dieu (Canticle of Moses, Audite celli)
169v  Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, helmet, and pennant and Kievraing shield stands facing woman across opening (see below; Canticle of Moses, Audite celli)
170r  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels with open book at prie-dieu (Canticle of Moses, Audite celli)
172r  Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont shield on horseback aims spear with differently blazoned pennant (gules a bend argent) towards dog chasing rabbit, across opening (Canticle of the Three Children)

AKB 1r  Lower border medallion; helmeted knight with overpainted Aspremont arms on horseback in prayer (Office for Christmas, First Vespers)
      Lower right border medallion; laywoman in overpainted Kievraing surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Office for Christmas, First Vespers)
2r   Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before the face of God (Office for Christmas, First Vespers)
5v   Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight in overpainted Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels with laywoman in overpainted Kievraing surcoat, who kneels in prayer at a prie-dieu with a book closed upon it (Office for Christmas, Compline for the Vigil)
7r   Small miniature beside historiated initial; two laywomen, one in an overpainted Kievraing surcoat, kneel in prayer at a prie-dieu before John the Baptist, who appears in a border medallion (Office for Christmas, Matins)
      Bas-de-page; helmeted knights wearing the arms of Châtillon-Porcien and Kievraing (overpainted) joust (Office for Christmas, Matins)
      Lower border medallion; helmeted knight in prayer on horseback with Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and barding (Office for Christmas, Matins)
19v  Bas-de-page; laywoman in overpainted Kievraing surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Office for Christmas, Matins)
22v  Left margin; helmeted knight in Aspremont surcoat with Kievraing shield stands facing frontally (Office for Christmas, Matins)
24r  Bas-de-page; laywoman in Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer before Saint Luke as scribe (Office for Christmas, Matins)
28v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for Christmas, Matins)
29r  Bas-de-page; two helmeted knights in the arms of Dampierre (or a lion rampant sable, a label of five points gules) and Bar (azure crusuly or, two barbels adorsed or) joust (Office for Christmas, Prime)
29v  Small initial; bareheaded knight in Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels before face of God (Office for Christmas, Prime)
30r Bas-de-page; two laywomen in overpainted Kievraing and overpainted Aspremont mantles each kneel before a prie-dieu with a closed book resting upon it (Office for Christmas, Terce)

31v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight in overpainted Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer with a laywoman, who kneels in prayer before a prie-dieu while a page holds the knight’s horse and sword (Office for Christmas, Sext)

32v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial with the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Office for Christmas, Nones)
Lower left margin; helmeted knight with overpainted Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and pennant and overpainted Kievraing shield stands frontally (Office for Christmas, Nones)

33v Bas-de-page; laywoman in Aspremont surcoat and nun in black habit each kneel in prayer at a prie-dieu (Office for Christmas, Vespers)

34v Bas-de-page; crowned man kneels at prie-dieu (Office for Christmas, Vespers)

35v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat and Kievraing shield stands looking right (Office for Christmas, Vespers)

37v Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for Christmas, Compline)

38r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Office for Christmas, Compline)

38v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Purification, First Vespers)

40r Small initial; layman in prayer (Office for the Purification, First Vespers)

40v Large initial; crowned woman in prayer at prie-dieu with closed book before face of God (Office for the Purification, Compline for the Vigil)

41v Left margin; laywoman in overpainted Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer before large initial of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Office for the Purification, Matins)
Bas-de-page; laywoman in overpainted Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Office for the Purification, Matins)

46v Bas-de-page; nun in black veil kneels in prayer before the Virgin and Child (Office for the Purification, Matins)

49r Large initial; helmeted knight on horseback with overpainted Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, shield, and barding in prayer before face of God (Office for the Purification, Terce)

50r Bas-de-page; laywoman in overpainted Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Office for the Purification, Sext)

50v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with layman kneeling in prayer behind before large initial of Saint Peter the Martyr (Office for the Purification, Nones)

51v Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before Christ, who carries a book (Office for the Purification, Vespers)

53v Bas-de-page; bareheaded knight in overpainted Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer (Office for the Purification, Compline)

54v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels with open book at prie-dieu before cross (Office for the Annunciation, First Vespers)

56r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Annunciation, Compline for the Vigil)

56v Small initial; layman in prayer (Office for the Annunciation, Compline for the Vigil)
57r Bas-de-page; two helmeted knights joust wearing arms indistinguishable by overpainting and overpainted Kievraing arms, respectively (Office for the Annunciation, Matins)

57v Bas-de-page; nun in black habit kneels in prayer at prie-dieu on which rests a closed book (Office for the Annunciation, Matins)

58v Small initial; laywoman in prayer (Office for the Annunciation, Matins)

61v Small initial; layman in prayer (Office for the Annunciation, Matins)

63v Small initial; layman in prayer (Office for the Annunciation, Lauds)

66r Large initial; bareheaded knight with overpainted Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Annunciation, Sext)

67r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before Saint Cecilia (Office for the Annunciation, Nones)

68r Bas-de-page; laywoman and nun in black veil each kneel with an open book at a prie-dieu (Office for the Annunciation, Vespers)

69v Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before an altar with an image of the Virgin and Child (Office for the Annunciation, Compline)

70r Bas-de-page; layman and cleric kneel in prayer (Office for the Assumption, First Vespers)

71r Left border medallion; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, First Vespers)

74r Large initial; bareheaded knight with overpainted Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Assumption, Compline for the Vigil)

78v Left margin; laywoman in Aspremont surcoat stands in prayer before large initial of the Assumption of the Virgin (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

83r Bas-de-page; laywoman in overpainted Aspremont surcoat kneels in prayer before the Virgin Mary (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

84r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight holds a Kievraing shield and sword (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

85v Small initial; layman in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

89v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

90v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Office for the Assumption, Matins)

91r Bas-de-page; helmeted knight with Aspremont surcoat and Kievraing shield stands looking at praying woman across the opening (Office for the Assumption, Matins; see above)

92v Large initial; bareheaded knight with Aspremont surcoat and ailettes kneels in prayer before an altar with an image of the Virgin and Child while his horse stands behind (Office for the Assumption, Lauds)

93r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Lauds)

96r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Lauds)

99r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer before cross (Office for the Assumption, Lauds)

107r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Prime)

108v Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Assumption, Terce)

110r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Terce)
Appendix

112v  Large initial; laywoman kneels with open book at prie-dieu before an altar with an image of the Virgin and Child (Office for the Assumption, Sext)

119r  Bas-de-page; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Assumption, Nones)

120r  Bas-de-page; cleric and nun in black habit kneel in prayer (Office for the Assumption, Vespers)

121v  Large initial; bareheaded knight with overpainted Aspremont surcoat, ailettes, and shield kneels in prayer before face of God, with horse behind (Office for the Assumption, Compline)

123r  Bas-de-page; laywoman stands in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, First Vespers)

123v  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, First Vespers)

124v  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, First Vespers)

125r  Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before Crucifix holding scroll reading, *AVE* : *IHESU* : *XP* : *TR* : *PATER* (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Compline for the Vigil)

125v  Small initial; laywoman stands in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Compline for the Vigil)

126r  Bas-de-page; laywoman and nun in black habit kneel in prayer between suspended shields with overpainted Aspremont and Kievraing arms (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Matins)

127r  Small initial; crowned figure in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Matins)

132r  Bas-de-page; two laywomen each kneel with an open book at a prie-dieu (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Lauds)

134r  Large initial; layman kneels in prayer before female saint (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Terce)

135r  Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Sext)

137r  Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Vespers)

138r  Large initial; two laywomen kneel in prayer to either side of Christ holding a palm (Office for the Nativity of the Virgin, Compline)

Digital Resources

Full images from AKP are available on Artstor Digital Library (subscription only), searchable with the keyword “Aspremont.” http://www.artstor.org

Select Bibliography


6

König Hours

Cologne, Collection of Renate König, on loan to Kolumba (KH)

Book of hours for uncertain use, early fourteenth century
Ex. Sotheby’s 3.vi.84, lot 77; also published as the “Kraus Hours”

247 leaves; 130 x 90 mm; 12 lines
Collation: I8, II2, III8-1, IV6, V–XII8, XIII8-2, XIV6, XV4, XVI–XVIII8, XIV8-1, XX–XXV8, XXVI6, XXVII2-1, XXVIII8, XXIX8-1, XXX8-2, XXXI8-1+2, XXXII–XXXIII8, XXXIV8-1, XXXV6-1
(Collation after König in Plotzek et al., eds., Ars vivendi, ars moriendi, 94)

Portraits and Potential Portraits

1r Left border medallion; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with closed book (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
Lower border medallion; layman kneels in prayer with sleeping dog (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)

24v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with closed book before an altar with a cross (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)

40r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with closed book with a seated dog (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

51v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)

57r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before small initial with Crucifixion (Hours of the Virgin: Suffrages following Lauds)

63r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Suffrages following Lauds)

64v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels low with open book at prie-dieu beside seated dog (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)

66v Small initial; layman or laymen in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)

71v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)

72r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)

73v Small initial; layman or cleric kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)

74r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)

78r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before God, blessing, above (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)

79r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu beside seated dog (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)

79v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)

80r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)

83v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)
84v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with open book (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)
85r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)
89r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)
91v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
96v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
98r Small initial; layman kneels low in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)
101r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)
102r Small initial; laywoman stands with book before face of God (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)
104r Right border medallion; layman kneels in prayer before large initial of Resurrection (Penitential Psalms, Ps. 6)
111r Small initial; layman in archaizing cloak in prayer before face of God (Penitential Psalms, Ps. 50)
129v Small initial; layman kneels and points to his eye before face of God (Office for the Dead, Ps. 120)
135r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
142r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
143r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
144v Small initial; layman in archaizing cloak in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
146r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Dead)
149r Small initial; layman kneels and points to his eye before face of God (Office for the Dead, Ps. 26)
155v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
165v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
166r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu before face of God (Office for the Dead)
167v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
170v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
174v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before face of God (Office for the Dead)
184v Marginal initial; layman with long hair kneels in prayer beneath Christ, who blesses (Office for the Dead)
190r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Hours of the Passion: Matins)
192r Marginal initial; laywoman kneels holding a cross (Hours of the Passion: Matins)
205r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Lauds)
209r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Prime)
209v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Prime)
211r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Terce)
217r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Terce)
217v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Terce)
219r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu with closed book (Hours of the Passion: Sext)
219v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Sext)
225r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Passion: Sext)
225v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Sext)
226v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Passion: rubric for Nones)
227r Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Passion: Nones)
235r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Passion: Nones)
239r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Vespers)
240r Small initial; layman kneels in prayer before the Virgin Mary (Hours of the Passion: Vespers, Canticle of Mary)
241v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer at prie-dieu (Hours of the Passion: Vespers)
245r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Compline)
245v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Compline)
246v Small initial; layman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Passion: Compline)

Select Bibliography

7
Metz Psalter-Hours
Metz, Bibliothèques-médiathèques MS 1588
Book of hours for Metz use, ca. 1295?
Also published as the “Très Riches Heures de Metz”

258 leaves; 134 x 100 mm; 19 lines

Portraits and Potential Portraits
23r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Ps. 13)
39r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book (Ps. 27)
39v Small initial; laywoman prostrate in prayer (Ps. 28)
43v Bas-de-page; laywoman kneels and holds aloft a square tambourine (compare Morgan Library MS M.730, fol. 42v; Ps. 31)
46v Small initial; laywoman stands in prayer (Ps. 34)
50v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar and face of God (Ps. 36)
54v Small initial; laywoman sits with open book (Ps. 39)
202 | Appendix

58r  Small initial; layman stands in prayer (Ps. 42)
66v  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with rosary before altar with cross (Ps. 50)
75r  Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Ps. 59)
80r  Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book (Ps. 66)
85v  Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Ps. 69)
86r  Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before face of God (Ps. 70)
87r  Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book (Ps. 70)
92r  Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 74)
105v Small initial; laywoman stands in prayer (Ps. 85)
106r Right margin; laywoman sits in chair with open book on a built-in lectern (Ps. 85)
108r Right margin; laywoman prostrates herself in prayer (Ps. 88)
112r Right margin; laywoman stands with rosary (Ps. 90)
117v Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Ps. 96)
120r Right margin; laywoman stands holding small dog (Ps. 100)
125r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer with rosary (Ps. 104)
135v Small initial; laywoman sits with open book (Ps. 111)
137r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer; a small, closed book is drawn but not painted beside her (Ps. 114, 115)
138r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book and rosary (Ps. 117)
143r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 118, Bonitatem fecisti)
148r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar with cross (Ps. 118, Principes perseeunt)
158v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Ps. 138)
160v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar with cross (Ps. 140)
166v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar (Ps. 148)
173r Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book (Canticle of Habakkuk)
183r Large initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before the Virgin and Child enthroned as Christ offers her a crown (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
183v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before an altar (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
187r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
188r Right margin; laywoman stands with open book and rosary (Hours of the Virgin: Matins)
195r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)
196v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Lauds)
197v Marginal initial; laywoman stands in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)
200r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book (Hours of the Virgin: Prime)
203v Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)
203v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)
204r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Crucifixion (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)
206r Small initial; laywoman kneels with open book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)
207r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer with rosary (Hours of the Virgin: Nones)
210r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar with cross (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
214r Small initial; laywoman kneels with book before altar (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
   Small initial; laywoman stands in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
   Bas-de-page miniature; laywoman kneels in prayer before the resurrected Christ
   (Hours of the Virgin: Vespers)
215v Small initial; hooded man stands in prayer (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)
219r Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book (Penitential Psalms, Ps. 31)
220r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer before altar with cross (Penitential Psalms,
   Ps. 37)
237r Right margin; laywoman stands with open book (Office for the Dead)
242v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead)
247r Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Office for the Dead)

Digital Resources
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   album by user bmmetz,
   https://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/sets/72157640916985905/ (includes full
   images of the manuscript, but out of order and lacking folio-specific metadata)
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   Palais, L’Art au temps des rois maudits (1998), 314–315 (catalog entry by François Avril);
   Hamburger, John the Divine (2002), 112; Stones, “Some Portraits” (2007), 8, 19; Wirth, Les
   marges à drôleries (2008), 68, 121, 344; Bennett, “Issues of Female Patronage” (2013), 241;

8
Margaret Hours
London, British Library Add. MS 36684
New York, Morgan Library MS M.754
Book of hours for Hospitallers use with a Life of Saint Margaret, after 1318
Also published as the “Hours of Marguerite de Beaujeu,” “Marguerite’s Hours,” and the “Saint-
Omer Hours”

MHB: 155 leaves; 155 x 106 mm; 17 lines
Collation: I–II6, III8, IV8, V8, VI8, VII8, VIII–XVI8, XVII8, XVIII–XX8
MHM: 137 leaves; 156 x 109 mm; 17 lines
Collation: I–VI8, VII8, VIII–IX8, X6, XI–XIII8, XIV4, XV1, XVI–XIX8

Portraits and Potential Portraits
MHB 39r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Nativity (Hours of
   the Virgin: Lauds)
43v Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of the
   Annunciation to the Shepherds (Hours of the Virgin: Terce)
46v Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of the Adoration
   of the Magi (Hours of the Virgin: Sext)
49r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Hours of the Virgin: None)

56r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Flight into Egypt (Hours of the Virgin: Compline)

60r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer with open book before her before large initial of the Harrowing of Hell (Penitential Psalms)

MHM 1r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer within architectonic frame before large initial of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Matins)

5v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer with open book behind her before large initial of John the Evangelist (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Lauds)

9r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Saint Peter (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Prime)

11r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Saint Paul (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Terce)

13v Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of Saint Andrew (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Sext)

15v Right margin; laywoman kneels low in prayer before large initial of Saint James (Hours of the Holy Spirit: None)

17v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Saint John the Baptist preaching (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Vespers)

Left margin; boy kneels in prayer before large initial of Saint John the Baptist (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Vespers)

19v Right margin; laywoman kneels low in prayer before large initial of an apostle with a spear (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Compline)

20v Small initial; laywoman kneels in prayer (Hours of the Holy Spirit: Compline, Canticle of Simeon)

25r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer within architectonic frame before large initial of the Sacrifice of Abel (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Matins)

33v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Melchizedek (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Lauds)

38r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Prime)

40v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of cripples eating bread (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Terce)

43r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Miracle of Manna (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Sext)

45v Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Christ administering communion to a crowned knight (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: None)

47v Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of Elijah asleep (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Vespers)

Left margin; boy stands in prayer before large initial of Elijah (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Vespers)

51r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Christ Washing the Disciples’ Feet (Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Compline)

55v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer within architectonic frame before large initial of the Betrayal of Christ (Hours of the Holy Cross: Matins)
59v Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of the Mocking of Christ (Hours of the Holy Cross: Lauds)

63v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Christ before Pilate (Hours of the Holy Cross: Prime)

65v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Flagellation of Christ (Hours of the Holy Cross: Terce)

67v Left margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of Christ Carrying the Cross (Hours of the Holy Cross: Sext)

69v Left margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of the Crucifixion (Hours of the Holy Cross: Nones)

71v Left margin; layman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Deposition (Hours of the Holy Cross: Vespers)

74v Left margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of the Entombment (Hours of the Holy Cross: Compline)

78r Right margin; laywoman kneels with open book before large initial of Saint Jerome (Psalter of Saint Jerome)

113v Miniature; laywoman kneels with open book (Passion According to Saint John)

114r Right margin; laywoman kneels in prayer before large initial of the Virgin Mary at the Ascension of Christ (Life of Saint Margaret: Après la sainte passion / Ib[es]u crist a lascension)

Digital Resources


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   “König Hours,” Book of hours for uncertain use

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1-1. König Hours, fols. 39v–40r

1-1. Morgan Hours, fol. 21r

1-2. Morgan Hours, fol. 93v, detail
1-3. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, fol. 33v


1-5. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, fol. 6v

1-6. Annunciation with portrait of Abbot Suger, Infancy window, Basilica of Saint-Denis
1-7. Morgan Hours, fol. 130r, detail

1-8. Tympanum of the Porte Rouge, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris

1-9. Entrail tomb of Isabelle of Aragon, Cosenza

1-10. Donor portraits of Raoul de Senlis, Saint-Vincent Chapel windows, Beauvais Cathedral
1-15. De Brailes Hours, fol. 39v

1-16. Aspremont-Kievaing Prayer Book, AKB fol. 41v

1-17. Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, BPH fol. 1r

1-18. Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, BPH fol. 32v
1-19. Baltimore-Paris Psalter-Hours, BPH fol. 30v

2-1. Mirror case with two lovers

2-2. Margaret Hours, MHB fols. 103v–104r
2-3. König Hours, fol. 245r

2-4. Bute Psalter, fol. 32v

2-5. De Lisle Hours, fol. 29r, detail

2-6. De Lisle Psalter, fol. 126v, detail
2-21. Margaret Hours, MHM fol. 47v

2-22. Margaret Hours, MHM fol. 45v

2-23. Margaret Hours, MHM fol. 27r

2-24. London, British Library Harley MS 1585, fol. 9r, detail
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3-6. Franciscan Psalter-Hours, FH fols. 20v–21r

3-7. Franciscan Psalter-Hours, FH fol. 40r

3-8. Franciscan Psalter-Hours, FP fol. 123r
3-17. Franciscan Psalter-Hours, FP fol. 153v

3-18. Franciscan Psalter-Hours, FH fol. 141v

3-19. Ruskin Hours (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig IX 3), fol. 45v

3-20. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKB fol. 5v
3.21. Aspremont-Kievraing Family Tree

Nicolas de Kievraing + Julienne de Looz

Marie de Kievraing + Renaud de Bar

Thiébaut II de Bar Count of Bar

Marie de Bar

Gobert VII d'Aspremont + Agnes de Coucy

Joffroy III d'Aspremont Lord of Aspremont and Dun (r. ca. 1278) and Kievraing (r. by 1294–1302)

Isabelle de Kievraing

Jean II de Dampierre

Gobert VIII d'Aspremont Lord of Aspremont, Dun, and Kievraing (r. 1304–1325)

Henri d'Aspremont Bishop of Verdun

Mahaut d'Aspremont + Simon de Lalaing Lord of Kievraing (r. 1325–1333)

Marie d'Aspremont

Guillaume de Dampierre

Marguerite de Dampierre

Guacher de Châtillon Count of Porcien

Gaucher II de Châtillon

Mahaut d'Aspremont + Simon de Lalaing Lord of Kievraing (r. 1325–1333)
3-26. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKP fol. 45r, detail

3-27. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKP fol. 49v–50r

3-28. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKP fol. 132r, detail
3-32. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKP fol. 44v, detail

3-33. Aspremont-Kievraing Prayer Book, AKP fol. 24v, detail

4-1. Psalter-Hours “of Yolande de Soissons,” fol. 232v

4-2. Metz Psalter-Hours, fol. 183r
4-14. Chartres south rose window

4-15. Roger de Gaignières, Drawing after the tomb of Isabelle of Aragon in the basilica of Saint-Denis

4-16. Tomb of Meheus du Chastelier

4-17. Margaret Hours, MHB fol. 125r
5-1. König Hours, fols. 226v–227r

5-2. König Hours, fols. 218v–219r
5-3. König Hours, fols. 84v–85r

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