



ICONOGRAPHISK POST  
NORDISK TIDSKRIFT FÖR BILDTOLKNING  
NORDIC REVIEW OF ICONOGRAPHY

NR 3/4, 2020

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ICONOGRAPHISK POST • NORDISK TIDSKRIFT FÖR BILDTOLKNING  
NORDIC REVIEW OF ICONOGRAPHY NR 3/4, 2020. ISSN 2323-5586  
PP. 53–95.

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*Miracle, Moral and Memory: Situating the Miracles in  
the Margins of the Lamoignon Hours (c. 1415)*

*Abstract:* The *Lamoignon Hours* was illuminated in Paris by the Bedford Master for the French princess Jeanne de France around 1415. Whereas the manuscript matches similar luxury books of hours from the Valois court in size, materials and execution, it also contains miniatures and marginal images which have no parallels in contemporary French illumination. In this article, I analyse two of these unparalleled image cycles – the marginal roundels with scenes from the Marian miracles known in contemporary miracle collections as the Empress of Rome (fol. 185v) and the Jewish Boy of Bourges (fol. 202v) – as situated imagery, arguing they may have been motivated by incidents associated with Jeanne de France's parents, the infamous King Charles VI and the equally infamous Queen Isabeau. In as much as Jeanne's book of hours contains images fashioned to support her in her roles as princess, duchess, wife and mother as well as her role as devotee, careful readings of the book's uncommon iconography allow for a deeper understanding of how the Bedford Master catered to the unknown commissioner(s) and/or Jeanne's own desire for the book to combine politics and piety.

*Keywords:* French Illumination, Fifteenth Century, the Bedford Master,  
Marian Miracles



Fig. 1. The Bedford Master, *The Virgin and Child and scenes from the Empress of Rome*, Lamoignon Hours, Paris, c. 1415. Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237, fol. 185v. Photo Museu Gulbenkian.

## Miracle, Moral and Memory:

### Situating the Miracles in the Margins of the *Lamoignon Hours* (c. 1415)

Ragnhild M. Bø

The *Lamoignon Hours* (Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237), illuminated by the Bedford Master and certainly owned by Jeanne de France, daughter of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria around 1415, is a truly conspicuous example of a manuscript illuminated with inventive imagination and technical skills – *engin* and *artifice*. Despite this, it is relatively rarely studied.<sup>1</sup> In its present-day condition, the ownership of Jeanne de France is evidenced by the coats of arms impaled on the coffin in the funeral scene, placed at the opening of the Monday Hours of the Dead (fol. 216v), while the coat of arms of Jeanne’s daughter, Isabelle, are visible in the two miniatures with a woman kneeling in prayer (fol. 202v and fol. 286v); it was probably added above those of her mother. The book takes its name from the collector Chrétien-François II de Lamoignon (1735–1789), who had the letter L stamped on fol. 3.

The *Lamoignon Hours* matches similar luxury books of hours from the Valois court in its size, materials, and execution: in particular the almost identical *Vienna Hours* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Clm 1855) and (the first campaign) of the *Bedford Hours* (London, British Library, MS Add 18850). It also contains miniatures and marginal images that have no parallels in contemporary French illuminations. In this article, I analyze two of

these unparalleled image cycles – the marginal roundels with scenes from the Marian miracles known as the Empress of Rome (fol. 185v) and the Jewish Boy of Bourges (fol. 202v) – by applying the concepts of situated knowledge and the situational eye (figs. 1–2).<sup>2</sup> These concepts help to place the dependence of meaning within a specific socio-historical, geographical and cultural context,<sup>3</sup> in this case the role of individuals and their engagement with artists and self-representation in art at the extended French court in a period in which France was torn apart by events unfolding during the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453), the Western Schism (1378–1417), and the Armagnac-Burgundian feud (1407–1435). I thus argue the rare imagery were motivated by incidents associated with Jeanne de France's parents in these politically troubled, yet artistically prolific times.

Further arguments for the book's supportive role and embeddedness in historical events emerge from a situational reading of the miniature placed at the opening of the book's sole suffrage, St Anne teaching the Virgin to Read (fol. 206v). Taken in aggregate, the two miracle cycles and the miniature of St Anne seem to meaningfully connect Jeanne's parents' past and her own present: visually supporting her in her roles as princess, duchess, wife and mother. Moreover, the same images, unusual as they are, testify to the Bedford Master's ability to cater to the unknown commissioner(s) and/or Jeanne's own wishes to have the book combine politics and piety.

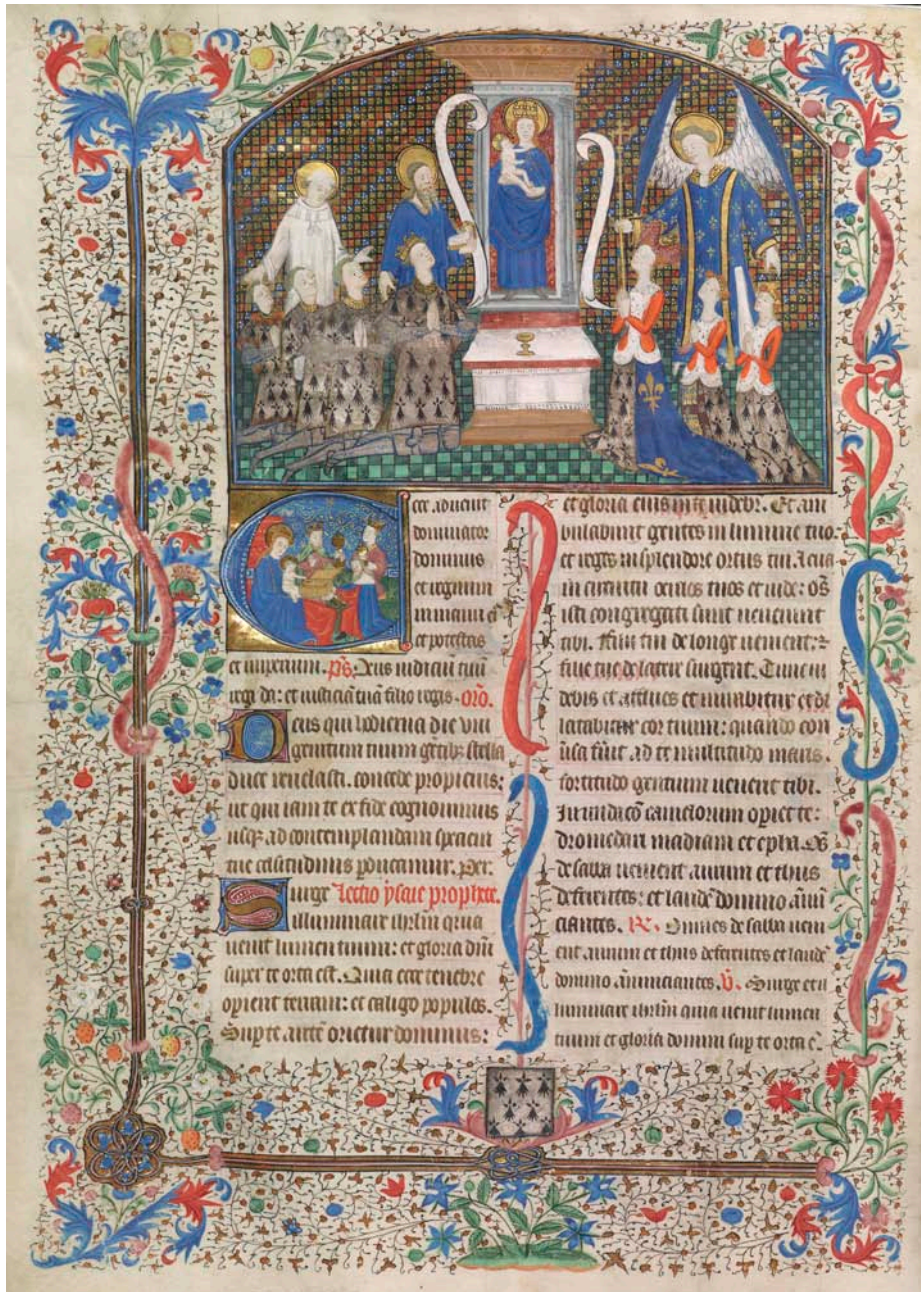
### *Jeanne de France, Religious Patronage, and the Lamoignon Hours*

Jeanne de France (1391–1433) was born at the Château de Melun as the fourth child of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, king and queen of France. At the age of six, she was married to the count of Montfort, later Jean VI duke of Brittany. The marriage was intended to strengthen the ties between the somewhat unruly duchy of Brittany and the kingdom of France in the ongoing war with England. It is depicted in a mid-fifteenth-century miniature in one of the many surviving copies of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* (Paris, BnF, MS français 2648, fol. 225 – fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> As the miniature was painted more than fifty years after the marriage, it is perhaps no wonder the representation is somewhat inaccurate given that the two were merely eight and five at the time.

Jeanne remained in the household of her mother, Queen Isabeau for another decade; she did not arrive in Brittany until 15 March 1405. She brought a trousse-



Fig. 2. The Bedford Master, *Jeanne de France at prayer and scenes from the Jewish Boy of Bruges*, Lamoignon Hours, Paris, c. 1415. Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237, fol. 202v. Photo Museu Gulbenkian.



seau filled with “*joyeux* of gold and silver, some garnished with precious stones, others without precious stones, gold and silver plate, dresses and habits [wearables] for her body, with as much embroidery as any, state beds, tapestries, linen, horses, chariots, harness [accountrements for a horse] and other things.”<sup>5</sup> The various items were all given her by her parents, and Isabeau would later solicit reimbursement for the contents of her trousseau, stating that its value was 50 000 francs. The dowry itself was 150 000 francs. When confronted with this great expenditure, Isabeau purportedly explained the largesse as “a sign of affection from a mother to her daughter whom she loved dearly, because she was going to live apart from her henceforth and that his [the king’s] gesture did not prejudice anything as to the 150,000 francs which constituted the sum of dowry.”<sup>6</sup>

The ducal couple had seven children: Anne (born 1409), Isabelle (1411), Marguerite (1412), François (1414), Catherine (1416), Pierre (1418) and Gilles (1420). Isabelle married Guy XIV of Laval, Catherine married Étienne Jamin, and François and Pierre became subsequent dukes of Brittany. Gilles died before his older brothers and did not rise to such prominence, and Anne and Marguerite died in infancy. In a missal made for the Carmelite church in Nantes in the 1440s, the family is depicted in a miniature placed at the opening of the Epiphany (Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett MS 40, fol. 21v). Jean VI and Jeanne kneel on either side of the Carmelite statue of the Virgin and Child, with their three sons and two of their daughters. The daughter situated next to Jeanne is Isabelle; she is identifiable by the depiction of the coat of arms of Brittany and Laval on her robe (fig. 3).

Diane Booton has convincingly demonstrated how all the miniatures in the missal are incorporated as a unique memorial to members of the Montfort family, the house which ruled Brittany from 1364 to 1514. Moreover, Booton argues the missal’s visual memorials as well as “depictions of historical events, raise questions about the role and agency of the Carmelite order in shaping a favored identity and heritage for the Breton rulers.”<sup>7</sup> As Jeanne de France died in

Fig. 3. Jean VI and Jeanne de France with their children François, Pierre, Gilles, Isabelle and Catherine kneeling in front of the Carmelite statue of the Virgin and Child, accompanied by St Yves, St John the Baptist and the Archangel Gabriel, Carmelite Missal, Nantes, 1440’s and 1470’s. Princeton, Princeton University Library Garrett MS 40, fol. 17v.

Photo Princeton University Library.



Fig. 4. *The marriage between Jeanne de France and (the future) Duke Jean VI of Brittany, Jean Froissart, Chroniques. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fr 2648, fol. 225r. Photo BnF.*

1432, the missal was never intended to be viewed by her. Nevertheless, the tradition of emphasizing ancestors, family, and historical events by visual means would have been familiar to her – and the *Lamoignon Hours* is a pertinent case in point. Before I turn to the manuscript itself, however, I will briefly explore Jeanne's role – both active and passive – in commissions of religious material culture.

Jean VI of Brittany was deeply involved in religious patronage; most notably by supporting the building of the chapel of Saint-Fiacre in Faouët and various works on the cathedral in Nantes.<sup>8</sup> Jeanne's role was subservient to her husband's, but they both participated in the processions and celebrations arranged during the Dominican monk Vincent Ferrer's grand tour of sermons across Brittany (Ferrer was canonized in 1455).<sup>9</sup> Whereas the support for Vincent Ferrer was of an ephemeral nature, payments made in 1413 to the confraternity of Saint-Yves in Paris, a royal endowment founded by Jean le Bon in 1357 and a very important site for Breton diaspora, enabled the couple to be depicted in sculptural form on the western façade where they flanked St Yves on the trumeau.<sup>10</sup> The sculptures are now lost, but drawings by the antiquarian Roger de Gaignières show that Jeanne was depicted standing while gazing slightly up-

wards with her hands clasped in prayer (fig. 5).<sup>11</sup> The couple also donated money for the stained-glass windows in the church of Saint-Corentin in Quimper. Here, Jeanne is depicted kneeling in prayer, and dressed in a robe that is decorated with her coat of arms; she is protected by St John the Baptist.<sup>12</sup>

The list of items in Jeanne's trousseau does not include manuscripts, and there is no information she commissioned manuscripts from the workshops set up in Nantes and Rennes by her husband.<sup>13</sup> She is mentioned, however, in a few documents which concern her mother's involvement in commissioning books. It is evident that the affection between mother and daughter was demonstrated not only through the trousseau and the dowry, but also through manuscripts. At the request of Queen Isabeau, Jeanne received an illuminated book in 1398. Less than two years later, the queen paid for the cleaning of and some

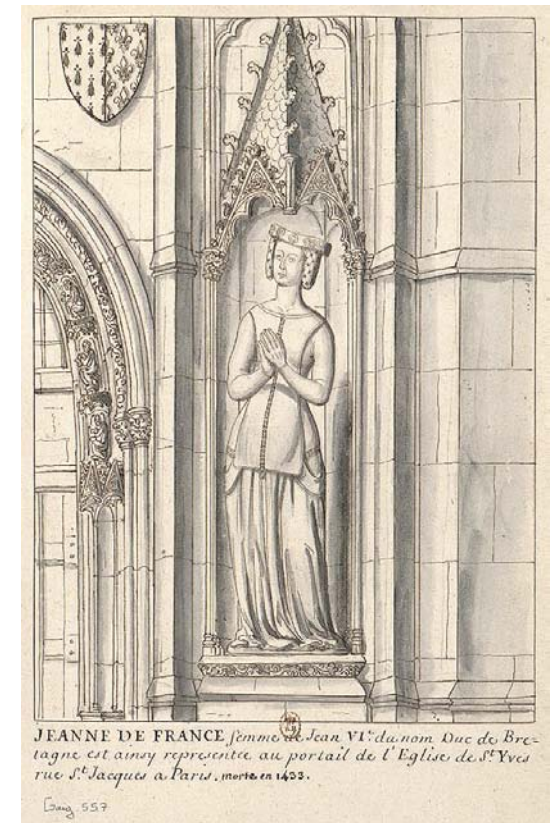


Fig. 5. *Roger de Gaignières, Jeanne de France, sculpture on the façade of Saint-Yves, Paris. Ink on paper, early 18th century. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Photo BnF (<https://www.collecta.fr/permalien/COL-IMG-07171>)*

corrections to a missal belonging to Jeanne. According to the accounts of payment from 1401–1402 and 1403–1404, Queen Isabeau also paid for the addition of coats of arms, silk binding, and two gilt silver clasps for a book of hours in Jeanne's possession.<sup>14</sup> Jeanne would have benefitted from these books while she was still a minor. Documents indicating that the queen continued to involve herself in books owned or used by Jeanne after she came of age have yet to surface.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, as stated above, the coat of arms painted in the funeral scene in the *Lamoignon Hours* evidence her intended or actual ownership of this particular prayer book.

The *Lamoignon Hours* contains thirty-two full-page miniatures placed at the opening of the Gospel Lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the Weekday Hours, and additional prayers.<sup>16</sup> Except for the Annunciation (fol. 25v), all the full-page miniatures are placed within a gold-framed lunette on a verso, and they are all surrounded by five to fourteen marginal scenes in roundels. The overall idea of these scenes is that they expand the iconographical theme of the miniatures, as is also the case with the scenes included in roundels in the margins around the prayers on the opposing rectos. One example is the roundels with scenes from the Passion of Christ in the margins of the Crucifixion at the opening of the Hours of the Cross (fol. 249v) and the three adjacent scenes from the Finding of the True Cross (fol. 250, fig. 6). The only margins which do not adhere to this pattern are those with representations of the two miracles from Gautier de Coinci's compilation; these are painted in the margins around the Virgin and Child at the opening of the Fifteen Joy of the Virgin (fol. 185v) and in the margins around a portrait of Jeanne de France at prayer at the opening of *O Intemerata* (fol. 202v).<sup>17</sup>

The meticulously methodical iconographical programme in the *Lamoignon Hours* suggests a commissioner with considerable financial means and profound knowledge of the manuscripts circulating at the French court. The many similarities with the first campaign of the *Bedford Hours* (London, BL, MS Add 18550) – which was probably initially made for Jeanne's younger brother, the dauphin Louis de Guyenne (who died unexpectedly in 1415 before the book was completed) – suggest the *Lamoignon Hours* came into being at the request of someone at the extended Parisian court. This also holds true for the similarities between the former and the *Vienna Hours* (Vienna, ÖNB, Clm 1855).<sup>18</sup> Jeanne may also have been in possession of one book of hours made in



Fig. 6. The Bedford Master, *Crucifixion and scenes from the Passion and the Finding of the True Cross*, *Lamoignon Hours*, Paris, c. 1415. Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237, fol. 249v–250r. Photo Museu Gulbenkian.

Brittany (possibly at Vannes) between 1420 and 1430. Although this manuscript is less refined in both its *engin* and *artifice*, Jeanne's possible ownership is marked by coats of arms and the full-page inscription *humblement jehanne* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10091, fol. 1, fig. 7).<sup>19</sup>

#### *Instructing Women at the French Royal Court*

A substantial body of primary material on the education of royal women, and scholarly analysis of this evidence, would argue that Jeanne de France received instruction through manuscripts, perhaps in particular through books

of hours. A book belonging to one of her predecessors, the *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (New York, Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters, MS 54.1.2.), is probably the more famous and thus an important case in point.<sup>20</sup> Charles IV gave this tiny book, illuminated by Jean Pucelle, to his new wife Jeanne d'Evreux around 1324.<sup>21</sup> The backdrop to the commission was the Capetian dynasty's dire need for a male heir since all of Charles IV's children by his former wives had died in infancy.

In her discussion of the marginal illuminations in Jeanne d'Evreux's book, Madeleine H. Caviness offers, through the optics of female and male aggression, a feminist and psychosexual reading of an iconography made for a fourteen-year-old bride perceptive to its content. Highlighting the abundance of rabbits as well as the numbers of sexual puns and anagrams, Caviness suggests the margins "would remind Jeanne her duty to produce an heir, and might enhance her desire for offspring."<sup>22</sup> Joan A. Holladay, in her scrutiny of the same book of hours sees the inclusion of the prayer cycle of St Louis as a way of instructing Jeanne d'Evreux to perform acts of charity in a similar manner to that of her saintly ancestor.<sup>23</sup> Gerald B. Guest also focused on the St Louis cycle and found its illuminations served as examples of how to act along the charitable lines established by St Louis; they emphasized a moral imperative and reminded the young queen that not all people are deserving of charity.<sup>24</sup>

The *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* and the *Lamoignon Hours* were commissioned at different points – the former in the earlier phases and the latter at the end – of the era that witnessed a turn from religious truth being governed by the Church and the clergy to religious truth as influenced by the spiritual ambitions in laypersons.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, theologians continuously acted as confessors and almoners at the French court, influencing and nourishing royal offspring. Jean Gerson (d. 1429), chancellor at the University of Paris and on good terms with Queen Isabeau, cared about the pastoral care of his subjects, and he had a particular concern for women and the celebration of female saints.<sup>26</sup> There are no documents proving he was actually involved in the spiritual well-being of Jeanne or any of her sisters, but he was involved with the education of Jeanne's brother, the dauphin Louis de Guyenne; he offered a list of recommended reading to the dauphin's tutor Jean d'Arsonval in 1408–1410.<sup>27</sup> Gerson's list included – as did the royal library in general – texts with religious, moral, historical and fictional as well as scientific contents.<sup>28</sup> The co-existence

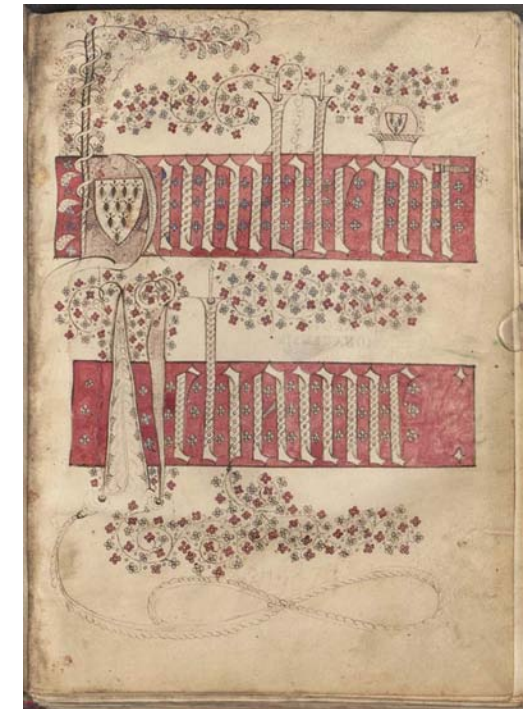


Fig. 7. Frontispiece of a book of hours made in Brittany. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10091, fol. 1. Photo Bayerische Staatsbibliothek/ [www.bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de](http://www.bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de)

of religious ideas and aristocratic ideals as well as of religious and secular manuscripts suggests that the reader-viewers were sensitive to both textual and visual transpositions between these manuscripts.<sup>29</sup>

Even if no documentation proves that Jeanne received a list of recommended reading, the textual and visual content of other manuscripts in the royal library offer an idea of what she would have been able to access. Moreover, the practice of disseminating manuscripts between the many royal residences, Jeanne's upbringing at the court, her mother's interest in book commissions on her behalf as well as the content of the *Lamoignon Hours* itself, suggest Jeanne was just as well versed in the application of symbols and visual puns, as she would have been in visualizations of religious truth.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Jeanne would have been around twenty-four at the time of the making of the *Lamoignon Hours* and a mother of three daughters and, depending on the actual date of commission, one son. If the book were indeed a gift, whoever commissioned it would have known that Jeanne was old enough and able to appreciate sub-



Fig. 8. Jean Pucelle, *The Empress of Rome curing a leper*, in Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris 1328–1334. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 24541, f. 119r. Photo BnF.

pler, less didactic iconography than what Jean Pucelle and his collaborators had painted in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. She may even have had the opportunity to voice her own preferences on the book's content.

The *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* passed to Charles V upon Jeanne d'Evreux's death in 1371 and he kept it among his most precious books at the Château de Vincennes. Another manuscript that entered this collection was Jeanne de Bourgogne's (d. 1348) copy of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame* (Paris, BnF, MS n.acq.fr. 24541).<sup>31</sup> Translating a Latin text into rhymed French verses, Gautier de Coinci compiled his Marian miracles in circa 1218,

adding a second book in the mid-1220s.<sup>32</sup> Jeanne de Bourgogne's manuscript formed part of a commission initiated by Charles IV in 1327 and the situational iconography shaped by Jean Pucelle in the *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* continued in the same artist's many portraits of the king and the queen in the *Miracles*.<sup>33</sup> Anne D. Hedeman has suggested that inspired by these, Charles V had some of his other manuscripts upgraded with situational iconography later in the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the textual and visual content of the *Miracles de Notre Dame* may have offered the Bedford Master and the one(s) responsible for the commission a reservoir for visualisations of model behaviour in the fifteenth century, and in particular in the miracle stories of the Empress of Rome and the Jewish Boy. Most of the women – and men – in Gautier's compilation are notable for their *faiblesse*, the miracles' beneficiaries including a pregnant abbess, an incestuous mother, and a nun wanting to martyr.<sup>35</sup> The two protagonists found in the *Lamoignon Hours*, however, are not vested with *faiblesse*, but subject to other people's severe shortcomings.

#### *The Empress of Rome in Text and Image at the French Royal Court*

The Empress of Rome is the longest and most complex miracle in Gautier's compilation and tells the story of an empress who remains with her brother-in-law when the emperor departs on a pilgrimage.<sup>36</sup> Not responding to the brother-in-law's many invitations, she is falsely accused of adultery when the husband returns. She is condemned to death (!) and, although saved by a prince, trials, tribulations and sexual attacks follow. The many trials lead her to an island where the Virgin finds her, telling the empress that she will find an herb able to cure leprosy. She cures two of her accusers who have fallen ill with leprosy, but having first had them confess in public their sin of falsely accusing her of adultery. The story ends when the empress retires to a convent.<sup>37</sup>

In the copy of the miracles illuminated by Pucelle, the Empress of Rome is enriched with two miniatures: the empress being rescued by the prince (fol. 112v) and the empress curing a leper (fol. 119, fig. 8). Jeanne de Bourgogne also possessed a copy of Jean de Vignay's *Miroir historial*, illuminated by the Fauvel Master in 1333–1334, in which the Empress of Rome is included and given seven miniatures. One of the miniatures shows the empress with the crowned Virgin appearing in her dream and one shows her curing a leper (Paris, BnF, MS fr 316, fols. 382–383v). Nonetheless, even if they were made for a queen, neither of the





Fig. 9. Scenes from the Empress of Rome, in Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, France, ca. 1260. St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS fr. F.v. XIV 9, f. 144r. Photo National Library of Russia.

two matches the pictorial richness of a copy of the miracles made for the noble woman Ade de Soissons around 1260. Ade's copy, however, was present in the royal library at the time of the making of the *Lamoignon Hours*. Her copy contains twelve miniatures of the Empress of Rome, and it ends with an image of the Virgin escorting the empress away from a defeated devil (St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS fr. F.v. XIV 9, fol. 144, fig. 9).<sup>38</sup>

Christine de Pizan included an abbreviated version of the Empress in Rome in her *Livre de la Cité des Dames*. Written around 1405, the book tells the story of how the noblest women of the time are encouraged to go to live with the Virgin, when, on Christine's demand, Rectitude grants them access to the city.<sup>39</sup> Christine's tale has the empress returning to court rather than taking the veil, perhaps in a nod to her courtly audience: "And so it was that her meritorious patience allowed Florence to regain her rank and honour to the greatest delight of the Emperor and all his entourage."<sup>40</sup> This version is included in a miscellaneous manuscript now known as Harley 4431, which was made for Queen Isabeau under the supervision of Christine herself between 1410 and 1414 (London, BL, MS Harley 4431).<sup>41</sup>

The two manuscripts (possibly) made for Jeanne de Bourgogne, the Soissons manuscript and especially the contemporary Harley 4431, would have been readily available repositories of miracle miniatures for both commissioner(s) and artist, not at least because the Master of the Cité des dames, who was responsible for the majority of the Harley illuminations, was assisted by the Bedford Master. However, although there may have been significant links between the manuscripts and the masters, there were never any replication as there are no illustrations at all of the section on Florence in the *Livre de la Cité des Dames* at all. Nevertheless, the Bedford Master invented a unique picture cycle when he painted the scenes in the margins in the *Lamoignon Hours*, possibly facilitated by the fact that these margins are isolated from the miracle text.

#### *Miracles in the Margins I: The Empress of Rome*

Included in the margins around a miniature of the Virgin and Child and placed at the opening of the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, the miracle of the Empress of

Rome is visually present in three roundels as 1) a kneeling woman wearing a crown in the confessional 2) a standing woman wearing a crown confessing, and 3) an undressed woman appealing to an emperor. In the fourth scene, which is without floral framing, the woman is about to be put to death by fire but is saved by an intervening angel. The angel offers clothes to the woman and a letter to a hermit. The two executioners wear pointed hats, which were the hallmark for pictorial representations of Jews in the period. Admittedly, the scenes differ substantially from both Gautier's text and Christine de Pizan's Florence as the empress is threatened with death by burning, and they omit the empress's vision of the Virgin, her curing of a leper, her retirement into a convent/re-installation at the court.

The Virgin and Child and the scenes visualizing the miracle of the Empress of Rome are placed at the opening of the Joys of the Virgin. The *Lamoignon Hours* thus differs from the comparative material in having the prayer written in Latin and being grouped with the *O Intemerata* and the *Obsecro te*: the latter prayers are usually placed at the beginning and the Five Joys at the end.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Bedford Master followed the conventions when he paired the Joys of the Virgin with a miniature of the Virgin and Child, while simultaneously being highly innovative when he included scenes from the Empress of Rome in the margins.

The change in visual components in the *Lamoignon Hours* could be due to now lost versions of the miracle in which a punishment or prospective death by burning was mentioned. On the other hand, there are also copies of Gautier's compilation with unconventional iconography, such as a copy now in Brussels.<sup>43</sup> The omission of the Virgin from the miracle imagery in the *Lamoignon Hours* is, in many ways, made up for by the large representation of her in the miniature that the miracle surrounds. For the reader-viewer, the miniature and margins could be perceived as complementing each other; the Virgin's omnipresence is emphasized through the pictorial size as well as devotional practice. This would therefore serve to encourage Jeanne to have complete faith in the Virgin in the same way as the empress.

Nancy Black has discussed alternate versions of the tale that are highly relevant to understanding the version presented pictorially in the *Lamoignon Hours*. The Empress of Rome is one among forty narratives adapted for performance on stage by the confraternity of Saint-Éloi in Paris between 1349 and

1382.<sup>44</sup> Based on the Old French poem *Vie des Pères*, this dramatized version also differs from Gautier's text. Most tellingly, the play focuses on injustices committed by those responsible for governing and on healing through devotional commitments. This also affects the personage of the empress in the same way as Christine de Pizan would later have Florence do: instead of retiring to a convent, the empress accepts an invitation to a banquet in the pope's palace, and resumes her role as empress. In Black's view, the play ends emphasizing that the empress is in part responsible for reestablishing the patriarchal structure of which she herself, at the beginning of the play, was a victim.<sup>45</sup>

### *Doing and Undoing Body Politics in Turbulent Times*

As mentioned in the introduction, the Hundred Years' War, the Western Schism and the feud between the Burgundians and Armagnacs had severely marred the reign of Charles VI. Seen against this background, the inclusion of two of the miracles in Gautier's compilation may come across as startlingly meaningful. With regard to the Empress of Rome miracle story, it is worth exploring an incident in 1392 involving Charles VI and its subsequent consequences for Isabeau. In August 1392, Charles VI was on his way to Brittany to discuss the assassination of his constable Olivier de Clisson with the duke of Brittany. Close to the city of Le Mans, the king suffered his first bout of insanity and killed several of his own knights. Similar attacks would recur in the following years. During the king's absences, Isabeau would reign together with the king's counsellors, thus securing the French throne on behalf of the dauphin Louis de Guyenne. Her aim was to protect France from the English claim to the throne as well as from the attempts of Philip the Bold (d. 1404) and John the Fearless (d. 1417), successive dukes of Burgundy, to destabilize the kingdom. To this end, she initially sided with Louis of Orléans (d. 1407), Charles VI's extremely ambitious and energetic younger brother, head of the Armagnacs.

Two accounts composed in the midst of these calamities are the *Chronicum Caroli VI Francorum Regis* written in 1405 by Michel Pintoin, and an anonymously composed pamphlet in verse, the *Songe véritable* from c. 1406. Both these texts contributed to a contemporary demonization of Queen Isabeau, accusing her of cupidity and adultery, and specifically of having an affair with Louis of Orléans. These views of the queen seem to have held sway for years as similar accusations are also found in the *Remonstrances de la Université et de la ville*

*de Paris à Charles VI* from 1413.<sup>46</sup> This means that the arguments put forward in the queen's disfavour were quite resilient and still apparent at the court when the *Lamoignon Hours* was in the making, and the prevalence of the rumours probably also meant that Isabeau would have been aware of their content.<sup>47</sup>

These sources are probably the foremost reason for Isabeau's later reputation as a villainess, perhaps seen most vividly among historians writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who in their attempts to shape the great narrative of the French nation were prejudiced against Isabeau on two counts: she was not French, and she was a woman.<sup>48</sup> More recently, Rachel Gibbons and Tracy Adams have both noted that these texts are products of their uneasy, faction-riven time; they were intended as pro-Burgundian attacks upon the rival Armagnac faction.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, accusing French queens or princesses had a long tradition at the French court, and the attempts to disgrace Isabeau echo episodes concerning Blanche of Castile (d. 1252), Bonne of Luxembourg (d. 1349) and the above-mentioned Jeanne de Bourgogne.<sup>50</sup>

Jeanne de Bourgogne, the possible first owner of two of the known copies of Gautier's the *Miracles* in the royal library, was for a long time known as "la male royne boiteuse," the evil lame queen. In ways similar to how Pintoin would write about Isabeau, Jean Froissart and other fifteenth-century chroniclers were rather biased and opinionated when writing about Jeanne de Bourgogne; they struggled with her Burgundian ancestry and her possible dubious influence on her husband Phillip VI at the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>51</sup> Jeanne de Bourgogne herself was never accused of adultery, but her sister Marguerite and two of her sister's sisters-in-law, Blanche and Jeanne, were all put on trial for it in the so-called Tour de Nesle affair in 1314. The three women were married to the three sons of Philip the Fair who were successively kings: Louis X (d. 1316), Philip V (d. 1322) and Charles IV (d. 1328). The two alleged lovers were executed, while Marguerite and Blanche were sentenced to life imprisonment and Jeanne briefly jailed for complicity. Tracy Adams notes that one reason the charges were taken at face value may have been the merging of historical facts and literary tradition, "(...), he [Philip the Fair] was convinced of the guilt of his daughters-in-law because literary tradition predisposed an aural reading public to associate political and adulterous conspiracies."<sup>52</sup>

The Tour de Nesle affair as a trope for repudiating women at the French court easily lends itself to situationally contextualizing the Empress of Rome in

Jeanne de Bourgogne's copy of Gautier's *Miracles* as well as in the *Lamoignon Hours*. One of the three accused women, Blanche, was the first wife of Charles IV. The charges and her imprisonment made her unfit not only as queen, but also as mother of a presumptive male heir. She thus saw the annulment of her marriage in order for Charles IV legally to marry Jeanne d'Evreux.<sup>53</sup> However, Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux did not succeed in saving the Capetian line, and Jeanne de Bourgogne became queen of France when her husband Philip, count of Valois, succeeded Charles IV on the French throne as the first Valois king. As Charles IV was involved in the commission of Jeanne de Bourgogne's copy of Gautier's miracles, the visual rendering of the Empress of Rome and all her trials in this particular manuscript comes across as scenes alluding to actual queens and princesses. It does so both in relation to those successfully (re)assuming power (Jeanne herself) and those unable to do so (Marguerite, Blanche).

As the above-mentioned documentary evidence demonstrates, Isabeau was responsible for both purchasing and refurbishing books for her children. If Isabeau was involved in the making of the *Lamoignon Hours*, regard for her reputation as well as the possible future accusations which might jeopardize the reputation of her daughter in these troubled times of plots and rumours may have led her to request the inclusion of the miracle of the Empress of Rome. If Jeanne was herself in part responsible for the iconographical programme, she could have wanted the miracle to be included as a way of 'repairing' her mother's reputation. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that the Bedford Master himself also had a concern for the reputation of the queen (who would have had him on her payroll); the miracle may therefore have been included as a demonstration of his *engin* and *artifice* in honour of his patron. In any event, in a situational context, the Empress in the *Lamoignon Hours* merges with all the above-mentioned women from the French court as her story embodies the many painful and shameful experiences of these historical women. Additionally, the miracle provides a very important didactic message discernable to Jeanne de France: the one who withstands tribulations will be saved. The Virgin does not discriminate against anyone, not even those accused of adultery and/or promiscuity.

One further detail adds to a contemporary understanding of the miracle: namely the inclusion of a peacock. According to medieval bestiaries, the pea-

cock is a bird that has a flesh which is too hard to cook and which does not rot, a quality that in religious symbolism alludes to those people unaffected by the flames of lust. The bird is also associated with vanity.<sup>54</sup> As much as it adds to the miracle's focus on chastity, in the carnal sense as well as in the spiritual sense, the bird also adds to the miracle's secular meaning: the peacock was one of the emblems used by Louis de Guyenne, Jeanne's brother and the dauphin for whom Isabeau made her political manoeuvres. Here, the peacock is tucked between the Empress confessing and the Empress talking to her confessor, thus obliquely visualizing the queen's negotiations on behalf of her son. The dauphin's untimely death at 18 in 1415 also makes the peacock a visual remembrance of Louis in his sister's book of hours.<sup>55</sup> For a different visual remembrance, we now turn to the second miracle from Gautier's compilation.

### *The Jewish Boy of Bourges as Miracle Narrative*

The Miracle of the Jewish Boy in Bourges features a different type of protagonist. The tale does not focus on *faiblesse* or chastity; rather, it tells the story of a young Jewish boy who just wants to follow his Christian friends in their devotional activities. After he enters a church and receives the sacrament of Holy Communion (although he is a child), his father punishes him by throwing him into a furnace. The boy is protected from the flames by the Virgin and is rescued by the village people. Angry with the father, these people throw him into the furnace instead. The incubational role of the Virgin in the miracle is further stressed by the fact that in the aftermath of the miracle, many Jews convert to Christianity.<sup>56</sup>

Anti-Judaism is a strong element in this miracle, as it is also in other miracles in the compilation, as for instance the miracle story in which a Jew dies after mocking an image of the Virgin belonging to his Christian neighbour and throwing it into a privy.<sup>57</sup> As will be further argued below, in the *Lamoignon Hours* the miracle of the Jewish boy may have been included for other quite different reasons than its otherwise overt anti-Judaic sentiments.

Apart from single miniatures of the Jewish boy put in the furnace in the Pucelle copy of the miracles that belonged to Jeanne de Bourgogne (Paris, BnF, MS n.acq.fr. 24541, fol. 35) and other illuminated copies of the miracles (e.g. Besançon, BM, MS 551 fol. 32), there are no other traces of this story in French manuscript painting. However, the miracle is present in other material and oth-

er regions, including thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stained-glass windows and altar frontals.<sup>58</sup> Isolated scenes from the miracle are also found in four English manuscripts from the fourteenth century, namely the *Queen Mary Psalter* (London, BL, MS Royal 2 B VII, fol. 208), the *Neville of Hornby Hours* (London, BL, MS Egerton 2781, fol. 24), the *Bohun Psalter-Hours* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 4.4., fol. 203v), and the *Bohun Hours* (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott, 547 4°, 14v).<sup>59</sup>

In these English books of hours, the miracle accompanies a variety of texts; it decorates a Psalm in the *Queen Mary Psalter* and a prayer to the Virgin in the *Neville of Hornby Hours*, while in one of the Bohun manuscripts the miracle is placed at the end of the prayer for Prime and in the other it is placed at the opening of the same prayer. Varying in content and executed in different decades in the fourteenth century by different masters, the one point these books have in common is that they were probably all made for noblewomen.<sup>60</sup>

The most common image to be extracted from Gautier's text is the moment when the boy is saved from the flames by the protective gesture of the Virgin. This scene is found in the window of the cathedral of Le Mans, in the Besançon manuscript, in the Bohun manuscript and in the two Norwegian altar frontals, faithfully adjusted to Gautier's text: "With me came to the furnace; where I fell asleep as if I was pleased; and it seemed to me, without a pause, [she] covered me with her mantle."<sup>61</sup>

Rarely depicted, however, are scenes relating to the concluding verses of the miracle. In Gautier's compilation, the miracle story is prolonged by a mass conversion of Jews to Christianity, including the boy's mother: "His mother let herself be baptized after him; in the name of the Holy Trinity; Many Jews from around the city; Because of the miracle they had seen; Converted to our law."<sup>62</sup> After this scene the text makes a reference to the flowering rod from Isaiah, 11: 1 "A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a Branch will bear fruit."<sup>63</sup> In allegoresis, Isaiah's words are a prophecy of the coming of Christ, thus the mentioning of the flowering rod in Gautier's miracle implicitly celebrates the Word Incarnate within the miracle concerning a young boy.

### *Miracles in the Margins II: The Jewish Boy of Bourges*

In the *Lamoignon Hours*, the miracle of the Jewish Boy of Bourges is told in five roundels. In the roundel in the upper left corner, three children are kneel-

ing around a communion table inside a church, and a priest is about to celebrate Communion with them.<sup>64</sup> In the roundel below, the Jewish father, indicated as such by his pointed hat (*pileum cornutum*), puts the child into a furnace. In the border below the lunette, there is one roundel showing three adults saving the child from the fire and one depicting the father being detained by the Christians. In the upper right corner of the page, the Jewish father is put inside the furnace.

The miracle unfolds around a miniature showing Jeanne de France at prayer. Dressed in contemporary fashion, a blue *houppelande* with wide sleeves lined with ermine and with belt of golden clasps, and with her hair arranged in a *bourrelet*, Jeanne kneels with her hands folded in front of a *prie-dieu* with an open book upon it. She is accompanied by a dog and two ladies-in-waiting.<sup>65</sup> The contemporary clothing would be a vehicle for situating Jeanne in the devotional act. The two accompanying ladies are reading, while Jeanne gazes upwards to a representation of the Madonna of Humility in the rounded top: the Virgin is seated on a cushion with the Infant on her lap, surrounded by St Paul, St Peter, St John the Evangelist and other male saints on their right side, and St Catherine and other female saints on their left. St Paul is pointing down to Jeanne, but looking towards the Virgin as if asking for her attention. The Virgin is wearing a crown and is thus also depicted as the Queen of Heaven, whereas the glowing sun beams behind her points to representations of the Madonna of the Apocalypse, yet the crescent moon beneath her feet is missing.<sup>66</sup> The Virgin, Infant and saints are thus portrayed as if residing in their celestial home, paying attention to Jeanne's prayer. At the same time they are the visualization of Jeanne's prayer.

In Jeanne's book, the portrait of Jeanne and the story of the Jewish Boy of Bourges is placed at the opening of the Marian prayer *O Intemerata*, a prayer which in part reads, "I believe firmly and accept without any doubt that he who wants to be yours will belong to God, and he who does not want to be yours will not belong to God, for you can obtain whatever you ask from God without delay. By virtue of your most powerful worthiness, I beseech you, for the deliverance of my body and my soul." According to another compilation of Marian miracles, the one collected by the Franciscan Jean le Conte, this prayer was able to provoke miracles itself, as it is told in "About the one who was saved from the enemy by reciting this prayer: *O Intemerata*."<sup>67</sup>

The image of the boy being protected by the Virgin inside a furnace is not included in the Bedford Master's rendering of the story, which ends instead with a depiction of the boy's father being thrown in the furnace. Although left out of the narrative in the marginal imagery, the Virgin is indirectly present through the depiction of her in the lunette. The complex representation of her as a queen of heaven, Madonna of Humility and the Virgin Red Sun looking down to the earthly sphere from the lunette. In the lunette, she represents Jeanne's inner visions, what Jeanne "saw" while praying, and in this sense the Virgin is as present for Jeanne as she was present for the Jewish boy when she appeared inside the furnace in order to protect him.

A similar duality is discernable in the roundel where the Jewish boy is observed receiving Communion with his Christian friends. In the moment when he accepts the holy Eucharist, in Gautier's text the priest is transformed into an image of the Virgin, similar to one the boy had seen on the altar: "In the place of the priest, appeared the image."<sup>68</sup> This transformation is not shown in the Bedford Master's version. However, the miniature once again complements and completes the visual lacuna. The Virgin present in the lunette also lends herself to the altar in the roundel just to her left. Also, although Jeanne is praying or acting out another devotional expression rather than receiving Communion as the Jewish boy is, her pose echoes that of the boy. Jeanne and the Jewish Boy not only share the sense of the Virgin's presence, they also have the same bodily position while sensing it.<sup>69</sup>

### *Fictional and Historical Conversions*

That there were virulent persecutions of Jews in medieval Europe and that certain visual representations incited anti-Judaism is unquestionable.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, further interpretations of its inclusion may be teased from the scenes in the margin of Jeanne de France's book when addressed as a situational construct. The historical context is important; two decades before the Bedford Master executed the margins in Jeanne's book, King Charles VI decreed that no Jews should inhabit his domains. This decree was issued on 17 September 1394 and the king was moved by the counsel and prayers of the queen. The Jews were told to leave before Christmas.<sup>71</sup>

As the paragraph in the *Chroniques de St Denis* goes, the Jews tried to escape this measure by prayers and gifts, but in the end they had to sell all their

belongings and leave the country. In Paris, four Jews were arrested, and were accused of having slain a member of their group who had secretly converted to Christianity. Even though there was no sound evidence found, they were sentenced to be driven naked in a cart through the streets on four Sundays in a row, and to be beaten each time with switches until they bled. Having undergone the punishment twice, the Jews were pardoned through the intervention of some seigneurs at court and were ordered instead to pay 18,000 golden francs to the king. The king did not find it appropriate to add this money to his treasury, but he used it to construct a bridge across the Seine between the Rue Saint-Jacques and the Hôtel-Dieu. At the end of the paragraph, the king modifies the rigours of the earlier rules and allows all Jews who embrace Christianity to keep a third of their belongings. In the wake of this, the chronicler confirms, many of them had themselves baptized.<sup>72</sup>

Remembering the conflation of historical facts and literary tradition noted above, the similarity of this paragraph and the last verse in Gautier's text is striking, even if in the miracle text the boy's mother is the only one who is said to have consented to baptism, while the other Jews are said to convert *en masse* stirred by the miracle: "Many Jews from the city, having seen the miracle, converted to our law."<sup>73</sup> There is no miracle in the *Chronique du religieux*, but the king is shown as acting in line with the three virtues necessary for good rule. The three virtues are to fear and love God perfectly, to know and honour the royal dignity and to dispense and preserve justice in the realm.

Unlike Charles V, who was a prolific commissioner of all kinds of manuscripts, the only genre that proliferated during Charles VI's reign was advice literature. The three virtues for good rule would have been known to him from such literature, for example through his copies of Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Pierre Salmon's first version dates from 1409, while an expanded and revised version was drafted between 1412 and 1415. As Anne D. Hedeman has noted, the two versions both exhibit sensitivity to the royal situation as "text and images work together in an attempt to fix in Charles VI's feeble memory the moral messages conveyed by fictional conversations."<sup>74</sup> The paragraph in the *Chronique* demonstrates how Charles opted for a politics of forgiveness – although only for the ones accepting the Christian faith – rather than vengeance. The inclusion of the Jewish Boy of Bourges in the *Lamoignon Hours* may therefore indirectly allude to him as a wise ruler who virtuously served his people at least

in part, despite his illness and ineptness, fixing a moral message through fiction in Jeanne's book.

### *Situating the Suffrage*

Roger S. Wieck has referred to suffrages as equivalents to the stained glass in a cathedral as they are "filled with images of popular and local favourite saints and episodes from their colourful lives."<sup>75</sup> There is only one suffrage in the *Lamoignon Hours*, namely one for St Anne. Referred to as *memoire de sainte anna* in the manuscript itself, the suffrage is introduced by a miniature of St Anne teaching the Virgin to Read (fol. 206v). Flourishing in England in the fourteenth century, the motif does not appear in French manuscripts before the beginning of the fifteenth century, and only gaining widespread popularity around 1475. The earliest examples are found in manuscripts belonging to members of the French court: in the three contemporary books of the *Châteauroux Breviary* which was made for Louis de Guyenne (Châteauroux, BM, MS 2, fol. 250v), the *Breviary of John the Fearless* (London, BL, MS Harley 2897, fol. 340) and the *Lamoignon Hours*.<sup>76</sup>

St Anne sits on a throne covered by a canopy of red cloths, embracing her daughter with her left arm and turning an open book lying in her lap towards the Virgin with the other. The Virgin grasps it with both hands and looks attentively to the book's written lines. St Anne wears a blue dress and a white headgear, while the Virgin wears a pink dress and a crown. An angel looks at the book from above the Virgin's shoulder, and the Infant Christ, dressed in an ochre tunic, kneels beside her. A boy observes the three from behind a curtain and two angels sit on the floor in front playing the organ and the viola. The roundels in the margins expose the life of St Anne and her three marriages, the *trinubium annae*.<sup>77</sup> The extended family members are all named in the scrolls above them, thus helping the reader-viewer to identify them. Anne's three daughters and seven grandchildren are all saints, as indicated by their haloes, while her husbands and sons-in-law are not (fig. 10).

St Anne Teaching the Virgin to Read depicts a new 'trend' at the courts to emphasize the mother's role in teaching their daughters, focusing on female tutoring and the fostering of learning and criticism.<sup>78</sup> These ideas are among the ones put forward in Christine de Pizan's *La trésor de la cité des dames*, written for Marguerite de Bourgogne (1391–1441) around 1405, upon her wedding



Fig. 10. The Bedford Master, *St Anne with Virgin and Child*, Lamoignon Hours, Paris, c. 1415. Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237, fol. 206v. Photo Museu Gulbenkian.

with Louis de Guyenne, Jeanne de France's brother. In *La trésor*, Christine discusses the life of the princess and the women of the court in relation to religion and morals, and her two catchwords for the female sex are "peace" and "prudence." She also urges wise mothers to take care of the upbringing of their daughters and gives women's domestic accounts and budgets a religious imperative.<sup>79</sup> Championing these ideas, Christine de Pizan's book adds to the emphasis on teaching and learning championed by the Dominican order, and would probably be known by Jeanne de France as the Dominicans were the dominant order among the confessors and almoners at the Breton court in the early fifteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to this broader cultural trend and religious orientation at the court, the situational eye adds to the miniature's multivalence. Jeanne's first-born daughter, Anne, died in 1415 at the age of six. Thus the miniature and the suffrage would not only have been devotionally significant, but also have served a memorial purpose. The prominent placement of a young girl rising from her grave between the Virgin and St John the Baptist in the Last Judgment at the opening of the Office of the Dead (fol. 122v) may also allude to Jeanne's daughter Anne as much as she may allude to Jeanne herself (fig. 11). There is usually no young girl in this scene, which means she would probably have been intentionally included. Moreover, the memorial function of the suffrage and the young girl would linger on as Jeanne's daughter and next owner of the book, Isabelle of Brittany, also had a daughter named Anne, whom she lost either at birth or soon after in 1434.

Late medieval representations of the Virgin and St Anne stand in a very complex relationship to historical women as well as to cultural discourses and social practices. Nevertheless, it would probably have been possible for Jeanne de France to find strength in the positive, empowering models of motherhood, child care, nursing and teaching expressed in the miniature with the St Anne, the Virgin and the Infant in her own book of hours. St Anne's three marriages and her strong lineage would be an inspiration to all royal females. As mentioned above, Jeanne was fortunate enough to have had three girls and one boy at the time the manuscript was completed, on par with St Anne. Furthermore, the motif reflects the behaviour and virtues of princesses promoted in Christine de Pizan's contemporary text *La trésor de la cite des dames*. The motif also reflects what I suggest here to be a mutual female empowering process between



Fig. 11. The Bedford Master, *The Last Judgment*, Lamoignon Hours, Paris, c. 1415. Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, MS LA 237, fol. 122v. Photo Museu Gulbenkian.

Isabeau (mother) and Jeanne (daughter) in my situational contextualization of the Empress of Rome within the confines of the latter's book of hours.

### *Miracle, Moral, and Memory*

By including the Empress of Rome in the margins in the *Lamoignon Hours*, the Bedford Master created thematic and visual links between Jeanne de France's book and at least four other manuscripts accessible in the French royal library: namely two copies of Gautier's miracles, a *Miroir historial* and a miscellany of text by Christine de Pizan. The first three had been in the possession of her namesake and great-great-grandmother, Jeanne de Bourgogne, while the miscellany was made for her mother, Queen Isabeau. The moral message of the miracle is that the Virgin is ready to assist anyone, regardless of their position or the sins they have committed. Another reason for this very unusual inclusion of the miracle in a fifteenth-century Parisian book of hours may, as fleshed out though a situational contextualization of the making of the manuscript, have been to repair the reputation of Jeanne de France's mother, Queen Isabeau, from her allegedly disreputable behaviour.

As explored above, the Miracle of the Jewish Boy in Bourges, in particular when represented only through one single image of the Virgin protecting the boy inside a furnace, also contains cues for faithful prayer and for believing in the Virgin's omnipresence. Situationally understood as a response to political actions, the Jewish Boy of Bourges in one of the margins in the *Lamoignon Hours* may also be seen as a visual strategy for implicitly commemorating one of the more favourable moments in the reign of Charles VI: the moment when he indirectly favoured a mass conversion instead of a massacre of the Jews.

As these two miracles cycles are unique to Jeanne's book, they testify to a great sensitivity for her situation as wife, mother and daughter and as a French princess at an allied court, shaped with a great monstrosity of *engin* and *artefice* by the Bedford Master, possibly with the interference of Queen Isabeau and/or others with financial means and/or historical knowledge. The synthesis of the fictional empress and the historical queen(s) and the synthesis of the fictional boy and an ideologically charged historical reality would have offered Jeanne de France visual, moral reminders to act out her devotional commitments while remembering some of the deeds, fears and misfortunes of her parents in a time of war.



## Notes

- 1 The *Lamoignon Hours* is also known as the *Book of Hours of Isabelle of Brittany*. For catalogue entries on the *Lamoignon Hours*, see Nascimento 2000, 94; Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 353–354 (the *Lamoignon Hours* is erroneously given the shelf mark MS LA 143). Based on the style of the dress, Susie Nash dated the manuscript to c. 1415, see Nash 1999, 158. For a recent overview of the oeuvre of the Bedford Master, see Clark 2016, 257–267. For inventiveness and technical skills, see Perkinson 2002, 5–67.
- 2 The “situational eye” serves as an expanded and gender-neutral version of Michael Baxandall’s “period eye,” and is carefully outlined in L’Estrange 2008, 25–43. Donna Haraway developed “situated knowledge” in response to other scholars’ engagement with science and feminism, see Haraway 1988, 575–599. The many ways illuminations executed in the later Middle Ages would be used to translate the past into the present have been examined by various scholars. See e.g. Hedeman 2006, and Morrison & Hedeman 2010. Also see Marrow 2001. The past in these publications often refers to a distant past, to Antiquity or the times of Charlemagne or Saint Louis; the past in the *Lamoignon Hours*, however, refers to a more recent past, one that is still knowable.
- 3 As the term “situational” places the dependence of meaning within a specific socio-historical, geographical and cultural context, it is more site-specific than both an iconological approach searching for the intrinsic meaning of an artifact, and a structural approach unmasking the marked terms in a given work of art.
- 4 The miniature is placed at the opening of the section that retells “Comment traittie se renouvela à thours en thouraine entre le roy de france et le duc de bretagne. du mariage et de l’aliance de la fille de france au filz du duc de bretagne et de jehan de bretagne conte de pentevre à la fille du dit duc de bretagne.”
- 5 “(...) joyaulx d’or et d’argent, les uns garniz de pierrerie, les autres sanz pierrerie, veiselle d’or et d’argent, robes et habiz pour son corps, tant ouvrées de broderie comme autres, chambres, tappisseries, linge, chevaux, chars, harnoiz et autres choses.” *Lettres et mandements de Jean V*, 1889–1895, Vol 1: 35, no. 59.
- 6 “On vit dans ce déploiement de faste une supercherie destinée à donner le change pour éviter de payer les sommes promises. Heureusement qu’Isabeau de Bavière, aussitôt interrogée, répondit que ce n’étainent là que gages d’affection d’une mère envers sa fille qu’elle aimait tendrement, parce qu’elle allait vivre séparée d’elle désormais; que son geste ne préjugeait de rien quant aux 150.000 francs qui constituaient le principal de la dot.” Rey 1965, 342. The dowry of Jeanne’s older sister Isabella, who married Richard II of England, was set to 800 000 francs and an additional 100 000 in jewels, whereas her younger sister Michelle, who married Philip the Good (duke of Burgundy), was set to 130 000 francs.
- 7 Booton 2011, 40. Booton interprets the two daughters as Isabelle and Marguerite, but given the date of the Missal and the lives of Jeanne de France’s daughter, I see it as more plausible they represent Isabelle and Catherine.
- 8 Deuffic 2019, 109–110.
- 9 Le Moyné de la Borderie 1906, 165, 172. St Vincent Ferrier is depicted in a miniature facing the suffrage to the saint in a book of hours belonging to Jeanne and Jean’s son Pierre (Paris, BnF, MS Latin 1159, fol. 128v).
- 10 See *Bulletin monumental* 1933, 240–241 and *Bulletin monumental* 1934, 358–359.
- 11 Bouchot 1891, 70. Gaignières also made drawings of two freestanding statues of the couple from a “monument précédent de Saint-Yves.”
- 12 Deuffic 2019, 659 (Illustration 37).
- 13 Deuffic 2019, 109.
- 14 Booton 2010, 307.
- 15 Professor Susie Nash’s forthcoming publications from *Making Lists: Inventories and Objects at the Courts of France* (Leverhulme senior research project 2016–2018) may shed further light on these issues.
- 16 For the iconographical programme, see Bø 2013 and Bø 2019. For the dating of the *Lamoignon Hours* and the relation the similar and contemporary *Bedford Hours* (London, BL, MS Add 18850) and *Vienna Hours* (Vienne, ÖNB, MS 1855), see Clark 2016, 20.
- 17 The 1937 auction catalogue from Sotheby’s points to a possible contemporary incident as the subject of these scenes, while François Avril and Marie-Laure Savoye have both identified them as the miracle of the Empress of Rome, or *L’imperatrice diffamée*. See *Catalogue* 1937, 14 and Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 354.
- 18 On the *Bedford Hours* and the dauphin Louis, see see Stirnemann & Rabel 2005. For a situated reading of the illuminations in the same manuscript, see Backhouse 1981. For recent scholarship on patronage, see Hourihane 2013 and Kubina & Beier 2014.
- 19 Remak-Honnef & Hauke 1991, 61–63. Also see *Auf Spuren des Mittelalters* 2005, 68–69; and Deuffic 2019, 110–113. The calligraphic ownership attribution may be a later addition, and its value as proof of ownership is disputed.
- 20 See for example the various chapters in Nolan 2003.
- 21 Or, as a minimum, the best miniatures are attributed to Jean Pucelle.
- 22 Caviness 1993, 344.
- 23 Holladay 1994.
- 24 Guest 1995. Similar contextualizations of individual manuscripts is still thriving in scholarly research, see e.g. L’Estrange 2010; Leeson, 2011; Hand 2013; and Dresvina 2016.

- 25 Kumler 2011. Also see Morrison, “From Sacred to Secular. The Origins of History Illumination in France,” in Morrison & Hedeman 2010, 9–25.
- 26 Brown 1987, in particular pp. 209–251. How religious ideas were promoted at the French court by various confessors and almoners is discussed in de la Selle 1995.
- 27 Hedeman 2008, 4. On the education of the dauphins, see Thomas 1930.
- 28 Delisle 1907; Vallet de Viriville 1858.
- 29 Such transpositions may also be termed inter pictorial or intervalual.
- 30 Recent publications on French manuscript culture acknowledge more than previously the fact that the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453) and the Armagnac-Burgundian conflict (1407–1435) had an impact on the texts and illuminations produced for the members of the French court, embedding comments on contemporary political situations. See e.g. Adams 2014 and Russakoff 2016. Also see Clark 2016.
- 31 This copy was taken from Jeanne de Bourgogne’s son, John the Good (d. 1364), when he lost the battle of Poitiers in 1356, but was later bought back from the English. It is recorded in the library of Charles V, and was subsequently given by Charles VI to Jean de Berry. The long description of it in Jean de Berry’s inventory from 1413. See the recent arguments for and against Jeanne de Bourgogne as the first owner and “active patron,” as well as the inventory inscription in Russakoff 2016. Also see Russakoff 2013.
- 32 The most thorough modern study of Gautier’s miracles is Krause & Stones 2006. The representation of these miracles in French-speaking regions are substantially discussed in Russakoff 2019.
- 33 It is recorded that Charles IV paid a significant sum to Thomas de Maubeuge for a volume containing the *Vitae sanctorum et miraculis beate Marie*, see Holladay 1994, 604. On the portraits, see Russakoff 2016. The *Miracles* illuminated by Jean Pucelle is an early example of the tradition of luxury illustrated editions of Gautier’s text. French patrons seem to have preferred such luxury editions, while English patrons, such as Sir Robert Neville, appear to have preferred to have images from the miracles accompanying prayers in their devotional manuscripts, particularly in books with female ownership, cf. Smith 2003, 223.
- 34 Hedeman 1984. These two precious books as well as the ones kept in the royal library at the Louvre remained in what was later catalogued as the library of Charles VI, see Delisle 1907.
- 35 On *faiblesse*, see Cazelles 1978.
- 36 An ‘empress’ is not identical to a ‘princess,’ let alone to a ‘noble woman.’ The denomination of the female protagonist, however, seems to guide the reader towards someone in a certain position, more than telling a story of someone with that particular rank.
- 37 II Mir 9 “De l’empereris qui garda sa chasteé contre mout de temptations,” *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 303–459.
- 38 See Black 1997; Black 2003; and Morrison & Hedeman 2010, 105–108. There is also a copy in Besançon, similar, but not identical to the Soissons manuscript, see Anna Russakoff 2003/2004.
- 39 This text was written around 1405 as a reaction to the French poet Matheolus’s misogynistic text *Lamentations* (c. 1295).
- 40 “Et c’est ainsi que sa patience mérotoire velut à Florence de retrouver rang et bonheur, pour la plus grande joie de l’empereur et de tout son entourage”, cf. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, 203.
- 41 *The Livre de la Cité des Dames* is included on fols. 290–374. On the manuscript, see Laidlaw 2005.
- 42 his prayer cycle first appeared in devotional manuscripts in the thirteenth century, and became a regular feature of books of hours in the fourteenth. Most commonly found as five joys, they also appear as seven, nine, fifteen or even more in various forms. See Smith 2003, 184; Roger Wieck 1988, 103.
- 43 According to the entry on the *Miracles* written by Marie-Laure Savoye, “Le manuscrit Bruxelles, KBR, 10747 propose d’ailleurs souvent des enluminures originales par rapport aux autres témoins des Miracles de Nostre Dame (...)”, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne* 2006, 188.
- 44 Black 2003, 36, 89–100. Also see Maddox & Sturm-Maddox 2008, and Harvey, 2011.
- 45 Black 2003, 100.
- 46 *Remonstrances de l’Université...* 1890.
- 47 When commenting on the *Chronicum* and the *Songe*, Moranvillé notes “Ainsi, dans les deux textes, les attaques sont d’une extrême violence contre la reine [Isabeau](...)” *Le songe véritable...*, 1891, 6.
- 48 A fascinating example is found in the writings of Louise de Kéralio. In her book *Les crimes des reines de France, depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu’à Marie-Antoinette*, Isabeau is introduced as following: “Isabeau de Bavière parut, et son mariage célèbre à Amiens, le 17 juillet 1385, seroit regardé comme l’époque la plus effrayante de nos annales (...), présage trop vrai de tous les maux que trainot avec elle une nouvelle fille d’Achab et de Jezabel,” Kéralio 1791, 138–139.
- 49 Gibbons 1996, 51–74; Adams 2010, 38–72 and 113–148.
- 50 See examples in Adams 2010, 23.
- 51 See Vallee-Karcher 1980, 94–96.
- 52 Adams 2010, 40.
- 53 On how the Tour de Nesle affair possibly circumscribed and regulated the icono-

- graphical programme in the *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* as well as how it affected Jeanne d'Evreux herself, see Caviness 1994, 335–336 and Holladay 1995, 603.
- 54 White 1992, 149.
- 55 On the emblems and mottos of the dauphin, see Stirnemann 2007, 146.
- 56 I Mir 12 “Le Miracle de l'enfant à un giu qui se crestiena,” *Les miracles* 2, 95–100. For a recent discussion on the trope of this miracle, see Patton 2014, 64–72.
- 57 I Mir 13 “De la tavlete en coi l'ymage de la mere Dieu estoit peinte,” *Les Miracles* 2, 101–104. Also see McCracken 2006, 47–57.
- 58 For example, the motif is included in stained glass in Lincoln Cathedral (c. 1280) and the cathedral of Le Mans (c. 1250), see Morgan 1983, 11; in the Arnafjord frontal (1275–1300) and the Årdal II frontal (c. 1300–1325), see Hohler, Morgan & Wichstrøm 2004, 136–138 and 143–145.
- 59 For representations and interpretations of Marian miracles in English books of hours, see Smith 2003, 222–231.
- 60 The *Queen Mary Psalter* may have been made for Isabelle de France, wife of Edward II; the *Neville of Hornby Hours* probably was commissioned by Isabel de Byron, wife of Robert I de Neville of Hornby; and the *Bohun Psalter-Hours* and *Bohun Hours* were made for Mary de Bohun, first wife of Henry of Bolingbroke, later King Henry IV.
- 61 Avec moi vint a la fornaise; Luez m'endormi, si fui aaise; Et si me sanble, bien sanz faille; Que me covri de la toaille, I Mir 12, 97–100, *Les Miracles*, 98.
- 62 Sa mere après lui se baptoie; Ou non de Sainte Trinité; Plusieur giu par la cité; Por le miracle qu'apert virent; A nostre loi se convertirent, I Mir 12, 112–116, *Les Miracles*, 99.
- 63 Tout li giu quant ne creoient; Qu'ele estoit la virge florie; dont dieux parlait par Ysaïe; Bien lor mostra la damoisele; Qu'ele iert la virge et la pucele; Ou char et sanc prist Jhesu Christ, I Mir 12, 122–127, *Les Miracles*, 99.
- 64 They are referred to as children – *enfants* – in the miracle. Children usually do not take Holy Communion, however. It must be assumed therefore that they were old enough to have sufficient knowledge and were accurately prepared “so that according to their capacity they understand what the mystery of Christ means, and are able to receive the Body of the Lord with faith and devotion,” as it says in the Code of Canon Law Can. 913 §1.
- 65 For *houppelandes* and late medieval female headgears, see Scott 2007, 123–140.
- 66 The Madonna of the Apocalypse are found in a few contemporary French books of hours such as the *Très riches heures* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 22) and the *Boucicaud Hours* (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2, fol. 26v). For the Madonna of Humility, see e.g. Williamson 2009.
- 67 “De celui qui fut gardé de l'ennemy par ceste oraison: O Intemerata,” see Jean le Conte 1998, MirPer15.
- 68 Qu'en liu del prestre vient l'ymage, I Mir 12, 30, *Les Miracles*, 96. Also see Marine Cuche, “La Vièrge médiatrice. Le traitement de l'image dans les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci,” *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 23 (2012): 377–396.
- 69 Daniel O'Sullivan, however, sees no appeal for imitation: “In the Jewish Boy there is no explicit call to imitate: the *queue* only expresses hatred for Jews,” cf. O'Sullivan 2005, 201–219, at 207. On the Marian miracles and the Jews, also see Boyarin 2010 and Bradbury 2011, 34–56.
- 70 See e.g. Frassetto 2007 and Lipton 2014.
- 71 *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys: Contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, 2 [Michel Pintoin], published and translated by M. L. Bellaguet (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapenet, 1840), 119–123.
- 72 *Chronique* 2, 123. Original in French: Aussi y eit-il vers ce temps beaucoup de Juifs qui se firent baptizer, original in Latin: *multi ex ipsis baptismi lavachrum susceperunt*.
- 73 Plusieur giu par la cite; Por le myracle qu'apert virent; A nostre loi se convertirent.
- 74 Hedeman 2001, 2. Also see Hedeman 2009 and Roux 1997.
- 75 Wieck 1988, 111
- 76 The *Chateauroux Breviary* was illuminated by the Bedford Master, the Orose Master and the Boucicaud Master, and completed c. 1413. The image is found at the antiphon of the first vespers for the feast of St Anne (26 July), *Inclita stirps Jesse virgam produxit amoenam de qua processit flos miro odore*; the Breviary of John the Fearless was illuminated by the Master of the Breviary of John the Fearless and Guillebert de Metz between 1413 and 1419, and the image is placed at the beginning of the homily *Postulatis filiae Ierusalem*, also composed for St Anne's feast.
- 77 Jacobus de Voragine 2, 1993, 149–158. For texts in books of hours concerning St Anne, see Scott-Stokes 2006, 107–115.
- 78 Ashley & Sheingorn 1990; Sheingorn 1993.
- 79 Sheingorn 1993; Miley & Read 2017.
- 80 de la Salle 1995, 106.

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