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RESEMBLANCE AND DEVOTION: IMAGE AND TEXT  
in a Parisian Early Fourteenth-Century Book of  
Hours Made for a French Noblewoman

BY

MARINA VIDAS

**M**s Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, a small Parisian early fourteenth-century illuminated Book of Hours in the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, was intended to be used in the personal devotions of a noblewoman with connections to Evreux.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of her book is a Calendar (ff. 1r–12r) which the lady could have consulted to find the universal and local feast days of the liturgical year. Other texts were included in her book to be used for prayer and contemplation: the Hours of the Holy Spirit (ff. 23r–53v), the Hours of the Passion (ff. 54r–82v), the Hours of the Virgin (ff. 83r–128v), Gradual Psalms (ff. 129r–135v), the Seven Penitential Psalms (ff. 136r–143v), the Litany of Saints (ff. 143v–150v), Collects (150v–153r), the Office of the Dead (ff. 155r–186v) and Commendation of Souls (ff. 186v–204r). Additionally, a pictorial program was composed for its fourteenth-century owner consisting of a cycle of Calendar illuminations, a full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child, as well as of historiated initials at the opening of each canonical Hour and at other important liturgical divisions, including one depicting her at prayer.<sup>2</sup>

In this article I provide new information about Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, especially its textual and pictorial components. I show that not only are there connections between images and adjacent texts but also between historiated initials and marginalia and between images on different folios. Additionally, I suggest possible readings which could be drawn from the juxtaposed or sequenced images. Particular attention is paid in the article to the representation of the book owner and to other images of

<sup>1</sup> The generous support of the Novo Nordisk Foundation aided the research for this article while travel grants from the New Carlsberg Foundation and Julie von Müllens Foundation enabled me to conduct research in France and the United States, respectively, in 2011. I am grateful to E.A.R. Brown and an anonymous peer reviewer whose comments prompted refinements to my text.

<sup>2</sup> Folios 13r–21r are later additions to the manuscript.

women in Thott 534 4°. Furthermore, the significance of the presence of Norman saints in the Calendar and *memoriae*, as well as of saints culted in other regions of France and England is discussed. Drawing on material included in Thott 534 4°, I propose Marguerite d'Artois, Countess of Evreux, as a possible candidate for the original owner of the manuscript.

The lady who originally owned this Book of Hours is depicted on f. 129r (fig. 1). With her arms stretched out and hands held together in prayer, she kneels at the bottom of steps leading to a sanctuary. Her image is placed inside the initial “A,” the first letter of the opening of the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, a place where in earlier and contemporary manuscripts portraits of the intended readers are depicted. This is the only image of the intended reader in Thott 534 4°. The representation of the lady, as was common in this period, is not a portrait in the sense of an accurate rendition of the physiognomy of the individual. Rather, her attitude, hairstyle, clothes, and accessories, convey information about her social and marital status. The vivid colors of her clothes, a pink hooded mantle and an undergarment with red orange sleeves suggest that she is a woman of means.<sup>3</sup> The dog with a collar around its neck in the lower border of the folio may also be a symbol of her station in society. Because her hair is plaited and covered by a headress and a snood, it is likely that she was a married or mature woman. There are, however, no coats of arms, banners, or devices of the type which could conclusively identify the family to which the book owner belonged. However, there is a diaper pattern with white *fleurs-de-lis* on a blue field in the background of the minitature representing her on f. 129r as well as behind an image of the Virgin and Child, f. 83r. While the use of *fleurs-de-lis* in the miniatures of some manuscripts of the period had a purely decorative role, it is possible that in Thott 534 4° the *fleurs-de-lis* allude to the patron's royal familial connections.

The feminized endings of some of the Latin words in the intercessory prayers accommodate the female reader. For example, on f. 52r, the prayer is addressed to the Lord by his handmaiden: “Propitiare domine michi famule tue” (Be merciful, O Lord, to me, your handmaiden).

<sup>3</sup> For the social implications of clothing dyed in vivid colors see Mariah Proctor-Tiffany: Portrait of a medieval patron: The inventory and gift giving of Clémence of Hungary, Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 2007, p. 101. For textiles dyed the color of peach blossoms in the wardrobe of Queen Philippa of Hainault see Frédérique Lachaud: Vêtement et pouvoir à la cour d'Angleterre sous Philippa de Hainaut. Patrick Henriët and Anne-Marie Legras (eds.): *Au cloître et dans le monde. Mélanges en l'honneur de Paulette L'Hermitte-Leclercq*, 2000, p. 223.





Fig. 1: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 129r. Book owner at prayer before the steps of the Gradual Psalms. Historiated initial "A" for the Fifteen Gradual Psalms. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

The emphasis on female figures in some of the historiated initials also shows that the book was tailored for a woman viewer. In the historiated initial “D” for None of the Hours of the Holy Spirit, f. 36v (fig. 2), a woman attentively listens to St. Peter preaching, while in the miniature illuminating the opening of the Office of the Dead, f.155r (fig. 3), the majority of the risen are female and are placed in the foreground of the scene. In other manuscripts produced at this time in Paris women do not always figure amongst St. Peter’s audience, for example, in an Hours–Psalter (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 2596), f. 63v, in which the group listening to St. Peter is composed only of men. Nor do women appear in such great a proportion amongst the souls rising from graves; usually half or more of the depicted figures are male. Additionally, in the second historiated initial in the Office of the Dead placed at the first nocturne of Matins, f.161r (fig. 4), the most prominent figure is a woman. She is shown in the foreground, her hands held out in supplication. The imploring figure inside the letter “U” in the vicinity of the opening lines of Psalm 5:2: “erba mea auribus percipe, Domine; intellige clamorem meum. [3] Intende voci orationis meae, rex meus et Deus meus” (Give ear, O Lord, to my words, understand my cry, [3] Hearken to the voice of my prayer, O my King and my God) could have visualized for the book owner her own petition to the Lord.

Marginal images too take into consideration the feminine viewing position. In the lower margin of f.161r (fig. 4), below the text “[permane]bunt iniqui ante oculos tuos” (the unjust abide before thy eyes), a hybrid figure with bound eyes holding a shield and spear appears to take steps towards a winged dragon. The choice of this monstrous being, half–woman and half–animal, below the female praying soul invites the viewer to compare the two. Both are nude and have the same skin color but while a white shroud covers most of the female soul’s upper torso, a textile covers only the creature’s eyes. They are also involved in different activities – one is engaged in prayer, while the other is ready for combat. The reader/viewer would have understood that the difference between the composite creature’s appealing upper body and monstrous lower body, revealed her to be demonic and sinful. In contrast the attitude and appearance of the risen female suggest her redemption and salvation.

The seriousness of the earnest petition of the foreground female figure in the historiated initial on f. 161r (fig. 4) is made emphatic by viewing it in connection to a preceding image, namely the one in the lower margin of f.155r (fig. 3), which depicts a rabbit addressed by a composite creature, half bishop and half animal, holding a book. The



Fig. 2: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 36v. St. Peter preaching. Historiated initial "D" for None of the Hours of the Holy Spirit. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

uncomprehending rabbit, like the non-seeing female hybrid on f. 161r, is an inverse image of the woman who understands the significance of the words from the book held by the cleric. It should be pointed out that images like the blindfolded warrior may have had other purposes as well. They could have functioned as pictorial markers to assist the reader to find particular passages in her book as well as mnemonic aids that could help her in remembering the text above the image.

Other components of the devotional manuscript furnish more specific clues to the identity of the original owner. In Thott 534 4° Norman French is used in the Calendar entries and rubrics of the *memoriae*, possibly because the Book of Hours may have been made for someone who spoke and read this dialect or merely was comfortable with it. That the original owner of the book had a connection to Northern France and to Normandy is supported by the liturgically graded red or black hagiographical entries which emphasize saints of this region and, in particular, were venerated in the diocese of Evreux. These include the virgin martyr Honorina (February 27), worshiped in Normandy, and saints venerated in the diocese of Evreux, like St. Gaudus, Bishop of Evreux (January 31), St. Aquilinus, Bishop of Evreux (translation, February 15 and feast, July 18), St. Leutfridus, who was believed to have been born near Evreux, (June 21), St. Taurinus, Bishop of Evreux (feast, graded red, August 11 and the invention of his relics, September 4) and St. Laudulf, Bishop of Evreux (August 13). The celebration of the feast of the martyrdom of St. Denis and his companions (graded red, October 10) is also important for Evreux since, according to legend, Bishop Taurinus of Evreux and St. Denis were sent as missionaries to Gaul by Rome. As Erik Drigsdahl has noted, the Calendar entries in Thott 534 4° are very similar to those found in an early thirteenth-century Missal for Evreux (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms nal 1773).<sup>4</sup> However, it should be pointed out that there are some differences between the two manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the saints that are included in the Thott Book of Hours, but absent from the Missal, are women, the virgin Hono-

<sup>4</sup> Erik Drigsdahl: Late medieval and renaissance illuminated manuscripts – Books of Hours 1300–1530 <[www.chd.dk/cals/thott534kal.html](http://www.chd.dk/cals/thott534kal.html)>.

<sup>5</sup> The following feasts in the in Evreux Missal are not found in the Calendar of the Copenhagen Hours: St. Brigid (February 1), Sts. Perpetua and Felicity (March 3), Sts. Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus (May 3), St. Oswald (August 5), St. Agapitus (August 18), Sts. Symphorian and Timothy (August 22), St. Priscus (September 1), St. Evortius (September 7), St. Nicomedes (September 15), and St. Linus (September 23).

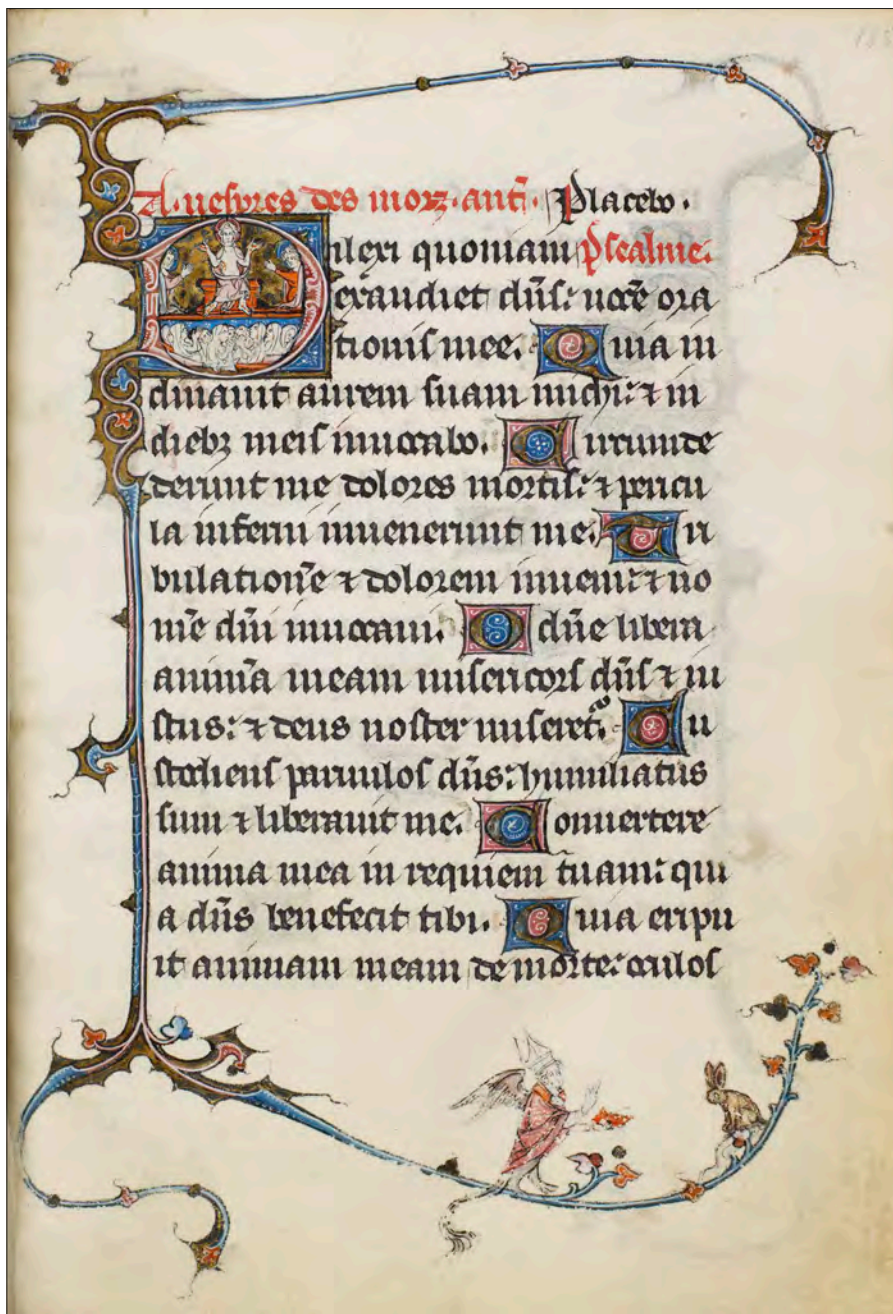


Fig. 3: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 155r: Last Judgement/ Christ exposing His wounds. Historiated initial "D" for the Office of the Dead. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

rina (February 27) and the virgin Veronica (March 2).<sup>6</sup> Both of these saints have connections to Normandy as does one of the male saints, the English-born St. Clarus, (July 18), who lived as a hermit in Normandy.<sup>7</sup> Other hagiographic entries found in the Copenhagen manuscript and absent from the Paris Missal name saints who had some significance for Normandy but whose primary cults were in other diocese: St. Hildebert of Meaux (May 27) whose relics were translated at the beginning of the thirteenth century to Gournai in Normandy and Pope Clement I (November 23) who played a significant role in the life of St. Taurinus of Evreux, most importantly the pope is credited with baptizing the Norman saint.<sup>8</sup> One of the feasts in the Calendar of Thott 534 4<sup>9</sup> was particularly important for Paris, namely the translation of relics of St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, to Notre Dame, Paris, in 1212 (June 25).<sup>9</sup> To this and other Parisian components of the manuscript I will return. A *terminus post quem* for the Calendar is provided by the entry for St. Louis, King of France (August 25), whose feast became a cult in 1297.

The *memoriae* in the Copenhagen Book of Hours emphasize French saints and, in particular, saints culted in Normandy and Paris. The French saints named in the *memoriae* are: St. Maurus, the founder of the first Benedictine monastery in Gaul, invoked both on f. 105r and f. 123v, St. Martin Bishop of Tours, evangelist to the Gauls, f. 46r, and St. Louis, King of France, f. 46v. Amongst the saints venerated in Normandy are: St. Taurinus, f. 46v, who was especially revered in the diocese of Evreux and whose feast is graded red in the Calendar, St. Egidius, Bishop of Rheims, f. 47v, whose relics were kept at the cathedral of Bayeux, St. Nicholas, named both in the *memoriae* following Compline

<sup>6</sup> For the cult of St. Veronica in Normandy and its significance for women see Jean Fournée: L'iconographie des saints thaumaturges. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.): *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, 2000, p. 214. For St. Honorina's relics which were translated from Normandy to Paris in 898 and which led to the presence of her feast in Calendars for the use of Paris, for example in the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms 300), see P. Perdrizet: *Le calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge*, 1933, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> For St. Clarus see Pierre Bouet: Bibliographie des sources relatives aus saints normands. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.): *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, 2000, p. 309.

<sup>8</sup> Other saints named in the Calendar, but not in the Evreux Missal, are: St. Anthony (January 18), St. Ambrose (April 4), St. Alexi, (July 17), St. Sixtus (August 6), St. Anianus (November 17). For the Kings of France and the veneration of St. Anianus of Orléans see Perdrizet 1933, p. 259.

<sup>9</sup> Perdrizet 1933, p. 36.

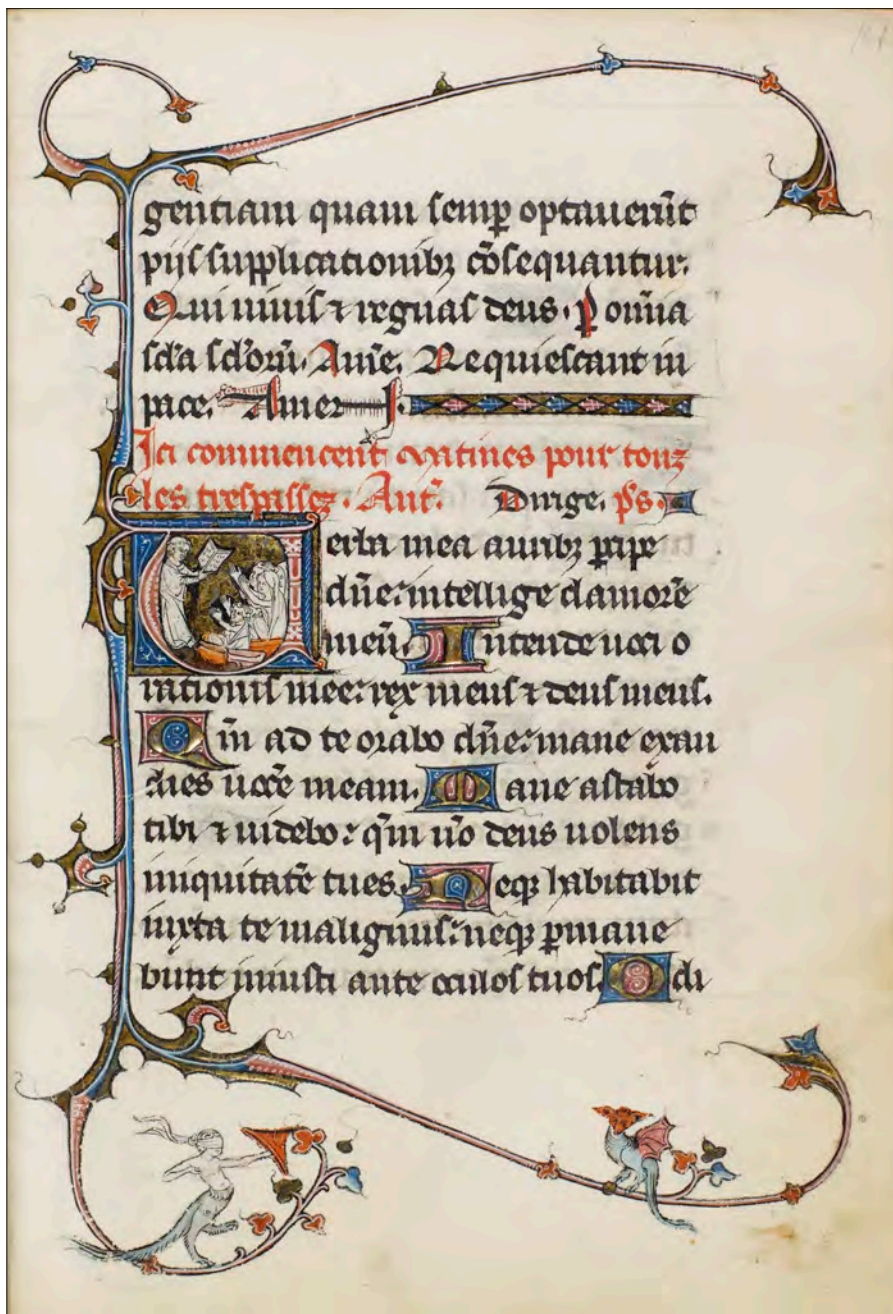


Fig. 4: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 161r. Historiated initial “U” for the first nocturne of Matins of the Office of the Dead. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

of the Hours of the Holy Spirit and Lauds of the Hours of the Virgin, f. 105r and f. 123r, respectively, for whom there was a long-established veneration in this area.<sup>10</sup> The saints named in the *memoriae* with connections to Paris are: St. Denis, Bishop of Paris, f. 48r, St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, f. 50r, and St. Eustace, whose relics were found in the abbey of St. Denis and to whom a chapel in Notre Dame, Paris, was dedicated, f.44r.<sup>11</sup> Amongst the saints who are absent from both the Calendar and Litany but who are invoked in the *memoriae* are the Irish saint Fiacre, whose relics were installed in Meaux Cathedral, f.105v, and the founder of the Franciscan order, St. Francis of Assisi, f. 47v. Only one English saint, Werburgh of Chester, appears in the *memoriae*, f.105v.

The Litany of Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup> includes saints venerated throughout France and in particular regions, many of which are found in the ninth-century Martyrology compiled by Usuard. They are: amongst the martyrs, f.145v, St. Marcel, Bishop of Paris, St. Denis, Bishop of Paris, St. Saturninus, Bishop of Toulouse, St. Quentin of Amiens, St. Baudelius, Bishop of Nimes, St. Leodegar, Bishop of Autun, amongst the confessors, f.145v–f. 146v, St. Louis, King of France, St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, St. Severinus, Bishop of Bordeaux, St. Maurus, abbot of Glanfeuil, St. Bonitus, Bishop of Clermont, St. Remigius of Rheims, St. Germanus of Auxerre, St. Romanus, Bishop of Rouen, St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, St. Leonard of Noblac, St. Philibert, Abbot of Jumieges, St. Bricius, Bishop of Tours, St. Launomarus, Abbot of Corbion, St. Egidius, Bishop of Rheims, St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes etc., amongst the virgins, f.147r, St. Geneviève of Paris, St. Aurea, Abbess of St. Martial, St. Columba of Sens, St. Balthild, Abbess of Chelles, St. Radegund, Abbess of Poitiers, and St. Gertrude, Abbess of Nivelles. On the whole, however, the Litany has a different emphasis than the Calendar. Not named are major saints associated with Evreux, like St. Taurinus, whose feast is graded red in the Calendar, St. Aquilinus, whose feast and translation are recorded on February 15 and July 18, respectively, or St. Swithun of Winchester (July 2), whose relics were in Evreux.<sup>12</sup> There are also three English

<sup>10</sup> For St. Egidius's relics at the cathedral of Bayeux see François Neveux: *Les reliques de la cathédrale de Bayeux*. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.): *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, 2000, p. 128. For Nicholas's cult in Normandy see Marjorie Chibnall: *Piety, power and history in medieval England and Normandy*, 2000, III, pp. 35–36.

<sup>11</sup> For the connections of these saints to Paris see Perdrizet 1933, p. 226, p. 36, and pp. 236–239, respectively.

<sup>12</sup> For Evreux's possession of St. Swithun's relic see Michael Lapidge: *The Cult of St. Swithun*, 2003, p. 60.



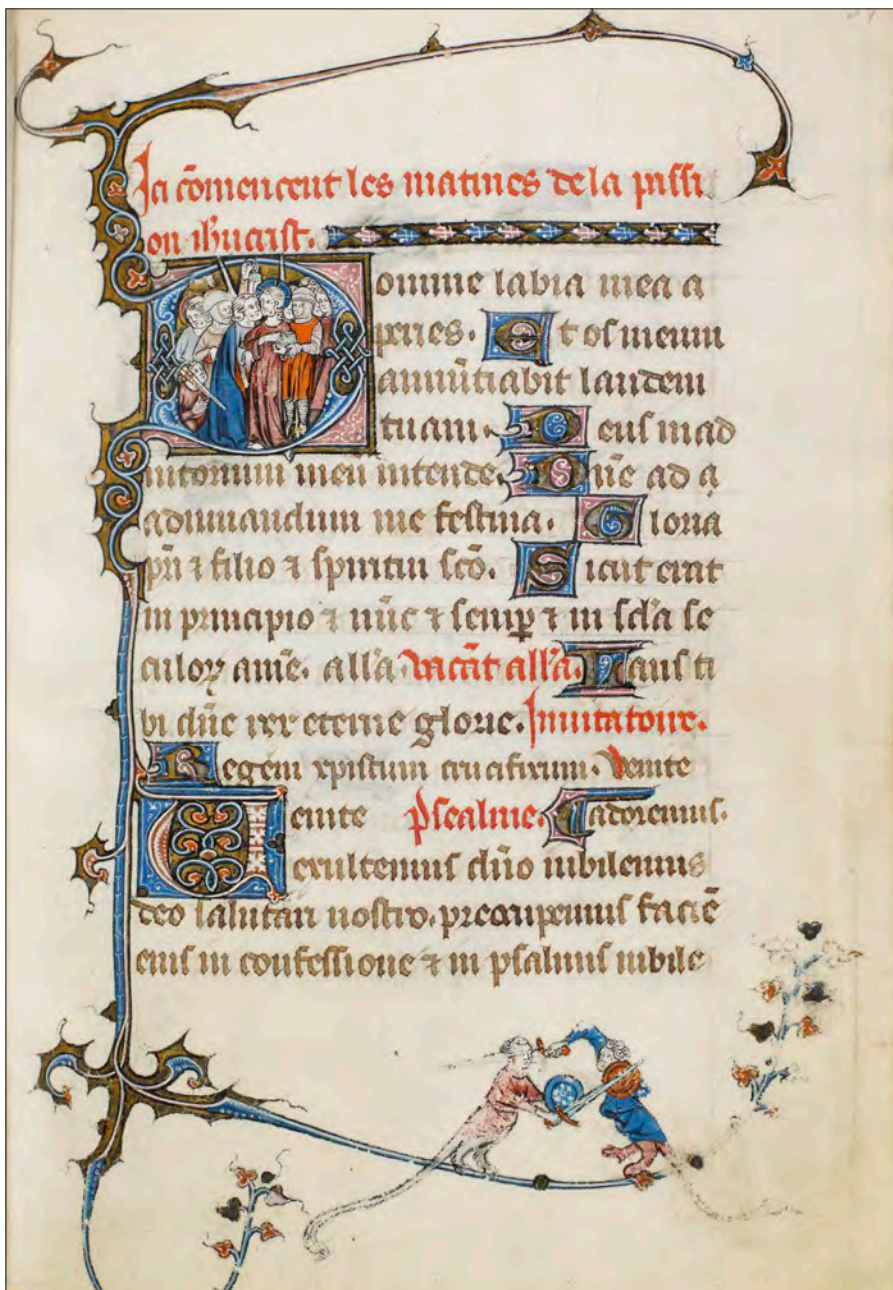


Fig. 5: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 54r. Betrayal and Arrest of Christ with St. Peter cutting off Malchus's ear. Historiated Initial "D" for Matins of the Hours of the Passion. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

saints among the martyrs in the Litany, f. 145v. While the two males, St. Edmund and St. Thomas of Canterbury are named in the Calendar, on the lines for October 20 and December 29, respectively, the female saint, Werburgh of Chester, is not.<sup>13</sup> The inclusion of these saints in the manuscript might reflect the English influence on Norman liturgy since the reign of William the Conqueror. But St. Werburgh of Chester must have held some importance for the intended reader since her name appears high up in the Litany – she is named third in the list of virgins, f. 146v – and since she is invoked in the *memoriae*, ff. 105r–105v.

Two saints named in the Litany and associated with Normandy, the abbess Opportuna of Montreuil, daughter of the count of Exmes and sister of a bishop of Sées (feast absent from the Calendar), and the Evreux-born Abbot Leutfridus (feast absent from the Calendar, June 21), who had been a monk at the abbey of Saint-Taurin, were also venerated in Paris.<sup>14</sup> Other saints included in the Litany with connections to Paris are: St. Marcel, Bishop of Paris, St. Denis, Bishop of Paris, St. Geneviève of Paris, and St. Aurea, Abbess of St. Martial, Paris, as well as St. Gundulphus whose relics were in the cathedral.<sup>15</sup>

There are also other components of this manuscript linking it to Paris. The Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead of Thott 534 4° are made for the use of this city.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, as Carl Nordenfalk has pointed out, the illuminations have traits in common with Parisian art of the early fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The style, compositions, and iconography of some of the miniatures in Thott 534 4°, in my opinion, find their closest parallels in manuscripts produced during the second decade of the fourteenth century, in particular to two devotional books executed for women who were members of the same family, the Psalter and Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne (New York, New York Public Library, Ms Spencer 56) and a Psalter-Hymnal for Dominican use (Baltimore,

<sup>13</sup> For the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury in Normandy and, particularly, in Evreux see Ursula Nilgen: *Thomas Becket en Normandie*. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.): *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, 2000, p. 195.

<sup>14</sup> For the veneration of St. Opportuna and St. Leutfridus in Normandy see Bouet 2000, p. 316 and p. 315, respectively. For St. Leutfridus's relics which were translated to St. Germaine-de-Prés see Perdrizet 1933, p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> For St. Gundulphus see Perdrizet 1933, p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> Knud Ottosen: *The Responsories and versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, 1993, p. 185.

<sup>17</sup> Kåre Olsen and Carl Nordenfalk (eds.): *Gyldne bøger: Illuminerede middelalderlige håndskrifter i Danmark og Sverige*, 1952, p. 42 and Carl Nordenfalk: *Maître Honoré and Maître Pucelle. Apollo*, 79, 1964, p. 363.



Fig. 6: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 22v. Full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Walters Art Gallery, W. 115).<sup>18</sup> The Public Library's manuscript was, in all likelihood, commissioned by Mahaut d'Artois, Countess of Artois and Burgundy, for her daughter, Blanche, the first wife of Charles IV of France, (1296/97–1325/26) while the Walters Art Gallery's manuscript was owned by Mahaut's sister-in-law, Blanche de Bretagne (d. 1322).<sup>19</sup> A comparison between the miniatures in the manuscripts in New York and Baltimore and those in Thott 534 4° below will help to shed light on their connections and date of production.

There are similarities between the Thott and Spencer manuscripts in terms of figure style and lay out of the scenes, primarily in miniatures accompanying the Hours of the Passion but also in other sections of the fourteenth-century book. For example, in Spencer 56 the historiated initial of the Trinity, f. 133v, at Psalm 109, is similar in composition and not unlike in style to one of the same subject in Thott 534 4°, f. 23r, at Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Additionally, there are similarities in the compositions of the historiated initials marking the divisions of the Hours of the Passion in Spencer 56 and Thott 534 4°, namely

<sup>18</sup> I am grateful to E.A.R. Brown for sharing her interest in Spencer 56 with me. It was by coincidence that while looking at the manuscript with her in New York in 2010 that I realized it was connected to Thott 534 4°. In a recent publication Alison Stones has reached a similar conclusion. See Alison Stones: *Gothic manuscripts: 1260–1320*, 2013, part 1, vol. 1, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> For the Spencer manuscript which dates, in all likelihood, from somewhere between 1314 and 1322 with final quires which were added to the manuscript before Blanche's death, possibly following her release from confinement, in 1324 or 1325, see E.A.R. Brown: "Laver de ses pechiés une pecheresse royale: Psalm collects in an early fourteenth-century devotional book," Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (eds.) *Cultural performances in medieval France: Essays in honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, p.166. As Dorothy Miner pointed out the Walters manuscript contains obits for Blanche de Bretagne's husband, Philippe d'Artois (September 2) and her daughter, Marguerite, Countess of Evreux (April 24), as well as a note for her parents' anniversary (February 4) and, therefore, it was likely that the manuscript was owned by her. For Miner's observations see L.M.C. Randall: *Medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Vol. 1: France, 875–1420*, 1989, p. 157. Miner dated the manuscript to c. 1318 on the basis of the text of Philippe d'Artois's obit reading: "Obiit serenissimus princeps dominus Philippus primogenitus inclitae memorie comitis Atrebatensis" in which Philippe is called the first born and which Miner suggests refers to the inheritance conflict between Philippe's sister, Mahaut d'Artois, and Philippe's son, Robert, and which Mahaut won in two trials in 1309 and 1318. This interpretation is not without problems. "Primogenitus" is a description often attached in documents to first born sons. The use of the term in the obit alone does not indicate that the manuscript was produced c. 1318. It could have been produced before 1311, the year of the death of the Countess of Evreux, whose added obit is the most recent.

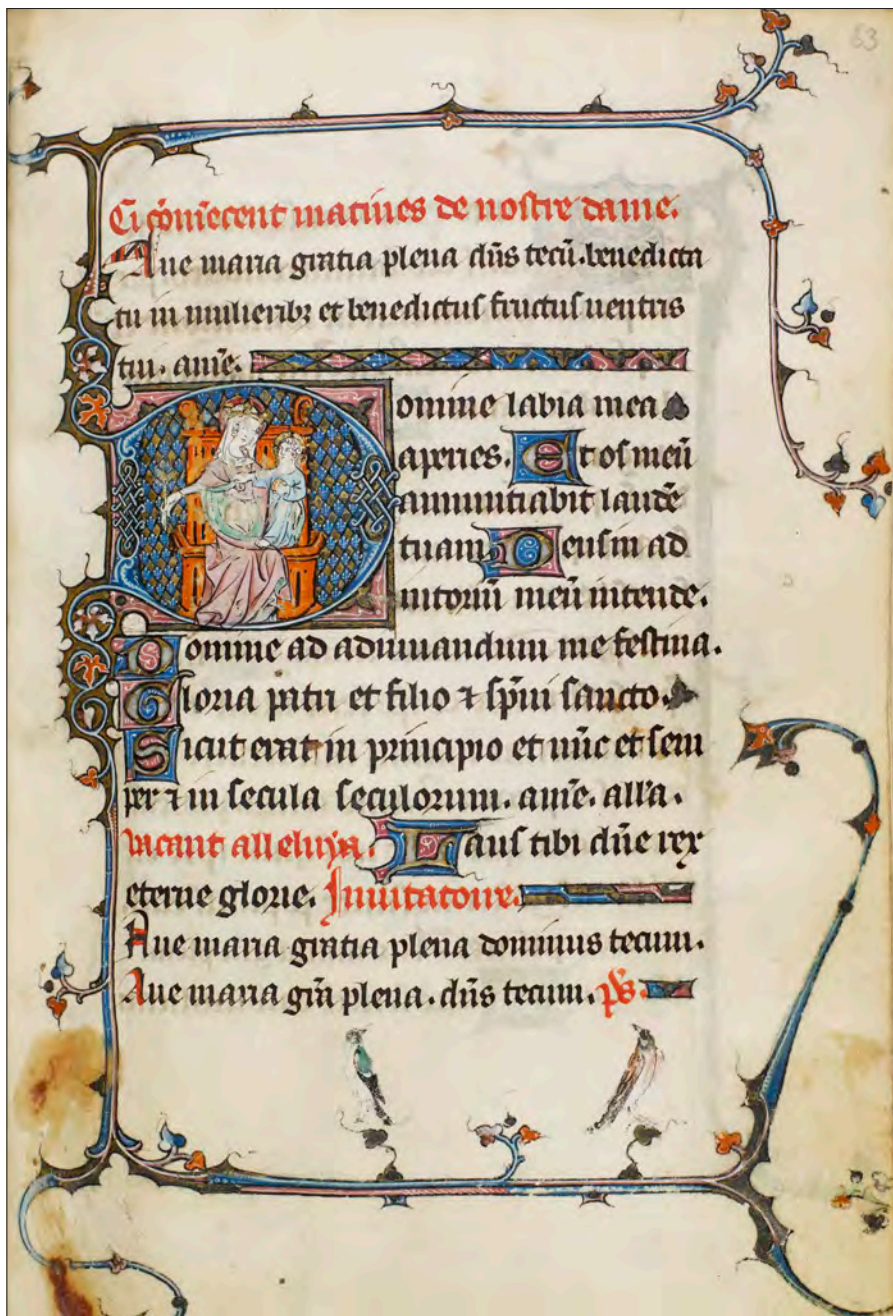


Fig. 7: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 83r. Virgin and Child. Historiated initial "D" for Matins of the Hours of the Virgin. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

those depicting the Betrayal, the Arrest of Christ and St. Peter Cutting off Malchus's ear, f. 229r and f. 54r, Christ before Pilate, f. 232r and f. 61r, the Mocking of Christ, f. 234r and f. 64v, the Flagellation, f. 235v and f. 66v, Christ Bearing the Cross, f. 237v and f. 70r, the Crucifixion, f. 240r and f. 73v, the Deposition f. 242v and 77v, and the Entombment, f. 243v and f. 80r, respectively. Despite these similarities, the two manuscripts are probably not by the same hand. The figures in the Spencer manuscript are taller, more elegant and better drawn than those in the Copenhagen Book of Hours. Also, drolleries which are entirely absent from the New York volume, often are integral parts of the pictorial program of the Copenhagen manuscript. For example, some of the details of the depictions of the arrest of Christ by armed men and St. Peter cutting off Malchus's ear are replicated in the marginal scene by sword-wielding hybrids, one of which strikes the ear of the other (fig. 5).

Both the New York and Copenhagen manuscripts display a similar range of colors. However, in the the Thott volume there is a broader palette of paints on each individual folio and greens are employed to a greater extent than in Spencer 56. If we, for example, compare the Betrayal scenes in the two books we will see that grey-blue, red, white, and pink are used in both and that the Thott artist additionally employed dark blue and green (fig. 5). While some of the decorative motifs are similar, like gold trilobe leaves that seem to sprout from the rectangular frames of the miniatures, there is much more restraint in the use of ornament in the Spencer volume. Unlike the work in Copenhagen, there are no three-sided borders in the New York manuscript and while champide initials are employed in Spencer 56 there are fewer of them per page than in Thott 534 4°.

Another manuscript illuminated by the Spencer hand, the Psalter-Hymnal of Blanche de Bretagne, displays a stylistic kinship with the Copenhagen Book of Hours. If we compare the miniatures depicting the Trinity, f. 23r and f. 153r, respectively, we will notice not only similarities in figure and facial types, compositions, and backgrounds but also in the types of interlace, which partially form the historiated initials. However, there are also notable differences between the volumes in Baltimore and in Copenhagen, such as the presence of drolleries in the later.

The inclusion in the Thott manuscript of numerous marginal figures and the palette employed in the paintings connects it to a *Decretals* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms latin 3893), written by

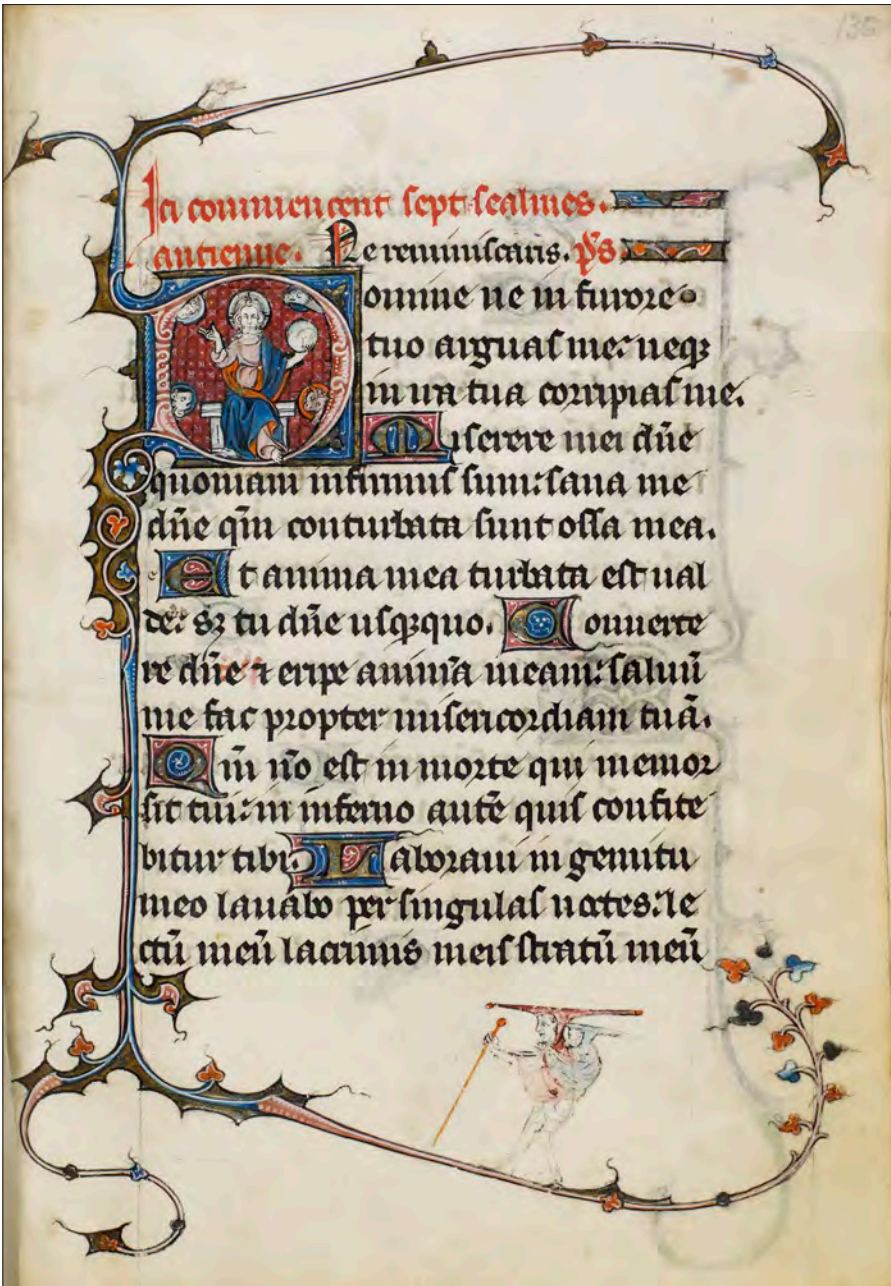


Fig. 8: Ms Thott 534 4°, f. 136r. Christ and Four Beasts. Historiated initial "D" for the Seven Penitential Psalms. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

an English scribe in 1314 and, probably, illuminated by four hands in Paris.<sup>20</sup> As in Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, in latin 3893 marginalia is found throughout the manuscript, including figures of comparable types, such as roosters, storks, parrots, dogs, monkeys, and hybrid bishops. The two manuscripts also share some stylistic traits, like the use of heavy black contours and lines, and the application of green paint in the main miniatures and marginalia, and of red paint in the cheek area of the figures' faces.

The style of the painter who executed the Thott manuscript comes out of the tradition of Master Honoré (active c. 1288–1300). The composition of the miniature depicting the lady who owned the Copenhagen Hours at the opening of the Fifteen Gradual Psalms is not unlike the one of the same subject and placed at the same division in the Nuremberg Hours (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms Solger 4<sup>2o</sup>, 4), f. 179v, executed before 1297 by a French illuminator, believed to be Master Honoré.<sup>21</sup> Because the Calendar of the Nuremberg Hours is for Sarum use and a number of the saints in the Litany and miniatures are English, it is likely that it was made for a woman who had links to England as well as France. In both the Copenhagen and Nuremberg volumes the female book owner is depicted with her hands raised and joined in prayer against a diapered lozenge background of burnished gold and blue surfaces with white *fleurs-de-lis*. In the Nuremberg Hours she is shown ascending the stairway of fifteen steps of the Gradual Psalms and gazing at Christ while in the Thott manuscript she kneels before the steps, gazing at the sanctuary. However, the Nuremberg volume does not contain any marginalia and the miniatures display a different range of colors than those found in the Copenhagen book. Like the Nuremberg Hours and Murthly Hours (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms 21000, 1280s), which have English elements, the *memoriae* in Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup> are found at the end of Lauds and Vespers of the Office of the Virgin.<sup>22</sup>

The comparisons between the miniatures in Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup> and the manuscripts in New York, Baltimore and Nuremberg suggest that the Co-

<sup>20</sup> Jean Favier (ed.): *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*, 1998, p. 289.

<sup>21</sup> For the Nuremberg Hours see Eleanor Simmons: *Les Heures de Nuremberg: reproduction intégrale du calendrier et des images du manuscrit Solger 4o 4 de la Stadtbibliothek de Nuremberg*, 1994 and the review of the book by Adelaide Bennett: *Studies in iconography*, 18, 1997, pp. 269–274.

<sup>22</sup> See Claire Donovan: *The De Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in thirteenth-century Oxford*, 1991, p. 60.



penhagen Book of Hours is closer in date to the volumes in the United States. The figure style and arrangement of colors in the illuminations of Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, which differ from these compositional elements in Spencer 56 and W. 115, may be an indication that it was produced around 1310.

Who then could have been the women who originally owned the Copenhagen Book of Hours? One lady who had ties to both Paris and Evreux, and thus is a possible candidate for this role, is Marguerite d'Artois (1285–1311), daughter of Philippe, Count of Artois, and Blanche de Bretagne, who in 1300 married Louis, Count of Evreux (1276–1319). The couple maintained a residence at the château comtal in Evreux but since Louis, a son of King Philip III of France, was frequently at court, their primary home was the Hotel d'Evreux in Paris.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the count and countess were active as patrons of religious institutions in Evreux. For example, Marguerite made a grant of rent in her will to the monks of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Taurin.<sup>24</sup> The couple also left their mark on the cathedral of Notre Dame, Evreux, where they are depicted in stained glass in one of the side chapels.<sup>25</sup> The focus of this commission of four windows is the representation of the Mother and Child which shares a number of traits with the renditions of the same subject in Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 22v (fig. 6) and f. 83r (fig. 7). In both the center lancet of the widow in the Cathedral and in the images in the Copenhagen Book of Hours the crowned Virgin inclines her head towards the standing Child she cradles in her right arm while she holds flowers in the hand of her extended left arm. Furthermore, in the Evreux window and the full-page miniature in Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 22v, the figures are situated beneath a trefoil arch with crockets and pinnacles. Aside from these commonalities, there are differences between the compositions. For example, in the Copenhagen Book of Hours there are no coats of arms or representations of the devotee before Christ and the Virgin. But we should keep in mind that the orant figures of Marguerite in the left hand window and Louis in the two windows to the right would have been situated in a more public sphere in which the donors would rarely be physically present. Instead, their stand-ins perpetually prayed to the votive image. A more intimate relationship to the Mother and Child would have been experienced by the owner of Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup> which would not have necessitated the inclusion of her

<sup>23</sup> Marie-Laure Lemonnier Surget: *Les ennemis du roi: parenté et politique chez les Evreux-Navarre*, Ph.D. dissertation, Paris X, 2004, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> Lemonnier-Surget 2004, p. 285.

<sup>25</sup> Lemonnier-Surget 2004, p. 284–5.

likeness before the objects of her devotions. She, herself, would have knelt before her book, which would have been held in her hands or placed on a prie-dieu, meditating on or praying to the votive image. Since the Mother and Child figured centrally in Louis d'Evreux's gift to the cathedral of Evreux, it is imaginable that in a manuscript executed for his wife such an image might receive special emphasis, as it does in the Copenhagen manuscript.

There are further reasons for entertaining the possibility that Thott 534 4° was made for Marguerite d'Artois. The surprising inclusion of St. Werburgh in a manuscript which emphasizes Paris and Evruex might be due to the patron's links to England. Marguerite had English connections. Her mother, Blanche de Bretagne, was the daughter of Beatrice of England and granddaughter of King Henry III of England. Two of Blanche's sisters, Eleanor and Mary, spent much of their childhood in England while Blanche is likely to have resided there during the period in which her mother and father were on crusade. The palette and inclusion of marginalia in Thott 534 4° might also have been made in response to the expectations of a patron familiar with manuscripts produced in Northern France and England.

The presence of St. Louis in the Calendar and *memoriae*, f. 46r, and his placement as fourth in the list of confessors in the Litany, f. 146r, might also be due to a special role this saint might have played in the devotions of the book owner. On her paternal side, Marguerite was a great-grand-niece of St. Louis and her husband, who was named after him, was a direct descendent of the sainted king.

Some of the other saints named in the manuscript might have held significance for Marguerite and her family. The Calendar, Litany, and *memoriae* include saints with connections to Meaux, the capital of the county in which Marguerite held land.<sup>26</sup> The feast of St. Hildebert of Meaux (May 27) is present in the Calendar of Thott 534 4° but absent from the Evreux Missal. The translation of St. Stephen, the patron saint of Meaux and of Brie-Comte-Robert, is graded red in the Calendar of Thott 534 4°, but not in the Missal, while St. Fiacre, whose relics were installed in Meaux Cathedral, is named in one of the *memoriae*, f.105v. The presence in the Litany of St. Gundulphus, patron of St. Gondon, near Gien, might due to the fact that Gien was one of the territories given

<sup>26</sup> For Marguerite as seigneur de Brie-Comte-Robert, a title she received from her mother as part of her dowry see Lemonnier-Surget 2004, p.36 and Edmond Michel: *Histoire de la ville de Brie-Comte-Robert*, 1902, p. 199.

to Louis d'Evreux by his brother, Philippe IV while that of St. Francis in the *memoriae* might also be the result of the count and countess's connections to the Franciscans.<sup>27</sup>

To return to the depiction of the lady for whom the Copenhagen book of Hours was made (fig. 1). As already discussed the image of the book owner was a platform for her self-fashioning. At the opening of the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, f. 129r, she is shown endowed with qualities which were fitting for a woman of her station: she is noble in dress, aristocratic in bearing, humble before God. The image is also a portrayal of her aspirations, namely to ascend the steps of the Gradual Psalms. For the purposes of further understanding the construction of the lady's identity in the Copenhagen manuscript, I compare it with the representation of the beggar on the folio marking the next liturgical division in the book, namely the opening of the Seven Penitential Psalms, f. 136r (fig. 8). Although the image of the noblewoman does not record her facial likeness, she is made to look attractive. She has comely features: a long oval face, high forehead, strong nose and long neck. Her tall, slim, well-proportioned, erect body too is pleasing in appearance. The face of the beggar in contrast to the lady's is homely and has irregular features; he has a large nose and mouth, flat forehead and averted eyes. His bent-over body too is unattractive; he has scrawny and ill-proportioned legs and his movements seem ungainly. While the lady's garments fall in deep, orderly, the folds of the beggar's rags appear rumpled and creased.

The beggar with his child, who seem the very opposite of the lady and her dog, play a very vital role in the construction of her self. They provide the channel through which she may attain salvation. On f. 136r, the theme of salvation in the historiated initial illuminated with the Second Coming of Christ may also be alluded to in the *bas-de-page* depicting the beggar and child who might have been understood as in need of alms. Charitable acts, such as almsgiving were carried out for redemptive purposes. This is implied in a number of biblical passages including (Matthew 6:1) "Take heed that you do not do your charitable deeds before men, to be seen by them. Otherwise you have no reward from your father in heaven" That the beggar has a child characterizes him as a deserving individual. As is stated in Sirach 12:4–6, it was important

<sup>27</sup> For Louis's endowment to the Franciscan convent of Longchamp for masses for his wife's soul, see Gertrud Młynarczyk: *Ein Franziskanerinnenkloster im 15. Jahrhundert: Edition und Analyse von Besitzinventaren aus der Abtei Longchamp*, 1987, p. 73.

that charity was directed at those who needed it: “Give to the merciful and uphold not the sinner: God will repay vengeance to the ungodly and to sinners, and keep them against the day of vengeance. 5. Give to the good, and receive not a sinner. 6. Do good to the humble, and give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not to him, lest thereby he overmaster thee.” While the combination of images and text on this folio might have a didactic component they also, like her image of f. 129r, express the devotee’s aspiration, namely that the recitation of the Psalms and her engagement in penitential acts will lead to the expiation of sin and to salvation.

The theme of salvation is taken up once again the sequence of images that follow on f. 155r and f. 161r. Women, as already observed, figure notably amongst the elect and it is likely that the book owner would have understood the prominently placed female figures on f. 155r and f. 161r as herself.<sup>28</sup> The sequence of images in the book and the text/image juxtapositions could be thought of as associating modes of behavior with certain consequences and might have conveyed the belief that the lady had been accorded her place amongst the saved because of her individual merit.<sup>29</sup>

### *Conclusion*

This article has offered new insights into Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup>, a manuscript about which until now very little has been published. I have argued that the Copenhagen Book of Hours was, in all likelihood, executed for a lady with connections to Paris, Evreux, and possibly England. The stylistic and iconographic similarities between the Copenhagen manuscript and the New York and Baltimore volumes indicate that they are likely to date from around the same time. If Thott 534 4<sup>o</sup> was commissioned for the Countess of Evreux, as I have suggested, it is possible that Marguerite’s mother, Blanche de Bretagne, and aunt, Mahaut d’Artois, may have shared her preferences for a certain style of illumination.

It has also been suggested that the choice of feasts in the Calendar and of the saints invoked in the *memoriae* and Litany might reflect the owner’s devotional practices and preferences. Because the intended reader was a woman, she may have wished to have included in her book

<sup>28</sup> For the contemporary belief that the risen are gendered see Caroline Walker Bynum: *The resurrection of the body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*, 1995, 254–255.

<sup>29</sup> For the idea that the elect carry with them their individuality and merit see Bynum 1995, p.255.

a number of saints of her own gender, like saints Honorina and Venice in the Calendar, and who might have held some significance for her, like St. Werburgh who is invoked in the Litany and *memoriae*. I have also shown that there is an interest in women in the pictorial material and that, in general, women are portrayed in a positive light. More specifically, in contradiction to some commonly held beliefs in the period, gender is not a hindrance to salvation for the women represented in the manuscript.

### SUMMARY

MARINA VIDAS: *Resemblance and Devotion: Image and Text in a Parisian Early Fourteenth-Century Book of Hours (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ms Thott 534 4°) Made for a French Noblewoman*

The focus of this article is Ms Thott 534 4°, a small Parisian early fourteenth-century illuminated Book of Hours in the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, about which up until now, very little has been published. Firstly, the textual and pictorial contents of the manuscript are listed. Secondly, the specific elements in the book which indicate that it was made for a woman are analysed. The article pays particular attention to the representation of the book's owner and to other images of women in Ms Thott 534 4°. Additionally, possible readings of the juxtaposed images and texts relevant to the original owner of the manuscript are explored. Thirdly, the significance of the presence of Norman saints in the Calendar and *memoriae*, as well as of hagiographic material invoking saints that had a cult following in France and England are discussed. Fourthly, the components which reveal that the original book owner had connections to Paris are enumerated and analysed. It is shown that there are stylistic and iconographic similarities between Ms Thott 534 4° and two other Parisian personal devotional manuscripts, the Psalter and Hours of Blanche de Bourgogne (New York, New York Public Library, Ms Spencer 56) and a Psalter-Hymnal (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 115) which, in all likelihood, was made for Blanche de Bretagne (c. 1270–1327). These similarities suggest that the three manuscripts are likely to date from around the same time. Drawing on the hagiographic and pictorial material in Ms Thott 534 4°, it is concluded that the Book of Hours was executed around 1310 for a lady with connections to Paris, Evreux, and possibly England. More specifically, Marguerite d'Artois, Countess of Evreux (1285–1311), is proposed as a possible candidate as the original owner of the manuscript.

