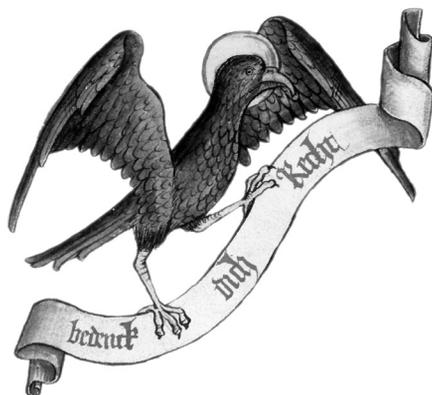


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## REPRESENTATION AND RECEPTION

### Women in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours

Ms. Thott 547 4°

BY

MARINA VIDAS

**M**s. Thott 547 4°, in the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, is an exquisitely illuminated fourteenth-century English manuscript.<sup>1</sup> It contains the Hours of the Virgin (ff. 1r–31v), the Seven Penitential Psalms (ff. 32v–38v), a Litany (ff. 38v–41r) as well as an Office of the Dead (ff. 43r–66v).<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has an elaborate pictorial program, consisting of a cycle of ten six-line historiated initials depicting events from the Infancy, the Passion and the Last Judgment, two *haut-de-pages* linked to Christological events and ten *bas-de-pages*, eight of which show Miracles of the Virgin. It is further embellished with rectilinear borders, one of which encompasses a portrait of its intended owner, heraldic shields, decorative initials as well as abstract, zoomorphic

<sup>1</sup> This article synthesizes research and ideas which I present more fully in my forthcoming book on the two Copenhagen Bohun manuscripts. This project could not have been undertaken without the support of Jonathan J.G. Alexander who has never failed to help me with my professional endeavors. Kathryn A. Smith deserves special thanks for reading a draft and making many detailed and valuable suggestions. I gratefully acknowledge the generous research grants I received from the Danish National Endowment for the Humanities, the Novo Nordisk Foundation and the Carlsberg Foundation. I would like to thank the Danish Academy in Rome for a one-month fellowship which permitted me to consult documents at the Archivio degli Agostiniani, Rome. I am also greatly indebted to the Royal Library, Copenhagen, where I researched and wrote my book and, especially, to Erland Kolding Nielsen, John T. Lauridsen and Ivan Boserup, who in numerous ways helped me enormously.

<sup>2</sup> In its present state Thott 547 4° contains 66 folios measuring 129 × 179 mm. The manuscript consists of eight quaternions and two extra leaves. In comparison to other English Books of Hours of this period, the texts included in Thott 547 4° are rather standard. No components generally found in a Books of Hours are missing from Thott 547 4°, other than a Calendar. It is, therefore, possible that Thott 547 4° was envisioned as a book of this kind. Alternatively, as suggested by Lucy Freeman Sandler, Thott 547 4° might have been intended originally as a part of a Psalter-Hours. See Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, ed., J.J.G. Alexander, *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, V, part 2, London, 1986, 162.

and vegetal line endings. On the basis of style, heraldry and the manner in which the original owner is depicted, it can be deduced that the manuscript was made for either Eleanor (1367–1399) or Mary de Bohun (1370–1394), daughters and co-heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, 7th Earl of Hereford, 6th Earl of Essex and 2nd Earl of Northampton (1342–1373), most likely between 1380 and 1387.<sup>3</sup>

The Bohuns were important patrons and collectors of illuminated manuscripts and one of the wealthiest families in England in the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> They were related by descent and intermarriage to the royal family. Humphrey de Bohun, the sisters' father and the last direct male descendent of the family, was the grandson of Princess Elizabeth of Rhudland, while Joan Fitzalan (1347–1419), their mother, was the granddaughter of Prince Edmund "Crouchback," Earl of Lancaster and Blanche d'Artois, Queen of Navarre. The elder sister, Eleanor, married Thomas of Woodstock, Edward III's youngest son, in 1376 while in 1381 the younger one, Mary, wed Henry of Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV, a grandson of Edward III.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The heraldic garments in which the owner of the manuscript is portrayed on folio 1r indicate that the book was intended for a young female member of the Bohun family. The subsequent owners of the manuscript prior to the Danish nobleman, Count Otto Thott (1703–1785), are unknown. Count Thott bought many of his books on the international market but where and from whom he obtained the two Bohun manuscripts is not documented. The manuscript was bequeathed by the count to the Royal Library. For Thott and his connections to the rare book market see Harald Ilsøe, "Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?" *Fund og Forskning* 35 (1996): 66.

<sup>4</sup> The works which include the most significant discussions of Thott 547 4° are: C. Bruun, "De illuminerede Haandskrifter fra Middelalderen i Det store kongelige Bibliotek," *Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det store kongelige Bibliotek*, Copenhagen, 1870–1902, 192–196, *The Bohun Manuscripts, A Group of Five Manuscripts Executed in England about 1370 for Members of the Bohun Family*, described by Montague Rhodes James, with an introductory note on the group by Eric George Millar, Oxford, 1936, Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, 161–162, Lynda Dennison, "The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop," Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988, Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Lancastrian Heraldry in the Bohun Manuscripts," *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed., Jenny Stratford, Donington, 2003, 221–232, Sarah Glover, "Illustrations of the Miracles of the Virgin in English Books of Hours c. 1200–1400," Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, 2003, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Lichenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family*, London, 2004. Erik Drigsdahl's transcription of the texts found in Thott 547 4° and his commentary on its liturgical content are available on the web: <[http://base.kb.dk/manus\\_pub/cv/manus/ManusIntro.xsql?nnoc=manus\\_pub&p\\_ManusId=76&p\\_Lang=alt](http://base.kb.dk/manus_pub/cv/manus/ManusIntro.xsql?nnoc=manus_pub&p_ManusId=76&p_Lang=alt)>

<sup>5</sup> Mary and Henry were the parents of six children, including Henry V of England and Philippa, Queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden (1394–1430).

In this article I discuss a number of the many depictions of women in the Copenhagen manuscript: the portrait of the book owner, the representations of the Virgin Mary, shown on nine of the ten fully illuminated folia, of St. Elizabeth, Mary Magdalene, Job's wife, a group of nuns as well as of three mothers who appear in the narratives of Marian miracles. I also examine the significance these images might have had for the intended female reader. I start by describing and analyzing the Christological scenes and the Marian miracles on each of the ten illuminated folia on which representations of women occur in the order they appear in the manuscript. I suggest possible textual sources which the designer of the pictorial cycle, who was probably the main illuminator of the manuscript and an Augustinian friar, might have consulted or recalled from memory.<sup>6</sup> These include Biblical and apocryphal

<sup>6</sup> On the basis of stylistic analysis it has been proposed in the literature and generally accepted that the painted decorations in the two Copenhagen manuscripts made for the Bohun family were executed by two artists. As pointed out by Lucy Sandler, "A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts," *Speculum* 60 (1985): 365, one of the illuminators working for the Bohuns appears to have resided at the family's chief residence, Pleshey Castle, during the life time of Mary and Eleanor's great-uncle, Humphrey de Bohun, sixth Earl of Hereford and Essex (1309–1361). In the sixth earl's will, dated 1361, an Augustinian friar, John de Teye, called "our illuminator," was bequeathed £10 to pray for Humphrey's soul. See John Nichols, *A Collection of All the Wills, Now Known to Be Extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales, and Every Branch of the Blood Royal, From the Reign of William the Conqueror to that of Henry the Seventh Exclusive: with Explanatory Notes, and a Glossary*, London, 1780, 50. From evidence in another document it can be deduced that de Teye was still involved in manuscript illumination in 1384. Bartholomeus Venetus, the prior general of the Augustinian friars in Rome, on May 20, 1384 gave Brother John de Teye written permission to summon Brother Henry Hood and instruct him in the art of manuscript illumination. For the original document see Rome, Archivio degli Agostiniani, Dd2, f. 17r. It has been transcribed and published by Francis Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249–1538. II. Sources*, New York, 1961, II, 223, no. 559: "Concessimus Fratri Johanni Tye de provincia Anglie, quod possit vocare et retinere fratrem Henricum Hood per annum tantum ipsum instruendo in arte illuminandi libros, qui non sit ab eo amovendus nisi hoc sua demerita [seu] utilitas persuaderet." (We give permission to Brother John de Teye from the English province to summon and retain brother Henry Hood for a period of a year to instruct him in the art of book illumination. [Brother Henry Hood] may not be taken away from [Brother John de Teye] unless either his faults [or] his usefulness requires it.) Francis Roth, who published the document, judged that because dispensation for Brother Henry's training was needed, John de Teye must not have been staying at a friary. Roth, *The English Austin Friars*, I, 370. The contents of the sixth earl's will of 1361 and of the 1384 document giving Brother John permission to summon Brother Henry, led Sandler to conclude that in 1384 John de Teye was working at Pleshey Castle, where he most likely had lived in 1361 when the sixth earl made

sources for the imagery of the historiated initials and texts relating Marian legends widely known in the period, such as Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, for the *bas-de-pages*. I demonstrate that the artist left out scenes described in written accounts of the miracles of the Virgin and that the pictorial narratives have a different focus than their textual sources. I also show that the illuminator juxtaposed and linked elements in the Christological scenes in the historiated initials and the Marian miracles depicted in the *bas-de-page*. These strategies allowed meanings to be constructed for the female viewer other than those suggested by the text or texts from which the imagery was drawn.

FOLIO 1R. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT MATINS: ANNUNCIATION. LEFT BORDER: PORTRAIT OF THE INTENDED READER. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THE UNCHASTE ABBESS (FIG. 1).

Within an open architectural structure with gables, towers and turrets, the kneeling, nimbed Archangel Gabriel addresses the crowned Virgin, seated on a golden throne. The nimbus and body of the angel sent by God emanate rays of light. In his right hand Gabriel holds a scroll with the words of his greeting "aue maria gracia" (Luke 1:28). The Virgin, dressed in a rose colored gown and a blue cloak with white and gilt geometric decorations, holds down the page of the manuscript on the reading-stand at her side. With her left hand she gestures, an indication that she is speaking. She is probably represented responding to the angel's message that she will bear a son (Luke 1:31–33) with the words (Luke 1:34): "How shall this be done, because I know not man?" Between Mary and the angle is a vase with a lily, a traditional symbol of her purity, and a basket, perhaps meant for wool (Protoevangelium

his will. However, neither Pleshey Castle nor the Bohuns are mentioned in the 1384 document. Although it is possible, as Sandler suggests, that de Teye lived and worked at Pleshey in 1384, it is equally possible that he lived and worked elsewhere, perhaps for Joan de Bohun. There is manuscript evidence to support Sandler's hypothesis that John de Teye was still working for the Bohuns in 1384. The most compelling is that there are two hands which continuously appear in manuscripts made for members of the family between the 1350s and 1380s. Dennison and Sandler have argued that one of these hands is John de Teye's. See Lynda Dennison, "British Library, Egerton Ms. 3277: A Fourteenth-Century Psalter-Hours and the Question of Bohun Family Ownership," *Proceedings of the 1997 Symposium: Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, eds., Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2003, 125, and Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter*, 126–129.



Fig. 1: Thott 547 4°, f. 1r. Historiated Initial "D" at Matins: Annunciation. Borders: Portrait of the Book-Owner, Angel Musicians. *Bas-de-Page*. Legend of the Unchaste Abbess. The Royal Library.

10:1–2, Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew 6). Rays of light emanate from the window of a turret and terminate near the Virgin's head.

The selection of the subject to mark Matins, the first canonical hour of the Office of the Virgin, is standard. The Annunciation was the moment of Christ's incarnation, the first event in His life on earth and the central moment of the Virgin's life. The subject matter is additionally appropriate for this Hour since the devotee is meant to utter the angel's salutation, "Ave maria gracia plena dominus tecum," between the five sections of Psalm 94, ff. 1r–2r. The representation of Mary with a book was rather common in works of art depicting the Annunciation in this period and its significance is multifold. The Virgin was believed to have started occupying herself with prayer while still a child in the Temple (Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew 6). That she devoted herself to prayer or holy reading emphasizes her wisdom, goodness and devotion.<sup>7</sup> The rays of light terminating near the Virgin's head illustrate the belief that as Mary heard the word of God she conceived.<sup>8</sup>

Mary's royal attributes, her crown and a throne, are a commonplace since it was believed that she descended from King David.<sup>9</sup> Mary was also thought of as a throne herself. From Early Christian times she was often referred to by theologians as the "throne of God," and medieval authors linked this image to the throne of David's son, Solomon, renowned for his wisdom.<sup>10</sup> The throne in the miniature may also call to mind the words uttered by the Annunciate angel (Luke 1: 32): "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the most High; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he

<sup>7</sup> Lesley Smith, "Scriba, Femina: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing," eds., Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, London and Toronto, 1997, 22.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of this belief see Leo Steinberg, "'How Shall This Be?' Reflections on Filippo Lippi's Annunciation in London," *Artibus et Historiae* 16 (1987): 25–44.

<sup>9</sup> A source for the belief that Mary descended from King David is Isaiah 11:1–2: "et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet 2 et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus spiritus consilii et fortitudinis spiritus scientiae et pietatis" (Then a shoot shall grow from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall ascend from his root. 2 And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness). In the Middle Ages it was interpreted that the Virgin sprang from the root of Jesse because the word *virga* (shoot) was associated with *virgo* (virgin). However, according to the Gospels (Matthew 1:1–16) it was Joseph whose ancestry could be traced back to David. See A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Oxford, 1934, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, Princeton, 1972, 24–26.

shall reign in the house of Jacob forever. 33 And of his kingdom there shall be no end.”

In an open tower-like structure in the left border, is a young kneeling noblewoman, gazing in the direction of the Annunciate Virgin. Before her is a reading stand. Each of her hands is placed on a page from her open book. She wears a short surcoat with the arms of pre-1340 England (*gules three lions passant guardant or*) that covers the upper portion of her long blue gown decorated with the arms of Bohun, Earls of Hereford and Essex (*azure a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampart or*). Her clothing could be understood as hierarchically arranged since the surcoat with the armorials of England is above the gown with the Bohun arms. These arms of pre-1340 England and Bohun also appear in the rectangular frame around the six-line historiated initial “D” where they are quartered. A shield, six lines beneath the historiated initial, inside the three-line initial “U,” introducing Psalm 94:6, displays once again the Bohun arms.

Because of the placement of the young woman near the opening of the first Hour and because she is praying, it can be concluded that she is the intended reader of the manuscript. Following the earlier practice in Psalters of representing the person for whom a manuscript was made near God, Christ or the Virgin Mary, in Books of Hours the depiction of the manuscript’s owner was often situated on the folio with the opening of the Office of the Virgin or on the folio prefacing this section.<sup>11</sup> The owner is often shown at prayer, sometimes with a devotional book. The image of the praying devotee is made in response to the opening of text of the first Hour of the Virgin: “Domine labia mea aperies. Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam” (O Lord, thou wilt open my lips: and my mouth shall declare thy praise.) This is the only Hour which has this incipit. The image of the praying book owner also underlines the purpose for which the manuscript was made.

Similarities exist between the physical appearance and actions of the female owner and the Virgin. They are given attributes associated with the ideals of beauty in the period. Both are young, slender, aristocratic in bearing, have long necks and very white skin.<sup>12</sup> Mary’s long

<sup>11</sup> For the locations of depictions of book owners in thirteenth-century Psalters see Nigel Morgan, “Patrons and their Devotions in the Historiated Initials and Full-Page Miniatures of 13th-Century English Psalters,” *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images*, ed., F.O. Büttner, Turnhout, 2004, 309–319.

<sup>12</sup> For the feminine ideal of beauty in medieval England see Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270–1540*, Manchester, 2003, 45.

unbound golden hair is a sign of her maidenhood and because the girl also wears her tresses in this way she too is probably an adolescent and, perhaps, a virgin.<sup>13</sup> Both the girl and the Virgin Mary wear rose and blue colored garments with gilt decoration, albeit the girl's blue gown is decorated with gold rearing lions while the Virgin's blue cloak has geometric motifs. Although there are similarities between the spaces the young aristocrat and the Holy Mother occupy, both are situated in an interior before a lectern with a book, they inhabit different realms. This is emphasized by the fact that they are situated in two separated architectural structures and in different places on the page, the reader in the left margin and the Virgin within the initial of the opening of the Hour.

The young noblewoman gazes passed the opened pages of her book and focuses her attention on the Annunciate Virgin. Her quiet and attentive manner is in juxtaposition to the Virgin's questioning and animated air. The young aristocrat is in the temporal world, pondering the words in her prayer book and visualizing the Virgin caught up in the unfolding drama in the sacred realm. Although Mary does not pay attention to the supplicant, there are elements creating a connection between the book owner and the Virgin to whom this Office is devoted. The intended reader and the Mother of God are represented on the same scale, on the same plane and facing each other.

This portrait of the book owner could instruct the viewer to use the illuminations as aids to meditation and ponder the implications of the Incarnation. The portrait would also have had a commemorative quality when used by later owners of the manuscript. It would have been hoped that they would continue to say prayers for her soul.

But who is the young lady? As noted above, the placement of her portrait in the manuscript indicates that she is the intended recipient of the book. The way in which she wears her hair implies that she is

<sup>13</sup> For this and other meanings of long, uncovered and loose hair in late-medieval English culture see Kim M. Phillips, "Maidenhood as the Perfect Age of Woman's Life," *Young Medieval Women*, eds., Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge and Kim M. Phillips, Stroud, 1999, 6–8. For married adolescent girls of noble families waiting to consummate their marriage until the age of fifteen see John Carmi Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500," *Medieval Queenship*, ed., John Carmi Parsons, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998, 66–67 and 207, note 5, and for the date of the birth of Mary de Bohun's first child see Ian Mortimer, *The Feats of Henry IV. The Life of England's Self-Made King*, London, 2007, 370–371.

young, and, perhaps, a minor.<sup>14</sup> The arrangement of her clothes and the fact that they display the armorials of two different families suggests that she is a married woman. Because her gown is embellished with the arms of Bohun and her surcoat with the arms of the kingdom she must be a member of one family by blood and the other by marriage.<sup>15</sup>

If the young woman in the Copenhagen Hours is intended to represent either one of the seventh earl's daughters, then the arms of her husband, are not painted completely accurately.<sup>16</sup> The arms of Eleanor de Bohun's spouse, Thomas of Woodstock, were those of France and England quarterly differenced by a *bordure argent*.<sup>17</sup> Neither on this folio nor anywhere else in the Copenhagen Hours are the post-1340 arms of the crown impaled, quartered or shown directly above the armorials of the Bohuns. Mary de Bohun's husband, Henry of Bolingbroke, who since 1377 was styled as Earl of Derby, bore, in his mother's right, the arms of the Duchy of Lancaster, England with a label of France, or more correctly, *gules three leopards or, a label of three points azure fretty or*.<sup>18</sup> The label that was part of Bolingbroke's arms is not present on the

<sup>14</sup> A married girl of her class came of age at fourteen, an unmarried girl at sixteen. See Sue Sheridan Walker, "Proof of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England," *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973): 307.

<sup>15</sup> In the visual arts, when married women are shown wearing heraldic garments, more commonly the arms of their husband's family are impaled with those of their father. For example, in the *Luttrell Psalter* (London, British Library Ms. Additional 42130, c. 1320–1340), f. 202v, Agnes de Sutton, wife of Geoffrey Luttrell, and her daughter-in-law, Beatrice le Scrope, wear heraldic surcoats with the Luttrell family arms on one half of the surcoat and on the other those of their fathers. These married women wear their hair plaited and covered by a veil.

<sup>16</sup> For the observation that if the young woman is intended to represent Mary Bohun, the arms of her husband are not painted accurately, see Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, 153.

<sup>17</sup> In St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, painted in 1361, each of Edward III's five sons was represented wearing a *jupon* decorated with the arms of France and England quarterly. See Emily Howe, "Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display: The Altar Wall Murals of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster," *Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001): fig. 7. In the depiction of their shields, also in St. Stephen's chapel, the arms were displayed as quarterly France and England, differentiated by a label, with the exception of the six-year-old Thomas of Woodstock's shield which did not have any marks of differencing. For the armorial shields see John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster, The Old Palace, St. Stephen's Chapel*, London, 1807, fig. 13. Seals and tombs dating from the 1390s show Thomas of Woodstock's arms as those of the kingdom within a *bordure argent*. See note 88 below.

<sup>18</sup> The arms were inherited from Henry of Bolingbroke's maternal grandfather, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, after whom he was named. John of Gaunt was entitled to these

young woman's surcoat. Furthermore, the areas of the page in which the pre-1340 arms of England appear in conjunction with those of Bohun (the background of the historiated initial and of the adjacent marginal scene in which the young woman is depicted) do not show any marks of differencing.

There may be practical reasons for the absence of the *fleur-de-lis* or the label of *three points azure floretty or*, perhaps due to the small scale of the areas in which the lions of England occur. However, in another book owner portrait of larger dimensions found in the Bodleian Library's Psalter-Hours (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. D. 4.4.) there are similarly no marks of differencing on the girl's surcoat.<sup>19</sup> The ambiguity in the depiction of the arms may, to some degree, be due to the fact that they are not found on shields but on clothes and backgrounds. Artists may have taken liberties with representations of armorials on these types of surfaces, as for example in the depictions of the jupons of the princes in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. The absence of marks of differencing on the surcoat might have permitted the girl to see likenesses between herself and her great-grandmother, Elizabeth of Rhudland, daughter of Edward I, and wife of Humphrey de Bohun, fourth earl of Hereford and Essex, whose arms were those of pre-1340 England impaled with Bohun.<sup>20</sup>

arms after the death of his father-in-law in 1361 but he did not make use of them. See Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: 1265–1603*, I, London, 1953, 154, note 1, J.H. and R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, London, 1974, 86, W S W, "On Some Marks of Cadency Borne by the Sons of King Edward III, and by Others of the of the Family of Plantagenet," *Archaeological Journal* 7 (1850): 159, and Charles Boutell, *A Manual of Heraldry, Historical and Popular*, London, 1863, 191 and no. 493.

<sup>19</sup> In the full-page bordered miniature on f. 181v, a beautiful girl, attended by Mary Magdalene, kneels on a cushion before the crowned and nimbed Virgin Mary and the cross-nimbed Christ Child. The girl's surcoat is made of a bright red fabric decorated with gold leopards and trimmed with white fur. Underneath the surcoat, she wears a blue gown with a slit, edged with white fur, and displaying the arms of the Bohun family, Earls of Hereford and Essex. The supplicant has the same color tresses and wears her hair long down her back like the Virgin and the Magdalene.

<sup>20</sup> Armorials referring to the marriage of Elizabeth of Rhudland to Humphrey de Bohun, the 4th earl, are found in the Vienna Bohun Psalter, f. 100r, at Psalm 109. In the stem of the initial "D" are the pre-1340 arms of England over Bohun. The arms are reversed in the bowl of the initial "D." For quartered arms referring to marriages see the will of Margaret de Courtenay, née Bohun, in M.M. Bigelow, "The Bohun Wills, II," *American Historical Review* 1 (1896): 641, which mentions a pair of basins with the arms of Hereford and Courtenay quartered.

The episodes of the tale narrated in the lower border of the Copenhagen manuscript appear in a number of versions of the Miracle of the Unchaste Abbess, one of the most popular of all Mary-legends and included in many of the great Latin collections.<sup>21</sup> The events depicted in the first and middle scenes of the *bas-de-page* are similar to incidents recounted in the central parts of the narratives of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* which describe nuns informing their bishop that their abbess is with child and the Virgin protecting her devotee by assisting in the delivery of the infant boy and arranging for him to be sent to be raised by the hermit.<sup>22</sup> While in many versions of the tale the bishop examines the abbess's body for signs of pregnancy, usually just by having her undress and looking at her naked body, in the Copenhagen manuscript the scene is visualized in a different manner.<sup>23</sup> In the *bas-de-page* the bishop

<sup>21</sup> For the tale of the Unchaste Abbess in the work of Dominic of Evesham see J.C. Jennings, "The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham," *The English Historical Review* (1962): 301; in William of Malmesbury's *De miraculis beatae virginis Mariae*, see *El libro 'De laudibus et miraculis sanctae mariae' de Guillermo de Malmesbury, estudio y texto*, ed., J.M. Canal, Rome, 1968, 154–156, and in the Pez collection see Thomas Frederick Crane, ed., *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*, Ithaca, 1925, 51–55. For the story attributed to Adgar see J.A. Herbert, "A New Manuscript of Adgar's Mary-legends," *Romania* 32 (1903): 415–421, and in the second Anglo-Norman collection of miracles of the Virgin in verse see Hilding Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin*, Paris and Uppsala, 1922, 62–67. For this legend in Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, see Michel Tarayre, *La Vierge et le miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*, Paris, 1999, 48–55, in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*, see *Gautier de Coinci: Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed., V. Frederic Koenig, Geneva, 1955–70, II, 181–196. For the "Abesse grosse" in *La Vie des Pères* see Félix Lecoy, ed., *La vie des peres*, Paris, 1987, I, 300–316. For these and other versions of the legend see Ruth Wilson Tryon, "Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English Verse," *PMLA* 38 (1923): 369, and *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*, ed., Evelyn Faye Wilson, Cambridge, 1946, 156.

<sup>22</sup> There are only small differences between the textual sources and the visualization of the narratives in the *bas-de-page*. In the Copenhagen Hours the nuns are shown with their bishop, informing him that their abbess has been unchaste. In Vincent's and Gautier's tale they contact the bishop by letter. See Tarayre, *La Vierge*, 51, and Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography*, 631, respectively.

<sup>23</sup> In Vincent's account the author does not specify the nature of the bishop's examination of the abbess while in Gautier's poem, she is forced to completely undress. See Tarayre, *La Vierge*, 53, and Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography*, 633, respectively. In the visualization of this episode from the tale of the Unchaste Abbess in the *bas-de-page* of the *Taymouth Hours* (London, British Library, Ms. Yates Thompson 13, c. 1325–1335), f. 157v, similarly the bishop squeezes one of the abbess's breasts. I am grateful to Kathryn A. Smith for this information.

squeezes the abbess's exposed breasts to determine whether or not she is lactating.<sup>24</sup>

The choice of placing this story on the same folio as the Annunciation invites the viewer to compare the Annunciate Virgin, pure in body and spirit, and the abbess, who has broken her vow of chastity. The placement of the book owner in the vicinity of the chaste Virgin and the resemblances between the two women also suggest that the young aristocrat is above the kind of behavior demonstrated by the abbess. The manuscript owner is presented as a picture of piety, purity and beauty.

But while the arrangement of the figures on the page invites criticism of the abbess it also casts her accusers in an unsympathetic light. In the *bas-de-page* the vengeful and disloyal sisters are placed on either side of the second scene in which the abbess is protected by the compassionate and maternal Virgin. She supports the abbess's head in a manner reminiscent of the angel holding the baby. While the nuns enlist the aid of the bishop to have the abbess punished, the Virgin directs her helpers to remove the evidence of her devotee's guilt and thereby restores her innocence. Thus the nuns appear to embody qualities opposite to those associated with Mary.

The need for the Virgin to intervene suggests that the male authority would have dealt with the abbess's transgressions in a severe, punitive manner. Although it would seem that Mary subverts male clerical authority, the medieval viewer would also have known that the Virgin is Ecclesia and understood that the church has qualities lacking in some of its individual members.<sup>25</sup> The inclusion of a hybrid bat-winged man wearing a miter at the top of the page, a derisory portrayal of a bishop, might allude to such an idea.

<sup>24</sup> In the conclusion of the literary renditions of the legend of the unchaste abbess, the bishop, finding no proof of the crime of which the abbess is accused, declares her innocent. Furious with the sisters who accused their superior, the bishop demands they leave the convent. The abbess prevents the expulsion of the nuns by relating the miracle. Clerks are then sent to the hermitage where the hermit tells all that had transpired, including that the Virgin had asked him to keep the boy until he reached the age of seven. When the child is no longer obliged to stay with the hermit, the bishop has him educated and later has him elected to the see.

<sup>25</sup> For the Virgin as Ecclesia see below.

Fig. 2 (opposite): Thott 547 4°, f. 6v. Historiated Initial "D" at Lauds: Visitation. Two-line initial "D." Shield with the Bohun Arms, Earls of Hereford and Essex (*azure a bend argent two cotises and between six lions rampart or*). Border: Shields with the Arms of England (*three lions passant gardant in pale or*) quartered with France (*azure seme of fleurs-de-lis*)



or) and of the Heir Apparent to the Throne (Post-1340 Arms of England with a label argent). *Bas-de-Page*. Legend of Theophilus. The Royal Library.

FOLIO 6V. HISTORIATED INITIAL “D” AT LAUDS: VISITATION. TWO-LINE INITIAL “D:” SHIELD WITH THE BOHUN ARMS, EARLS OF HEREFORD. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THEOPHILUS (FIG. 2).

Through a door, the crowned Virgin enters a bedroom. In this intimate setting, before a bed, canopied and curtained with luxurious textiles, Mary is welcomed by her pregnant cousin, Elizabeth, who reaches out to embrace her. One of Elizabeth’s hands is placed on the Virgin’s abdomen, modestly concealed by the folds of her blue mantle. Elizabeth is wimpled, veiled and wears a red gown under a blue vair-lined mantle. Upon the bed is an open book which Elizabeth has put down.

Mary’s gesture, left hand raised, right hand held parallel to her chest, indicates that she is speaking, probably greeting her cousin (Luke 1:40). Elizabeth’s hand placed on the Virgin’s abdomen draws the viewer’s attention to the subject of Elizabeth’s address (Luke 1:42), the Child Mary carries but which the mantle folds hide. The difference in age between the two cousins (Luke 1:36) is conveyed by the women’s clothes and physical appearance. Elizabeth’s face and figure are fuller than Mary’s. Unlike her young cousin, the older woman’s neck and hair are covered.

Although the Gospel of Luke relates that the Visitation took place in Zachary’s house (Luke 1:40), visual representations of the event usually do not show the women meeting in Elizabeth’s bedroom.<sup>26</sup> The scene is often depicted in an unspecific location, set against a neutral background, with no household furnishings, or outdoors. Here the Visitation is set in a contemporary bedroom outfitted with fine textiles, a place where women of means would have received female friends and kin. The holy women appear to share the customs, tastes and economic standing of contemporary upper-class women. These similarities might have led the female viewer to see other links between herself and Elizabeth and Mary.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, 162, notes that the Visitation taking place in a bedroom was an usual iconographic motif.

<sup>27</sup> For Abelard exhorting women to see their commonality with Mary see Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France*, Chicago, 1985, 68. For furnishings for the bedchamber listed in contemporary inventories and wills, see for example J. Dillon and W.H. St. John Hope, “Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and Seized in His Castle at Pleshy, Co. Essex, 21 Richard II (1397); with Their Values, as Shown in the Escheator’s Accounts,” *Archaeological Journal* 54 (1897): 289–291, and for Eleanor de Bo-

Usually in scenes of the Visitation depicted in English Gothic manuscripts Elizabeth and Mary are shown embracing.<sup>28</sup> However, in this manuscript Elizabeth's placement of her hand on the Virgin's abdomen draws attention to her recognition of Christ as her Lord and Mary as his mother. Because Elizabeth was the first person to do so the image could serve as a reminder of the favor God accorded some women. The inclusion of the book in Elizabeth's room is another positive attribute, suggesting her devotion and occupation with prayer and holy reading. In contrast to the representation of the relationship of the abbess and her envious and disloyal nuns accompanying the Hour of Matins, the illustration in the historiated initial at Lauds shows an affectionate relationship between women and Elizabeth's devotion to her cousin, Mary.

In the lower border of f. 6v are scenes illustrating the story of Theophilus, one of the oldest and most common Marian legends in circulation in England as well as Western Europe in the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> It was also the most popular Marian miracle chosen for representation in personal devotional books.<sup>30</sup> The depicted episodes in the *bas-de-page* square with

hun's bequests of curtains and bed furnishings to her children see Nichols, *A Collection of all the Wills*, 180–183.

<sup>28</sup> Amongst the numerous examples of this type of depiction in manuscripts are the ones in: the *Saint Albans Psalter* (Hildesheim, Cathedral Library, St. Godehard 1), f. 10v; the *Leiden Psalter* (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, Ms. 76 A), f. 15r; the *De Brailles Hours* (London, British Library Ms. Additional 49999 and Dyson Perrins 4, c. 1240), f. 13v, and the *Queen Mary Psalter* (London, British Library, Ms. Royal 2.B.VII), f. 84v.

<sup>29</sup> The original account was written in Greek in the sixth century. It was translated into Latin in the ninth century by Paul the Deacon of Naples. Ælfric (c. 950–c. 1010), narrated the legend of Theophilus in Anglo-Saxon in his First Homily for the Assumption of the Virgin. See *Ælfric's Life of Saint Basil the Great: Background and Context*, ed., Gabriella Corona, Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK and Rochester, NY, 2006, 53–54, note 10. It was included in the Latin collections of Dominic of Evesham, William of Malmesbury, etc., and related in Anglo-Norman French by the poet William Adgar. See *Adgar's Marienlegenden nach der Londoner Handschrift Egerton 612*, ed., Carl Neuhaus, Heilbronn, 1886, 81–115. In the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais included the miracle in the *Speculum historiale* (XXI, 69). See Michel Tarayre, *La Vierge et le miracle*, 157–159. The legend was also widely known through its dissemination in the *Golden Legend*. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans., William Granger Ryan, Princeton, 1993, I, 157. An expanded version is found in the *South English Legendary*. It also appeared in *La Vie des Peres*, see Lecoy, ed., *La Vie des Peres*, I, 14–26. For the legend in general see Anders Hugo Hjalmar Lundgren, *Studier öfver Theophiluslegendens romaniska varianter*, Uppsala, 1913.

<sup>30</sup> For the representation of the legend of Theophilus in English fourteenth-century manuscripts see Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth Century Eng-*

the textual accounts which narrate how the archdeacon Theophilus, who in the first scene is represented bearded and tonsured and in clerical garb, is passed over for the post of bishop. Theophilus aided by a Jew, represented in the second scene as bearded and wearing a tall, soft conical cap, is brought to the devil. In exchange for restoration to his former office, Theophilus renounces his religion and, as shown in the second scene, signs a pact with the devil. Although he is restored to his position, he regrets what he has done and, as visualized in the third scene, prays for the Virgin's intercession on his behalf. In textual versions of this legend, such as the *Golden Legend*, Mary, in response to the prayers, takes the charter signed by Theophilus from the Devil and places it on the archdeacon's chest while he sleeps. In Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>, as in some earlier English miniatures, the recovery of the charter is much more dramatic.<sup>31</sup> In the *bas-de-page* Mary chastises and humiliates her enemy, asserting her power over him. The representation of Mary birching the devil thus visualizes her triumph over Satan's dark forces.

The image also demonstrates the Virgin's power over apostasy.<sup>32</sup> In the legend Theophilus's ambition turns him against Christ and the Virgin as well as his Christian brothers, renouncing them for the Jew and the devil. Theophilus's behavior in the *bas-de-page* is in direct contrast to that of Elizabeth in the historiated initial in the upper portion of the page. While Elizabeth recognizes Christ as her Lord, Theophilus acknowledges the devil as his.

FOLIO 14V. HAUT-DE-PAGE: ANNUNCIATION TO THE SHEPHERDS. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT PRIME: NATIVITY. THREE-LINE INITIAL "D:" SHIELD WITH THE BOHUN ARMS. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THE JEW OF BOURGES (FIG. 3).

Inside the initial "D" the crowned Virgin, attended by a nimbed censuring angel, sits up in bed and nurses the newborn Child, cradling him in her arm. Although her breast is exposed, the rest of her body is concealed. Mary's head is demurely inclined and her breast is seen in profile

*land: Three Women and their Books of Hours*, Toronto, 2003, 223–224, and Glover, "Illustrations of the Miracles of the Virgin," 85–87, 91, 154–156.

<sup>31</sup> For example, in the *De Brailes Hours*, f. 40r, the Virgin accosts the devil while in the *Neville of Hornby Hours* she birches him. See Claire Donovan, *The De Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century*, London, 1991, fig. 44, and Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, fig. 116, respectively.

<sup>32</sup> See Corona, ed., *Ælfric's Life*, 51.



Fig. 3: Thott 547 4°, f. 14v. *Haut-de-Page*: Annunciation to the Shepherds. Historiated Initial "D": Shield with the Bohun Arms. Three-line initial "D": Nativity. *Bas-de-Page*: Legend of the Jew of Bourges. The Royal Library.

and placed unnaturally high on her torso. She modestly avoids the viewer's gaze as well as that of the angel in the center of the initial, focusing her attention on the vulnerable infant. The elderly Joseph, wearing a skull-cap and holding a staff, sits in a curtained wooden chair. In the foreground an ox and ass (Isaiah 1:3, Pseudo-Matthew, XIV) feed out of a wicker manger.

The Virgin nursing her infant at the Nativity appears with some regularity in English manuscripts from the late thirteenth century on.<sup>33</sup> The Virgin's lactating breast draws attention to Christ's humanity, namely that he, like all babies, needed to feed. The potential eroticism of the Virgin's bare breast is downplayed in this miniature. Mary's demeanor is pious and most of her body, except for her bosom, neck, face and hands, is concealed. The displayed female breast and baby's body draw the viewer's attention to the Mother and Child's flesh, and could be understood as illustrating beliefs, like the one in the text of the hymn on the opposite page, f.15r: "That thou sometime didst take on thee, Of a pure virgin being born, The form of our humanity." The antithesis of this representation is the one depicted in the *bas-de-page* of the first Hour, namely of the abbess with both breasts exposed. These breasts, which are supple in appearance and have areolae painted a different color than the flesh, are more fully visible and more naturalistically depicted than the Virgin's abstracted monochrome breast. In contrast to the image of the nursing Virgin, the abbess's dry breasts squeezed by the bishop are metonyms for her sexual sin and relinquished maternity.

In the lower border three scenes show episodes from the Legend of the Jew of Bourges, one of the oldest and most popular Marian legends in circulation in Western Europe.<sup>34</sup> The first scene illustrates the epi-

<sup>33</sup> For this observation see Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, 234.

<sup>34</sup> The story, of Greek origin, spread to the west and is recorded in the works of Gregory of Tours (d. 595), Paschasius Radbertus, (d. c. 860), Honorius of Autun (d. c. 1150) and others. See H.L.D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, London, 1893, 586, 587, and 588, respectively. It appears in early Mariales produced in England (e.g., Oxford, Balliol College Library, Ms. 240, ff.137r–148r and London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Cleopatra C. X, f. 101v). See Carl Neuhaus, *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegende*, Aschersleben, 1886–1887, I, 10–12. It was widely-disseminated in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (XXI, 78) and the *Golden Legend*. For the former see Tarayre, *La Vierge*, 163–165, and the latter Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, II, 87–88. For the different versions of the tale and works in which it appeared see Wilson, ed., *Stella Maris*, 157–159, Tryon, "Miracles", 324, and Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, New Haven, 1999, 8–17.

sode in which a Jewish boy takes communion with his Christian friends before an image of the Virgin. The second scene in the manuscript depicts the consequences of the Jewish boys decision, namely his father pushes his son into a fiery furnace while his mother and neighbors look helplessly on. In the third scene, the Virgin reaches into the furnace to rescue the child.

In the Copenhagen Bohun Hours the fact that the two primary areas of illumination, the initial and *bas-de-page*, depict two families also invites comparison. The close and affectionate relationship between the Mother and Child and the protective air of Joseph, their guardian, in the large historiated initial seem to be juxtaposed to the seriously flawed Jewish parents depicted on the bottom of the page.<sup>35</sup>

In the aftermath of a number of textual versions, including Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*, the boy and his mother are baptized. In the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, however, the Jewish mother is not presented in a particularly positive light. She stands side by side with a Jewish man who greatly resembles her husband. Although she appears to be distraught about the fate of her child, her passivity and her turning to the Jewish man for comfort might also imply a degree of culpability. Her conversion is not shown in the *bas-de-page* scenes.

The pose of the Jew in the second scene and the position of the Virgin's body in the third are similar and invite comparison between their actions, the pushing into the flames of the child seen from the back and the removal of the child from the furnace in frontal view. The conclusion that may be drawn from these compositional similarities is that the viewer is meant to compare the cruel behavior of the Jew towards his own son with the compassionate reaction of Mary. Also, it can be seen that the Virgin extends to the boy the same expression of maternal love she shows her own Son in the historiated initial of

<sup>35</sup> The father rather than protecting his son attacks him. In contrast, Joseph, at the side of the bed of the Mother and Child, is ready to serve and aid them. His imposing size also appears to be a positive and protective attribute. For discussions of the tradition of viewing Joseph as a just man and caring foster father see Cynthia Hahn, "Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee": The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych," *The Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 54–66 and Adelaide Bennett, "Leaves of a Fourteenth-Century Franco-Flemish Antiphonary Owned by John Ruskin (1819–1900)," *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts*, eds., Kathryn A. Smith and Carol H. Krinsky, London and Turnhout: 2007, 235–251, esp. 242. I would like to thank Kathryn A. Smith for alerting me to these references.

the Nativity. Mary's action could also be understood as a response to the petition for help at the opening of Prime, directly above the *bas-de-page*: "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuvandam me festina. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto." (Incline unto my aid O God: O Lord make haste to help me...) and the lines of text on the facing folio, f. 15r, in which Mary, mother of mercy, is asked for assistance. Mary's placing of her cloak around the boy to protect him in the last scene, is reminiscent of the gesture she makes in the Last Judgment scene, f. 34v (fig. 10), where she wraps souls in her mantle.

Directly below the initial depicting Mary nursing her infant, in the *bas-de-page*, children wait to receive the Host and wine, the body and blood of Christ. During the Middle Ages breast milk was believed to be transmuted blood, an analogy, therefore, was probably intended between the Virgin whose blood becomes food for her Child, and God who feeds humankind with his blood in the Eucharist.<sup>36</sup> There was a long tradition of connecting the body of the newborn Child and the bread of the Eucharist. The association between Christ and bread was grounded on the words of Christ (John 6: 51): "I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eats of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world." At least as early as the Christmas homily of St. Gregory the Nativity scene was interpreted in Eucharistic terms.<sup>37</sup> The placement of the image of the beasts feeding on hay above man "eating" the flesh of Christ also suggests that the former has Eucharist implications.<sup>38</sup> Although the ass and the ox were a commonplace in representations of the Nativity they were not always shown feeding. Numerous medieval sermons connect altar and manger and in some the beasts are likened to the communicants and the fodder to the body of Christ.<sup>39</sup> The Crucifixion retable depicted in the communion scene underlines Christ's sacrifice reenacted in the Mass. The imagery on this page thus appears to have been designed to expand on the Eucha-

<sup>36</sup> For the association of the lactating Virgin with the Eucharist see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, 1987, 271.

<sup>37</sup> Leah Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays," *Speculum* 48 (1973): 494.

<sup>38</sup> Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," 496.

<sup>39</sup> Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," 491–509.

ristic connotations traditionally associated with the legend of the Jew of Bourges.<sup>40</sup>

The way in which the glowing fire in the oven is painted, as gold and red lines emanating from the child's unscathed body, in a manner analogous to the light emanating from angels (e.g., fig. 1), suggests that we are to understand it as supernatural. The child the Virgin protects with her spread cloak does not look like the boy represented in the first and second *bas-de-page* scenes. Rather he resembles the Child she holds and suckles in the historiated initial. While the image could be read as the child reborn in the flames it also could allude to Christ's death at the hands of the Jews and to his Resurrection. This Marian legend in which the Jewish boy embraces Christianity follows the tale of Theophilus in which the protagonist renounces Christ and Mary and embraces the devil. Both narratives contain elements which spawn anxieties about the activities of those members of society who do not follow Christ.

FOLIO 18R. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT TERCE: ADORATION OF THE MAGI. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THE CHILD IMAGE TAKEN HOSTAGE (FIG. 4).

Under an arcade topped by architectural elements, a battlement, turret and gables, are the three Magi offering their gifts to the Child held by his Mother. The Virgin is regally depicted, crowned and wearing a blue mantle patterned with gold stars and stylized leaves and seated on a gold throne, backed by an ornate cloth of honor. The cross-nimbed Child, standing on the Virgin's knee, holds his hands above the gold cup presented to him by the elderly, kneeling, bareheaded Magus. The cup's cover is held in the king's left hand and his crown hangs from his

<sup>40</sup> The tale was used by Paschasius in the Eucharistic Controversy. See Peter Carter, "The Historical Content of William of Malmesbury's Miracles," *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, eds., R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, with the assistance of R.J.A.I. Catto and M.H. Keen, Oxford, 1981, 139. See also Denise Despres, "Mary of the Eucharist: Cultic Anti-Judaism in some Fourteenth-Century English Devotional Manuscripts," From *Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed., Jeremy Cohen, Wiesbaden, 1996, 375–401, and Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 22–23. As noted by Rubin, the tale appears in the *Alphabetum narrationum* and its fifteenth-century English translation, *The Alphabet of Tales*, under the rubric dealing with the Eucharist, with the caption "The Eucharist received by an unbeliever, saves him from fire." See Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 17. For the text see Mary Macleod Banks, ed., *An Alphabet of Tales: An English Fifteenth-Century Translation of the Alphabetum narrationum of Etienne de Besançon, from Additional Ms. 25,719 of the British Museum*, London, 1904, I, 210–211.



Fig. 4: Thott 547 4°, f. 18r. Historiated Initial "D" at Terce: Adoration of the Magi. *Bas-de-Page*. Legend of the Child Image taken Hostage. The Royal Library.

wrist. The Magus standing behind him looks over his shoulder at the third king, drawing his attention by pointing to the star, emanating red and golden rays.

The image, as was common, depicts three events described in the Gospels, the Magi finding the Child beneath the star (Matthew 2: 9), worshiping the Child (Matthew 2: 11) and opening their treasures and offering Him gifts (Matthew 2: 11). The regal precedence of the Mother and Child over the Magi is connoted by their position on the throne, backed by an ornate cloth of honor. The king before the Virgin and Christ has removed his crown and kneels, in acknowledgement that he is a subject of their higher authority.<sup>41</sup>

The Legend of the Christ-Child as Hostage, illustrated in the lower border, was not disseminated as widely as some of the other miracle tales represented in this manuscript.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the story would have been known through its diffusion in the *Golden Legend*.<sup>43</sup> The events depicted in the Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup> closely follow the key narrative moments which recount how a woman who had prayed to the Virgin to free her imprisoned son believed her entreaties had gone unheard. As a result she took the image of the Child from the Virgin's lap from a church, went home with it, wrapped it in spotless cloths, hid it and rejoiced at having a good hostage for her son. In the ensuing part of the tale the Virgin goes to the prison and liberates the young man. When mother and son are reunited the woman returns the image of the Christ-Child.

In the manuscript the placement of Mary's hands in the Adoration, tenderly supporting her infant, and the first scene in the *bas-de-page*, encircling a void and emphasizing the absence of her Child, are used to bring attention to her maternity and her loss of her Son who will later be taken from her by His death on the cross. The placement of the Child in the chest is evocative of Christ's Entombment. The desperate act of the woman draws attention to her maternity as well.

<sup>41</sup> The motif of the bareheaded Magi kneeling before a regally-clad enthroned Virgin, supporting the standing Child was also depicted in the wall murals in St. Stephen's Chapel. These paintings, which are no longer extant, were in a fragmentary state before their destruction by fire in 1834. Their appearance was recorded in drawings by Richard Smirke. See Howe, "Divine Kingship," fig. 8.

<sup>42</sup> As pointed out by Glover, "Illustrations of the Miracles of the Virgin," 176, note 393, the Miracle of the Christ-Child as Hostage appears in only three of the thirty-six collections catalogued by Ward. See also Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 662, 673 and 681.

<sup>43</sup> Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, II, 155.

Mary's merciful actions illustrate ideas expressed in the Hymn on this folio (Mary that mother art of grace, Of mercy mother also art). Even though the woman behaves in a vindictive manner, Mary does not punish her. Instead she is merciful and assists her, revealing that the Virgin could understand maternal plight.

FOLIO 20R. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT SEXT: PRESENTATION OF THE CHILD IN THE TEMPLE AND PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THE MONK AND THE ROSES (FIG. 5).

In the center of a vaulted interior space, stands the crowned Virgin in three-quarter view, with loose golden hair. She is turned towards a draped altar over which she hands the nude Christ Child to Simeon, coped and in a skull-cap. The Child has placed his right hand inside the front of his mother's gown, anchoring himself to her and resisting being handed over to Simeon. Behind the elderly man is a wimpled and veiled female, less visible than the other figures. To the left of the Virgin, holding a candle, is a second wimpled and veiled woman, probably the prophetess Anna (Luke 2:36–38), as well as Joseph, in a skull-cap, with a basket with three doves (Luke 2:24).

The opening of Sext of the Hours of the Virgin is illuminated with a scene of the Presentation of the Child in the Temple and Purification of the Virgin. Mosaic Law required that a first-born male child after birth be brought to the temple to be dedicated to God. Forty days after the birth, the mother had to present herself for ritual cleaning and bring a sacrifice (Leviticus 12:4, 6–8). In St. Luke's Gospel the presentation of the baby Jesus and the purification of the Virgin are described as occurring on the same day. Simeon, who wears rich vestments, is depicted in the illumination as high priest of the temple (Protoevangelium XXIV). As was common in works of art of this period the Virgin and Child are accompanied by Joseph (Luke 2:22), who brings an offering, and an attendant figure, who in some representations holds a candle. The latter item is an allusion to Simeon calling Christ "a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel" (Luke 2:32) and to the custom of celebrating the feast with a procession of candles.<sup>44</sup> The source for the representation of the Child holding on to Mary might derive from the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (XI) or from pictorial sources.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, I, 147.

<sup>45</sup> For paintings in which the Child reaches out towards his mother see Hayden B.J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto*, University Park, 1997, 138.



Fig. 5: Thott 547 4°, f. 20r. Historiated Initial “D” at Sext: Presentation of the Child in the Temple and Purification of the Virgin. *Bas-de-Page*. Legend of the Monk and the Roses. The Royal Library.

The *bas-de-page*, with the exception of the concluding episode, illustrates, as pointed out by M.R. James, the miracle of the monk and the roses told by Jean Miélot in the collection of Marian miracles for Philip the Good of c. 1456 and might, therefore, illustrate an earlier version of this legend.<sup>46</sup> In the first scene of the lower margin, the monk places a garland of roses on the image of the Virgin which, according to Miélot's narrative, he did all through the rose season. In the next scene a hooded monk in profile, gesticulating with his left hand and holding a golden hoop in his right one, is turned toward another hooded monk, seated on a bench with bent head, holding one of his knees. Explanations for details found in the second scene, can be located in Miélot's account: the sadness of the monk can be attributed to the season of roses being over, the exchange between the monk and another member of his order, represent the monk being told by the abbot to say twenty-five *Aves* instead of making the wreath. The third scene probably illustrates the monk reciting his *Aves* during a journey and the Virgin completing the wreath of roses with the flower she holds in her hand.<sup>47</sup>

The Presentation in the Temple is the last scene in the manuscript's Infancy cycle. The imagery on this folio, therefore, may announce Christ's Passion, represented at the opening of None, the next canonical hour, f. 22v. The connection between the presentation and the Passion is found in the words spoken by Simeon (Luke 2: 34–34), who during the baby Jesus' presentation in the temple, prophesied the purpose of Christ's sacrifice, "Behold this child is set for the fall, and for the resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted." Further allusions to Christ's suffering as recorded in the Gospels may be intended by the placement of the rose miracle in the *bas-de-page* on the same folio as the Presentation. Both Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Bonaventura associated the rose with the Passion.<sup>48</sup>

The rose imagery in the *bas-de-page* may have had other meanings as well. By the thirteenth century there was a general acceptance of the

<sup>46</sup> James and Millar, *The Bohun Manuscripts*, 61. For the legend see George F. Warner, ed., *Miracles de Notre Dame, collected by Jean Miélot, Secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, reproduced in facsimile from Douce Manuscript 374 in the Bodleian Library*, Westminster, 1885, 185–186.

<sup>47</sup> See Warner, ed., *Miracles de Notre Dame*, 186. However, the concluding episode in the Copenhagen manuscript includes details not present in Miélot's account, such as the Virgin's protection from the men, hiding behind trees and witnessing the miracle.

<sup>48</sup> Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, University Park, 1998, 98.

identification of Mary with roses.<sup>49</sup> In the Middle Ages the flower was also associated with love and passion. The motif of the lover placing a chaplet of roses on the head of the beloved, described in poetry and represented on secular ivories, symbolized his ardor.<sup>50</sup> Here the imagery probably is used to denote the monk's ardent devotion to Mary.<sup>51</sup>

The Virgin's submission to the rites of purification, which it was generally believed she did not need to undergo since she contracted no trace of sin in giving birth to Christ, visualizes how Mary is virtuous above all other women.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the representation of her compliance was considered to provide others with an exemplum of purification and humility.<sup>53</sup> Mary's exceptional nature might also be suggested by the *bas-de-page* image of her being crowned, in all like-

<sup>49</sup> The writings of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) were immensely influential in linking the Virgin with both the red and the white rose. Bernard wrote: "Mary was a rose, white by her virginity, red by her charity," See Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 99. For the association of Mary with the rose of Jericho in *Sigillum sanctae Mariae*, the work of another twelfth century theologian, Honorius Augustodunensis (d. c. 1151) see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*, New York, 263. For Gautier de Coinci frequently likening the Virgin to a rose in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, see Laurel Broughton, "The Rose, the Blessed Virgin Undeified: Incarnational Piety in Gautier's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*," *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, eds., Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones, Turnhout, 2006, 297. See also Jean C. Wilson, "'Richement et pompeusement parée': The Collier of Margaret of York and the Politics of Love in Late Medieval Burgundy," *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences: Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, eds., David S. Areford and Nina Rowe, Aldershot, 119.

<sup>50</sup> For the meanings associated with this motif see Mira Friedman, "The Falcon and the Hunt: Symbolic Love Imagery in Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages*, eds., M. Lazar and N.J. Lacy, Fairfax, 1989, 164. The representation of the monk crowning the Virgin with a garland may have been influenced by the imagery of fourteenth-century French ivories, like ones in which a lady bestows a chaplet on her lover or those which show the God of Love crowning kneeling lovers at his feet. See, for example, Peter Barnet, ed., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, Detroit, 1997, 227 and cat. 56, respectively.

<sup>51</sup> Elements of the image, such as the passionate devotion to the Virgin, and the rose imagery find parallels in poetry, for example in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (10). See James J. Wilhelm, *Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology*, New York, 1990, 244.

<sup>52</sup> See Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, I, 148, Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge and New York, 1998, 22, and Rosa Maria Dessi and Marielle Lamy, "Saint Bernard et les controverses de l'Immaculée Conception," *Vie et légendes de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux: Creation, diffusion, réception (XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, *Actes des Rencontres de Dijon, 7–8 juin 1991*, eds., Patrick Arabeyre, Jacques Berlioz, Philippe Poirier, Cîteaux, 1993, 229–260.

<sup>53</sup> See Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, I, 148–149.

lihood an allusion to her Coronation.<sup>54</sup> The proximity of the representation of the Virgin handing over her Child in the Temple in the historiated initial to the one in the lower border of her likeness on an altar receiving a garland might have invited the viewer to see a causal connection between Mary submitting to the will of God and the favors bestowed on her. A female audience might have perceived the imagery as implying that the fulfillment of duty had its rewards.

FOLIO 22V. HISTORIATED INITIAL “D” AT NONE: CRUCIFIXION. BAS-DE-PAGE: MIRACLE OF THE SOUL SAVED (FIG. 6).

In the center of the historiated initial is the crucified Christ, head bowed, eyes shut and blood flowing from his hands, side and feet. He wears the crown of thorns and a loin cloth. The dove of the Holy Spirit, leaving behind white streaks trailing back to the head of Christ, ascends towards God the Father in the spandrel in the upper left corner. To the left of the vertical stem of the letter D, stands the bearded Longinus wearing a round cap shaped hat and red orange tunic, pointing to his one opened eye, while piercing Christ’s side with a lance. To the left of the Crucified Christ, the Virgin swoons at her Son’s death, and is supported by her female companions. Mary Magdalene kneels in grief at the foot of the cross, her arms wrapped around it. To her right stands St. John, in profile, hands joined in prayer, looking up at Christ. A group of three witnesses, in contemporary dress and round cap shaped hats, stand to the right of the apostle. The bearded one in the foreground has raised his left hand toward Christ and with his right points at St. John. Outside of the initial to the right the sun is obscured by a black cloud.

As in many English Books of Hours of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Infancy imagery does not accompany all the Hours in Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>.<sup>55</sup> The place where the Infancy cycle was interrupted varied. In the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, None, the Hour of Christ’s death is the Hour with which the Passion cycle starts. In accordance with descriptions of the Crucifixion in the Gospels there are many witnesses to Christ’s death represented on this folio. Mary and John, as was common in the visual arts, are present (John 19:26–27) as well as

<sup>54</sup> The Coronation is depicted in this manuscript, f. 28v.

<sup>55</sup> For Infancy cycles in English Books of Hours see Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 1, 39.



Fig. 6: Thott 547 4°, f. 22v. Historiated Initial "D" at None: Crucifixion. *Bas-de-Page*. Miracle of the Soul Saved. Borders: Longinus, Two Angels, Head of God. The Royal Library.

Mary Magdalene (John 19:25). The manner in which the Magdalene is represented, kneeling at Christ's feet and embracing them, emphasizes her penitence and her close relationship to the Lord. The image of the Virgin Mary collapsing into the arms of her female attendants does not illustrate an episode described in the New Testament but rather is based on pictorial tradition and other texts, such as different episodes related in the *Meditations the Life of Christ* (LXXVIII, LXXX). One reason that the scene might have been included in the historiated initial is that it is a positive image of women offering emotional support to a companion. The man piercing Christ's side (John 19:34–35) and touching his eye is a figure who was associated by tradition with Longinus. The man pointing may be the centurion who, after Christ had given up the ghost, said: "Indeed this was the Son of God" (Mark 15:39, Luke 23:46–47).

The suffering of the crucified Jesus is reflected in the mournful attitudes of Saint John, the Magdalene, some of the accompanying figures and especially his mother. The pose of the Virgin, head held to one side, and collapsing in arms of her companions, echoes the pose of Christ expiring. It was believed that the Virgin's motherhood and her suffering with her Son at the Crucifixion, gave her the authority and capacity to intercede with Christ, to ask for mercy on the behalf of her devotees and to bring the individual to salvation.<sup>56</sup>

In the lower border of f. 22v are three scenes situated in a room with a curtained bed in which lies a bearded man. In the first scene the man is turbaned and his eyes are closed. On the near side of the bed is an angel, on the far side a black horned devil. In the following scene the figures at the bedside have been replaced by the crowned, nimbed Virgin kneeling on the near side and the bare-chested Christ surrounded by rays on the far side. Mary, who holds her bared breast with her right hand, and Christ, who exposes his wounds, look upward at the head of the nimbed Lord, who emanates rays of light. In the third scene the man in bed, bareheaded and awake, lifts his hands towards an angel standing near his feet.

M.R. James proposed, albeit with reservations, that the subject depicted in the *bas-de-page* was the miracle of the usurer's soul.<sup>57</sup> However, the scene in the Copenhagen Hours does not contain components usually found in representations of this legend. What can be said about

<sup>56</sup> Amy Neff, "The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 265.

<sup>57</sup> James wrote that the legend represented "the miracle of the usurer's (?) soul saved." See James and Millar, *The Bohun Manuscripts*, 50.



Fig. 7: Thott 547 4°, f. 24v. Historiated Initial "D" at Vespers: Resurrection. *Bas-de-Page*.  
the Legend of the Drowned Sacristan. Border: Soldier Guarding Christ's Sepulcher.  
The Royal Library.

the depicted miracle is that it reflects the generally held belief that there was always a dispute between devils and angels for each man's soul when he died.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, as in a number of legends described in collections, the Virgin appears at the sickbed of the mortally ill and restores their health.<sup>59</sup>

Directly below the line of text describing Mary as "our mother of mercy," is the image of the Virgin baring one of her breasts with which she nourished her Son and in this attitude of supplication asking Him to intercede with God the Father. Mary showing her naked breast and Christ exposing his wounds symbolize the offer of mercy not just to the dying man but to all humanity.<sup>60</sup> The juxtaposition of the scenes in the historiated initial and the *bas-de-page* on this folio reinforces the belief that Christ's sacrifice, symbolized by the representation of the Crucifixion, makes humanity's salvation possible.

FOLIO 24V. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT VESPERS: RESURRECTION. BAS-DE-PAGE: THE LEGEND OF THE DROWNED SACRISTAN (FIG. 7).

In the center of the initial the nimbed and crowned Christ, partly draped in a blue mantle, steps out of the tomb, amid red and gold rays. He holds a cross staff in his left hand and raises his right in a gesture of blessing. Three soldiers sleep in front of the elaborate tomb. Armed with a spear and a sword, a fourth soldier is placed to the left of the stem of the letter "D," and a fifth one crouches in the lower right corner of the background of the initial. In the upper left and right spanrels over the historiated letter is a pair of angels. They swing chains

<sup>58</sup> It is the first of two legends in this manuscript depicting this struggle. For the medieval idea of devils and angels struggling over the deceased's soul see Johannes Herolt, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary: (1435–1440)*, trans., C.C. Swinton Bland with an introduction by Eileen Power, London, 1928, p. xxx.

<sup>59</sup> For the Virgin appearing at the bedside of the mortally ill see, for example, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans., H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, with an introduction by G.G. Coulton, I, London, 1929, 466, and for the Virgin curing the gravely sick, see, for example, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, I, 487.

<sup>60</sup> The Virgin's portrayal is reminiscent of ones in Last Judgment scenes, e.g., the *Queen Mary Psalter*, f. 302v, and the *Taymouth Hours*, f. 137v, where she shows her breast, hoping to assuage the Lord's anger. For the association of the Virgin's milk and her powers of intercession see Dorothy C. Schorr, "The Role of the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgment," *The Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 212.

attached to censers above two other praying angels kneeling at either end of the tomb.

The historiated initial “D” for Vespers is illuminated with the Resurrection, a scene which continues the Christological narrative represented in the previous Hour. According to the Gospels, after Christ had been crucified, he was entombed (Matthew 27:62–6) and remained in the guarded sepulcher. In the Gospels confirmation of His resurrection was first borne out by the discovery of the empty tomb by the three women and related to them by an angel (Matthew 28: 5–6, Mark 16:5–6, Luke 24: 1–6). The scene shown in the historiated initial of Christ leaving the tomb was not described in the New Testament but is rather based on pictorial tradition. In the representation of the Resurrection, as was common in the visual arts, Christ is shown leaving the guarded tomb, and raising his right hand in blessing and carrying a cross staff, a symbol of his triumph over death.

In the *bas-de-page*, are three scenes from the Legend of the Drowned Sacristan, found in several medieval English Marian collections as well as in the widely-disseminated *Golden Legend*.<sup>61</sup> In the first scene in the Copenhagen manuscript the sacristan, as in the literary works, salutes the Virgin. The turreted square building in the following scene probably represents the walls and gate way of the monastery through which the monk passes on his way to meet his lover.<sup>62</sup> He is attacked by devils on a bridge, an allusion to the sinful activity which leads the monk to leave the monastery and to his plunging to his death.<sup>63</sup> The events in the third scene illustrate ones narrated in the textual accounts. Here,

<sup>61</sup> Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend*, II, 88. For the tale: in London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Cleopatra C. X, f. 116v, see Ward, *Catalogue*, II, 604–605, and Neuhaus, *Die lateinischen Vorlagen*, 58–60, in William of Malmesbury’s, *De miraculis beatae virginis Mariae*, see Canal, ed., *El libro*, 98–99. For the legend in the Pez collection see Crane, ed., *Liber*, 4–6. For Adgar’s adaption of the legend see Perre Kunstmann, ed., *Le Gracial*, Ottawa, 1982, 67–69, and Carl Neuhaus, *Adgar’s Marienlegenden nach der Londoner Handschrift Egerton 612*, Heilbronn, 1886, 40–49. For the version of the tale by Gautier de Coinci (I Mir 42) see Koenig, *Miracles*, III, 165–190. See also Tryon, “Miracles,” 339, T.F. Crane, “Miracles of the Virgin,” *The Romanic Review* 2 (1911): 248–250, Wilson, ed., *The Stella maris*, 179, and Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, xxiii–xxv, 177–179.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Golden Legend* the monk falls into the river before seeing his mistress but in other versions he drowns afterwards. For the latter, see for example, Miélot’s account in Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 177.

<sup>63</sup> In the Pez version of the tale the Devil is described as having pushed the sacristan while he was crossing the river and in Adgar’s poem the devils cause him to fall. See Crane, ed., *Liber*, 5 and Kunstmann, ed., *Le Gracial*, 67.

the dispute over the deceased man's fate between the Virgin, attended by an angel, and demons, on a bridge, is resolved by the Lord.<sup>64</sup> The episode on the right might show the resurrected monk with his brethren or the brothers leaving the monastery to search for the missing monk.<sup>65</sup>

The image of Mary intervening to save the monk's soul from damnation could be read as a more general promise of the Virgin's intercession for those who honor and pray to her. The proximity of the image of the soul which has risen from the body in the narrative at the bottom of the page to the depiction of the resurrected Christ may be understood as alluding to the belief that the reward of the faithful will be resurrection and the ultimate defeat of death.

FOLIO 28V. HISTORIATED INITIAL "C" AT COMPLINE: CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. BAS-DE-PAGE: LEGEND OF THE JEW AND THE MERCHANT (FIG. 8).

In the center of an elaborate architectural structure with turrets, battlements and balconies are the seated Virgin and Christ, flanked by censuring angels. Rays of light radiate from behind Christ's side of the bench. Mary and her Son are blond, have similar facial features and are clad in clothing made of the same fabric. Christ places a crown, resembling the one he wears, atop of the Virgin's head. With his right hand he blesses her. The Virgin holds out her hands in prayer and bows her head, humbly accepting her crown. Exiting from a doorway outside the letter "C" is a standing female figure whose hands are held together in prayer. A shield with the Bohun arms is placed to the right of the Virgin and within the outline of the initial "C". To the left of the structure and on its upper parts are angles playing musical instruments.

The final Hour of Compline was often illustrated with the Coronation of the Virgin. In this manuscript the Coronation is situated inside the gilded palace of heaven in the presence of angels. The manner in which the Christ and Mary are represented emphasizes that they are related and that "He was made of a woman," (Galatians 4: 4). Although they are both depicted as rulers of heaven the image does not gloss

<sup>64</sup> For the Pez version of the events see Crane, ed., *Liber*, 5

<sup>65</sup> In the versions in a Latin collection of the early thirteenth-century (London, British Library, Ms. Royal 6 B. XIV, f. 91v), in the Pez collection and in Miélot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, a young monk prayed for the drowned sacristan who was not permitted a Christian burial, until he was visited by the Virgin and told that his prayers had saved the soul of his friend. See Ward, *Catalogue*, II, 640, Crane, ed., *Liber*, 64–74, and Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 177–179, respectively.



Fig. 8: Thott 547 4°, f. 28v. Historated Initial "C" at Compline: Coronation of the Virgin. *Bas-de-Page*. Legend of the Jew and the Merchant. Border: Angel Musicians. The Royal Library.

over her submission to the will of the Lord. The miniature in Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup> as was common in the visual arts, combines two motifs, Christ crowning Mary and the “Triumph of the Virgin,” the holy mother, regally clad, seated beside her Son.<sup>66</sup> The coronation of the Virgin was not described in the Gospels. The texts upon which the image depends are the Song of Songs 4: 8 and Psalm 44: 10. The first text was also the source for the understanding of the Virgin as Christ’s bride.<sup>67</sup> Because Mary was allegorically thought of as Ecclesia, the image could also symbolize Christ’s loving relationship to the Church as well as the Church Triumphant.

At the level of the head of the praying women in one of the niches of Paradise is the part of the text “Et averte iram tuam a nobis” imploring God “to turn off [his] anger from us.”<sup>68</sup> At about the same height on the page, at the opposite side of the structure, are the arms the Bohun family. The image-text juxtaposition might have led the book owner to understand the image as herself at the gates of Paradise, uttering the words of the Psalm, written at the same height as the figure’s mouth. The pairing of the Marian subject with a praying figure at the gates of Paradise on a folio with the antiphon: “Cum iocunditate,” (With joy, let us celebrate the memorial of holy Mary, that she may intercede for us to the Lord, Jesus Christ) evoke once again the Virgin’s role as intercessor.

The legend of the Image as Pledge, chosen for the *bas-de-page*, was very popular with medieval authors and it had a number of redactions.<sup>69</sup> It, however, did not enjoy the same degree of dissemination

<sup>66</sup> The Triumph of the Virgin was first represented in the tympanum of Notre-Dame of Senlis, c. 1170–80, and later became a popular image in manuscripts and other visual arts. See F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, 65–66. For the imagery on English portals see Carolyn Marino Malone, *Façade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral*, Leiden, 2004.

<sup>67</sup> For the *Sponsus/Sponsa* theme in Honorius Augustodunensis’s *Sigillum sanctae Mariae* and in Bernard of Clairvaux’s highly influential homilies on the Song of Songs, see respectively Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 247–288, and Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, trans., Kilian Walsh, Kalamazoo, 1981.

<sup>68</sup> A grateful acknowledgment for the observation that the praying figure is right near the part of the text that implores God “to turn off [his] anger from us,” is owed to Kathryn Smith.

<sup>69</sup> For the origins of the story in Constantinople and its appearance in a sermon believed to date from the tenth century, see Tryon, “Miracles, 337, and James Parkes, “*The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Anti-Semitism*, Cleveland, 1961, 294. In the sermon as well as in some later Latin versions, such as Johannes Monachus’s *Liber de miraculis*, the Pez collection, Vincent de Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale*

in the visual arts as in literary works.<sup>70</sup> In a number of textual versions of this legend, including Adgar's *Le Gracial*, a Christian merchant of Constantinople loses his fortune and asks a Jew for a loan. He has no guarantor, but tells the Jew he will ask the Virgin to be the witness to his loan. The two go before the image of the Virgin in Hagia Sophia, where the Christian swears an oath of fidelity to the loan. In the Copenhagen Bohun manuscript, the first episode illustrating the legend does not appear to show the merchant making a pledge before the image of Mary as described in *Le Gracial* and in most other textual versions of this miracle. Rather, it depicts him delivering a sculpture of the Virgin whose expression denotes her displeasure at being given to the Jew in exchange for money. The events depicted in the second and third scenes, for the most part, correspond to ones found in Adgar's narrative.<sup>71</sup> The Christian, to whom the Jew has lent the money until

(VII, 82), and Miélot's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, it is not the Virgin's image, but the figure of Christ who reveals the debt has been paid. See Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis: ein neuer Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Mönchsliteratur*, ed., Michael Huber, Heidelberg, 1913, 30–31, Crane, ed., *Liber*, 44, and Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, xxii–xxiii and 174. See also *Collectaneum exemplorum et visionum Clarevallense: e codice Trecenti 946*, ed., Olivier Legendre, Turnhout, 2005, 354, Tryon, "Miracles," 337, and Wilson, ed., *Stella maris*, 173–174. In the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Walter Mettmann, ed., Madrid, 1986–1989, no. 25) and Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Senora* (E. Michael Gerli, ed., Madrid, 1987, 175–87) the merchant uses the images of the Virgin and Christ as guarantors for his loan. In Berceo's version, Christ reveals that the Jew has lied while in the *Cantigas* it is the Virgin who indicts him. For an overview of Medieval works dealing with the legend of the merchant and the Jew see Erik Boman, *Deux miracles de Gautier de Coinci: publiés d'après tous les manuscrits, avec une introduction, notes et glossaire*, Paris, 1935. For a miracle involving a Jew, a Christian and an image of the Virgin in the Christian's home see Koenig, ed., *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, II, 101.

<sup>70</sup> It was represented in French illuminated manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci's, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, for example, nouv. acq. fr. 24541 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France), f. 165v and in the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Eng. Poet. A.1), f. 126r, an English work of a later date than Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>. For the former see Anna Russakoff, "Imaging the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n. acq. fr. 24541," Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2006, 163–164, and for the latter, *The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Eng. Poet. A.*, intro., A.I. Doyle, Cambridge, 1987, plate X.

<sup>71</sup> For English works in which the Christian is prevented from sailing back to Constantinople due to a storm, see Canal, ed., *El libro*, 134, Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, 182, Kjellman, *La deuxième collection*, 207, and Tryon, "Miracles," 337. The money and an accompanying letter, as described in *Le Gracial* as well as in some of the English sources, fall into the hands of the Jew on another shore. See Canal, ed., *El libro*, 135, Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, 183, and Kjellman, *La deuxième collection*, 209. In most versions of the tale the money-lender denies ever being repaid by the merchant and

a set date, is unable to return to Constantinople to pay back the loan. As shown in the second scene, he places the money in a container and casts it onto the sea. Miraculously, the money along with a note of explanation washes up on shore and the Jew receives the payment. According to the textual sources, after the merchant's return to Constantinople, the moneylender denies having been repaid and the Christian then calls upon his witness who declares that reparation has already been made for his debt, leading the awe struck Jew to admit his error and convert to Christianity.<sup>72</sup> In the Copenhagen *bas-de-page* scenes the narrative concludes with the return of the image of the Virgin in court to its rightful Christian owner and not with the Jew's acceptance of Christianity, described in *Le Gracial* and other accounts. Thus rather than functioning as a conversion miracle the legend might be interpreted in other ways. For example, it could be read as the Virgin's triumph over the Jew and thus would reinforce the imagery of the triumphant Virgin in the historiated initial and allude to the triumph of the Church over the Synagogue.

FOLIO 32V. HAUT-DE-PAGE: THE JUST IN THE NEW JERUSALEM. HISTORIATED INITIAL "D" AT THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS: LAST JUDGEMENT, CHRIST DISPLAYS HIS WOUNDS. BAS-DE-PAGE: THE DEAD ARE RAISED, SEPARATION OF THE SAVED FROM THE DAMNED (FIG. 9).

Different events connected to the Last Judgment are represented in all four borders and in the initial. The central image of the upper border is a golden throne, emitting a cluster of rays. It is flanked on the left by an angel with a psaltery and on the right by an angel with a harp. On either side of the angels are a group of men and women, nude except for their crowns, surrounded by bunches of rays. At the far left end of the upper border are two angels with musical instruments atop of a gate while on the far right end is an angel with a tambourine.

The subject of the *haut-de-page* is the rewarding of the just in the New Jerusalem. The celestial city was often represented in portals of church-

his lie is later revealed. However, the intervention of a judge, as shown in the Copenhagen manuscript, does not figure in most versions. In Adgar's *Le Gracial* the two protagonists, Theodore, the merchant, and Abraham, the Jew, accompanied by a crowd appear before a judge before whom the Jew perjures himself.

<sup>72</sup> Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, 184.



Fig. 9: Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 32v. *Haut-de-Page*. The Just in the New Jerusalem. Historated Initial "D" at the Seven Penitential Psalms: Last Judgement, Christ Displays His Wounds. *Bas-de-Page*. The Dead are Raised. Separation of the Saved from the Damned. Borders: Angels, Souls, Devils. The Royal Library.

es in connection with the Last Judgment.<sup>73</sup> The balanced composition of the *haut-de-page* visualizes the harmonic perfect proportions of the New Jerusalem, described in Revelation 21:12–16. The angels in the tower gates of the New Jerusalem are mentioned in Revelation 21:12. In the center of the *haut-de-page* and of the heavenly city is the throne of God, emanating eternal light (Revelation 21:23–24, Revelation 22:5). The Heavenly Jerusalem represents the place of salvation promised to the just, depicted as crowned male and female figures.

In the center of the initial “D” the enthroned, nimbed, bearded Christ, partially draped in a blue mantle, displays his wounds and raises his right hand in blessing. He is flanked on either side by six of his apostles. Above them, in the sky, is the sun on the left and the moon on the right (Matthew 24: 29). In the foreground, on the left, the crowned nimbed Virgin shelters naked souls under her blue cloak and draws the head of one to her bosom. Her cloak, spread over the souls, is held up by two kneeling angels. In attendance is a third angel with a cross. In the upper right spandrel an angel holds scourges and below in the lower right another angel clutches nails. In the left margin, more angels hold other instruments of the Passion, the crown of thorns, the spear, reed, sponge and bucket.

In a medallion in the outer border, to the left of the decorated letter “E,” is an angel next to a soul in a gateway, towards which four souls make their way, climbing a ladder positioned above a square tower of a turreted crenelated building in the *bas-de-page*. At the foot of the ladder above the tower is a fifth soul. The text of Psalm 6:4, introduced by the decorated letter “E,”: “Et anima mea turbata est valde et tu Domine usquequo. 5 Convertere Domine et eripe animam meam saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam” (4 And my soul is troubled exceedingly: but thou, O Lord, how long? 5 Turn to me, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercy’s sake), containing references to the soul, is probably the reason the souls are represented in its vicinity. The *bas-de-page* shows on the right scenes with the saved and on the left with the damned.

As was common in devotional manuscripts produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the illumination for the opening of the Seven Penitential Psalms shows Judgment Day. The Seven Penitential Psalms (Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142) were believed to have been composed by King David as penance for his grievous sins

<sup>73</sup> Peter Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds., Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, Ithaca, 1992, 165–166.

and were associated with atonement.<sup>74</sup> Because in these Psalms the Psalmist fears the punitive anger of God and begs for mercy and salvation, they were associated with the Last Judgment, when, it was held, each individual had to account for his or her life, especially for the sins he or she had committed.<sup>75</sup>

The essential elements for the pictorialization of the Last Judgment were established earlier on and appeared in portal sculpture. The imagery, as was customary, combines events described in the Gospels, primarily from Matthew, with apocalyptic ones from the Book of Revelation. Many of the iconographic motives included on this page were common: the twelve apostles seated on either side of Christ to assist at the Judgment; the Virgin Mary appearing as intercessor; instruments of the Passion, trumpeting angels, the dead rising from their graves; the separation of the elect from the damned and their processions either to Heaven or to Hell, etc.<sup>76</sup> The theme of the Virgin of Mercy sheltering naked souls under her cloak as they await Judgment had its origins in Italy and was taken up in England.<sup>77</sup> It appears in a manuscript of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, then in the Vienna Bohun Psalter and later in the Copenhagen Hours.<sup>78</sup> The importance of the Virgin in the heavenly hierarchy is symbolized by her size and her resemblance to her son. The different representations of the soul making its way up to the Deity and gathered together with other souls witnessing a vision of the divine before the Last Judgment may have been influenced by devotional literature of this period.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York, 1997, 91.

<sup>75</sup> The theme of the Second Coming was linked with recompense for ones actions in Matthew (25:34–46).

<sup>76</sup> Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, New York, 1988, 97.

<sup>77</sup> Morgan, "Texts and Images," 48–50.

<sup>78</sup> The mid-fourteenth century illumination of the Last Judgment was added to a twelfth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 691) and appears on f. 1v. It shows the crowned Virgin Mary with her extended arms spreading her mantle above the Elect, including crowned kings and queens, mitred bishops, and tonsured monks. The miniature was executed between 1340 and 1360, probably at the behest of Bishop John Grandisson of Exeter (1327–1369).

<sup>79</sup> For works upon which this type of imagery might depend see Harvey Stahl, "Heaven in View: The Place of the Elect in an Illuminated Book of Hours," *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds., Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, Philadelphia, 2000, 218–219, and for noblewomen's interest in the soul and heavenly rewards see Sean L. Field, "Reflecting the Royal Soul: The *Speculum anime* Composed for Blanche of Castile," *Mediaeval Studies* 68 (2006): 1–42, and "Marie of Saint-Pol and

FOLIO 43R. OFFICE OF THE DEAD. HISTORIATED INITIAL “D:” JOB AND SATAN BEFORE GOD (JOB 1:6–8). BAS-DE-PAGE: THE MISFORTUNES THAT BEFALL JOB, JOB RENDS HIS GARMENTS (JOB 1:15–21, 2:9) (FIG. 10).

Scenes from the Book of Job were chosen to accompany the Office of the Dead in devotional manuscripts because the nine lessons from Matins were extrapolated from this Old Testament Book.<sup>80</sup> In the historiated initial the day when Satan and the sons of God, symbolized by the angels, came to stand before the Lord (Job 1:6) is shown as well as Job, denoted by the Lord’s gesture, being singled out (Job 1:8). In the lower border more events from the first chapter of this Old Testament Book representing the misfortunes that befall Job. In the first his sons and daughters eat and drink in the home of their eldest brother (Job 1:18). The violent wind which causes the destruction of the house and the death of Job’s children is represented as the devil breaking the roof of the house (Job 1:19). The second scene shows the armed and mounted Sabians stealing Job’s oxen and donkeys and striking the servants with their swords (Job 1:15). In the third scene of the *bas-de-page* Job is shown rending his clothes (Job 1:20) and lifting up a scroll, inscribed with the words he uttered (Job 1:21): “Dominus dedit do(minus) ab(stulit)” (the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away). Job is accompanied by his wife who is not mentioned in the first chapter of the book but rather in the following one where she tells Job to compromise his integrity by cursing God (Job 2:9). Since moralist discourse often gendered malicious speech feminine, the decision to depict Job’s wife

Her Books,” *The English Historical Review* 125 (2010): 271–272. In the *City of God*, as well as in other works, St. Augustine is concerned with what happens to the soul after it is separated from the body at death and the soul’s experience of the *visio Dei*. See Janis Elliot, “Art and the Augustinian Order in early Renaissance Italy,” eds., Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop, Aldershot, 2007, 115. For Guillaume de Deguileville’s works, heavily influenced by St. Augustine, see Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry*, Philadelphia, 2007, 70–74. For the copy of the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* given by Blanche de Bourgogne to her daughter, Jeanne, duchess of Brittany see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, I, Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2000, 243. For the anonymous English rendering of Deguileville’s *Pilgrimage of the Soul* made for a great lady in 1413, and possibly by Thomas Hoccleve for Joan de Bohun, see Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England*, Chicago, 2007, 380, note 63.

<sup>80</sup> James and Millar, *The Bohun Manuscripts*, 52. See Ottosen, *The Responsories*, 53–62 and [http://www.chd.dk/gui/thott547\\_OD\\_gui.html#OD](http://www.chd.dk/gui/thott547_OD_gui.html#OD)



Fig. 10: Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 43r. Historiated Initial "D" at the Office of the Dead: Job and Satan before God. *Bas-de-Page*. Three Scenes from the Book of Job. The Royal Library.

may have been made in response to the words written on the verso of folio 43, (Psalm 119:2): “Domine libera animam meam a labiis iniquis a lingua dolosa 3 quid detur tibi et quid adponatur tibi ad linguam dolosam” (O Lord, deliver my soul from wicked lips, and a deceitful tongue. 3 What shall be given to thee, or what shall be added to thee, to a deceitful tongue).<sup>81</sup>

The reader is provided with images from Job with whom she can empathize: his despair at the loss of his family and property, his admission of transgressions and sin and his unshakeable faith in the Lord. The text on f. 43v reassures the supplicant that the Lord is merciful and just, f. 43v, Psalm 119:1 “ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi et exaudivit me” (In my trouble I cried to the Lord: and he heard me.) The words written on the scroll serve to underline the ephemeral nature of man’s creature comforts in this world. The verses from Psalm 114 written in the lines above the lower margin: “8 For he hath delivered my soul from death: my eyes from tears, my feet from falling. 9 I will please the Lord,” (Quia eripuit animam meam de morte oculos meos a lacrimis pedes meos a lapsu Placebo Domino) along with the images on this folio show the necessity to serve God. In the figure of Job’s wife on the folio of the final liturgical division of her manuscript, she would have encountered a negative role model of feminine behavior, one which might have called to mind the abbess’s nuns at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin, who like Job’s wife are associated with malicious speech and deceit.

### *Conclusion*

As we have seen, women are represented on all the folios of the major liturgical divisions and their depictions are often endowed with complexity. The Virgin Mary is a key figure in the drama of Christian redemption unfolding in the illuminations of the Office of the Virgin of the girl’s book. She is depicted as compassionate, accessible, forgiving and merciful towards her supplicants as well as an instrument of humanity’s salvation. The Virgin is also powerful. The belief that the Virgin’s motherhood and her close and empathic relationship to her Child gave her the authority and capacity to intercede with the Lord, is time and again illustrated, for example in the *bas-de-page* on f. 22v, and f. 24r, as well as in the historiated initial on f. 32v.

<sup>81</sup> For the belief that women were more prone to gossip than men see Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England*, Chicago and London, 2008, 175.

The viewer is shown that women, like St. Elizabeth and Mary Magdalene, embody positive qualities, while the nuns on f. 1r and Job's wife on f. 43r can be viewed as exhibiting negative female behavior. The images of Mary in the manuscript might also have provided the female reader with the opportunity to contemplate not only the Virgin's divine maternity but also her own. The Annunciation, the pivotal event in the life of the Virgin, could be understood as woman's submission to bringing children into this world. Another episode from Christ's Infancy, the Visitation, depicting the tender meeting of the two pregnant women, may on one level have provided women with an image of motherhood as a shared feminine experience. The Nativity may also have held meanings about the expectations of the relationship between a mother and her infant. Not only would the Virgin's tenderness for her Son have carried religious meanings but it would also have portrayed the ideal mother as someone who is affectionate and nurturing towards her child.

Conversely, three miracles dealing with women and their male children, namely the Legend of the Unchaste Abbess, of the Jew of Bourges, and of the Child Image taken Captive, could be read as cautionary tales about maternity. The three women are in no way superlative mothers. The first has broken her pledge of chastity and winds up separated from her child, the second and third are helpless in protecting their sons from calamity. In comparison with these deficient human mothers, Mary is represented as perfect and powerful.

The images of the book owner in the manuscript construct for her an active role in her own path to salvation. For example, the portrait conventionally placed at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin, f. 1r, near the words "Domine labia mea aperies. Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam" (O Lord, thou wilt open my lips: and my mouth shall declare thy praise) can be understood as the intended reader uttering these lines. Another image of a woman, situated in a less customary place, f. 28v and in the vicinity of the text "to turn off [his] anger from us," similarly illustrates the reader appealing to God. Figures praying to the Virgin in the manuscript can be interpreted as models for her to emulate, e.g., f. 6v and f. 24v. One of the narratives can be read as encouraging the supplicant to continue praying even when disheartened. In the legend of the Child Image taken hostage, f. 18r, the dejected mother initially believes that the Virgin has turned a deaf ear to her petitions but in the final episode she understands that her prayers were heard.

Images also drew the reader's attention to words, phrases as well as lines of text, frequently appeals for aid and mercy, and helped her commit them to memory and develop her understanding of them. For example, on f. 22v directly below the word: "misericordie" (mercy) is an image which embodies the meaning of this concept, namely of the Virgin baring her breast and in this attitude of supplication interceding for mercy with the Lord. Folio 6v headed with the text of Psalms 69: 2 "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina," (Incline unto my aid O God. O Lord make haste to help me) depicts at the bottom of the page Theophilus, the protagonist of the Marian legend, praying to Christ and his mother for assistance (fig. 2). The images, as I have suggested in my discussion of the representation of the Annunciation, were probably also intended as aids to meditation and a means of coming into contact with the sacred realm.

The intended viewer is shown the necessity to distinguish good from evil for the sake of her own salvation as well as to be mindful of temptation and of behavior which disturbs social order. In three *bas-de-page* tales Jewish men are allotted various negative roles. They are enemies not only of the Virgin but more broadly of the Christian faith. In the Theophilus legend, f. 6r, the Jew is associated with sorcery and is depicted as the devil's assistant. In the miracle of the Jew of Bourges, the father is portrayed as a would-be child-murderer while in the legend of the Merchant of Constantinople, f. 28v, the Jewish lender is associated with avarice, deception and theft. Admittedly, this type of subject matter appeared in English devotional manuscripts of an earlier date and anti-Jewish sentiment is present in the literary sources from which the *bas-de-page* illuminations were drawn. However, by leaving out the concluding episodes dealing with conversion described in the texts, the tales depicted in the *bas-de-page* are given different emphasis from their literary sources in which consternation about non-Christians is hinged together with the desire to bring them into the fold. More generally, the images of the Jew and devil represented in Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup> can be regarded as warnings of the presence of the forces of evil while the inclusion of the tales of the unchaste abbess and drowned sacristan reflect anxieties about inappropriate sexual conduct.

The armorial display in Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>, as was common in private devotional books, reminded the book owner to pray for deceased family members. Devices were interwoven with religious imagery, placed in backgrounds of or close proximity to historiated initials depicting Christological scenes, and incorporated into initials of the opening

words of sacred texts in the hope that the book owner's prayers would be more efficacious.<sup>82</sup> The closeness of the armorials to the sacred images in the historiated initials also had an eschatological connotation: it was an attempt to maintain the family's social position on earth and secure it in heaven for eternity.<sup>83</sup> This wish is probably reflected in the decision to insert the shield with Bohun arms at the gates of Paradise. The hierarchical social order is also mirrored in the placement of shields on the page. Those displaying the arms of the Plantagenets appear above those of the Bohuns. Furthermore, the proximity of sacred image to coats of arms can be viewed as expressing the idea that the position of the families in this world is divinely ordained. Because the armorial range in Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup>, in comparison to other Bohun manuscripts, is narrower and focuses on the book owner's natal family and members of the royal house, it would have allowed her to see herself and the Bohuns as part of the highest stratum of society. Thus the coats of arms commemorate the family, celebrate the prestige of her line, and remind the seventh earl's daughter of her duty to pray for her dead ancestors. It is also likely that repeated use of the Bohun arms in the Copenhagen Hours would have emphasized the Bohun heiress's importance in the family by drawing attention to her status as *suo jure* Countess of Hereford or Essex.<sup>84</sup>

Turning back to the question of the identity of the intended reader of the Copenhagen Hours, I have argued that the bookowner's heraldic garments, decorated with the pre-1340 arms of England over Bohun, depicted at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin, f. 1r, suggest that the portrait represents one of the Bohun heiresses after her marriage. The loose uncovered hair of the young woman probably connotes that she is an adolescent and perhaps still had not attained majority. She is, also, unlikely to represent a mother of numerous children.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Surprisingly, unlike a number of other Bohun manuscripts, Thott 547 4<sup>o</sup> does not include arms accompanying the Seven Penitential Psalms or the Office of the Dead, sections of the manuscript which contain prayers for the dead. For the implications of armorials in devotional manuscripts see Michael A. Michael, "The Privilege of 'Proximity': Towards a Re-definition of the Function of Armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 55–74.

<sup>83</sup> For this observation with regard to devotional books see Michael, "The Privilege," 73.

<sup>84</sup> The earldom of Hereford and Northampton was inherited by Mary while that of Essex was inherited by Eleanor.

<sup>85</sup> Eleanor's four children born in the 1380s are: Humphrey (1382), Anne (c. 1383), Joan (1384), and Isabelle (c. 1385/1386). Mary's children born in the 1380s are: Henry

The book could have been intended for either Eleanor or Mary de Bohun, who were both closely related and associated with the royal family. The repeated representations of the Bohun arms on four of the illuminated folios and the arms of the crown on two are evidence of pride in the intended reader's lineage, royal connections and, as I have suggested, countess in her own right. In contemporary documents the sisters are referred to as heirs of the Earl of Hereford.<sup>86</sup> On her own tomb, Eleanor de Bohun, explicitly calls attention to the fact that she was co-heir to her father with the inscription: "Here lies Eleanor de Bohun, the eldest daughter and one of the heirs of the honorable lord Sir Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, and Constable of England, wife of the mighty and noble prince Thomas of Woodstock, son of the excellent and mighty prince Edward, King of England, the third since the Conquest, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Essex and Buckingham, and Constable of England, who died October 3."<sup>87</sup> Moreover, the imagery on the tomb asserts Eleanor's status as one of her father's heirs, but also emphasizes the titles and offices she brought her husband and her noble lineage on both her mother's and father's side of the family.<sup>88</sup>

(1386 or 1387), Thomas (1387), and John (1389). She gave birth to three other children in the early 1390s.

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379–1383*, eds., Eleanor C. Lodge and Robert Somerville, London, 1937, I, no. 646 and II, no. 996.

<sup>87</sup> CY GIST ALIANORE DE BOHUN EISNE (E) FILLE ET UN(E) DES HEIRS A HONNORABLE MONS. HUMFREY DE BOHUN COMITE DE HEREFORD D'ESSEX ET DE NORTHAMPTON ET CONNETABLE D'ENGLETRE FEMME A PUISSANT ET NOBLE PRINCE THOMAS DE WODESTOKE FILS A TRES EXELLENT ET TRES PUISSANT SEIGNOUR EDWARD ROY D'ENGLETRE PUIS LE CONQUEST TIERZ ET DUC DE GLOUCESTRE COUNTE D'ESSEX ET DE BUCKINGHAM ET CONESTABLE D'ENGLETRE QUE MOURUST LE TIERZ IOUR D'OCTOBRE LAN DU (GRACE MIL CCCLXXXIX DE QUI ALME DIEU FACE MERCY AMEN). For the inscription see Jean Le Melletier, *Les Seigneurs de Bohon, illustre famille anglo-normande, originaire du Cotentin*, Coutances, 1978, 49. Mary de Bohun's tomb is no longer extant.

<sup>88</sup> The imagery on this tomb, like the inscription, shows pride in Eleanor's lineage as well as that of her husband. The central pinnacle of the brass is decorated with the Bohun's swan and on either side are heads of lions (badges of the kingdom). Additionally these two figures are represented at the side corbels, the lion on the right and the swan on the left. On the dexter side of the reposing Duchess are three shields: the arms of Eleanor's husband, France and England quarterly with a border, those of Bohun, the arms of her father and at the foot of the canopy are the arms of the Constablership, an office held by Eleanor's father and inherited through Eleanor by Thomas of Woodstock. On the sinister side are Eleanor's arms, England and France quarterly impaling Bohun quartering the Constablership of England. Below these are those of her mother, Joan, Bohun impaling FitzAlan and Warenne quarterly. The shield below is missing.

The absence of the *fleurs-de-lis* of France, a very significant component of the arms of Thomas of Woodstock, on the first folio of the Copenhagen Hours, tips the balance somewhat in favor of identifying the intended reader of the manuscript as Mary de Bohun. Regardless of whether the manuscript's original owner was Mary or Eleanor de Bohun, the manuscript's intricate visual content and beauty of execution surely were meant to actively engage its female viewer; the imagery provided her with instruction and aided her religious meditation. Presented also in a visual language for the manuscript's viewers, the lady, her husband, children and later owners, were the social and personal components of the Bohun heiress's identity; she is depicted as educated, virtuous, devoted to the Virgin and to prayer for her ancestors, and her elevated position in society is constructed as God-given. Ownership of the exquisite and complex manuscript, made by artists who had worked for her father and great-uncle, would have conveyed status and attested to her position as one of the main heirs of a family which placed great importance on books.<sup>89</sup>

It has been suggested that it showed the arms of the Earldom of Essex which passed to the Bohuns in 1239 through Maud de Mandeville and was invested in Thomas of Woodstock by virtue of his marriage to Eleanor. For an analysis of women's funerary monuments of a slightly earlier period see Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216–1377*, Woodbridge, 2002.

<sup>89</sup> That the Bohuns retained two artists is an indication of the importance they placed on book production and of their wealth. In the fourteenth century it was mostly royal households, like that of Philippa of Hainault, Edward III's queen or Charles V of France and his close family, who retained an illuminator or illuminators. For the miniaturist Master Robert, employed by Queen Philippa, and Jean de Montmartre who worked for the French king, Jean II, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 27. For Robert see also Michael A. Michael, "A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III," *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985): 589, and Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalrous Society and its Context, 1270–1350*, Woodbridge, 1982, 47. For the workshop employed in the late thirteenth century by Eleanor of Castile, Edward I's queen, see John Carmi Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth-Century Plantagenet Queens," *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed., June Hall McCash, Athens, 1996, 178. For the king's painters, Gilbert Prince and Thomas Litlington, see J.J.G. Alexander, "The Portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey," *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, eds., Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam, London, 1997, 204.

## SUMMARY

MARINA VIDAS: *Representation and reception. Women in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours. Ms. Thott 547 4°*

This article presents and analyzes depictions of women in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ms. Thott 547 4°), an exquisitely illuminated fourteenth-century English manuscript, made for a young female member of the Bohun family, and focuses on meanings images could have had for their primary viewer. The representations which are examined are of: the book owner, the Virgin Mary, shown on nine of the fully illuminated folia, St. Elizabeth, Mary Magdalene, Job's wife, a group of nuns as well as of three mothers who appear in the *bas-de-pages*. Firstly, it is argued that the painted portrait of the book owner is flattering in its presentation of the subject's beauty, status and character. Attention is drawn to the fact that in her portrait, the book owner resembles the Virgin shown on the same folio. Secondly, it is suggested that the representations of the armorials of the heiress's natal family, dominant in the manuscript, are evidence of pride in her noble lineage and her succession to the family titles as countess in her own right while the arms of the crown, depicted on her surcoat in her portrait and on one of the fully-illuminated folios, proclaim her royal connections. Thirdly, representations of holy women are discussed and it is suggested that they offered the viewer a variety of relevant role models and experiences to admire, inspire, and imitate. It is also proposed that some of the tales and scenes in the *bas-de-pages* could have had a cautionary purpose. Finally, it is observed that there is a substantial interest not only in individual women but a more general preoccupation with women's relationships with the divine, with children and with other women.