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Medieval Mausoleums, Monuments, and Manuscripts: Paving the Path of Women's Power
Through Patronage

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Comparative Literature

by

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June 2022

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ABSTRACT

Medieval Mausoleums, Monuments, and Manuscripts: Paving the Path of Women's Power Through Patronage

by

Christene d'Anca

The definition of what constitutes patronage and what makes one a patron, such as the person who funded and commissioned a work, has in recent years broadened to include owners, recipients, and subjects of books, art, architecture, and other objects. With these extended parameters of patronage, my project explores the manuscripts, monuments, and other memorabilia associated with the funerary patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204)¹, her daughters, Marie de Champagne (1145-1198) and Matilda of Saxony (1156-1198), as well as the funereal arts generated by three queens of France, Marie de Brabant (1254-1322), Jeanne d'Évreux (1310-1371), and Blanche de Navarre (1330-1398). In short, the various items associated with the women I explore arguably functioned as mnemonic devices to provide the necessary “backgrounds”² to train and strengthen cultural memory, and consequently drew attention to those associated with, and responsible for their continued diffusion.

¹ It is debated among scholars whether Eleanor was born in 1122 or 1124; however, the exact year has no bearing on my current study.

² [Cicero], *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Loeb Classical Library, 1954), rpt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 207, for specific quote, and pages 205-215 for the larger concept of memory, mnemonic devices, and the ways in which we use them in association with objects, occurrences, and people.

In my dissertation I argue that notwithstanding the uniqueness of each of these women's cultural contributions, they were not exceptions and a survey of their endeavors over time and throughout diverse regions demonstrates that royal women in the Middle Ages systematically partook in acts of commemorative patronage at precise stages in their lives. Despite the assorted shapes their efforts embodied, ranging from manuscripts to stained glass windows, from funerary plaques, paintings, jewels and linens to monuments, mausoleums and endowments of institutions, including a variety of other forms, these women were notably unified in that their greatest output tellingly occurred during precarious points in their lives that threatened their positions, such as the potential political turmoil associated with the deaths of husbands or children. At these times their participation in acts of patronage solidified their places at court, in society, and within cultural memory while doubling as assertions of their political power and lineage. Further, such acts of patronage that these women practiced throughout their lives also led them to use these same tactics in anticipation of their own deaths. This is evinced through their preoccupation with funerary arts through which they created means for those who would survive them to use their contributions for future ends in these women's last attempts at remaining timelessly relevant. Thus, testaments, manuscript books, monuments, and memorials were not only a declaration or signs of one's possessions, but also sites and documents that continued the politicking of the deceased.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Arsenal – Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal

BL – British Library

BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France

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I. Introduction

Passing through “rooms with beautiful and well-illuminated wall paintings,” down into a “vaulted chamber,” the reader in Chrétien de Troyes’ *Cligès* is confronted with a hall at the bottom of a tower reserved for Fenice after being transported from her tomb following her duplicitous false death.³ As she makes this her permanent residence, with no hopes of ever reemerging into society, the structure begins functioning like a crypt. Centuries later Derrida will muse:

What is a crypt? No crypt presents itself. The grounds [lieux] are so disposed as to disguise and to hide something, always a body in some way. But also to disguise the act of hiding and to hide the disguise: the crypt hides as it holds.⁴

Interestingly, Fenice’s crypt operates according to Derrida’s definition, as it not only hides her but also hides the very fact that she is hidden. Crypts by nature disguise death, removing it from public view so as to not render those still alive uncomfortable. In *Cligès*, though, the tower crypt transforms into the lovers’ bower, holding and hiding bodies, but live ones, in opposition to its intended purpose, leaving Fenice to feel confined, and in need of escape from her premature grave.⁵ The garden she asks for to remedy this problem is then opulently built creating a notable parallel with the tomb-building practices of future royals. If Fenice’s new home is to be read like a crypt, then the garden is in line with the ancillary spaces that

³ Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. Wendelin Foerster (Toronto: Max Niemeyer Press, 1921) 151-153, lines 4460-5561, 5617-5618 for the quotes specifically. All subsequent references are taken from this edition. All translations are mine.

⁴ Jacques Derrida and Barbara Johnson (trans.), “Fors,” *The Georgia Review* 31.1 (1977): 67.

⁵ *Cligès* 174, lines 6366-6369.

would accompany the gisants of future kings and queens. However, there is a telling distinction in that such spaces were usually commissioned and erected as a means for those whose bodies resided within to gain visibility and be better remembered, while Fenice's wish in her current situation would have been to stay forgotten, or at the very least remain out of sight.

Nevertheless, she constructs their plan and tasks Cligès with making the arrangements to "porveoir ma sepouture"⁶ [prepare [her] tomb]. He immediately thinks of his serf, John, due to his reputation throughout the land for all the objects he "a feites / Et deboissiees et portreites"⁷ [made, and sculpted, and painted]. Twelfth-century tombs required superior skills as they were becoming increasingly more lavish, constituting elaborate gisants created from and encrusted with imported stones, and engraved with myriad patterns and messages.⁸ While Fenice's tomb is not described in any detail, her metaphorical sepulcher, the tower in which she was meant to spend the rest of her days, replete with staircases, vaulted chambers, secret doors, and underground rooms,⁹ bears the appearance of a twelfth-century mausoleum, and requires the same kind of craftsmanship from John as her tomb had.¹⁰

⁶ *Cligès* 145, line 5337.

⁷ *Cligès* 146, lines 5381-5382.

⁸ Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program of St. Louis," *The Art Bulletin, Medieval Issue* 56.2 (1974): 230-231; Elizabeth Schwartzbaum, "Three Tournai Tombslabs in England," *Gesta* 20.1 (1981) 89; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Emaux du moyen-âge occidental* (Fribourg: The University Press, 1972) 29-32; Tom Nickson, "The Royal Tombs of Santes Creus. Negotiating the Royal Image of Medieval Iberia," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72.1 (2009): 4; William W. Clark, "Context, Continuity, and the Creation of National Memory in Paris, 1130-1160: A Critical Commentary," *Gesta* 45.2 (2006): 163-164, although there are details of the materials and architecture of tombs in twelfth-century France throughout the article.

⁹ *Cligès* 152-153, lines 5588-5618.

¹⁰ Walter Cahn, "Souvigny: Some Problems of Its Architecture and Sculpture," *Gesta* 27.1/2 (1988): 52-53; Carolyn Marino Malone, *Twelfth-Century Sculptural Finds at Canterbury Cathedral and the*

Despite the fact that Fenice must rely on Cligès to realize her vision, she is the one to have generated the idea, and in doing so, she attracts attention to herself and sets into motion her own undoing. Yet, such an action was necessary in order for her to continue her life, even if it meant inhabiting a space generally marked for the dead. However, this brings to light another facet of tombs – as they hide death, they also celebrate life. The ways in which they are built, and the objects erected within and around them all serve as physical reminders of those whom they encase. In Fenice’s case, the location marks her relationship with Cligès, creating a space in which she can live beyond her false death for the rest of the world, and where she may continue to create memories of herself and her love for Cligès. This is precisely how royals of the Middle Ages would make use of funerary arts in order to remain perpetually in the minds of their contemporaries and of future generations, essentially prolonging their existence in the aftermath of death – a practice that would last for hundreds of years.

As the fictional account of Fenice, written in the mid-twelfth century, marked the earliest time period to be explored in this dissertation, nearly two centuries later, closing the scope of this project, thirty years before she died, Blanche de Navarre (d. 1398), dowager queen of France, not unlike Fenice, but for obviously different reasons, commissioned a tomb for herself and her daughter, Jeanne de France, at the Abbey of Saint-Denis in the chapel of Saint Hippolyte. Even though only the marble gisants are extant today, seventeenth-century records can be used to reconstruct the original artistic program of the chapel.¹¹ Notably,

Cult of Thomas Becket (London: Oxbow Books, 2019) 70, 81, 87; Yves Pauwels, “The Roots of Philibert De l’Orme: Antiquity, Medieval Art, and Early Christian Architecture,” in *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, eds. Karl A. E. Enekel and Konrad A. Ottenheim (Brill, 2019) 212-214.

¹¹ Jacques Doublet, *Histoire de l’abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1625).

among the dozens of sumptuous articles laid within the enclosure were twenty-four statues throughout the space that were representations of Blanche's relatives directly stemming from Saint Louis, some of whom would have still been alive at the time of her burial.¹² However, unlike Fenice, whose procession was no more than a ride from the castle to her temporary tomb, Blanche wanted to be seen and celebrated throughout the land.¹³ Her body, which was to remain intact and undivided despite the common practice at the time,¹⁴ was transported

¹² For all of their names, see Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denys 1333-1334*.

¹³ Pau, Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, E 525. This was later transcribed by Léopold Delisle who identified it as a contemporaneous copy produced shortly after her death for her brother, Charles II of Navarre; however, Charles II predeceased Blanche by nearly a decade, in 1387, so I believe that that manuscript was transcribed for the benefit of her nephew, Charles III, especially considering my following argument about how the document functions along with her support for Charles III's reign. for the full transcription and Delisle's notes, see "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France" *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 12 (1885) 1-64. I will be using Delisle's document for reference throughout my paper. Here I am referring to the first part of her testament in which she lists the multiple places that her body will travel en route to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, and the many more places that will hold a death mass for her, as will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁴ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it had become customary among nobility to divide their bodies at death (heart, body, and entrails) for a variety of reasons. It afforded them a means of multiple burials and subsequent monuments, it allowed them to demonstrate allegiances to different houses of worships, such as the Franciscans, Jacobians, or Benedictines, and it also allowed them to be buried among different family members, as was the case with second wives who could not have their bodies interred with their husbands, but could erect heart or entrail tombs with them. While it was frowned upon by the church, the practice was not officially decreed against until the fifteenth century. See Elizabeth A. R. Brown "Death and the Human Body in the Middle Ages: the legislation of Boniface VIII on the division of the corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981) 221-270; Mia Korpiola and Anu Lahtinen, "Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: An Introduction," in *Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Mia Korpiola and Anu Lahtinen (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015) 18-20. Blanche chose not to participate in this practice, as specified in her testament; see Delisle, "Testament" item 5. I believe this decision was due to the fact that she had no reason for dividing her body. She was buried with her daughter and near her dearest friends at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. To support my claim that she did not refuse the practice for religious reasons and that it was a calculated choice to disburse memories of herself using her testament and in death concentrate all of her efforts on a single elaborate tomb, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, I use Marguerite Keane's analysis of Blanche's daughter's death for which Blanche divided her body between body and entrails. See *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France: The Testament of Blanche of Navarre (1331-1398)* (Boston: Brill, 2016) 2-3.

across Paris from church to church, drawn in a gold-cloth-covered litter,¹⁵ with dozens of candles burning at every religious institution within sight,¹⁶ towards its final destination, the Abbey of Saint-Denis, where she had practiced her patronage for years in anticipation of her last moments. Having commissioned all of the pieces for her site of burial and her journey towards it, Blanche had curated an image of herself to reflect how she wished to be remembered. In other words, her preoccupation was not only with her tomb, her body's procession towards it, or the multiple services that would be held directly following her demise, as outlined in her lengthy twenty-two folio testament. She was also deeply concerned with the mark her existence would leave for those who survived her, as demonstrated by the books and works of art she bequeathed. In this sense, through their presence and importance within a testament, manuscript books become a form of funerary art, as does the testament itself. Thus, through the act of bequeathing, Blanche imbued these objects, and arguably herself, with a second life, which is yet another form of patronage. In fact, of all her acts of patronage throughout her long life, she dedicated the most energy to those items that would serve as reminders of her after death.

The definition of what constitutes patronage and what makes one a patron, such as the person who funded and commissioned a work, has in recent years broadened to include owners, recipients, and subjects of books, art, architecture, and other objects.¹⁷ These

¹⁵ *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard, 10 Volumes (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1932) Vol. 2, 658.

¹⁶ Delisle, "Testament" items 6-17.

¹⁷ Alexandra Gajewski, "The Patronage Question Under Review: Queen Blanche of Castile (1188-1252) and the Architecture of the Cistercian Abbeys at Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys," in *Reassessing the Role of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 2 Volumes, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishing, 2012) Vol. 1, 197-244.

Martin best illustrates the complexity of this point with her example of the so-called Eleanor Vase that Eleanor of Aquitaine inherited, then passed down to her first husband, Louis VII, who in turn presented it to Abbot Suger, who then added a bejeweled metalwork frame before offering it to the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Despite this succession of male beneficiaries, the vase is attributed to Eleanor who neither commissioned it nor ordered any of its additions, but whose “prestige was such that the object was considered to have proceeded more from her than from any of the men through whose hands it also passed.”¹⁸ In subsequent chapters I will explore the effect those who were featured in works they did not commission had on the production of said works, such as Matilda of Saxony with *The Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, Marie de Champagne with the *Eructavit*, and Jeanne d’Évreux with the *Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux*, among others. As this revised definition of patronage that foregrounds the idea of a woman’s persisting influence and aura that stood out in much the same way as men’s association with testaments informs much of my research, I also include gift-giving as a form of patronage, whether it was conducted throughout one’s life, or as aforementioned, through a testament to be fulfilled after one’s death. With these extended parameters of patronage, my project explores the manuscripts, monuments, and other memorabilia associated with the funerary patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204)¹⁹, her daughters, Marie de Champagne (1145-1198) and Matilda of Saxony (1156-1198), as well as the funereal arts generated by three queens of France, Marie de Brabant (1254-1322), Jeanne d’Évreux (1310-1371), and Blanche de Navarre (1330-1398). In short, the various items

¹⁸ Therese Martin, “Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History,” in *Reassessing the Role of Women as ‘Makers’ of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 2 Volumes, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishing, 2012) Vol. 1, 8.

¹⁹ It is debated among scholars whether Eleanor was born in 1122 or 1124; however, the exact year has no bearing on my current study.

associated with the women I explore arguably functioned as mnemonic devices to provide the necessary “backgrounds”²⁰ to train and strengthen cultural memory, and consequently drew attention to those associated with, and responsible for their continued diffusion.

In my dissertation I argue that notwithstanding the uniqueness of each of these women’s cultural contributions, they were not exceptions and a survey of their endeavors over time and throughout diverse regions demonstrates that royal women in the Middle Ages systematically partook in acts of commemorative patronage at precise stages in their lives. Despite the assorted shapes their efforts embodied, ranging from manuscripts to stained glass windows, from funerary plaques, paintings, jewels and linens to monuments, mausoleums and endowments of institutions, including a variety of other forms, these women were notably unified in that their greatest output tellingly occurred during precarious points in their lives that threatened their positions, such as the potential political turmoil associated with the deaths of husbands or children. At these times their participation in acts of patronage solidified their places at court, in society, and within cultural memory while doubling as assertions of their political power and lineage. Further, such acts of patronage that these women practiced throughout their lives also led them to use these same tactics in anticipation of their own deaths. This is evinced through their preoccupation with funerary arts through which they created means for those who would survive them to use their contributions for future ends in these women’s last attempts at remaining timelessly relevant. Thus, testaments, manuscript books, monuments, and memorials were not only a declaration or signs of one’s possessions, but also sites and documents that continued the politicking of the deceased.

²⁰ [Cicero], *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Loeb Classical Library, 1954), rpt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 207, for specific quote, and pages 205-215 for the larger concept of memory, mnemonic devices, and the ways in which we use them in association with objects, occurrences, and people.

Moreover, no other time period outside the Middle Ages contained literary texts with so many detailed descriptions of tombs, mausoleums, and acts of death. In each subsequent chapter I will analyze *Le Roman d'Enéas*, “Bele Doette,” *Les Miroir aux Dames*, and *Eliduc*, respectively, in light of the examples they provide for commemoration and tomb building through the lens of patronage.²¹ It is unclear whether reality was a refraction of the tropes found in fiction, or whether fiction’s funerary fixations were a result of contemporaneous practices. Nevertheless, I demonstrate how literary manuscripts of the period in many ways paralleled the experiences of these royal women, especially their outlooks on death and their subsequent preparations, such as within the opening example of this dissertation. In doing so, I underscore the relationship between literature and reality, analyzing the cultural value of such endeavors. Further, I interrogate the extent to which social expectations were placed on such practices over time. In other words, once women began using funerary arts as a means of inserting themselves into the social hierarchy, to what extent was the onus for such acts then placed upon them?

As the previously held assumption that women before the thirteenth century had not commissioned monuments or even manuscripts on a large scale has been challenged, a number of essays and books have been written to address the ramification of women’s actions that translated into social and political power throughout the Middle Ages, before and after the thirteenth century, highlighting the recent and significant increase in the attention

²¹ *Le Roman d'Enéas*, ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1891); “Bele Doette,” in *Les Chansons de toile*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris: Champion, 1977) 88-92; BnF, MS fr. 14968; Marie de France, *Eliduc*, in *Lais de Marie de France*, eds. Laurence Harf-Lancer Karl Warnke (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1990) 270-327.

paid to women's preoccupation with the arts.²² My study joins this robust conversation with insight into a narrower focus, specifically the function of funerary arts as a means for noble women to bolster their image during their lives, and beyond. I begin with Eleanor of Aquitaine and her daughters, Marie de Champagne, Countess of Champagne, and Matilda, Duchess of Saxony. Though these women were not the first to patronize the arts, the twelfth-century explosion in documentation and literary practice²³ offers a well-archived look into their endeavors, which had been previously eclipsed by scholarship in which there was an "unspoken underlying assumption that works of art and architecture in the Middle Ages were made by and for men."²⁴ Thus, in Chapter 2 when I investigate their contributions at memorial sites such as Meaux,²⁵ Brunswick²⁶ and Fontevraud,²⁷ I interrogate the extent to

²² See, for example, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350," 61-82 and Joan M. Ferrante, "Public Postures and Private Maneuvers: Roles Medieval Women Play," 213-229 in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Amy Livingstone, "Recalculating the Equation: Powerful Women = Extraordinary," *Journal of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship* 51.2 (2016): 17-29; Lois L. Honeycutt, "Queenship Studies Comes of Age," *Journal of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship* 51.2 (2016): 9-16; Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family: 500-1100," *Feminist Studies* (1973): 126-141; Kathleen Nolan, ed. *Capetian Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), and also her "The Queen's Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud" in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 407-422; *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996); John Carmi Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993) 63-78. Also, numerous other examples of scholarship on medieval female patronage appear throughout my dissertation.

²³ C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *The American Historical Review* 83.4 (Oct., 1978): 867-905.

²⁴ Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions" 1.

²⁵ June Hall McCash, "Marie de Champagne's Cueur d'ome et cors de fame': Aspects of Feminism and Misogyny in the Twelfth Century" in *The Spirit of the Court*, eds. G.S. Burgess and R. A Taylor (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985) 234-244.

²⁶ Peter Kurmann, *La cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Meaux: Etude architecturale* (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1971); June Hall McCash, "Marie de Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Relationship Reexamined" *Speculum* 54 (1974): 698-711.

which they participated in patronage beyond the initial documentation that attributed the majority of the commissions and creations to their husbands, and further, I also investigate the ways in which they often influenced many of their husbands' undertakings.

Moving forward, in Chapter 3 I explore Marie de Brabant's influence from the time of her arrival at the Parisian court in 1274 to her death in 1322, as she positioned herself as a central figure between an illustrious Capetian past and a more promising future as her marriage with Philip III intertwined the Capetian and Carolingian dynasties, strengthening the former with the blood of the latter.²⁸ Like Eleanor and her daughter, Matilda, at Fontevraud and Brunswick respectively, Marie was also responsible for the creation of her own tomb. However, unlike Eleanor and Matilda, whose tombs were originally conceptualized as familial burial sites, Marie's resting place at the Cordeliers Convent in Paris would form a necropolis for noble women who were not of her direct line; Blanche de Castille (1259-1321), Mahaut d'Artois (1268-1329), Jeanne de Bourgogne (1292-1330), and Jeanne d'Évreux (1310-1371) followed suit, either by having their bodies or their hearts buried alongside Marie, or by creating other forms of female networks at different burial sites.²⁹ Moreover, their decisions to be interred together³⁰ reflect the nature of women's

²⁷ Colette Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

²⁸ I build from the evidence provided by Tracy Chapman Hamilton, and draw further conclusions about Marie's power plays. See her *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019).

²⁹ Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris: Etude historique et archéologique du XIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1975); Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500*, trans. Angela Krieger (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016) 142; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre, reine de France (1273-1305)," in *Une histoire pour un royaume* (XII-XV siècle), ed. Anne-Hélène Alliot (Paris: Perrin, 2010) 124-141.

³⁰ Many of these tombs were destroyed over time, with only written recollections of their existences remaining. For example, for Marie de Brabant's tomb, see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est*

burials that were often more individual, or personal, than those of kings who had dynastic obligations.³¹ In other words, as these women decided which sites to patronize in death, they reflected their life-long prerogatives of echoing and imitating the patronage of women they had admired. Thus, unlike the focus in previous scholarship on burials or choice of burial sites,³² I highlight the larger impetus for both self-expression and the desire to integrate into larger familial units that went into the creation of the tombs themselves – materials used, symbolism behind the artwork, parallels within literature, among other concerns – and what it tells us about how royal women perceived themselves in relation to other women in similar situations across time.

Finally, in Chapters 4 and 5, I examine the transition between the Capetian and Valois lines in the fourteenth century, as I juxtapose analyses of the respective efforts of Jeanne d'Évreux and Blanche de Navarre to remain socially and politically relevant at the pivotal juncture between a dying dynasty and a rising one through myriad acts of patronage such as statues, paintings, manuscripts, tombs, and testaments. Much as Marie de Brabant was lauded for her ancestry and used it as a foothold to influence her husband's policies, so too Jeanne d'Évreux and Blanche de Navarre looked to their grandmother and great-grandmother respectively, when developing programs of patronage that would bolster their own

mort: Étude sur les funérailles les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'a la fin du XIIIe siècle (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975) 173.

³¹ John Carmi Parsons, “‘Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honor’: The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500,” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 1997) 317-337; Kathleen Nolan, “The Queen’s Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne,” *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, eds. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatidis Pendergast (Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate, 2000) 249-267.

³² Kurmann, *La cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Meaux: Etude architecturale*; Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris*; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'a la fin du XIIIe siècle*; Brown, “La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre, reine de France (1273-1305).”

genealogical lines, especially during precarious life-threatening periods.³³ They not only collected Marie's books,³⁴ but arguably, and perhaps unwittingly, also her ideas, especially as Jeanne d'Évreux's and Blanche de Navarre's last endeavors from which they benefitted were their funerary monuments at Saint-Denis, next to their daughters, as opposed to the men in their families, a decision that echoed the earlier dynamics found at the Cordeliers Convent,³⁵ and harkened back to an even earlier period in the forging of smaller, female networks at Fontevraud. My research aims to make and explore these connections while bringing to the forefront the parallels between such tactics as opposed to studying each of these milieus as separate and perhaps unrelated entities.

Ultimately, the fourteenth century served as both a culmination of the past and a model for future female patronage and of women's involvement in politics and culture. Throughout my dissertation I examine the political and cultural uses of patronage through a literary and political lens as redefined above, and the various forms of art associated with postmortem commemoration that these royal women helped bring into existence as markers for their lives and for their loved ones, spanning across almost three centuries. Moreover, I expand the notion of female networks beyond considering only living family members by exploring the ways in which women relied on the works of female ancestors, such as fellow

³³ "La chronique anonyme," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1840) Volume 21, 92.

³⁴ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 19 (2004): 1-14; Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17: (1994): 585-611; Susan L Ward, "Fables for the Court: Illustrations of Marie de France's Fables in Paris BN, MS Arsenal 3142," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Lesley Janette Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996) 190-203.

³⁵ Jeanne d'Évreux was associated with the Cordeliers Convent, where she had her heart interred. Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers* 40.

queens and duchesses from the past for inspiration. I argue that the transmission of ideas through acts of patronage also occurred outside the direct mother/daughter dynamic as evinced by the parallel structure of the efforts made by the unrelated women I examine, which transcends such relationships.

As I rely on previous scholarship by medievalists, such as Brigitte Buettner, Marguerite Keane, Tracy Chapman Hamilton, Cynthia Brown, Joan Holladay, Léopold Delisle, and Kathleen Nolan, among others, who have each surveyed individual women and the legacies they created, my interdisciplinary research builds upon these contributions in order to forge new and complex connections between people and objects.³⁶ While the women I investigate have never been examined together in a single volume, I go beyond exploring each woman's contributions in order to recreate what I believe was a multi-generational network of patronage practices. I bring together monuments, grandiose homages to past lives, such as the tombs Jeanne d'Évreux commissioned for herself and her daughter at Saint-Denis, and more modest personal tributes, such as the jewelry and manuscript books that Blanche de Navarre bequeathed to others, especially her nephew, Charles III of Navarre, in her testament, that fulfilled similar gestures with political motives for a less public audience, essentially investigating the ways in which life was prolonged by a variety of means in anticipation of death and its aftermath. I can only hope my research inspires others to conduct similar inquiries into seemingly disparate acts of patronage that can collectively yield a better

³⁶ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre;" and her "Women and the Circulation of Books," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001): 9-31; Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*; Cynthia J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Anne-Marie Legaré, "Reassessing Women's Libraries in Late Medieval France: The Case of Jeanne de Laval," *Renaissance Studies* 10.2 (1996): 209-236; Joan A. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux" 585-611; Kathleen Nolan, "The Queen's Choice" 377-406; Léopold Delisle, "Les heures de Blanche de France, duchesse d'Orléans," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 66 (1905): 489-539.

understanding of the breadth of interconnectedness among women's patronage activities across the Middle Ages.

Complementing the work and research Marguerite Keane has conducted,³⁷ I culminate my dissertation with an exploration of the books, relics and reliquaries in Blanche de Navarre's testament from a different perspective, positioning her as a maker of memories. In other words, as the aforementioned definition of patronage has expanded to include various kinds of "makers,"³⁸ I argue that it is through Blanche's memory-making, her testament and the distribution of objects within it, that this form of patronage functioned. By recategorizing and recombining the items in her will in new ways, I demonstrate additional nuanced layers of meaning behind the genre of testaments and their place within the study of patronage. With each item she bequeathed she made statements about her relationship to the person to whom she was giving an item, and forged connections between previous and future owners of the object, positioning herself at the center of these transactions. Further, she contributed to the proliferation of genealogies. Treasured items, such as devotional books, bore the emblems of familial ties, tracing the bloodlines of notable women within a family. For example, books and other objects that had once belonged to Saint Louis travelled down the family line as reminders to all those in their possession of their descent from the illustrious family member and the power of their bloodline. This was the case with Charles III of Navarre who inherited a Saint Louis breviary from Blanche at a time when he and his

³⁷ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*. Brigitte Buettner has also extensively studied Blanche de Navarre and her contribution to my scholarship will surface at different points throughout this chapter and the dissertation; however, my argument in regard to Blanche's testament directly responds to Keane's book.

³⁸ Therese Martin investigates the different categories of "makers" within her definition of patronage in *Reassessing the Role of Women*, especially on page 6. I am once again expanding on her definition to include intangible categories, such as memory.

father, Blanche's brother, Charles II of Navarre, were still contesting their right to the French throne.

Moreover, studies of how powerful women, such as Matilda of Saxony, Marie de Champagne, Marie de Brabant, Jeanne d'Évreux, Jeanne de Navarre, and Blanche de Navarre, gifted items during their lifetimes could evince the ways in which certain objects functioned, and further how the person gifting them may have intended for them to function after her death. For example, the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* was gifted by Jeanne d'Évreux to Charles V and the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* was bequeathed by Blanche de Navarre to Jean de Berry. The books held a similar cultural and artistic value and were consequently left to the most important men in the country during their respective times. Such books served as mnemonic devices, placing their previous owners into the memories of the books recipients, while also often reminding them of their shared lineage. These books can be juxtaposed with other books of hours, such as the one Blanche de Navarre used daily that also came from her mother, Jeanne de Navarre. This book she left to her sister, the viscountess of Rohan, which, I argue, was meant as a sentimental gesture rather than a political or self-serving one, further underscoring the agency and ambition associated with other bequeathals.

I also employ dedicatory materials at the sites of tombs, such as commemorative plaques and embellishments that performed the double duty of ornamentation and promotion of genealogical relations for often already elaborate monuments, such as the tomb at Louvain that Marie de Brabant renovated for her parents. Additionally, I analyze texts and paratexts within literary manuscripts, such as dedicatory pages, marginalia, and coats of arms, along with testaments and chronicles that also recreated connections among deceased and living family members and allies in order to demonstrate that these elements were strategically

inserted as a means of bringing attention to the genealogical connections of these women, elevating their place within society. As the affiliations I explore move through time, they also connect laterally, creating a crosshatch of ties throughout several family trees, such as the Capetian family's dependence on Charlemagne to strengthen the family, in a parallel fashion to the Valois' link to the Capetians. Genealogy is, as I have argued, the foundation of nobility, and the women I survey in this dissertation wielded these lineages to empower themselves through sponsorship of the arts in multiple media from the manuscripts that they inherited or would leave behind to monuments that would celebrate them and their families, evincing the ways in which the dead continue to serve the living.

Female agency is often overshadowed by male actions, but the means through which noble women, such as the ones discussed in my dissertation, participated in the perpetuation of genealogies bring to light how they devised less traditional methods of becoming represented during their lifetimes and remembered after their deaths. By commencing with a discussion of the genealogies within men's books, such as the *Genealogia ducum brabantiae*, or the *Chroniques de France*, I set the stage for my demonstration of how the same artistic elements were appropriated and resurfaced within the objects created and owned by women. Thus, women's commissioning of manuscripts, tombs, and monuments, and endowment of monasteries³⁹ to broadcast the prestige of their lineage will surface throughout this dissertation as an important tool for building social and political authority. Women in the Capetian and Valois eras especially were very astute about using the past in order to gild the

³⁹ Aubin Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monumens*, 5 Volumes (Paris: M. Drouhin, 1790-1799) Vol. 4, 79; Robert Mullie, *Sépultures et monuments funéraires*, 3 Volumes. (Woluwe and Saint Lambert: Robert Mullie, 1955) Vol. 2, 9; Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles*, 3 Volumes, 1855 (Reprint, Culture et Civilisation, 1968) Vol. 2, 346; Anne Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000) 27-28; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3142, fol. 71v. More examples will be provided throughout the body of the larger text.

present and chose their various formats with great forethought.⁴⁰ Mausoleums, tombs, sepulchers and other places of remembrance were not merely ornamented locales; they were works that combined aesthetic grace with political tributes and even religious militancy. Moreover, when combined with strategically commissioned literary manuscripts, stained glass windows, and other forms of art, these works became paramount in confirming the patron's social context and staking out her importance on the political checkerboard.

A. The Importance of Lineage and Genealogy

To assist in an understanding of the stakes and larger implications of genealogies in the study of patronage, especially as they will reemerge throughout my dissertation, an overview of the major genealogies created during the time period that I explore follows. One of the most ubiquitous means of broadcasting genealogy was through the advertisement of one's name and family heritage across diverse media. Nobles' preoccupation with such undertakings was reflected as well in their chosen reading materials. In fact, within medieval romance there appears to be an almost obsessive relationship with names⁴¹ in which identity is generally intricately tied to lineage, and consequently genealogy – a practice that would persist for hundreds of years. In the fourteenth-century text *Lybeaus Desconus*, the narrative

⁴⁰ Alexandra Gajewski, "The Patronage Question Under Review"; Peter Kurmann, "Cathédrale miniature ou reliquaire monumentale? L'architecture de la châsse de sainte Gertrude," *Un trésor gothique: La châsse de Nivelles* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996) 135-153.

⁴¹ W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London: Longman, 1987) 50-60; Roberta Kreuger, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 1-5; Dieter Mehl, *Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 1968) 250-252; Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert, eds. *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000) 1; Judith Weiss, Jennifer Fellows and Morgan Dickson, eds., *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000) 1-25.

is built around an unknown man who enters Arthur's court and demands to be knighted.⁴² Through the process of acquiring or bestowing a name, an identity is formed for the nameless character. However, the template for name creation appears to be restricted to descriptive nouns that serve to represent that which the character is best known for.⁴³ Arguably any means of referring to a person bears an implication, even when the moniker is as undescriptive as "unnamed man," which carries a variety of inferences. Much like Perceval in earlier traditions of Arthurian tales, Lybeaus enters Arthur's court nameless, literally, as he had never asked his mother for his own name,⁴⁴ but also figuratively as he does not know his own patrilineal descent, and thus can boast no lineage. His makeshift armor acquired on the side of the road from a dead knight is symbolic of the ease with which he is able to form himself upon entry into Arthur's halls. Lybeaus's first test comes verbally through an entreaty from Arthur to state his name "without lesynge,"⁴⁵ [without lying] with this demand for truth evincing the seriousness of identity as proof of ability. Further, Arthur remarks "Saw I never here beforne / No child so feyre of syght"⁴⁶ [saw I never before / a child so fair of sight], pronouncing the connection between pleasing physical appearance and inherited prowess – an association upon which the court structure depends. If nobles can boast superiority through their position within the structured hierarchy, they depend upon symbols

⁴² *Lybeaus Desconus, Codex Ahsmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, ed. George Shuffelton (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008).

⁴³ The Knight of the Cart, in reference to Lancelot; The Knight of the Lion, in reference to Yvain; The Knight of the Handsome Shield, in reference to Fergus; The Lady of the Lake, who remains unknown outside her geographic parameters; The Daughter of King Pellès, who has been referred to as Elaine, among numerous other examples.

⁴⁴ *Lybeaus Desconus*, lines 28-29.

⁴⁵ *Lybeaus Desconus*, line 56.

⁴⁶ *Lybeaus Desconus*, lines 59-60.

of their excellence to justify that exact superiority, and thus I argue their appearance serves as an indication of their right to it as well as a means for identifying those of noble mettle. In reality, distinguishing nobility was not as simple, and the stakes of establishing lineage were much higher. Nevertheless, there remained an insistence on the need for someone to forge his own identity as a form of legitimization. Further, the necessity for being aesthetically pleasing as a means of proving one's lineage was transferred from one's body to those things that came into contact with or represented the body, such as tombs, or other artistic artifacts. In other words, the following brief survey of lineage practices is conducted with the aim of elucidating the repertoire of tools available to medieval nobles in their quests for legitimization, and subsequent memorialization, in order to move forward and examine how these works influenced the perpetuation of lineage by noble women through other media, but to similar ends.

The High Middle Ages were marked by armed conflict as lords strove to increase their holdings, while maintaining stability in the lands they already possessed. Inheritances, or extant claims, were often contested, leaving the lords to turn to their vassals for support, as they too, turned towards greater lords for protection. This system, however, was often victim to changing alliances, rendering the seemingly well-structured hierarchy in perpetual disarray. According to Léopold Genicot, genealogies served as the link between blood relations and territorial possessions, essentially establishing borders.⁴⁷ These documents became instrumental in asserting legitimacy at every level from the lesser lords who could claim fealty from a handful of countrymen, all the way to kings who used such documents to ensure their thrones.

⁴⁷ Léopold Genicot, *Les Généalogies, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).

However, despite some prominent scholarship,⁴⁸ the use of lineage was not solely the work of men in the Middle Ages; women, as shall be demonstrated, wielded the power of lineage in genealogies, as well as in other forms, such as the statues Blanche de Navarre commissioned to be placed within her resting place as a reminder of her bloodline for the sake of her memorialization by future generations.

Genealogies rely on the past to create the present and even the future. They often speak more about those commissioning them than about those whose lives are on display across their pages or rolls. They claim facts, but maintain the biases of those commissioning or compiling them, and in the process, they portray history as much as they tell stories. The kinship relations are almost never willfully falsified,⁴⁹ but the selection of pieces of a lineage that are to be included remains an authorial choice. In short, genealogies offer more than a glimpse into family history, but also insight into relationships and concerns about legitimacy. Lastly, they come in all manners of shapes and sizes, and each type serves a different purpose, and provides a different type of information. Identifying the ways a work was created can then become instrumental to understanding how a work was used. In short, a genealogy's physical state, its arrangement, its artwork, or lack thereof, and its overall program become as important to deciphering it as the words written within.

Moreover, genealogies and histories painted far more complex portraits than just providing names and dates – these books, then, much like now, were used as status symbols,

⁴⁸ Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. June Dunnett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and also his “Women and Power,” in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Constance B. Bouchard, “The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment,” *The American Historical Review* 86.3 (1981): 501–532.

⁴⁹ Deliberate falsifications most certainly occurred, such as William of Monmouth's blatant act of deceit, but for the most part, genealogies and histories were recorded with at least a modicum of accuracy as their main goal.

and highly detailed and ornamented ones could speak volumes about their owners. Nobles were well versed in these practices and amassed various collections, which would be continuously amended to include the newest members of a family, or they were completely recreated in order to serve as more than just witnesses to previous texts as they essentially rewrote history. By creating these genealogies, these nobles were not simply advertising the sources of their current power, but inserting themselves into the historical narrative to be remembered throughout time.

Genealogies in many ways functioned as hagiographies, in which outlining one's descent relied upon origin stories justifying the claim of an ancestral noble who overcame another undesirable ruler in order to wrest the crown away.⁵⁰ The following documents, the *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae* (1268), the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (1274), and the genealogical chronicles of the English Kings, known as Royal 14 B v and Royal 14 B vi at the British Library (1275-1340?), evince the ways in which such genealogies were used, specifically by the ruling houses of Western Europe in Flanders, France, and England, the locales occupied by the women I will later discuss. These documents further exemplify the three dominant genres for representing lineage in the Middle Ages: genealogies, chronicles, and rolls, in which the latter was not only different in construction, but also straddled the other two genres, which themselves were not mutually exclusive. The three following examples are not only the first of their kind in their respective lands, which are central to this dissertation – France, England, and Flanders – but are also concerned with the familial backgrounds that will be of paramount importance to the women I study, who will make use of these very connections as they compile their various forms of funerary arts. Through a

⁵⁰ Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 274-277.

familiarity with the ways in which these documents used narratives to bolster the families that commissioned them, the same tactics can be identified in the funerary artworks of women that develop the same narratives through an even broader selection of media.

1. *Genealogia ducum brabantiae*

After the death of Henri III, Duke of Brabant, his eldest son, Henri IV, was unfit to rule, launching the land into a state of instability and turmoil. His reign was short-lived, but before being deposed in favor of his younger brother, Jean, he left the land weak and open to invasion. His physical failings, coupled with his mental infirmity, cast doubt upon the entire noble house, leaving his brother to rebuild the family name to its previous illustriousness in order to stabilize and expand his land, along with his power and influence.⁵¹ Jean's first order of business in 1268, less than a year after his brother had been deposed, was to commission the *Genealogia ducum brabantiae*.⁵²

The document makes it immediately clear that the Brabantian line relied on Carolingian blood, and Jean sought to demonstrate his direct line of descent from Charlemagne in order to give himself an upper hand in the lineage game, even above the contemporaneous members of his ruling family. In other words, Brabantian lineage was nobler than Capetian, which in turn unsettled the Capetian monarchy in France. While the *Genealogia's* creation perhaps underscored Jean's anxiety at the absence of any such

⁵¹ Werner Verbeke, Ludo Milis, and Jean Goossens, eds. *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005) 165-166.

⁵² The work spans four volumes: *Genealogia ducum brabantiae heredum Franciae 1; Franciae 2; ampliata*; and *metrica*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 30 Volumes (Scriptorium 1880; rpt Anton Hiersemann 1974). Vol. 25.

documentation, and potentially his fear of inadequacy amongst other noble families, I believe the document's creation also bolstered his standing in Europe, allowing him to level the political playing field.⁵³

Quite possibly the most potent portion of the *Genealogia* is found in the segment treating Charles of Lorraine, who, along with his brother Lothar, ruler of France, were descendants of Charlemagne through both maternal and paternal lines. Lothar's son, Louis V, died without an heir, leaving Charles of Lorraine as the closest of kin, and natural contender for the throne. Even the *Grande Chroniques*, commissioned during the Capetian dynasty by Louis IX, attested to Charles of Lorraine's blood right to the throne. However, Hugh Capet's military and political strength were no match for Charles, and Hugh seized the throne. The point most stressed in the *Genealogia* is the Brabantian dukes' connection with Charles, whose overthrow essentially led to their being denied the French throne. The document quite unapologetically states that the initial rightful ruler was Louis V,

Cui successisse debuisset Karolus patruus suus dux Brabantie recta linea secundum heredes. Sed Hugo Capit regnum Francorum fraudulenter intravit et posteris suis hereditarie reliquit.

[Who was instead succeeded by Charles, his paternal uncle, Duke of Brabant, in direct line, according to the inheritors. But Hugh Capet invaded the kingdom of France fraudulently and left it to posterity by inheritance].⁵⁴

In summary, when Hugh Capet seized the crown in 987, even as he set into motion the creation of a future successful and powerful dynasty, he not only usurped the throne from

⁵³ For a discussion of the power of genealogies in the Low Countries, with a focus on works from Holland and Brabant, see Coen Mass, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric in Humanist Historiography from the Low Countries (1515-1609)* (Brepols, 2018), specifically Chapter 4.

⁵⁴ *Genealogia ducum brabantiae heredum Franciae* 388. My own translation.

Charles, but consequently from his future kinsmen, the dukes of Brabant,⁵⁵ who were direct descendants of the noble bloodline. This connection would reemerge later in the artworks commissioned by Jean's sister, Marie de Brabant, as a means of solidifying her place at the French court, resurfacing at different points of her life, from the beginning of her time as Queen of France, well into her dowager years.

The *Genealogia* continues to harp on the egregious transfer of power, blatantly stating that despite the Capetian line's seeming longevity, Louis IX was only ten generations removed from Hugh Capet,⁵⁶ compared with Jean of Brabant, whose noble lineage extended back twelve generations to Charles of Lorraine, and twenty-two generations back to Charlemagne,⁵⁷ one of the Franks' and Lombards' greatest rulers. Even the rubrics within the work make clear the prerogative of the document in which one section commences with "Incipit genealogia Karoli Magni successorumque eius ducum Brabantie heredum Francie" [Here begins the genealogy of Charlemagne, whose successors are the dukes of Brabant, heirs to France].⁵⁸ Nevertheless, even as the document poignantly claims that the descendants of Charlemagne, and consequently of Charles of Lorraine, had a blood right to the throne, it was unlikely that the document was meant to be used to actually acquire the throne, or in any

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* (London: Longman, 1980) 20-24; *Genealogia ducum brabantiae ampliata* 395. Both works discuss Hugh Capet's acquisition of the French throne, but the focal point is quite different. Hallam details the events leading up to Hugh's coronation, bringing to light the inner workings of the court that would have made it difficult, if not impossible, for Charles to remain in power – Hugh had far more supporters, even within Charles' circle. However, the latter work highlights the progression of lineage as it would have transpired had Charles been crowned, choosing to emphasize the Brabantian claim to the French throne.

⁵⁶ *Genealogia ducum brabantiae ampliata* 395.

⁵⁷ Susan L. Ward, "Fables for the Court" 199.

⁵⁸ *Genealogia ducum brabantiae heredum Franciae* 387.

way to force France to return it to its seemingly rightful owners. Nor did the dukedom of Brabant have the military power to follow through on such claims.

A far more likely explanation for such a polemic document would be to view it as a means for aggrandizement from which Jean would benefit in smaller, yet not insignificant ways. By highlighting his ancestry, he was able to make bids for land in various adjacent provinces, such as the Duchy of Limburg,⁵⁹ while simultaneously solidifying his own lands that had been destabilized during his brother's short reign. Additionally, he was able to obtain a marriage into the French royal family to Marguerite, Philip III's sister. Unfortunately, Marguerite died a year into their marriage, in 1271, from complications during childbirth. Even though Jean was not an actual threat to the throne, it must have occurred to Philip to tap into the Carolingian bloodline and forge an alliance. Marguerite's death did not put an end to such negotiations. In 1273, a few years after Philip's own wife died, Philip looked to Jean's sister, Marie, as a second bride, and as she entered Paris in 1274, their union truly wedded the Capetian and Carolingian bloodlines on the throne – a well-established practice among Capetian kings, and one enhanced by the creation of the *Genealogia ducum brabantiae*.

The *Genealogia ducum brabantiae* uncompromisingly participated in the contemporaneous trend of creating genealogies by various means in order to demonstrate power, which was often devised from lineage. It was one of the longest and most detailed at

⁵⁹ The Duchy was won through a war of succession that relied in equal parts on military force and genealogical strength. The decisive battle was fought at Worringen in June of 1288; see *Chronique en vers de Jean van Heelu ou relation de la bataille de Woeringen*, ed. J. F. Willems (M. Hayez, 1836), 458-459.

the time of its creation.⁶⁰ Additionally, the choice to have it written in Latin⁶¹ lent it an air of authority and an even nobler tone than the *Grandes Chroniques* that would follow shortly, which were written in French. Essentially, I believe the *Genealogia* set the political stage for the way lineage would be regarded and documented moving forward, for both men and women, as evinced by the patronage of Marie de Brabant, Jean I's sister, who employed these same tactics at her parent's tomb in Louvain.

2. *Grandes Chroniques de France*⁶²

The *Grandes Chroniques de France*, commissioned during the reign of Louis IX, but completed posthumously and first presented to Philip III, were another means of emphasizing lineage. However, they were far more embellished than the *Genealogia*, and served a different purpose altogether. It has been argued that the work moved away from Latin specifically in order to create an accessible work of French history for those who could not read Latin.⁶³ Additionally, its program demonstrates a retelling of history more akin to a

⁶⁰ The four-volume work was unprecedented in the region, as well as throughout most of Europe at the time. See *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou Recueil de ses Bulletins*, Tome Soixante-Neuvième (1900) xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁶¹ It is unclear whether Jean commissioned it in Latin, or whether the historiographer made that decision. Nevertheless, the language choice created a desirable effect.

⁶² The *Grandes Chroniques* have been amended and recreated multiple times in history. For this dissertation, unless otherwise stated, the reference is to the earliest extant copy completed in 1274 and presented to Philip III. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 782. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60012814>.

⁶³ Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass.: Classical Folia Editions, 1978) 72-76.

romance than a purely factual history or genealogy,⁶⁴ further warranting its vernacular state.

Although illuminations and other illustrations within genealogies were not uncommon, the *Genealogia* and the *Grandes Chroniques* were at opposing ends of the spectrum, with the former eschewing decorative elements altogether while the latter regularly inserted diverse miniatures, which held significance on par with the text (fig. 1). After all, the *Grandes Chroniques* were commissioned by the rulers of one of the largest and most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and its contents needed to make this evident. As seen in Figure 1, this feat was accomplished in large part by the lavish artistry of the images that included an abundance of gold leaf, and an array of detailed figures and flourishes. Additionally, with Philip III's rule, the previous austerity at court imposed by Louis IX⁶⁵ began subsiding, thanks in no small part to the arrival of his second wife, Marie de Brabant, at the French court, giving way to opulence that would be long-lived, and consequently reflected within the pages of this manuscript.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Gabrielle Spiegel, "Social Change and Literary Language: The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century Old French Historiography," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17 (1987): 129-130.

⁶⁵ Hervé Pinoteau, "Autor de la Bulle, 'Dei Filius,'" *Itinéraires* 147 (1970): 99-123.

⁶⁶ Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 Volumes (Paris: Champion, 1907) Vol. 1, 310-311. There are competing theories as to where the manuscript was produced. Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda proposes that the monks at the Abbey of Saint-Denis created and illuminated the presentation copy for Philip III. See her *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1985) 48-49. Robert Branner argues for the manuscript's creation by an atelier in Paris, which he deems better equipped for producing a luxury copy. See his *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) 129, 236-237.



**Figure 1. Miniature from *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*.
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 782, f. 2v⁶⁷**

Lineage was certainly at the forefront of the chronicle's fabrication, and with the previous creation of the *Genealogia*, the French kings may have been more self-conscious about their own legitimacy. Louis IX's reign was an opportune moment for advertising the glory of the Capetian Dynasty. In the wake of his lengthy first Crusade and the overall piety prescribed throughout his rule, he was a model leader for Europe. Further, his mother, Blanche de Castille, had been instrumental in solidifying the nation during Louis' youth and

⁶⁷ In this image, the frontispiece to the *Chroniques*, the line of descent goes back to the Trojans as Priam is shown sending Paris to Greece, after which he sets sail, captures Helen, and returns with her to Troy. Notably, the brutality of the event is all but erased from the illustration, in much the same way as it is made more palatable in the accompanying text. This renders the ancestors of the current ruling house of France, especially Philip III, more suitable for contemporaneous consumption. For a discussion on the historical significance of Troy for the rest of European nobility and the way in which the legend resurfaced in texts throughout the Middle Ages in a comparative fashion to the *Grandes Chroniques*, see Viard, ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Vol. 1, 3-4, 9-11.

while he and his wife, Marguerite, were away on Crusade for the better part of a decade.⁶⁸ The French royal family was at its apex in strength, success, and popularity. It was only natural that they would want to broadcast their means of arriving at that glorious moment.

Not unlike other genealogies of the period, including the *Genealogia ducum brabantiae*, the *Grandes Chroniques* begin with the earliest origins of European nobility, Troy, and specifically Priam. The chronicles end with Philip II (Philip Augustus), Louis' grandfather, who was the first monarch to officially call himself the King of France.⁶⁹ The chronicles' close parallels to the *Genealogia* demonstrate France's potential anxiety at having its crowned king contested. Thus, I argue that the *Grandes Chroniques* represent a clear attempt at rectifying the question of legitimacy by bringing to light the French royal family's own connections to the Carolingian bloodline, even if it was not through direct descent.

Without mincing words, the *Genealogia* names Hugh Capet a fraudulent usurper,⁷⁰ stigmatizing his rule, and that of subsequent generations. The language deliberately removed his connection from the Carolingian family tree, and from the crown. As the *Genealogia* proceeded through the direct line of descent towards the current rulers of Brabant, Hugh Capet was treated as an interloper at best. He did not fit into this straightforward schema of inheritance. However, familiarity with noble bloodlines will quickly evince that determining lineage was at times problematic. Just as Charles of Lorraine was about to take the crown

⁶⁸ Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2010) 17-19.

⁶⁹ Dawn Marie Hayes, "Christian Sanctuary and Repository of France's Political Culture: The Construction of Holiness and Masculinity at the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, 987-1328," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 135.

⁷⁰ *Genealogia ducum brabantiae heredum Franciae* 388, 395.

laterally from his brother, Hugh Capet intercepted it, but not without some connections to the noble family. Not only was the Capetian family incredibly well connected at court, but Hugh's grandfather, Robert, had briefly served as King of West Francia,⁷¹ and his paternal grandmother was a descendant of Charlemagne.⁷² In order for the *Grandes Chroniques* to achieve the desired effect, and essentially bolster Hugh Capet's relationship to the throne, the once roundabout link between Hugh Capet and Charlemagne was significantly emphasized. The end result was a competing genealogical representation to the one created by Charlemagne's direct relatives in the north.

Additionally, the book's circulation was highly controlled and restricted to a selected readership, not to be publicly disbursed. Tellingly, copies were not circulated outside these spheres to other nobles or academics at the University of Paris, who could have perhaps scrutinized the veracity of the *Chroniques*' proclamations.⁷³ The redressing of history was further obfuscated amidst a highly decorated program of forty miniatures and numerous other decorations relying on its appearance to persuade viewers of its authority. In other words, the physical presentation of the work, from its binding to the quality of its folios and its artistic layout and artistry, was meant to impress, if not intimidate. This was a well-worn tactic among nobility, in which opulence was equated with legitimacy, and one that would be adapted by later dowager queens, such as Jeanne d'Évreux and Blanche de Navarre, especially during their funerary processions and at their burial sites at the Abbey of Saint-

⁷¹ Robert was the elected king of West Francia in 922-923; see Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France, 987-1328* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007) 69-70.

⁷² Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians; A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans. Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 371, 375.

⁷³ Bernard Guenée, "Les Grandes Chroniques de France : Le roman aux rois (1274-1518)," in *La Nation in Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, 2 Volumes (Paris, Gallimard, 1986) Vol. 1, 191-193.

Denis, where genealogical references to Saint Louis appeared throughout the various works of art surrounding their tombs and gisants. Thus genealogies, such as the *Grandes Chroniques*, paved the way for similar references and embellishments across various forms of art.

Yet, despite its visual and factual elaborations, the *Chroniques* were no more inaccurate than the *Genealogia*. Both were created with similar goals of establishing power through genealogy and with their respective executors focused on disparate aspects of the same family tree. The *Grandes Chroniques* highlighted Hugh Capet's link to the Carolingian empire in much the same way the *Genealogia* excluded him; neither was entirely accurate. Through a better understanding of the stylistic nuances of each text, the prerogative of those using genealogies can be more easily deciphered, since the distinct forms serve different purposes. However, the *Genealogia* and the *Grandes Chroniques* must not be seen as examples of the exclusive methods available – there are numerous other means of compiling genealogies that mix and match elements at the volition of those creating them. Nor is the codex the only form in which genealogies occurred, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters by the royal women I explore, who incorporated genealogical elements throughout their funerary arts with the same discretion, showcasing those elements that were deemed most favorable to the messages about their familial networks that they wished to transmit.

3. Royal 14 B v and Royal 14 B vi

Scrolls, or rolls, had long been the preferred form for literary activities in the Classical period, only having been replaced by the codex during the early Middle Ages.

However, they continued to coexist with codices throughout the medieval period, especially for use in projects that required a more expansive, or elongated, surface area, such as extended genealogical charts for which scrolls would be ideal. Unlike the *Genealogia* that was comprised primarily of lists accompanied by short narratives, or the *Grandes Chroniques* that included romanticized and aggrandized historical narratives, these English chronicles relied predominantly on pictures to relate the family history. The use of artistic decoration or images as a means of conveying more complicated ideas, such as intricate genealogical patterns, would be another element prominently used by royal women who commissioned similar works for burial sites and other tokens of remembrance, as was the case with Matilda of Saxony's tomb at Brunswick Cathedral.

In these English scrolls, the portraits of family members were encircled and interconnected in elaborate spherical configurations (fig. 2). Underneath the various portraits, brief narratives and historical facts were written.⁷⁴ However, the potency of the document was not found in the text *per se*, but in the visual links drawn between different family members, once again demonstrating the concern with familial relations, descent, and ultimately legitimization. Much like the dukes of Brabant, and the Capetian monarchs, the Plantagenets, too, felt the need to assert themselves as the rightful rulers of England. While Henry II, the first Plantagenet king, successfully put an end to the Period of Anarchy (1135-1153), the civil war, that enveloped England throughout the feud between Stephen (1093-1154) and Matilda (1102-1167), loyalties were still split, and Henry's familial background,

⁷⁴ British Library, Royal 14 B v:

http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18940&CollID=16&NStart=140205&_ga=2.6568048.373927424.1496960749-902961240.1492916917

British Library, Royal 14 B vi:

http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18941&CollID=16&NStart=140206&_ga=2.228890846.373927424.1496960749-902961240.1492916917

which would produce future kings, needed confirmation.⁷⁵ Arguably, Eleanor of Aquitaine's decision to commission Henry's tomb at Fontevraud, where she would also bury her son, Richard I, along with other family members and later herself, was another means of legitimization. As will be discussed in the next chapter, she simultaneously created a royal family tomb, while solidifying her and her family's claim to the Anjou region for subsequent generations by having two kings of England buried at the prominent abbey.

Henry II had to contend with the fact that he was the grandson of William the Conqueror, and the son of Empress Matilda, both of whom had tenuous holds on the English throne, and were often seen as usurpers.⁷⁶ Thus, when Edward I, Henry II's great-grandson, had the rolls created, he, like the Capetians, looked beyond direct lineage to past heritage that would tie him to the Norman and Angevin families who had less questionable ties to the crown. Further, instead of excluding William altogether, there was even a focus on William's descent from early English nobility, lending him an air of legitimacy in the same way Hugh Capet had a thread of connection to Charlemagne, especially considering that unlike Louis IX at the time of commissioning the *Grandes Chroniques*, Edward was at the lowest point of public approval.⁷⁷

As it becomes apparent that the rolls incorporated elements found in multiple other genealogies, including the impetus for their creation, the need for their existence in their

⁷⁵ Graeme White, "Earls and Earldoms during King Stephen's Reign," in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. Diana E. S. Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000) 2-3.

⁷⁶ Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216*, 5th Edition (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 1999) 163-165.

⁷⁷ Roy Martin Haines, *King Edward II: His Life, his Reign and its Aftermath, 1284-1330* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 36-39; J. S. Hamilton, "The Character of Edward II: The Letters of Edward of Caernarfon Reconsidered," in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, eds. Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2006) 5-6; Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011) 9-19.

current form also becomes evident. In other words, the extensive family dynamics that are created by the numerous portraits and intricate family trees would have lost their effect in a smaller format, or if they had been separated into folios that would need to be turned as opposed to unrolling the genealogy to display its full message all at once. Containing all fifteen meters of Royal 14 B vi within a codex would have rendered it far less impressive, and perhaps more difficult to decipher; each familial unit is not an isolated entity, but rather dialogues with those surrounding it, displaying the full breadth and depth of the Plantagenet family in multiple directions over hundreds of years. It is not a list, but a story told through a web of circles that is best read as they connect to each other.



**Figure 2. A Section of the English Genealogical Roll.
British Library, Royal 14 B vi⁷⁸**

Such were the documents available to men. However, men and women, kings and queens, cannot be viewed as diametrical opposites. Even as medieval queens, and other noble women, did not often assume positions of vast power, they were nevertheless not completely

⁷⁸ This particular section includes the genealogy from Ædred (orange circle at the top) to Æthelred (blue circle at the bottom).

excluded from access to non-traditional forms of rulership, such as regencies or through exerting influence on their spouses and at court, demonstrating their abilities to overcome barriers to exercising their authority. It cannot be generalized that women's actions were ubiquitously censored, repressed, and forbidden. Therefore, the underlying principles behind the creation of genealogical documents became tools to be employed by women as well. The works created by noble females were no less strategically commissioned, and they, too, took on a variety of forms. However, the purpose and volition of those who created them were different.

While Salic law in France, and other rules of inheritance often prevented women from ascending to the throne, and frequently denied them any inheritance outside of dowries that would become their husband's holdings, there was not one universal commandment, and the extent to which women were able to retain autonomy over familial assets varied by region, fluctuating even within a single country.⁷⁹ For example, as Salic law was invoked in France in 1314, excluding queens from ruling, the amendment made to the document a few decades later in order to prohibit the French crown from being passed down to Edward III by marriage, or Jeanne de Navarre by birth, further restricted women's power.⁸⁰ Yet, less than a hundred years earlier, in thirteenth-century Champagne, Blanche de Navarre (d. 1229) persuaded a baronial assembly to reconfigure the current state of succession, making it possible for barons without sons to partition their holdings among daughters. This led to

⁷⁹ Jane Martindale "Succession and Politics in the Romance-Speaking World," in *England and her Neighbours 1066–1453*, eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: Hambledon Press, 1989) 27, 35-36.

⁸⁰ Craig Taylor, "The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown," *French History* 15 (2001) 361-363; Sarah Hanley, "Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pisan," in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 78-94.

entire estates being owned and governed by women in the direct line of descent, as opposed to next of kin, such as uncles or nephews.⁸¹ On the contrary, in Flanders, “most Low Country clerics and barons were prejudiced against rule by women, whom they saw as weak by definition.”⁸² Further, even as inheritance is inextricably tied to the transmission of land and lordship, incontestable rules for such succession were unstable throughout Europe until the late Middle Ages.⁸³

Primogeniture, the idea of first-born sons succeeding their fathers, only worked so long as male offspring were produced. While it was the preferred method of lineage, the expectation that entire dynasties would be forged and maintained through father-to-son transmission was quite often unachievable, and when it did occur for any extended period of time, it was considered extraordinary.⁸⁴ When male heirs could not be produced, the conversations would begin about whether a queen needed to be replaced while the king was still living, whether she, or potential daughters, could rule after his death, or whether secondary family members would inherit the throne. Such decisions were not made by women, but could be swayed by women who possessed strong genealogical roots. At the very least, they could use their birthrights to ascertain favorable marriages for their daughters and maintain their presence at court.

⁸¹ Theodore Evergates, “Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne,” in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 84-85.

⁸² Karen S. Nicholas, “Countesses as Rulers in Flanders,” in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 135.

⁸³ Jack Goody, *Succession to High Office* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 25-27.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X,” *Traditio* 34 (1978): 230; Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies in Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) 24-25.

The ever-changing attitudes about lineage and legitimacy took their toll on royal women and their power dynamics.⁸⁵ Early medieval concubinage became replaced by marriage,⁸⁶ redrawing previous lines of inheritance, legitimizing certain relationships in favor of others, and consequently upending much of the security men's partners had previously held.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, even as women often ruled at the discretion and with the permission of men, the fact remained that they needed to justify their legitimacy to do so, and convince those men on whom they depended that their place was among them. This type of legitimization was contingent upon the division between real and perceived power and authority. Kings had real power that they could exercise in order to achieve results, whereas women commanded authority by virtue of their attributes, such as familial connections, social rank, intelligence, or wealth, among others.⁸⁸ While a woman could not typically rule a land in most of Europe, and ultimately had to defer to the men who surrounded her, like Blanche de Navarre, a woman could, however, carve out a space for herself in which to exercise a semblance of real power, like Jeanne d'Évreux, maintain a sense of autonomy like Eleanor of Aquitaine, and guard against detrimental actions taken against her, like Marie de Brabant. Essentially, through their practice of commissioning works parallel to those of men, they challenged the ideology that queenship was a haphazard institution left to the whim of

⁸⁵ Andrew W. Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 906-927; Martindale, "Succession and Politics" 23.

⁸⁶ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) 16-18, 28-31.

⁸⁷ Lewis, "Anticipatory Association" 27; Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages* 38-45, 59-67; Charles Donahue, Jr. *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 17-18.

⁸⁸ Louise Olga Fradenburg, "Rethinking Queenship," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) 1-13.

kings and barons in which women were dispensable pieces in the quilting of genealogies. Thus, even as crowns could only be obtained through marriage, lineage was often a deciding factor in the marriage game as well, along with a variety of other stakes that prompted women to advertise their descent, and consequent membership within prestigious families.

The genealogies in men's books became the artistic elements in the monuments and other objects erected by women. As Michael Camille claims, "Romance has been called the 'secular scripture' of the nobility, and just as the nobility commissioned artists to illustrate and decorate their Psalters and Hours, the same elite families owned illuminated manuscripts of these vernacular works."⁸⁹ Ancestral claims and attitudes worked their way into these very romances, a number of which were commissioned by queens for themselves and others. Treasured items, such as reliquaries, bore the emblems of familial ties, tracing the bloodlines of notable women within a family. As much as Blanche de Navarre focused predominantly on commissions that would immortalize herself, she was not alone in this pursuit. Tellingly, as the culminating creations of the women I study were centered on their own self-aggrandizement, they benefitted their successors who could also make use of their image. Power and authority, therefore, became strategies and practices, often expressed through various forms of patronage, that played out in the public and political sphere in which both kings and queens could participate, as long as they maintained traditional roles, even when partaking in untraditional practices. Such activities transpired in a variety of milieus, from the sites of tombs to the literary texts within manuscripts.

⁸⁹ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992) 100.

B. Mausoleums, Monuments, Lieux de Mémoire: The Chosen Spaces for Patronage

Unlike the tombs built by noble women that I will discuss throughout my dissertation, in *Yonec*, Muldumarec's tomb is built by his subjects after his murder at the hands of his lover's husband. Many years pass, the lady's son comes of age, and she takes a trip with her family through the countryside, coming across a tomb that she finds out holds her deceased lover. She calls her son to her, confesses her past, along with his true parentage, and then "sur la tumber cheï pasmee; en la pasmeisun devia: unc puis a hume ne parla"⁹⁰ [she... fell into a faint on the tomb, and while unconscious, died. She never spoke again].⁹¹ Even though the lady did not have a hand in building her lover's actual tomb, by fulfilling the lover's last wish of his son's revenge upon the man who killed him, she is in a sense embellishing his memory, creating a metaphorical mausoleum through her son. Moreover, by disclosing her association with Muldumarec, and consequently the relationship between him and her son, she forges a larger circle for his memorialization, and once again foregrounds him into the narrative.

The two principle elements of this story – the tomb's description and the lady's ability to recreate social and political bonds through death – will serve as guiding principles for understanding future women's roles outside of literature as they commemorate themselves and their families. The "grant" [great] tomb, "covert d'un paile roë / d'un chier orfreis par mi bendé," [covered with a cloth of striped brocade with a band of rich gold

⁹⁰ Marie de France, *Yonec*, in *Lais de Marie de France*, eds. Laurence Harf-Lancer and Karl Warnke (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1990) 208.

⁹¹ Marie de France, *Yonec*, in *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (New York: Penguin Books, 1986) 93. This translation will be used for all of Marie de France's lais.

material running through it], where “al chief, as piez e as costez / avait vint cirges alumez,”⁹² [at the head, feet, and sides there are twenty lighted candles]⁹³ could very well be a description of the resting place for any one of the women, or their family members, researched in the following chapters. While such displays were not uncommon for nobles of both genders, it would be in the twelfth century that women began earnestly embellishing their tombs,⁹⁴ modeling their efforts after the men who had practiced such tactics of remembrance for centuries. Moreover, as Paul Binski asserts, “tombs were a focus of familial and, later communal ties,”⁹⁵ underscoring the significance of the lady’s actions in *Yonec* as she uses the site of the tomb to become the conduit for the reconstruction of her family unit, with her son placed squarely at the center since women of this period “played a crucial role in the creation and protection of the legitimacy upon which male rulers depended for the transmission of the throne to their lawful offspring.”⁹⁶ Similar prerogatives can be traced to the activities of later real-life queens, such as Blanche de Navarre, whose testament details her own efforts of imbuing her closest kin, her nephew, Charles III of Navarre, with genealogical relevance and perhaps political power.

Once more, literature provides the key to deciphering human behavior throughout history since “memory has never known more than two forms of legitimacy: historical and

⁹² Marie de France, ed. Harf-Lancer and Warnke, *Yonec* 206.

⁹³ Marie de France, trans. Burgess and Busby, *Yonec* 92.

⁹⁴ John Carmi Parsons, ““Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honor”” 321-324; Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 290-292. France and England were the leading sites for such activities, but the practice was spreading to other European territories as well.

⁹⁵ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) 26.

⁹⁶ Anne J. Duggan, “Introduction” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997) xviii.

literary.”⁹⁷ Blanche de Navarre, like the lady in *Yonec*, along with the other women within this project, relied on death, whether their own or that of their loved ones, as a means for memory-making; they became associated with tomb building, memorialization, and bringing to fruition the very articles that would stabilize the realm at a similar rate as men had previously performed these same actions. In other words, women commissioned the monuments and objects necessary to preserve their and their family’s memory since “lieux de mémoire originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory,”⁹⁸ but rather that it must be deliberately created. This underlying dynamic will serve as the driving impetus for exploring different sites of patronage from within books and physical spaces.

However, despite literature’s voluminous array of examples that may have reshaped the lives, behavior or actions of those in the Middle Ages who in turn commissioned and consumed these literary works, or at the very least were familiar with the texts, there is obviously a disconnect between fiction and reality. Throughout the following chapters I will explore the aforementioned romance, lai, poems and others texts, such as the *Eructavit*, the *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, books of hours belonging to Jeanne d’Évreux and Jeanne de Navarre, and a miscellany for Marie de Brabant⁹⁹ in order to provide examples of possible influences on the commemorative practices of women in the Middle Ages. Essentially, the

⁹⁷ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 Special Issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory* (1989): 7-24.

⁹⁸ Nora, “Between Memory and History” 24.

⁹⁹ *Eructavit*, London, British Museum, Additional 15606 (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_15606_fs001r); *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2^o (<http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&image=004v>); *Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS 54.1.2 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/54.1.2/>); *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n. a. Lat. 3145 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10025448r.image>); *Miscellany for Marie de Brabant*, c. 1285, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 3142 (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55003999w>).

aim of this dissertation is to present the multiple inventive ways in which women like Eleanor of Aquitaine, her daughters Marie de Champagne and Matilda of Saxony, along with later queens of France, Marie de Brabant, Jeanne d'Évreux, and Blanche de Navarre, who may have drawn from or been inspired by fictional narratives, created distinctive sumptuous funerary programs for themselves and their families throughout their lives, with each serving as an inspiration for future generations of women who wished to remain politically or culturally relevant.

II. Eleanor and Her Daughters: Patronage and Power

In *Le Roman d'Enéas*, while Dido and Camille were both queens, it was Camille who was buried in a silk robe with a gold crown and a scepter in her right hand.¹⁰⁰ The reason for her marvelous tomb with innumerable statues, carvings, ornaments, and moving pieces¹⁰¹ is made clear through her epitaph that reads “Ci gist Camile la pucele, / ki molt fu proz et molt fu bele / et molt ama chevalerie / et maintint la tote sa vie. / En porter armes mist s’entente, / ocise fu desoz Laurente”¹⁰² [Here lies the maiden Camille, who was very brave and very beautiful, and loved chivalry greatly, and upheld it her whole life. She gave herself to the bearing of arms, and by arms was killed beneath (the city of) Laurente].¹⁰³ Camille is not remembered for her imprudence in life, but for her better qualities, including her admirable love of chivalry. Unlike Dido who abandoned her people to spend her days with Enéas, Camille took up arms until she was slain. Her agency was noteworthy and duly accounted for within her tomb.

¹⁰⁰ *Le Roman d'Enéas*, 284, lines 7638-7641.

¹⁰¹ For different discussions about the implications and significance of Camille’s tomb, especially in conjunction with her gender, see Christopher Baswell, “Men in the Roman d’Eneas: The Construction of Empire,” in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, eds. Clare A. Lees, Thelma Fenster and Jo Ann McNamara (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1994) 149-168; Lorraine Kochanske Stock, “‘Arms and the (Wo)man’ in Medieval Romance: The Gendered Arming of Female Warriors in the *Roman d’Eneas* and Heldris’s *Roman de Silence*,” *Arthuriana* 5.4 (1995): 56-83; and L. Hibbard Loomis “Arthurian Tombs and Megalithic Monuments,” *The Modern Language Review* 26.4 (1931): 408-426.

¹⁰² *Le Roman d'Enéa* 285, lines 7663-7668.

¹⁰³ *Eneas: A Twelfth Century French Romance*, trans. John A. Yunck (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974) 205-206. Unless otherwise stated, all translation for this text come from this source.

The way in which Camille is memorialized for her deeds is closely associated with the description of her tomb. In opposition to Camille, Dido's literary burial chamber tells a different story. While neither of these women participated in the erection of their tombs, the various features described tellingly demonstrate the differences between how these women may have been viewed by medieval society, or at least by the anonymous author. There is little doubt of Dido's love for Enéas, as is evident from her tomb erected after her suicide that states, "Iluee gist / Dido ki por s'amor s'ocist; / Onkes ne fu feilor paaine, / s'ele n'ellst amor soltaine, / mais ele ama trop folement, / saveirs ne li valut neient"¹⁰⁴ [Here lies Dido who killed herself for love; there would have been no better pagan, if solitary love had not seized her: but she loved too madly, and her wisdom availed her nothing].¹⁰⁵ This inscription depicts her dichotomized state; despite her political achievements, it is her uncontrollable love for which she is most remembered, and which served as her downfall. Thus, as will be demonstrated by the real-life queens to be studied throughout this dissertation, it is those acts conducted throughout one's life that lead to the creation of the image to be remembered after death through the use of funerary arts, or objects commissioned as tools for remaining in the cultural memory postmortem.

After expanding on what constituted patronage in the Middle Ages in Chapter 1, especially using the work of Therese Martin,¹⁰⁶ in this chapter I apply my newly forged definition that takes into consideration multiple facets of creation, including gift-giving and the indirect influence a person may have had on a work, in order to explore the cultural significance of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and two of her daughters, Marie de Champagne and

¹⁰⁴ *Le Roman d'Enéas* 80, lines 2139-2144.

¹⁰⁵ *Eneas*, Yunck, 99.

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Reassessing the Role of Women* 8.

Matilda of Saxony. While the focus in academia remains on Eleanor's political machinations, less attention has been given to her acts of patronage within the funerary arts, despite her involvement with churches, abbeys, and cathedrals, such as her commission of the Tree of Jesse stained glass window in the southern bay of the Chapel of the Virgin in Saint-Denis, or later at York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁰⁷ This is partly due to scholars' previous long-held belief that women early in history were less inclined to participate in the kinds of patronage thought of as having been reserved for men,¹⁰⁸ such as endowing institutions or commissioning artworks – an idea that I will remedy through close analysis of women's achievements in this area. According to Jane Martindale, patronage is often a tool used by nobility to assert importance when perceiving a lack of actual power, or a weakness, for which they must compensate.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ In Jean Flori's *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Scholarship, 2007), the author focuses solely on her literary patronage. In *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John C. Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), only two of the nineteen chapters discuss her involvement with Fontevraud, and not necessarily in terms of patronage. In *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, ed. William W. Kibler (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), only one chapter touches on her patronage of Saint-Denis (discussed below). For details on the window, see Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky, ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, second Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) 73-74, and figure 12. For the connection between the window and Eleanor, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, Georgia: Georgia University Press, 1996) 127-130 and her "Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis: The State of Research," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Gerson (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986) 267.

¹⁰⁸ Janet Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (Boydell, 1997) 304-305; Lois Huneycutt, "Images of Queenship in the High Middle Ages," *Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989): 69; Karen Pratt, "The Image of the Queen in Old French Literature" in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (New York: Boydell, 1997) 240-241.

¹⁰⁹ Jane Martindale, "Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Last Years," in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Boydell, 1999) 148.

Yet, why would Eleanor, the last medieval queen to wield an extraordinary amount of actual power, as demonstrated by ownership of a personal seal with which she could authenticate documents that was a result of the vast amounts of land she controlled,¹¹⁰ have any need for overt demonstrations, such as commissioning the traditional genealogies discussed in Chapter 1? As her influence straddled both England and the Continent at the very moment when queens and other noble women often needed to find innovative ways to exert authority and insert themselves into court hierarchies, since they were not vast landowners in their own right, nor were they able to act with real authority in government, Eleanor, along with her daughters, brought to light how female patronage could be translated into power. I argue that by endowing religious institutions, and commissioning artwork and manuscripts, they increased both their visibility at court and the number of their political allies, during their lives, while their patronage of funerary arts allowed for their commemoration after death. Moreover, their actions became models for future generations of women whose endeavors matched those of their male counterparts. However, in order to understand these women's funerary art choices in their later years, my methodology will be to first trace any potential influence between them throughout their lives.

Eleanor of Aquitaine, until the end of her life, "remained intoxicated with the exercise of power and political maneuvering, at which she excelled, and the book her funeral effigy shows her reading for eternity must be the Book of Kings rather than any gospel, book of hours or collection of poems"¹¹¹ (fig. 3). Interestingly, Eleanor's power is not demonstrated with a scepter, as was the case with Camille, or even with her crown, despite its association

¹¹⁰ Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France" 64.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Eleanor as Parent, Queen, and Duchess," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, ed. William W. Kibler (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976) 23.

with rulership, since being a queen did not automatically guarantee one also had power. Yet, while her lack of regalia besides the crown has been construed by others, such as Alain Erlande-Brandenburg as a means of conveying her lack of authority at her time of death, and it has been noted that she was never crowned Queen of England and only crowned but not anointed Queen of France,¹¹² the book does not necessarily suggest a lack of regalia, but rather a translation of traditional channels for conveying such information. Madeline Caviness notes that books in the Middle Ages became so intrinsically associated with noblewomen, they practically signaled queenship.¹¹³ Moreover, she argues that such sculpted volumes were also a sign of autonomy and independence, both of which suggest the wielding of power. Since Eleanor styled herself “Queen of England” in charters,¹¹⁴ and she was responsible for her own effigy, it can be concluded that the book, in conjunction with her crown, operates in a similar fashion as a scepter, and considering Eleanor’s life, this appears to be the most appropriate means of reading the book’s significance.

¹¹² Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, “La sculpture funéraire vers les années 1200: les gisants de Fontevrault,” in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (Met Museum Publication, 1975) 564.

¹¹³ Caviness, “Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen” 130.

¹¹⁴ Nolan, “The Queen’s Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud” 405, note 59.



Figure 3. Gisant of Eleanor of Aquitaine at Fontevraud Abbey

Eleanor Greenhill considers Eleanor of Aquitaine's power plays to have begun as early as the 1140s, when she believes Eleanor aided in the construction of a crypt and choir ornate with gold and precious jewels in the east part of Saint-Denis, financed it, and perhaps even brought masons from Aquitaine to complete the project,¹¹⁵ rendering this action Eleanor's first known foray into the funerary arts. Greenhill relies on the timeline of construction to corroborate her claims, as the majority of the work took place after Eleanor arrived in Paris and significantly slowed down after her divorce from Louis VII, implying that the money for Saint-Denis was provided from her holdings in Aquitaine. Moreover, for Eleanor, Saint-Denis was, through the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, associated with the

¹¹⁵ Eleanor Greenhill is perhaps one of the earliest scholars to acknowledge Eleanor's involvement with patronage of the funerary arts and further to draw the connection to how it lent Eleanor power; see "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, ed. William W. Kibler (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976) 81-114. For the details concerning the expansion of Saint-Denis, see Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis* 101-114. Interestingly, Suger does not name where any of the miraculous donations came from.

pilgrimage to Santiago, which, within the tradition of the *chansons de geste*, was related to Charlemagne, to whose memory Saint-Denis was dedicated.¹¹⁶ Since her own father was buried under the altar of Saint James in the Santiago Cathedral, Eleanor's involvement in the renovation of Saint-Denis could have served as a means of including her own lineage into the current program. In other words, having her hand in its development demonstrates Eleanor's early determination to insert herself into the affairs of kingship – an ambition that would follow her to her grave. Further, being only five generations removed from the first official Capetian king, Robert II¹¹⁷ may have given her the impetus to work toward integrating herself and her first husband, Louis VII of France, into the burial programs that were at the time predominantly Carolingian and Merovingian.¹¹⁸ At this point in her life she had no way of knowing her marriage to Louis would not last, or that he would later choose to be buried at the Cistercian monastery at Barbeaux. Her efforts at Saint-Denis were not futile – her contribution served as a learning experience that she would use again with Henry II at Fontevraud. In the meantime, let us first explore how she would perfect her methods by learning from her children, whom she outlived.

Well into her seventies Eleanor remained active in politics, implicating herself in the lives of her husband and sons who either already were, or would be, kings, while negotiating marriages for her daughters and granddaughters throughout Europe. Such proclivities began at an early age, with her first marriage to the future king of France, Louis VII, when she was

¹¹⁶ Greenhill, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint Denis" 82.

¹¹⁷ Constance B. Bouchard, "Eleanor's Divorce from Louis VII: The Uses of Consanguinity," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, ed. William W. Kibler, ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976) 223-225.

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991) 310-312; Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 142.

fifteen. Thus, the Book of Kings held tightly in Eleanor's hands in death (if indeed Elizabeth Brown's suggestion is correct), concerned with the dynasty left behind by King David, appears to be a most appropriate preoccupation for a woman concerned with similar activities. Arguably, after having received nearly a third of France as her inheritance at the age of fifteen, Eleanor was a desirable bride, and her vast territory was used to secure a marriage with the future king, since no previous future queen had brought such a substantial amount of land to a marriage.¹¹⁹ Like the fairy in Marie de France's *Lanval*, who operated outside the constraints of Arthur's male-dominated society and who could grant favors independently, Eleanor's inheritance alone allowed her to wield an enormous amount of power as it remained her own immovable property that she could bring into any marriage. Tellingly, she was the first queen of France to possess a seal during her husband's lifetime, which she could use for state affairs.¹²⁰ Eleanor quickly became well-versed in broadcasting her importance and accruing power. I argue in the following sections that she honed these skills throughout her lifetime, and later transferred them to her daughters, Marie de Champagne and Matilda of Saxony.

¹¹⁹ Marion Facinger, "A Study in Medieval Queenship: Capetian France (987-1237)," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 12.

¹²⁰ Eleanor used her seal predominantly for business concerning her inherited lands, but her seal was also registered on documents pertaining to France. See Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France" 61-82; and her "Medieval Women in French Sigillographic Sources," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. J. T. Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990) 1-36.

A. The Shaping of Her Persona: Marie's Literary Proclivities

There is no extant documentation confirming that Marie de Champagne, Eleanor's eldest daughter with Louis VII, maintained any relationship with her mother after Eleanor left the French court when Marie was seven years old. There are no surviving letters, charters, or chronicles to suggest the women ever saw each other again, nor any indication that they ever even wrote to each other.¹²¹ While I take into consideration the paucity of documentation of women's activities in the Middle Ages, such as the possible communication between Eleanor and Marie and the fact that lack of evidence does not necessarily invalidate a claim, it is difficult to argue in favor of sustained, or even sporadic, contact between the two women. Indirect contact, however, was not only plausible, but likely. I would like to propose a parallel between Marie and Eleanor based on the textual evidence that does exist in order to demonstrate their importance to subsequent generations of women. By establishing their connection via literature and the arts in life, a correlation can be established between the choices they made when considering the afterlife for themselves and their families.

From 1153, when Marie married Henry, count of Champagne, until his death in 1181, there is a clear distinction between their chosen literary interests. Henry is known to have

¹²¹ Ralph Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 74, 104; June Hall McCash concedes to the lack of evidence, but nevertheless argues in favor of the women having met en route to other destinations. See her "Marie De Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine" 699. Elizabeth A. R. Brown discusses their early relationship and the possibilities for other contact throughout their lives in "Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered: The Woman and Her Seasons," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 1-54. While both McCash and Brown admit that such conjectures are tenuous at best, I, too, will argue that lack of documentation, especially in the twelfth century, is difficult to interpret as lack of communication. Further, as Eleanor maintained contact with every single other one of her children, and even her grandchildren, it is very difficult to accept she had no contact with Marie. For a discussion on Eleanor as mother, see Colette Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014) 50-55.

obtained compilations of sermons from Nicolas de Clairvaux, a treatise on monastic discipline from Peter of Celle, a series of elegiac poems for relatives and friends, along with an elaboration on the Trojan War from Simon Chèvre d'Or, and Josephus's *Antiquités juives* [*Jewish Antiquities*] and the *Guerre des Juifs* [*Jewish War*], among other similar items.¹²² His tastes proved to be inspired by religious or historical interests from an early age, and unconcerned with more entertaining forms of literature, such as romances, love poems, or *chansons*.¹²³ Nor did his literary tastes appear to change throughout the course of his life. However, the type of literature Marie commissioned changed over time, turning from literary works towards those promoting religion and piety,¹²⁴ and can be clearly divided between the two segments of her life – during marriage and widowhood – just as her other acts of patronage followed the same trajectory. More importantly, these transformations tellingly occurred at the pivotal moment of her widowhood beginning in 1181, which brought with it an array of new responsibilities that greatly contrasted with her previously less eventful lifestyle. Marie's patronage going forward evidently aimed at creating an image of a strong ruler capable of handling the territory of Champagne while her son, the future Henry II of

¹²² John F. Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center," *Speculum*, 36. 4 (1961): 556-558. For a robust discussion on Henry's library and his book preferences, see Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016) chapters 5 and 6.

¹²³ However, Theodore Evergates discusses the connection between Henry and Chrétien de Troyes' *Cligés*, believing the latter to be modeled on the count himself; see *Henry the Liberal* 22-24 and also his *Marie of France: Countess of Champagne* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019) 25-26.

¹²⁴ Patricia Danz Stirnemann, "Quelques bibliothèques princières et la production hors scriptorium au XIIe siècle," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* 17-18A (1984): 30-35.

Champagne, came of age.¹²⁵ Her first of several stints as regent lasted from 1181 to 1187. Unfortunately, there is significantly less information about Marie's life while her husband was still alive or after her own death – the great fire at Troyes of 1188 destroyed much of the city that housed documents pertaining to the rule of Henry of Champagne,¹²⁶ and potentially to any documents pertaining to Marie. Then, during the Reformation, Marie's tomb at Meaux was destroyed.¹²⁷ Lastly, the French Revolution brought the destruction of the palace and adjacent Church of St. Etienne de Troyes that Henry had erected in 1157¹²⁸ and which housed numerous court archives.

During her married years, Marie was predominantly preoccupied with *chansons*, and romances, such as Chrétien de Troyes' *Lancelot*, written in the mid-1170s, that begins with Chrétien telling readers that Marie wished him to write the story, providing him with the subject matter and its meaning:

Des que ma dame de Chanpaigne
Vialt que romans a feire anpaigne,
Je l'anprendrai mout volentiers,
Come cil qui est suens antiers
De quanqu'il puet el monde feire,
Sanz rien de losange avant treire.

¹²⁵ Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) 156.

¹²⁶ Theodore Evergates, trans. and ed. *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 130.

¹²⁷ Peter W. Guenther, "Concerning the Destruction of Works of Art During the Reformation," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 2.67 (1975): 67-88.

¹²⁸ Pierre Pietresson de Saint-Aubin, "La formation de Troyes," *La Vie en Champagne, Troyes*, Numéro spécial 177 (1969). Np.

Mes tex s'an poïst antremetre
Qui i volsist losenge metre,
Si deïst, et jel tesmoignasse,
Que ce est la dame qui passe
Totes celes qui sont vivanz,
Tant con les funs passe li vanz
Qui vante en mai ou en avril.
Par foi, je ne sui mie cil
Qui vuelle losangier sa dame;
Dirai je: «Tant com une jame
Vaut de pelles et de sardines,
Vaut la Contesse de reïnes»?
Naie, je n'en dirai ja rien,
S'est il voirs maleoit gré mien;
Mes tant dirai je que mialz oevre
Ses comandemanz an cest oevre
Que sans ne painne que g'i mete.
Del Chevalier de la Charrette
Comance Crestiens son livre;
Matiere et san li done et livre
La Contesse, et il s'antremet
De panser, si que rien n'i met
Fors sa painne et s'antancion.

Des or comance sa reison.¹²⁹

[Since my lady of Champagne wills me to undertake the making of a romance, I shall undertake it with great goodwill, as one so wholly devoted that he will do anything in the world for her without any intention of flattery. But another man might begin this in order to flatter her; he would say, and I could only agree, that she surpasses all living ladies as the south wind blowing in April or May surpasses all winds. On my word, I am not one who would flatter his lady. Shall I say, “The Countess is worth as much in queens as a precious gem is worth in brocades and semiprecious stones?” No indeed, I shall say nothing of this, though it is true despite my silence. I shall say only that her command is more important in this undertaking than any thought or effort I may expend. Christian is beginning his book of the Knight of the Cart. The Countess presents him with the matter and the meaning, and he undertakes to shape the work, adding little to it except his effort and his careful attention].¹³⁰

However, it remains unclear the extent to which Marie actually had her hand in the work’s creation. In other words, simply because Chrétien states he crafted the romance with the narrative he was given does not necessarily make it true. Moreover, the amount of flattery he indirectly weaves into the introduction can be used to argue that he may have been the one to seek her patronage, especially considering the content of the story that centers on an adulterous affair between Lancelot and King Arthur’s queen at a time when the queen of

¹²⁹ MS C Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 794, f. 27r.

¹³⁰ *The Knight of the Cart*, in *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, trans. David Staines (Indiana University Press, 1993) 170.

England was Marie's own mother, who had had her own share of adulterous rumors.¹³¹

However, it has been argued that Marie's relationship with Eleanor is precisely the matter and meaning Chrétien was referring to, and he used current events and rumors as a means for ironically pointing out the ridiculous nature of courtly love.¹³² Nevertheless, regardless of how much of the matter and meaning she provided, Marie did commission it and remains associated with the work.

Gautier d'Arras wrote two romances connected with Marie in the 1160s, *Eracle*, and *Ille et Galeron*.¹³³ These three main texts, *Lancelot*, and the two romances by Gautier d'Arras, comprise the influence from the two main literary centers of the period, the southern regions of France, home of the troubadours and trobairitz, and the northern areas that reached into Flanders and adjacent territories, where *chansons de geste* intermingled with romances to create works with wide appeal. Yet *Eracle* and *Ille et Galeron* only briefly mention Marie, having been dedicated primarily to others in her family, such as her brother-in-law, Thibaut V of Blois.¹³⁴ Nevertheless her connection to the works by these authors, whether in dedication or by indirect association, suggests her interests were known well enough to render the literary subjects suitable for the duchess.

¹³¹ For a discussion on Chrétien's connection with the court of Champagne and the probability of Marie's patronage, see Evergates, *Marie of France* 34-36 and also Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, trans. William W. Kibler and Carleton W. Carroll (Penguin Books, 1991) 511.

¹³² June Hall McCash, "Marie de Champagne's 'Cuer d'ome et cos de fame'" 234-238.

¹³³ Fredrick A. G. Cowper, "More Data on Gautier d'Arras" *PMLA* 64 (1949): 302-316; June Hall McCash "Chrétien's Patrons" in *A Companion to Chrétien de Troyes*, eds. Norris J. Lacy and Joan Tasker Grimbert (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005) 17.

¹³⁴ The work is primarily dedicated to Thibaut, "et par le contesse autreesi, Marie, fille Loey" [and likewise for the countess, Marie, daughter of [King] Louis;] see Frederick A. G. Cowper, "The New Manuscript of 'Ille Et Galeron,'" *Modern Philology*, 18.11 (1921): 607.

Not only did Marie establish herself as a patron and consumer of romances and other entertaining fictional literature, such as Huon d'Oisi's *Le Tournoiement des dames*¹³⁵ [*Tournament of Ladies*], but being Eleanor of Aquitaine's daughter may have also served as encouragement to authors who wished to ingratiate themselves with the court through an appeal to the Count of Champagne's wife by supplying works in genres similar to what might have been perceived to be tastes she shared with her mother. Despite the fact that apparently for Eleanor "patronage of the arts and the pursuit of culture were of secondary importance in comparison with the intrigues, political manipulation, and direction of affairs of state into which she channeled her energies,"¹³⁶ she was nonetheless a patron to troubadours at various points of her life,¹³⁷ and the recipient of Wace's *Brut*¹³⁸ and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, it must be noted that she did not commission the two latter works, nor is it certain whether they were directly dedicated to

¹³⁵ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and Continuum, 2005) 167-171. Peterson Dyggve identifies the participants of the tournament, among whom is Marie, "la contesse de Canpaigne;" see his "Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie lyrique française des XIIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 36.1 (1935) 11.

¹³⁶ Brown, "Eleanor as Parent, Queen, and Duchess" 23.

¹³⁷ Bertran de Born was a guest at the court of Henry and Eleanor on numerous occasions; see Kate Norgate, "Matilda, duchess of Saxony (1156-1189)" Timothy Reuter, rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ffiona Swabey, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Courtly Love, and the Troubadours* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004) Chapter 5; Regine Pernoud, *Leonor de Aquitania, la reina de los trovadores* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1995) 114-115; Eugenio Olivares Merion, "The Queen of Troubadours Goes to England: Eleanor of Aquitaine and 12th-Century Anglo-Norman Literary Milieu," in *Into Another's Skin: selected essays in honour of María Luisa Dañobeitia*, eds. Mauricio D. Aguilera Linde; María José de la Torre Moreno, Laura Torres Zúñiga (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012) 19-33; William Paden, *Troubadour Poems from the South of France* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007) 21-23.

¹³⁸ McCash, June Hall, "The Role of Women in the Rise of the Vernacular," *Comparative Literature* 60.1 (2008): 48-49.

¹³⁹ Tamara F. O'Callaghan, "Tempering Scandal: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave, 2003) 301-317.

her.¹⁴⁰ However, both works make indirect references to Eleanor within the narratives,¹⁴¹ and scholars have long agreed that she must have been part of the intended audience for both texts, as each of the authors attempted to gain courtly patronage and the financial protection that came with it.¹⁴² Thus, while taking into account Karen Broadhurst's claim that Eleanor did not actively engage with the creation of such literary texts, based upon her distinction between commission and dedication in which the former insinuates active involvement while the latter renders the recipient into a passive role,¹⁴³ once again the association between recipient and subject matter must also be taken into consideration. In other words, by using Eleanor's example, scholars can find it plausible to believe that some of the texts associated with Marie, regardless of whether she directly commissioned them or not, speak about her interests at the time of their creation.

Romances, especially those meant as presentation copies for royalty, were extremely laborious and time-consuming endeavors, and the *Roman de Troie* and the *Brut* were no exceptions. In the instances that authors took chances and delivered unsolicited copies of texts to potential patrons, the recipient's literary preferences would have had to have been

¹⁴⁰ Laymon made a comment in his own version of the *Brut* that Eleanor received a version of Wace's *Brut* which was dedicated to her, but that is the only evidence that exists; see Mary Legge, "La littérature anglo-normande au temps d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 29.113-114 (1986) 113; Karen M. Broadhurst, "Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patrons of Literature in French?" *Viator* 27 (1993): 56. While this is not disputed by scholars, Fiona Tolhurst argues that the references to Eleanor are so strong, she was surely the inspiration for both; see "Whatever Happened to Eleanor? Reflections of Eleanor of Aquitaine in Wace's *Roman de Brut* and *Lawman's Brut*," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave, 2003) 326-327, 331.

¹⁴¹ In the *Brut*, Guenevere is thought to be modeled after Eleanor; see Tolhurst, "Whatever Happened to Eleanor?" 327, 331. In the *Roman de Troie*, mid-narrative, there is a supplication to an unnamed lady who most scholars believe to be Eleanor, while Helen is likened to Eleanor. See O'Callaghan, "Tempering Scandal" 302, 305.

¹⁴² Broadhurst, "Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine" 55-57, 72; Tolhurst, "Whatever Happened to Eleanor?" 327; Mary Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963) 75; O'Callaghan, "Tempering Scandal" 308.

¹⁴³ Broadhurst, "Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine" 55-56.

taken into account so as to not waste the opportunity or the efforts of creating the manuscript. Much as an author would not likely present a copy of *Tristan et Iseult* to Saint Louis, an author would not likely dedicate *Le Roman de Troie* to Eleanor if she had not indicated a predilection towards such texts – it simply would not make sense. While Eleanor and Marie were not the only ones to have shared the common pleasure of receiving and presumably reading such texts, and a connection based on this is tenuous at best, the literary relationship between the two women becomes clearer during the most decisive decade of Marie’s life, in which she was called upon to adjourn her more leisurely lifestyle and take on the political position of regent for her young son, not unlike the trajectory of Eleanor’s relationship with literature, in which she ceased consuming literary texts when she became preoccupied with politics.

Eleanor’s known association with romances is primarily limited to the early years of her relationship with Henry II, with the presentation of Wace’s *Brut* occurring in 1155, three years after their marriage,¹⁴⁴ and the last years before Henry imprisoned her in 1173, when around 1170 she received the *Roman de Troie*.¹⁴⁵ In times of duress, such as her exile from court, the lack of literary works associated with her suggests that she most likely was unable to participate in such activities and concentrated on her political undertakings. After all, romances focusing on *fin’amor* could be seen by society to be destructive to what was considered to be one of the most important pillars for nobility and their ability to rule – lineage – even if the romances in question were predominantly associated with Eleanor’s role as English queen. The emphasis on love that could create a direct line of descent outside of a marriage would in fact obfuscate the very notion of patrilineage, and thus, a woman

¹⁴⁴ McCash, “The Role of Women in the Rise of the Vernacular” 48.

¹⁴⁵ O’Callaghan, “Tempering Scandal” 304.

dedicated to ruling her lands and asserting herself and her children as rightful heirs would presumably want to distance herself from any notions of extramarital liaisons, even in fictional accounts. In other words, she would not want her husband to question his relationship to her children. Moreover, as demonstrated by the aforementioned inscription on Dido's tomb in the *Roman d'Enéas*, romantic love had to be practiced in moderation or it could be construed as detrimental to prudent government. Marie, less experienced, could not so simply switch gears between consort and regent, between holder of perceived or titular power and that of real authority. Thus, her literary choices are telling of her reliance upon materials with which she was already familiar in order to forge new connections, such as the court in *De Amore*, in which her reputation as a ruler is strengthened. The following sections trace her progress in this endeavor from her early patronage of *chansons* to her later reliance on religious texts.

B. The Complicated Dynamics of Marie's Family and the Evolution of Her Patronage

Shortly after Louis VII's death, Marie's husband died, leaving Marie to fend for herself in a kingdom now ruled by her brother who possessed little regard for family members.¹⁴⁶ Having never had to previously assert herself, Marie initially proceeded by

¹⁴⁶ Less than a year before Marie's husband's death, her father, Louis VII, had taken ill. Marie's half-brother, Philip, ascended the throne in 1179 while his father was still alive. Arguably he had no choice, yet the speed with which he replaced his father spoke to his appetite to rule. He immediately took Louis' seal and began issuing documents with complete disregard not only for his father, but also for his very able-bodied mother, Adela, who, under most circumstances, would have served as a guide for her fourteen-year-old son. Instead, Philip cast her aside and took over her lands; see,

maintaining the status quo. According to Evergates, “with the notable exception of appointing a new marshal, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, in 1185, she made no discernible changes in her husband’s officers or policies.”¹⁴⁷ I argue, however, that Marie did attempt to change the way in which she was perceived by other ruling entities, including the king of France, should he at any point choose to turn his attention away from Flanders and take issue with her and her son’s lands. With her father’s death, the Countess of Champagne could no longer rely on her position as the French king’s daughter for protection, and so it would make sense for her to look towards her maternal lineage to strengthen her position. To do so Marie turned towards the medium she knew best – literature.

Evergates, “Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne” 77; It has been argued that his falling out with his maternal relatives was due to his marriage to Isabella of Hainault of whom his mother and her relatives disapproved; see, Aline Hornaday, “A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut,” in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathellen Nolan (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 80-81; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius*, eds. and trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles (CNRS, 1979) 315-316. His marriage further demonstrated his ambitions – Isabella of Hainault provided two very important connections for Philip. First, her mother was the sister of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, which was “one of the two richest and best-governed principalities in the kingdom”; see, John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 7. The second richest principality was Champagne, and Isabella had originally been betrothed to Marie de Champagne’s eldest son, the future Henry II of Champagne, for almost ten years; see, Nolan, *Capetian Women* 79. Philip stole the bride who would have united the two largest and wealthiest territories in the kingdom, in the process spiting his half-sister and his mother, who was Henry’s aunt. Second, Isabella, through her father, Baldwin V, Count of Hainault, claimed descent from Charlemagne, imbuing the Capetian line with highly sought-after Carolingian blood, which would become a Capetian tactic over the next several centuries, as will be discussed in later chapters. According to Robert of Torigni, Philip swore on his father’s death bed that he would marry Isabella in order to gain the territory of Flanders (should Isabella’s father have no male heir); see, *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, in *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series 82 (London: Longman, 1889) 289; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987-1328*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London: Macmillan, 1960) 54-56. Notably, Baldwin V of Hainault is related to Charlemagne through the same complicated maze of genealogy that connects Hugh Capet to Charlemagne. This again demonstrates the strength of genealogies to bolster a family name – the Capetian line constantly had to prove its legitimacy to the throne, whereas the same legitimacy was handed to others who had more successfully advertised themselves.

¹⁴⁷ Evergates, “Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne” 78.

Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore*, which has been accepted as having been written for Marie de Champagne, given her relationship with Capellanus as her chaplain,¹⁴⁸ is dated to around the second half of the 1180s,¹⁴⁹ right about the time when Marie needed to strengthen her and her son's position as he was about to reach the age of majority in Champagne.¹⁵⁰ After the first lengthy segment of *De Amore* that serves as an instruction manual for the assorted ways of attracting a lover, the second section, Book II, is concerned with different aspects of love, such as preserving it, ending it, or, as in the section that features Marie and Eleanor, judgments in favor or against diverse lovers and their conduct.¹⁵¹ Within this section Marie is named, while Eleanor has subtle hints interspersed throughout to indicate her identity, such as being called "noblewoman A" in reference to the French version of her name.¹⁵² Then, in the seventh judgment of the seventh section in Book II, she judges against lovers continuing their liaison on account of their close familial relationship, which offers

¹⁴⁸ McCash, "Marie De Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Relationship Reexamined" 708-709; Pascale Bourgain, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine et Marie de Champagne mises en cause par André le Chapelain," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 29 (1986) : 29-36.

¹⁴⁹ Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center" 579; P.G. Walsh discusses the various other dates proposed for the composition of the *De Amore*, but none are as convincing as the mid- to late 1180s and rely heavily on circumstantial and ultimately unverifiable evidence. See his *Andreas Capellanus on Love* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1993) 1-3.

¹⁵⁰ The age of majority in Champagne was higher than in other parts of France – males could inherit a territory at the unusual age of 21, as opposed to 14, and in the mid-1180s Henry would have been only a couple of years away as he was born in 1166; see Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, 156.

¹⁵¹ Within the work Marie de Champagne reaches the conclusion that love cannot exist within marriage because it must be freely chosen, as opposed to occurring within a relationship arranged by others. See Andreas Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh (London: Duckworth, 1982) Book I, 155-157.

¹⁵² Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love* Book I, 155. ¹⁵² It has been argued that perhaps the noble woman in the work who is identified as A refers to Queen Adele, but there is no evidence to support this claim, and Eleanor, or French Aliénor, is much more probable; see Evergates, *Marie of France* 60, n. 147. Further, in Book II, in the sixth judgement of the seventh section, she is referred to as Queen Eleanor, removing any doubt of her presence in the text; see p. 257.

some irony considering both of her husbands were related to her to the fifth degree.¹⁵³ More importantly, the author places Marie in association with Eleanor and other female relatives in Book II, where the question of whether love is possible within marriage is taken up again from Book I, as the Queen states, “we do not presume to oppose the opinion of the Countess of Champagne, by which she delivered her judgment that love cannot extend its dominion to married couples.”¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, Marie is at the center of this court, not the queen, who defers to Marie, demonstrating Capellanus’ reverence for the countess, and perhaps his belief in her ability to be a wise ruler. In other words, unlike the previous romances with which Marie was connected, here the text can be read to have a deeper meaning in the context of the “court” created by Capellanus, who situates Marie alongside her mother in his discussion of courts of love.

While the meeting he describes is apparently a fictionalized account that may not have actually occurred in any form,¹⁵⁵ their collective judgements demonstrate that the two women were thought of in a single grouping, along with their mutual relatives and friends, who are also mentioned in the same section. Further, it situates both Marie and Eleanor in positions of power that were reflective of their roles in life, or at the very least of how they were perceived by others.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, this would be the last lengthy text directly associated with Marie, as far as we know. Additionally, the types of literary works that she

¹⁵³ Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love* Book II, 257.

¹⁵⁴ Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love* Book II, 267.

¹⁵⁵ Evergates, *Marie of France* 60; D. W. Robertson states “there is no reason to suppose that this [text] is any more reliable as a historical document than are the dialogues themselves;” see *A Preface to Chaucer; Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton University Press, 1962) 430.

¹⁵⁶ Even though Eleanor was imprisoned by the time the work was written, she was still a formidable queen; after all, Henry didn’t imprison her because she didn’t pose a threat.

had engaged with in earlier times began to taper off, and only one other instance of literature related to courtly love has been linked to her.¹⁵⁷

A single poem by Gace Brulé, “Bien cuidai toute ma vie,” written as late as the 1180s or 1190s,¹⁵⁸ was commissioned by Marie,¹⁵⁹ as made evident in the second stanza where the poet states that he thought he would forget joy and song the rest of his life except that “la contesse de Brie/ Cui comant je n’os veoir / M’ait comandeit a chanteir”¹⁶⁰ [the countess of Brie / whose command I dare not refuse, / has commanded me to sing].¹⁶¹ Even though Marie was only known as the Countess of Troyes and Champagne, her dower lands were in Brie, which fits the overall rhyme scheme much better since the first and sixth lines end in “vie” and “die” respectively.¹⁶² While the poem itself does not reveal much about Marie, her commission came perhaps in a double attempt at reclaiming her past interests while channeling her most famous troubadour relative, her great-grandfather William IX of Aquitaine, through his trouvère counterpart, and simultaneously invoking her mother’s association with the troubadours. Further, when Gace Brulé was exiled from Brittany, it was Marie’s half-brother, Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Eleanor and Henry II of England, with

¹⁵⁷ There is no extant catalogue of the books Marie owned in her library separate from Henry’s, but there are conjectures about what would probably have been found in her own collection, such as romances and other works in the vernacular as opposed to Henry’s taste for Latin, or vernacular histories; for a longer discussion see Stirnemann, “Quelques bibliothèques princières et la production hors scriptorium au XIIe siècle” 31-36.

¹⁵⁸ Gace Brulé, *Gace Brulé, trouvère champenois: Édition des chansons et études historique*, ed. Petersen Dyggve (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1951) 90-96.

¹⁵⁹ Mary O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 56.

¹⁶⁰ *The Lyrics and Melodies of Gace Brulé*, eds. Samuel Rosenberg and Samuel Danon (New York: Routledge, 1985) 150.

¹⁶¹ *The Lyrics and Melodies of Gace Brulé* 151.

¹⁶² Evergates, *Marie of France* 59.

whom he took refuge.¹⁶³ For Marie, it may not have been the most straightforward assertion of lineage, but by asking Gace Brulé above others to create a song for her, she aligned herself with Geoffrey and with those affiliated with him who were in a position to patronize his work – namely her maternal half-relatives.

Nevertheless, as her patronage progressed, Marie turned away from texts that focused on topics such as courtly love, and I argue, began looking towards reshaping her image as regent. She maintained a more pious persona, concentrating on commissioning texts in line with such a perception including the *Eructavit*, discussed below, in much the same way that she began commissioning funerary arts, such as the inscription for Henry's tomb,¹⁶⁴ and later a perpetually burning lamp for Henry's soul,¹⁶⁵ all of which equally helped to shape her image. While the perpetually burning lamp would eventually also burn for her soul after death (and for that of her children), the tomb's inscription, which was meant for Henry's remembrance, mentions her as the conduit for his memory, encapsulated within the short dedication: "Principis egregious actus Maria revelat, Dum sponsi cineres tali velamina velat"¹⁶⁶ [Marie reveals the deeds of the distinguished prince while she covers her husband's

¹⁶³ Petersen Dyggve, *Gace Brulé*, 31. The extent of Marie's and Geoffrey's relationship is unknown, but they met on several occasions, including at her father's Easter court in 1173, in 1184 at a memorial service for Geoffrey's brother, Marie's other half-brother, Henry, and then attended his funeral in 1186 where she made provisions with the chaplain at Notre Dame to celebrate Geoffrey's death anniversary in perpetuity. Thus, even without concrete evidence of a sustained relationship, the fact that they most likely met, at least at the funeral, suggests that it is probable some form of relationship existed. See, J.A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire, 1158-1203* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 132-139; Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) 316; *Notre-Dame de Paris. Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, 4 Volumes, ed. M. Guérard (Crapelet, 1850) Volume 1, 296.

¹⁶⁴ Evergates, *Henry the Liberal* 35.

¹⁶⁵ St. Pierre, *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, ed. Charles Lalore (Forgotten Books, 2018, rpt from 1880) 58-59.

¹⁶⁶ Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* 203.

ashes with this excellent shroud].¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, she is recognized as the one to reveal Henry's deeds, with the implication that he had not done it already. Further, the task is completed through her covering of his remains with an "excellent shroud," which may be read as an indication of the material things, such as the physical covering of the tomb, that by extension can also be a reference to other objects she commissioned in her lifetime, through which she commemorated not only herself, or her children, but also by extension, Henry.

After Henry II took command of his territory (1187), Marie retired to Meaux¹⁶⁸ where she may have enjoyed being relieved of her formal duties as regent. Unlike her mother, Marie did not seem to have political ambitions and ruling Champagne was perhaps more of an obligation than volition, considering she would leave court each time she was not called upon to govern. Later, in the 1190s Marie commissioned the versification of Genesis by Évrard.¹⁶⁹ Even though commissioning such texts was commonplace in the late twelfth century,¹⁷⁰ it must be noted that she commissioned this piece shortly after her son, Henry II of Champagne, embarked on the Crusades. Tellingly, Genesis is primarily concerned with genealogy and the origin of the first biblical families, rendering it a perfect text to commemorate Henry's attempt to capture the Holy Land as a means of returning it to its faith of origin. At this precarious point, it makes sense that she should turn to piety, commissioning a work that would reflect her disposition. Further, she would have no way of

¹⁶⁷ Evergates, *Henry the Liberal* 35.

¹⁶⁸ Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne" 79.

¹⁶⁹ Évrard. *La Genèse d'Évrard*, 4 Volumes, ed. Wil Boers (Leiden University Press, 2002). Line 115 states that the work was commenced in 1192, so it is probable that it was not commissioned too long before then.

¹⁷⁰ Lambert of Andreas, *Lamberti Ardensis historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. Johann Heller, trans. Leah Shopkow (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Evergates, *Marie of France* 87; Evergates, *Henry the Liberal* 239-240.

knowing that Évrat's piece would not be completed until after her death, granting her no benefits during her lifetime.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the eulogy in which he praises Marie, stating “qu'elle ot cuer d'ome et cors de fame”¹⁷² [that she had the mind of a man and the body of a woman], demonstrates his reverence for her abilities as a ruler, which in turn could be beneficial for bolstering the image of her son, since he was raised and educated by her. However, of greater importance, in the years following Henry I's death (1181), *Eructavit*, a French versified paraphrase of Psalm XLIV with glosses, was written and addressed to its supposed patroness, Marie de Champagne.¹⁷³

C. A Widow, A Bride, and A Commemorative Manuscript for Marie

According to supersessionist allegory, the 44th Psalm symbolically depicts the marriage between Christ and the Church, which aligns with the more spiritually oriented

¹⁷¹ The dating of Évrat's work is confusing. Scholars agree that it was completed after Marie's death in 1198 due to the eulogies he includes for Marie: Jean Bonnard, *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1884) 107; Benton, “The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center” 563. However, Évrat mentions all of the key figures at the Court of Champagne and Philip II of France, clearly paying homage to them in his work. But while he focuses on Henry II of Champagne, who follows after his father, he neglects Thibaut, who would have been rightful heir if the work was finished after Marie's death, since Marie died almost a year after Henry II, leaving Thibaut to inherit Champagne. If Évrat was attempting to ingratiate himself with those in power, it is most strange that he should omit Thibaut – either Évrat became careless over time, accounting for the numerous other omissions in his biblical narrative, or he had not fully finished the work at Marie's death. But instead of continuing the historical account, he only went back to add in his gratitude for the recently departed countess before submitting the rest in its current state.

¹⁷² Évrat. *La Genèse d'Évrat*, line 20760.

¹⁷³ McCash, “Marie de Champagne's ‘Cuer d'ome et cors de fame’ 234-245; and also her “Eructavit cor meum: Sacred Love in a Secular Context at the Court of Marie de Champagne,” *Earthly Love, Spiritual Love, Love of the Saints*, Sewanee Mediaeval Studies, ed. Susan Ridyard (Sewanee, TN: University of the South Press, 1999) 159-178; T. Atkinson Jenkins, *Eructavit: An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV Published from All the Known Manuscripts and Attributed to Adam de Perseigne* (Dresden: Max Niemeyer, 1909).

reading materials that were of increasing interest for Marie during her widowhood. Moreover, the text's translation into a vernacular romance language coincided with the simultaneous shift in the late twelfth century's general literary preferences of women away from Latin texts.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, John Benton asserts that "the French poem with its comments on earthly marriage was probably considered especially suitable for a woman,"¹⁷⁵ providing one of the possible reasons for Marie's interest in the *Eructavit*. However, it is curious that it should be presented to a newly widowed woman. The exact date of the poem has not yet been established. It is believed by T. Atkinson Jenkins that Adam de Perseigne, Marie de Champagne's spiritual counselor, was the work's creator, whose attitude against translation explains the excessive number of glosses in the work that would have been adopted to avoid direct translation, even though he attested to not having had anything against the vernacular.¹⁷⁶ It is unknown whether Marie commissioned the work or if it was dedicated to her, but since authors often took into consideration a potential patron's interests when creating a work, the *Eructavit*'s connection with Marie notably situated her as more than a patron of the arts, but one concerned with using such means to further her family.

Of the fourteen extant manuscripts containing this work, none of which was produced in Champagne, the sole copy referencing Marie, London, British Museum, Additional 15606, refers to her within the dedication, as "la gentil suer dou roi de France"¹⁷⁷ [the noble sister of

¹⁷⁴ McCash, "Eructavit cor meum" 159.

¹⁷⁵ Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center" 566.

¹⁷⁶ Jenkins, *Eructavit* xvii-xviii.

¹⁷⁷ Subsequent copies are not dedicated to her, since they changed the dedication page; see Jenkins, *Eructavit* vii; London, British Museum, Additional 15606, f. 34r.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_15606_fs001r

the king of France],¹⁷⁸ a title she would not have held prior to the terminal illness of her father, Louis VII, which left her half-brother Philip on the throne. Thus, the *terminus post quem* for the text would be 1181, and as the work was most certainly written during Marie’s lifetime, the *terminus ante quem* would be her death in 1199. However, a considerably more exacting *terminus ante quem* is 1187 since, according to Jenkins, in that year Saladin recaptured Jerusalem, causing quite the stir throughout Christendom, but the author of the *Eructavit* makes no mention of this calamity, as if he had been writing before this occurred.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, George Fitch McKibben suggests the opportune moment for presenting the aforementioned manuscript arose in 1185 at the conference in Sens held by Philip II, at which he received Marie de Champagne and her late husband’s family—namely her three influential brothers-in-law—in order to reconcile the French crown with the powerful Champagne family, especially in light of Philip’s earlier marriage to the intended bride of Marie’s eldest son, which had soured the relationship.¹⁸⁰ Yet there are several reasons for the implausibility of this conjecture, especially in light of McKibben’s concession that the date is “one that cannot be proved absolutely” (13). The manuscript is dated on Christmas Day, “le jor de noel”,¹⁸¹ while the conference at Sens occurred on December 1, during Advent, the month leading up to Christmas Eve,¹⁸² which in the Middle Ages was not unlike Lent; it was

¹⁷⁸ After the initial reference to Marie, the poet proceeds to encourage her to remember her creation, and have faith in God, who gives us hope.

¹⁷⁹ Jenkins, *Eructavit* ix-x.

¹⁸⁰ George Fitch McKibben, *The Eructavit, An Old French Poem: The Author’s Environment, His Argument and Materials* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1907) 15.

¹⁸¹ Additional 15606, f. 18r.

¹⁸² In 1185 Christmas fell on a Wednesday, placing the beginning of Advent on December 1, the very day Philip II summoned Baldwin V to Sens. For the calendar, see R. T. Hampson, *Medii aevi kalendarium; or Dates, charters, and customs of the middle ages; with kalendars from the tenth to the*

a time of fasting, repentance, and overall solemnity.¹⁸³ This would make a wonderful occasion for forgiveness and reunion, but less so for celebrating the joys of a new marriage in both the spiritual and secular sense, which is the predominant subject of the *Eructavit*. An Advent-time family reunion dedicated to a relatively new widow in the hopes to help her forget the slight committed against her son in regard to his own marriage plans would not have been the best time to present this particular work to Marie.

However, another familial concern that was addressed at Sens was the betrothal between Marie's daughter, also named Marie, and another member of the Hainault family, Baldwin V's son, also Baldwin. At around the same time that Philip decided to marry Isabella of Hainault, Baldwin V's daughter, who was originally promised to Marie's son, Baldwin began delaying and then revising the separate contract between Marie's daughter and his son. Marie had conceded one betrothal to the king of France, but a second, without cause, would be inadmissible,¹⁸⁴ and so she took the opportunity of having her brothers-in-law and the king present in order to strong-arm Baldwin into delivering the groom, which he did on January 6, 1186.¹⁸⁵ The wedding was held on the Feast of Three Kings, also known as Epiphany, which falls at the end of the Twelve Days of Christmas. In other words, the Christmastime wedding for Marie de Champagne's namesake daughter would have been a

fifteenth century; and an alphabetical digest of obsolete names of days; forming a glossary of the dates of the middle ages; with tables and other aids for ascertaining dates, 2 Volumes (London: H. K. Causton, 1841) Volume 1, 479.

¹⁸³ Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, trans. Laurence Shephard (Paris: J. Duffy 1867) 26.

¹⁸⁴ Evergates submits that the meeting at Sens suggests that Marie and her brothers were fearful that Baldwin would once again renege on his agreement, and thus petitioned Philip II to intervene; see *Marie of France*, 54-55.

¹⁸⁵ Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne" p. 78; Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders" 127; Jacques Falmagne, *Baudouin V, comte de Hainaut, 1150-1195* (Montreal: Montreal University Press, 1923) 114, 172.

much better occasion for presenting the *Eructavit* since it was still within the timeframe of Christmas, but unlike the conference at Sens during Advent, a much less somber occasion.

There is little doubt that the manuscript, Additional 15606, was written for and presented to Marie de Champagne; nevertheless it can also be demonstrated how the work could have applied to both Marie and her daughter, who could arguably also be thought of as Marie de Champagne, and to whom the mother may have wished to gift the manuscript.¹⁸⁶ Marie, the mother, was King Philip's half-sister by blood, while her daughter, through the double marriage of the Hainault siblings, became his sister-in-law, extending the meaning associated with the address to the king's sister. Other sections of the opening and closing of the text showcase a similar pattern of double meaning that could relate to either mother or daughter. For example, after the initial praises for the intended recipient found in the prologue to the work, "ma dame de Champaigne,"¹⁸⁷ the author states that "tant i mist cil qui la cria / largece que trop en i a"¹⁸⁸ [he who created her put so much generosity in her that she has too much], and continues to advise her not to have too much "largece et li hauz despans,"¹⁸⁹ [generosity and great expenditures] because they "metent cusançon et espans / mainte foiz an jantil corage"¹⁹⁰ [bring care and constraint many times to noble hearts] despite the medieval tenet of generosity being the objective of nobles.¹⁹¹ Henry of Champagne's

¹⁸⁶ Even though Marie de Champagne the elder was also referred to as Marie de France, Countess of Champagne and Troyes, the names were often interchanged.

¹⁸⁷ Additional 15606, f. 18r.

¹⁸⁸ Additional 15606, f. 18r.

¹⁸⁹ Additional 15606, f. 18r.

¹⁹⁰ Additional 15606, f. 18r.

¹⁹¹ "largece" can also be translated as "abundance," but the overall impression is of excess, warranting a warning against such practices.

moniker was Henri le Libéral, invoking the extent to which he participated in largesse throughout his reign. Moreover, the Crusades were not the most economical of endeavors. Thus, it may be inferred that Henry's lifestyle before and during his Crusade caused financial hardships for his land, which Marie was left to address during her regency.¹⁹² Additionally, weddings were also not inexpensive undertakings. Without access to bookkeeping records, it is difficult to assess the damages incurred between Henry's Crusade and the marriages of Marie's and Henry's children, but it would most likely be safe to assume that financially Marie had to be more careful about the duchy's finances than before.

If it can be assumed that the *Eructavit* was created several years into her regency and presented at or around the time of her daughter's wedding in 1186, which would have been another costly expenditure, so then a cautionary word about her spending and generosity would have been fitting for the good of the realm. Further, if Adam de Perseigne did in fact produce the work, then Marie would have been well accustomed to receiving advice from her spiritual advisor. Yet such advice could also easily be applied to Marie the younger, who would shortly be expected to run her new household, and should therefore curb any largesse she may have demonstrated. Moreover, the work is auto-referenced as a "chançon de chambre,"¹⁹³ which is believed to be the author's unique French translation for an epithalamium, or a song or poem celebrating a marriage, which is also the terminology applied to the *Eructavit* by Augustine, Bede and Peter Lombard, among others.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, taking into consideration that the remaining program for the *Eructavit* functions as a manual

¹⁹² For a discussion on Marie's financial difficulties, see Achille Luchaire, *Histoire de France: Depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*, 4 Volumes, ed. Ernest Lavisse (Paris: Hachette, 1901) Volume 3, 369.

¹⁹³ Additional 15606, f. 34r.

¹⁹⁴ McKibben, *The Eructavit, An Old French Poem* 29.

for newly wedded couples on how to conduct themselves spiritually, it makes sense to also incorporate some sound secular advice with which to send them off.

Perhaps most importantly for my overarching argument, the *Eructavit* also doubles as a form of funerary art, as it simultaneously commemorates the dead while tracing the family's lineage. Marie de Champagne's husband is not directly mentioned within the work; however, there is an extensive passage on martyrs of the Church and the bereavement associated with their departure from earth, with the assurance of their perpetual existence in Paradise:

Vos cuidastes dame estre morte
Quant vostre enfent furent ocis,
Or sont saignor de paradis;
Cil enfant, dame, sont tuit vostre ¹⁹⁵
[Lady, you thought you had died
When your children were killed.
Now they are lords of Paradise;
These children, lady, are all yours]

This could be interpreted by contemporary readers as a reference to those who died in the Crusades and the efforts of those who participated in the expeditions. Henry died on his Crusade, leaving both Maries to grieve his death. Louis VII, the elder Marie's father, had also been on a Crusade, and while he did not die in the midst of it, the passage endorses his activities and offers assurance of his place in heaven as it refers to those who fought for the Church as "saignor de Paradis" [lords of Paradise] and later, "prince et saignor de terre"

¹⁹⁵ Additional 15606, f. 33r. Modern punctuation has been added to this citation to facilitate comprehension of the passage.

[princes and lords of the earth].¹⁹⁶ Both women could benefit from commemorating their fathers' heroics in the eyes of the Church, while providing consolation for their absences, especially Henry's, at Marie's wedding.

Accordingly, if Marie de Champagne did commission the *Eructavit*, and if it was, as I argue, meant as a wedding gift for her daughter, then it functioned to solidify Marie not only as a patron of manuscripts, which had already been established earlier in her life through romances and other secular texts, but one concerned with family legacy.¹⁹⁷ Unbeknownst to Marie, the *Eructavit* would become a popular work, with at least fourteen copies made over the next century and a half, one of which left the dedicatory page intact, further broadcasting Marie's initial patronage.¹⁹⁸

However, unlike the other women who remain to be discussed, Marie de Champagne's patronage, as far as historical records show, did not extend much beyond literature. She ordered a "sumptuous tomb"¹⁹⁹ with "spectacular workmanship"²⁰⁰ for Henry I de Champagne at the Church of Saint-Etienne de Troyes, within the structure that he had built in 1157,²⁰¹ but there is no evidence that she had anything to do with its design. Her own

¹⁹⁶ Additional 15606, f. 33r.

¹⁹⁷ Evergates states that if Adam de Perseigne did write the *Eructavit*, which Evergates is hesitant to completely endorse despite the aforementioned previous scholarship, there is no irrefutable evidence Marie commissioned it, even if she was the recipient. See Evergates, *Marie of France* 51-52. Nevertheless, the focus of my argument relies more on her connection with the work and the fact that she may have gifted it to her daughter, once received.

¹⁹⁸ Jenkins, *Eructavit* xxxi-xxxiii.

¹⁹⁹ Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne" 79.

²⁰⁰ Evergates, *Marie of France* 71.

²⁰¹ Nicole Hany-Longuespe, "Les vestiges de Saint-Etienne au trésor de la cathédrale de Troyes," in *Splendeurs de la Cour de Champagne au temps de Chrétien de Troyes*, Catalogue de l'exposition de la Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes (1999): 30.

tomb was placed in the sanctuary at the then newly reconstructed Saint-Étienne de Meaux and was later moved to its final location in the choir, with her gisant resting on a three foot high table, before being destroyed.²⁰² According to Evergates, Thibaut, her remaining son, “endowed a perpetually burning candle in front of the tomb that later was called ‘the candle of Countess Marie,’ [cierge de la contesse Marie].”²⁰³ Even though the tomb was destroyed by the Huguenots in 1562,²⁰⁴ she had left her mark on the cathedral, and was actually considered a co-founder of it with Henry, even though the chapel had been completed before her marriage.²⁰⁵ In other words, Marie’s continued benefaction towards the cathedral throughout her life earned her a place within its history and memory.

While it was not uncommon for wives to be buried separately from their husbands, Marie, much like her mother later, was buried in a place from which she had drawn comfort in her earlier life. However, unlike Eleanor’s funereal setting, Marie would lie there alone. Meaux was Marie’s retreat in the first years of her widowhood. It then became her refuge at the end of her first regency, when she originally thought she had all but retired from the tribulations of court, before she was recalled to rule several more times. Meaux was also the Cathedral adjacent to the Priory of Fontaines-les-Nonnains, a priory of the order of

²⁰² Xavier Dectot, “Les tombeaux des comtes de Champagne (1151-1284) : Un manifeste politique,” *Bulletin Monumental* 162 (2004): 42; Kurmann, *La cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Meaux* 40.

²⁰³ Evergates, *Marie of France* 91.

²⁰⁴ Kurmann, *La Cathédrale Saint-étienne de Meaux* 25.

²⁰⁵ *Obituaires. Obituaires de la province de Sens, Diocèse de Sens et de Paris*, 2 Volumes, ed. August Molinier (Impr.Nationale, 1902) Volume 1, 5; *Obituaires. Obituaires de la province de Sens, Diocèse de Meaux et de Troyes*, eds. Armand Boutillier du Retail and P. Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin (Impr.Nationale, 1923) 37, 454 ; Évrart. *La Genèse*, lines 20729-20731.

Fontevraud,²⁰⁶ which was not only a place highly prized by Eleanor, but also where three of Henry I of Champagne's sisters were nuns.²⁰⁷ Once again this underscores the ways in which female networks operated concerning burial decisions, which would be a pattern followed by the other women studied throughout this dissertation. Marie would revisit Meaux on numerous occasions, in much the same way that Eleanor visited Fontevraud, and just as Meaux served as Marie's sanctuary in life, by having her remains buried there, she designated it to become her shelter for eternity. Although Marie died before her mother, potentially predisposing Eleanor to look towards her own haven in life to house her body in death, Fontevraud, Eleanor's resting place was arguably influenced far more by her other daughter, Matilda, and as I argue below, the final tomb there would forever change royal burials.

D. Receiving Romances and Commissioning Legacies

Unlike Marie de Champagne's contact with her mother, which remains a matter of conjecture, Matilda of Saxony had a much more concretely documented relationship with Eleanor of Aquitaine. Matilda had the opportunity to live with Eleanor throughout her childhood and youth up to the point of her marriage to Henry the Lion of Saxony in 1168.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Michel Toussaint Chrétien Du Plessis, *Histoire De L'Église De Meaux, Avec Des Notes Ou Dissertations; Et Les Pièces Justificatives* (Paris: Julien-Michel Gandouin, 1731) 135-136.

²⁰⁷ Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 9 Volumes (Paris: Darantiere 1885-1909) Volume 2, 135-140, 146-149, 151.

²⁰⁸ Marie was seven years old when her parents, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII, divorced in 1152. Eleanor went on to marry the future Henry II of England while Marie was left behind in France, perhaps under the care of the queen mother, before she was sent away, most likely to live with Viscountess Elizabeth of Mareuil-sur-Ay, at the age of nine when her father remarried Constance of

When her mother travelled, instead of remaining at court, she went with her,²⁰⁹ and Eleanor even accompanied Matilda to Saxony at the time of her wedding.²¹⁰ In short, Matilda and Eleanor had a close relationship that would carry over into Matilda's married years, keeping the two women connected until Matilda's death in 1189. The result of their close relationship was an open channel of communication through which they doubtless shared ideas that would manifest themselves in their respective acts of patronage throughout their lives, and at the pivotal moment when deciding how to represent themselves in death.

Much like the situation with her half-sister, Marie de Champagne, the items associated with Matilda of Saxony, whether she commissioned them or not, are of import as they demonstrate her apparent enjoyment of and engagement with the arts, which would in turn translate into her preoccupation with funerary arts. According to Henry the Lion's biographer, it was most likely Matilda who was responsible for introducing her husband to courtly poetry, which eventually led to his commissioning the composition of "two major poems that are among the first specimens of the early courtly epic to have originated on German soil."²¹¹ The works referred to are Konrad's *Rolandslied* and Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristrant und Isalde*, which were written around 1170, not long after Henry and Matilda were

Castile in 1154. Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Children: An Enquiry into Medieval Family Attachment," *Journal of Medieval History* 14.4 (1988): 104-122, 324; Yves Sassier, *Louis VII* (Paris: Fayard, 1991) 253.

²⁰⁹ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* 132, 150-151; Robert William Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II, Instancing Also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy* (London: Taylor and Company, 1878) 78, 98, 108, 122.

²¹⁰ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 69-70.

²¹¹ Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion: A Biography*, trans. P.S. Fella (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 200.

married in 1168.²¹² While no patron is actually named for either work, at the beginning of the *Rolandslied* the inscription reads:

Nu wünschen wir alle gelîche / dem herzogen Hainrîche / daz im got lône. /
diu matteria, diu ist scoene. / die suëze wir von im haben. / daz buoch hiez er
vor tragen, / gescriben ze den Karlingen. / des gerte diu edele herzoginne, /
aines rîchen küniges barn. / mit den liechten himil wîzen scaren / nâch
werltlîchen arbaiten / werdent si gelaitet, / unter allen erwelten gotes kinden /
dâ si die êwigen mandunge uinden. / daz si sîn ie gedâchten, / daz man ez für
brâchte / in tiutische zungin gekêret, / da ist daz rîche wol mit gêret. / sîne
tugente twungen in dar zuo. / wâ lebet dehain fürste nû, / dem ie sô wol
gescaeh? / der hêrre, der ist getriuwe unt gewaere.²¹³

[We all wish for Duke Henry to be rewarded by God. The material is beautiful, the pious meaning is delivered by him. He had the book made known, which was written in France. This was wished for by the noble duchess, daughter of a mighty king. Radiant heavenly legions will escort them, after earthly burden, together with all the chosen children of God to a place where they will find eternal bliss. That they even considered having the story translated into German has heightened the honour of the empire. His exemplary conduct

²¹² Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 147.

²¹³ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex Palatinus Germanicus 112, f. 122r. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg112>.

urged him to do so. Where lives a ruler today on whom ever was bestowed the same prosperity? The Lord is faithful and fair.²¹⁴

The second work, *Tristrant und Isalde*, is less clear about its provenance, but it was written by a man whose father was “in the immediate entourage of Henry the Lion.”²¹⁵ It is highly unlikely that these works were created for anyone other than Henry the Lion and Matilda, since there was no other Duke Henry married to a king’s daughter who would have commissioned a German translation of a French work, as the above introduction to the *Rolandslied* states. Further, Matilda was responsible for introducing Henry to “the new style of courtly poetry.”²¹⁶ Thus, she must have possessed a predilection for such literature and can therefore be considered the one who “wished” for their creation. Moreover, I argue that the impetus for their commission, by extension, functioned in much the same way as Marie influenced Henry’s other acts of patronage in connection with his tomb and the works of art surrounding it in Brunswick Cathedral. Further, these two manuscripts also showcase Marie’s dependency on works with which she was familiar from her early days with Eleanor, namely romances, such as *Le Roman de Troie*, and *chansons*, like the ones by Bertran de Born discussed below, as they became adapted into works suitable for her new position in life as wife and countess. Similarly, the types of works that Matilda preoccupied herself with earlier in life may have not only led to her influence on Henry’s commissions within the funerary arts, but also may have had an effect on Matilda’s mother in her own undertakings.

²¹⁴ Translations provided by T. G. Jasperse in *The Many Faces of Duchess Matilda: Matronage, Motherhood and Mediation in the Twelfth Century* (Hertogenbosch: Boxpress, 2013) 39.

²¹⁵ June Hall McCash, “The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview,” in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996) 15, 40.

²¹⁶ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 200.

To better understand the ways in which Matilda adapted to her changing roles, along with her means of perhaps swaying her mother's ideas about patronage, we have to trace her life trajectory. Ten years into her marriage, her husband Henry entered into a conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor that resulted in his and his family's exile in 1182. They made their way to the court of Henry II of England and Eleanor, who hosted them for the duration of their two-year exile, after which Henry II negotiated with the emperor, and Henry the Lion was reinstated in Saxony.²¹⁷ During this period Matilda's only documented encounter with artistic works came after making the acquaintance of Bertran de Born at Henry II's and Eleanor's court,²¹⁸ where the famous troubadour "apostrophized her under the name Elena in two poems and praised her beauty and wit,"²¹⁹ harkening back to her earlier love for poetry and literature in the French style. Notably, in each of the poems, "Casutz sui de mal en pena,"²²⁰ [I have fallen from evil into pain]²²¹ and "Ges de disnar non for'oimais maitis"²²² [From now on, even if you take],²²³ Bertran's appellation of Matilda as Elena or Lana, which are versions of Helen, is expressed in the same fashion as Eleanor of Aquitaine was

²¹⁷ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 147-190.

²¹⁸ Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicles of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I AD 1169-1192*, 2 Volumes, ed. Henry G. Hewlett (Rolls Series, 84, 1886-89) Volume 1, 288; *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, eds. William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia Stablein (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986) 160; Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 183.

²¹⁹ Kate Norgate, "Matilda, duchess of Saxony (1156-1189)" np.

²²⁰ *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* 163.

²²¹ Translation (and all subsequent translations for Bertran de Born) from *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* 162.

²²² *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* 170.

²²³ *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* 171.

referenced in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*,²²⁴ and served as a form of flattery. In other words, in both instances Helen is portrayed positively, as the focus remains on her beauty, while the poet completely ignores any negative associations with her relationship to Paris, which was generally considered an adulterous affair.²²⁵ Just as Marie de Champagne had been linked with her mother in literature through the love courts of the *De Amore* by Andreas Capellanus, Matilda was connected with Eleanor as well, albeit indirectly through her relationship with Bertran de Born.

Outside of literary patronage, the only other acts with which Matilda was associated were legal documents during her last regency. When Henry the Lion was exiled a second time in 1189, Matilda stayed behind in Saxony and acted as regent for three months before she died.²²⁶ From her regency there remain no records of any charters she may have issued, nor is it known whether she even had a seal.²²⁷ Whereas it would have been unusual for her to have a seal in her own right while her husband was still alive, as Eleanor had, other noble women, such as her sister Marie, maintained seals that named them as regent in the absence of their husbands.²²⁸ Considering that this was the first and only time Matilda was left alone in Saxony, she may have believed Henry would return more quickly than he did, or she was

²²⁴ O'Callaghan, "Tempering Scandal" 304.

²²⁵ See note 139.

²²⁶ It is uncertain if she remained behind due to bad health, or solely to remain as regent.

²²⁷ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 106.

²²⁸ Evergates, *Marie of France* 18.

simply uninterested in participating in governing during his absence. There is equally very little mention of her in other documents, such as chronicles, or charters.²²⁹

However, two of the documents that mention Matilda are of interest. The first is found in an inventory in Hildesheim's register of donations and income from the thirteenth century and states Matilda donated unspecified gifts "una cum marito suo Heinricho duce"²³⁰ [together with her husband Duke Henry],²³¹ insinuating she was the primary benefactor. When husbands gifted money or objects, they would typically be the one named, and the wife's name would only appear as a formality to denote she was consenting to or supporting the activity. This was the case in an earlier charter of 1172 in which Henry the Lion donated three candles to burn in perpetuity in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²³² Matilda's name appeared only to confirm her acknowledgement of the act, "Omnia hec acta sunt ex assensu gloriosissime domine Matildis, Bawarie et Saxonie ducisse,"²³³ [All of these things were executed with the assent of the most glorious lady, Matilda, duchess of Saxony and Bavaria],²³⁴ whereas in the document for Hildesheim her name appeared first, clearly

²²⁹ Even taking into consideration that some documents could have been lost, it is unlikely that all of them were lost, so it is probable to assume that there likely weren't many to begin with.

²³⁰ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Lowen, Herzogs von Sachsen und Bayern*, ed. Karl Jordan, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Stuttgart: Leipzig Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1941) 143.

²³¹ My own translation.

²³² Colette Bowie, "Matilda, Duchess of Saxony (1168-89) and the Cult of Thomas Becket: A Legacy of Appropriation," in *The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, C. 1170-1220*, eds. Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2016) 113.

²³³ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Lowen* 123-124.

²³⁴ My own translation.

underscoring her agency in the act of patronage, especially considering that Hildesheim may have been part of her dower lands.²³⁵

The second important document associated with Matilda was commissioned by her son Henry, in 1223, well after Matilda's death.²³⁶ In this charter he lays out the different rules governing prayers and alms for his parents in the Church of St. Blaise in Brunswick, but more interestingly he refers to Matilda as the donor of the altar dedicated to the Virgin in the Church. According to Karl Jordan's notes, since the date of the donation is not known, the latest possible date for her donation could have been right before her death. No mention of a *terminus post quem* is made, but considering the Church's location, well within her husband's territory, it means Matilda's religious patronage in this instance could not have occurred before her marriage. While this is only a single example, it nevertheless showcases, in conjunction with other pieces of evidence to be discussed, what I believe to be one of her first known benefactions in her emerging role as a religious patron of the arts. In order to understand its significance, a later work must be examined first.

Henry and Matilda are both named as patrons in the famous *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*.²³⁷ The manuscript's date is debatable, but

Otto Gerhard Oexle has convincingly suggested the later date of 1188, based on a comparison of the coronation image in the book with the reliquary found

²³⁵ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 161.

²³⁶ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen* 178-179.

²³⁷ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°. <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&lang=en>.

inside the capital of the central column of the altar at Brunswick, which is inscribed with the same date.²³⁸

What can be extrapolated from these seemingly disparate bits of information is that if the reliquary that is dated to 1188 was in the altar that Matilda's son ascribed to her initiative, it dates the altar's creation at the latest to 1188. There is nothing to suggest either in the compilation of charters or any other documents that Matilda was an active patron prior to the 1180s. In fact, the earliest acts of patronage that can be attributed to her are found in her consent to a donation Henry made to the Holy Church of the Sepulchre in the early years of their marriage, Henry's commission of two French-style manuscripts of a romance and *chanson* that were intended for Matilda, and Bertran de Born's poems that were created while she was in the midst of the exile. She only became a co-patron and began to demonstrate agency after returning from exile and having spent significant time at her mother's court.

The ease with which Matilda's husband nearly lost power, potentially leaving her and her children stranded at the mercy of her relatives, might well have been a jarring realization of the uncertainty of her situation, and perhaps a reminder that at all times she had to be prepared for the future. Much like Marie de Champagne during her first regency, this may have been Matilda's awakening to her need to solidify her and her family's position. The first step might have been to gain visibility as more than a consort who acquiesced to her husband's donations. Her dedication of an altarpiece to the very church where her husband had laid the foundation could be seen as her attempt at asserting her presence, much as her mother had done when commissioning the Tree of Jesse stained glass window in the southern

²³⁸ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 157. Bowie's source is Otto Gerhard Oexel, "Lignage et parenté, politique et religion dans la noblesse du XIIe siècle: l'évangéliste de Henri le Lion," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 36.4 (1993): 347.

bay of the Chapel of the Virgin in Saint-Denis, or later at York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral.²³⁹ It is unknown whether Matilda would have known about or ever seen the windows, but there is nonetheless a parallel between the two women's commissions within spaces dedicated to the Virgin as a means of demonstrating their own importance through association with Mary, promoting an emphasis on matriliney as opposed to the traditional patriliney associated with Christ.

As Henry the Lion worked to bring his familial lineage to the forefront of his patronage, such as the aforementioned donations, Matilda's own insertion into his affairs was likely in tandem with those same efforts, evincing her determination to strengthen his rulership, and consequently her own. Henry clearly cared about lineage and familial connections throughout his life, as is evident by his 1172 charter in which he made a gift of three candles to burn in perpetuity at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. He commissioned them

pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et inclitis uxoris mee ducisse
Matildis, magnifici Anglorum regis filie, et eorum, quos deus misericordie
sue dono michi dedit, heredum nec non et totius generis mei²⁴⁰

[for the forgiveness of all my sins, and [those of] my famous wife the Duchess
Matilda, the daughter of the magnificent king of England, and of those, whom

²³⁹ For details on the window, see Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures* 73-74, and image 12. For the connection between the window and Eleanor, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" 127-130; and her "Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis: The State of Research 267.

²⁴⁰ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Lowen* 143-145.

God has given me as a gift of his mercy, my heirs, and of the whole of my family as well as their heirs]²⁴¹

Even though he wanted himself and his immediate family to benefit from his donations, Henry extended the benefaction to those in his future lineage, with the understanding that his actions in the present would have lasting consequences. As much as he needed those from his past in order to legitimize himself, as we shall see, he, too, would be an important factor in the genealogy of those in the future who would rely on his deeds of patronage to lend themselves authority. As he continued patronizing various churches in his land, he also continued the construction efforts at Brunswick Church. However, the act of patronage for which he is perhaps best known, the *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, can be seen as a culmination of his genealogical undertakings. Moreover, the ways in which Matilda is mentioned in the work speaks of her own agency in its commission and execution, as well as her participation in patronage in a parallel fashion to men's use of such acts to promote themselves.

The original manuscript of the *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, currently housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, begins with a dedicatory page (fig. 4) to Christ from the book's patrons, Henry, "hanc stirps regalis" [this noble descendant] who is "ipse nepos Karoli" [Charlemagne's descendant] and "mathilda sobolem que gigneret illam"²⁴² [Mathilda who gave birth to his child]. A connection to Charlemagne will continue to be of importance to the nobility for hundreds of years, providing them with a sense of authority and entitlement. Further, according to the dedication, the ducal couple, who "vixere boni virtutis ad omnia proni" [were disposed to live virtuously, in all things], were known to

²⁴¹ My own translation.

²⁴² Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 4v. All translations from the *Gospel Book* are my own.

have “templi orna vitac muris amplificavit”²⁴³ [developed the life of the temple by enlarging the walls]. In other words, Henry and Matilda were considered prominent patrons of the Church at Brunswick, and their donations had significantly expanded the Church’s artistic program.²⁴⁴ Even if Matilda had only ever donated the altarpiece for the Virgin Mary while simply consenting to her husband’s other gifts, together they had provided a sizeable contribution to the Church.

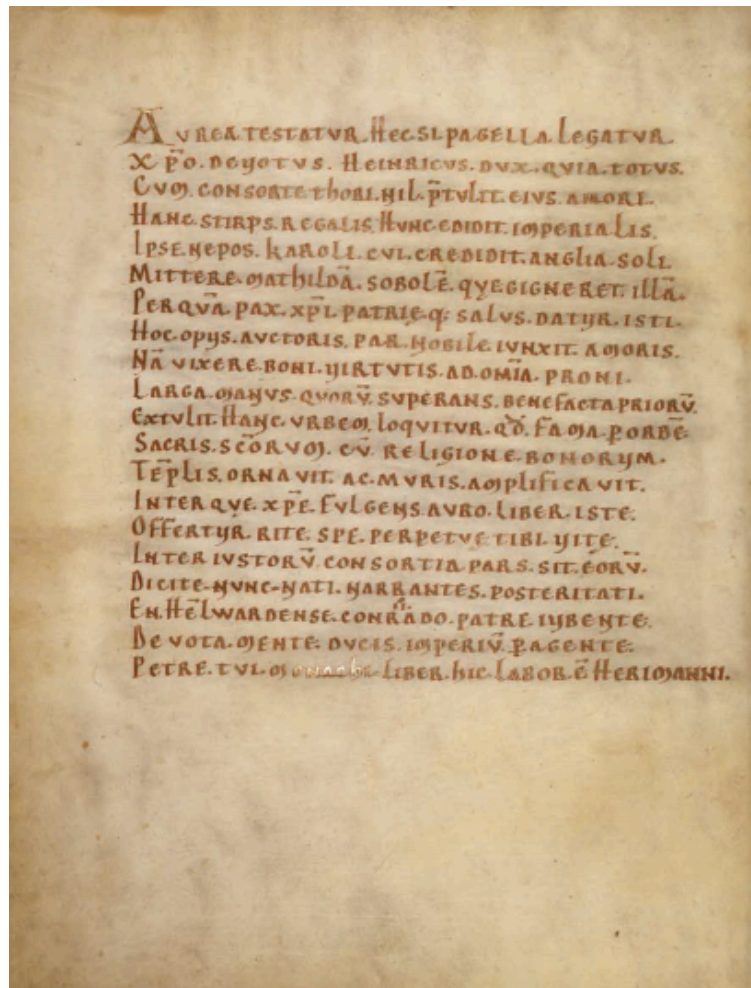


Figure 4. Dedication Page in *The Gospels of Henry the Lion*. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 4v

²⁴³ Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 4v.

²⁴⁴ The *Gospel Book* was originally created as a gift for the St. Blaise Church in Brunswick; see Jasperse in *The Many Faces of Duchess Matilda* 166, 180.

Matilda's participation is also shown in the presentation image on folio 19r (fig. 5) in which Henry and Matilda, who is depicted on an equal standing with her husband, are led by Saint Blaise and Saint Giles, respectively, both of whom are patron saints of Brunswick. Moreover, both saints are holding hands with the ducal couple while pointing upwards, balancing the viewer's attention between the couple and the images above of the Virgin Mary with child, flanked by John the Baptist and Saint Bartholomew. Additionally, the baby Jesus is holding a banderole stating "ad regnum vite ne subveniente venite" [enter the kingdom [of Heaven] with my help], while John the Baptist holds one that says "nos fundatur vita" [we give life], which is the first half of the statement that is completed by Saint Bartholomew that reads "qui nos venerantur" [to those who venerate us]. The visual message from the later coronation page reiterates the text from these banderoles, in that the ducal couple, as shown in their veneration, will be granted a place in Heaven. Thus, by combining the imagery of the saints with the ducal couple, the artist demonstrates the saints' spiritual influence in the couple's home region, which was perhaps an effort to extend their impact into the secular realm as well and aid the couple in maintaining a strong hold on the land. Further, by being positioned with the use of genealogical references, such as Matilda's crown that is a symbol of her status as princess of England,²⁴⁵ along with others discussed below, the couple's depiction here paved the way for their own children to continue their work, essentially erecting the foundation of a family legacy.

²⁴⁵ Considering Henry is not depicted wearing a crown it can be inferred that Matilda's is not connected to her status as duchess, which is a title she would have received from Henry.



**Figure 5. Presentation Page in *The Gospels of Henry the Lion*.
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 19r**

While the dedication page made the initial connections between noble descent and virtuousness, the coronation page cemented this connection and expanded it by serving as a reminder of the couple's familial and saintly networks. At the center of the full-page miniature²⁴⁶ Henry the Lion and Matilda kneel as they are crowned by the disembodied hands of God (fig. 6). The scene is more akin to a kingly or imperial coronation in which the newly

²⁴⁶ Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 171v.

minted monarch is anointed; dukes did not generally inherit the title in the same fashion.²⁴⁷ Further, Matilda would not have been crowned alongside Henry, since he had been a duke long before marrying her; nevertheless, her royal lineage is on display, which would directly benefit Henry as well by virtue of having married her. However, the miniature can also be read symbolically in conjunction with the dedicatory page in which the couple asks for eternal life for their souls in return for gifting the manuscript to the Church at Brunswick, in much the same way that they were described in the dedication at the beginning of the *Rolandslied*. Arguably, the crosses that those in the image are holding are indicative of the couple's spirituality and virtue, and the coronation is one that grants the couple more than a temporal rank, but also marks their future place in the kingdom of Heaven.



Figure 6. Detail of the Coronation Page in *The Gospels of Henry the Lion*. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 171v

²⁴⁷ David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (Continuum, 2007) 11.

Moreover, the spiritual ascent of Henry and Matilda appears to be related to those present at their holy coronation, implying that their lineage predisposed them towards their transcendence. Next to Henry is his father, Henry the Proud, and his mother Gertrude, and his mother's parents, Emperor Lothair III and Empress Richenza stand behind them. Notably, it is his maternal grandparents who are represented, despite Henry having obtained his ducal title through his father's line. However, it is through his mother and her kin that Henry claimed descent from Charlemagne,²⁴⁸ which proved to be an important association for him on the dedication page in which he is stated to have been his descendant. Direct genealogies were not yet common tools for the nobility, as this predates the three principal forms of genealogies mentioned above in Chapter 1, but one's lineage was nevertheless an important factor. Thus, Henry's foreign genealogy would have been established through a combination of text and image, most likely in order to strengthen his hold as a ruler at home. Matilda's genealogy is developed in much the same way for a similar purpose, especially since, according to T. G. Jasperse,

[b]ased on the Gospel Book's style and the name of Abbot Conrad in its dedicatory text, it must have been manufactured in Helmarshausen. Although the miniatures reflect traditional donor portraits and coronation scenes in several ways, there are details that suggest the miniaturist – or rather Abbot Conrad of Helmarshausen – made specific choices, with his patrons, Henry and Matilda, in mind.²⁴⁹

The Helmarshausen monastery was located next to Hildesheim, and as mentioned above, the territory may have been part of Matilda's dower lands. Even if this was not the case, in the aforementioned charter of her donations to the Church in Hildesheim she is named as

²⁴⁸ Oexel, "Lignage et parenté, politique et religion" 349-351.

²⁴⁹ Jasperse in *The Many Faces of Duchess Matilda* 165.

“ducissa ecclesie nostre,”²⁵⁰ [duchess of our church], insinuating that the Church considered her to be one of its patrons. In other words, her connection to the territory over the years would have put her in a position to be favorably depicted in writing and iconography by the local Church officials, and more importantly, on a similar level as Henry.

Next to Matilda in the coronation scene (fig. 6) stands her father, Henry II of England, her grandmother and namesake, Empress Matilda, and an unnamed person to the far right. Some scholars overlook this person, and instead comment on Eleanor’s absence, taking it as a sign of a strained relationship between Matilda and her mother.²⁵¹ However, considering the familial ties produced among all of the other portraits, it is far more likely that the figure is in fact Eleanor, rather than a random interlocutor, whose presence would make little sense. Not only is she Matilda’s mother, but aside from Matilda’s father and grandmother, there is hardly anyone more important in Matilda’s family than Eleanor, and everything about the miniature indicates that those in the row at the right are related. The doubt about the person’s identity surely arises not from the lack of a banner along the upper margin, which identifies the other members, but rather her position. All three of the other couples, including Henry the Lion and Matilda, are situated next to each other. It might at first be thought that the unnamed figure could be Henry II of England’s father, Empress Matilda’s second husband, Geoffrey V of Anjou, especially considering that Henry the Lion’s grandparents are both represented to the left, making it more plausible that Matilda’s

²⁵⁰ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Lowen* 179.

²⁵¹ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 159; Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (London: MacMillan Press, 1999) 95-97.

would be symmetrically positioned to the right as well.²⁵² Nevertheless, genealogically, Eleanor remained a formidable figure, and her presence would outweigh other considerations.

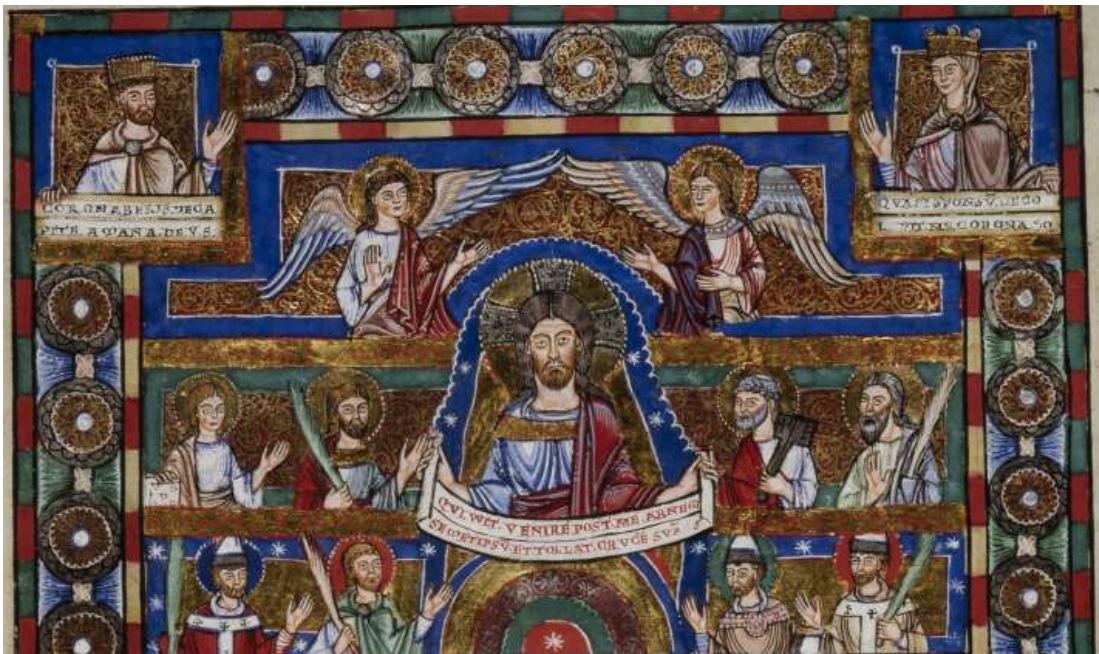
To further the argument in favor of Matilda's reliance on lineage to promote herself, the evidence lies in the saints who were chosen to be represented in the portraits above the couple on the coronation page (fig. 7). They all contribute to royal dynasties either by serving as familial saints, such as St. Blaise, who was an important figure for Henry the Lion and to whom the altarpiece for the Virgin was dedicated,²⁵³ or Thomas Becket who was not related, but whose influence and support were paramount for demonstrating power.²⁵⁴ Becket's

²⁵² However, there is a significant difference between the inclusion of Lothair's consort Richenza, and Empress Matilda's consort, Geoffrey – the former is needed to prove Henry the Lion's connection to Charlemagne, while the latter is inconsequential to Matilda's lineage, which she draws from her namesake grandmother. Therefore, had the unnamed figure been placed next to Henry II of England, her name would have been evident, but instead she is placed off to the side, behind Empress Matilda. This is not an accident, nor a slight against Eleanor. Much as Henry is associated with his maternal ancestry thereby legitimizing his position, Matilda is clearly portrayed as drawing from her paternal side, focusing on her connection to the crown of England. This was not unlike Eleanor's endeavor when she had earlier in life reclaimed her rights to Aquitaine after her divorce from Louis VII by asserting her lineage through her great-grandfather, grandfather, and father; see, Maurice Audin, *Les chartes communales de Poitiers et les établissements de Rouen* (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1913) 35; Yet, even as there are reasons to believe Matilda and Eleanor were close, despite concrete evidence, it must be noted that by 1188 Eleanor had been under house arrest for fifteen years, and would presumably remain powerless for the foreseeable future, rendering her at that point ineffectual as a political ally. Matilda would not have known that Eleanor's imprisonment would end the following year, 1189, with Henry II's death. While it is also possible that the figure of Eleanor was added to the program later, after her release and consequent return to power, there is no current scholarship to suggest this. Richard Barber argues that despite Eleanor's captivity, she was "nonetheless the ruler of Aquitaine," which by itself would have rendered her a powerful woman in her own right. See "Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Media," in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Literature and Society in Southern France Between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, eds. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005) 23.

²⁵³ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Lowen* 178.

²⁵⁴ On the left, next to Christ are John the Evangelist (holding the book) and John the Baptist, and below, next to Christ is Saint Blaise next to Saint George. On the right side is Peter (holding his keys), Saint Bartholomew, and on the bottom next to Christ are Saint Gregory and Thomas Becket. The two figures in the upper left and right are portraits of Henry and Matilda, confirming that this page is concerned with them and their majesty, both worldly and spiritual.

representation in the manuscript (above Matilda’s grandmother on the coronation page) also argues for Matilda’s involvement in creating the manuscript, as she relied on her family history with the saint.²⁵⁵ Moreover, it demonstrates Duke Henry’s need for Matilda and her family in order to maintain power. In light of his history of exile, in which Henry II had to intervene in order for Henry the Lion to be restored to his dukedom, the latter needed every bit of help he could garner from Matilda; the connection between Matilda and Becket could not turn into a wasted opportunity.²⁵⁶



**Figure 7. Detail of the Saints’ Portraits on the Coronation Page in *The Gospels of Henry the Lion*.
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2° f. 171v**

²⁵⁵ Matilda’s reliance on Beckett’s iconography most likely emerged during her exile with Henry in England, beginning in 1184 when Henry the Lion visited Beckett’s tomb at Canterbury upon arrival in England; see Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 158-159.

²⁵⁶ Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel discusses the importance of saints’ cults in the forging of relationships between Saxony and England; see, “Edith, Judith, Matilda: The Role of Royal Ladies in the Propagation of the Continental Cult” in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, eds. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995) 228-229.

The connection between Matilda and Becket relied on the saint's history with Matilda's family. Becket's tie with Henry II of England weakened shortly after Becket's appointment as Archbishop, when he began diverting his policies from those of Henry, who in turn became disappointed that his chosen church official was not placating him. Matters became worse over time until Becket outright refused Henry's ordinances, infuriating the king and provoking a statement that insinuated he wanted the Archbishop permanently removed.²⁵⁷ Even as so little in the way of evidence remains about Henry's exact words, his previous sentiments about kingship, the role of the church, and in regard to Becket himself all resonate with the rumors about his alleged instigation and role in Becket's murder.²⁵⁸

However, in the aftermath of Becket's murder and Henry's implication in it, Henry demonstrated his remorse in an extraordinarily public fashion, serving to highlight the importance of public opinion in the maintenance of kingship, even during a time thought to have been predisposed to dictatorial tendencies.²⁵⁹ If the fairly newly forged Anglo-Norman

²⁵⁷ Etienne de Rouen, *Draco Normannicus* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 Volumes. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages*. Rolls Series 82.2 (London: Longman, 1885) lxxxvii; Michael Staunton, ed. *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 15-36. This exchange must have taken place at some point around Christmas as only a few days later, on December 29th, 1170, Thomas Becket was murdered; see Howlett, *Chronicles* xvi. Whether Henry gave the command, indirectly stated he wanted the man dead, or was simply venting his frustration is unclear – accounts of his exact words vary too much for an indisputable conclusion to be drawn; see Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* 30-31.

²⁵⁸ In other words, Henry very much believed in the indisputable power of the crown, and its entitlement to take precedence over all other entities, including the Church. Should a high-ranking church official, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, be elected by the king, he should be indebted to the Crown for his appointment and behave according to the gratitude he feels over any other moral obligations that might interfere with the king's wishes. For Henry, anything else would be unfathomable and inadmissible, providing a motive for eliminating Becket; see, Wilfred Lewis Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 447-449; Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* 30.

²⁵⁹ Robert E. Scully, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86.4 (2000): 581-582; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley:

England was to survive, drastic measures needed to be taken. Henry went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury.²⁶⁰ Realizing his error in alienating Becket and his supporters, he set out to create an example of himself.²⁶¹ His penance and public humiliation were well calculated at the exact moment they were most needed and almost immediately paid off:

Within days, a Scottish invasion and a rebellion in the north collapsed. Henry gave thanks to God as well as to “Saint Thomas the martyr, and all the saints of God.” The king's rather dramatic reversal of fortune was attributed in the popular imagination, as well, to the intercession of Thomas.²⁶²

Henry secured his throne and the power associated with it. Not only was Henry absolved of the guilt and blame associated with Becket's murder, but even managed to demonstrate the newly sainted Becket's favor as his own luck changed. Thomas Becket was not a familial

University of California Press, 1986) 255-259. Becket's murder transformed him into a martyr, and more importantly it poignantly highlighted the deficiencies in the state. Upheaval ruled England with each year, and after Becket's canonization by Pope Alexander III in 1173, Henry's infamy spread throughout the land, and all those who had qualms with Henry II's rule emerged to voice their displeasure; see Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* 33. *Vox populi* became a formidable weapon to be wielded in the face of apparent tyranny. Henry's reign was more threatened than perhaps all others before, including those of Offa, Eathelred, and William Rufus combined. His meddling in the affairs of the Church and the results were indicative of the change in climate – unlike William I and his immediate heirs, intimidation and egregious brutality were no longer enough to subdue the public, and as rioters were well outnumbering royal forces, the nation's very existence was threatened. See John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000) 105-109.

²⁶⁰ Barlow, *Thomas Becket* 269-270.

²⁶¹ On July 12, 1174, he fasted, and then ventured stripped in only woolen clothes and barefoot for three miles to the shrine of Thomas Becket at the Cathedral of Canterbury to ask forgiveness for his sins. He prostrated himself at the shrine, and subjected himself to a public scourging before all of the clergy present, where the bishops, abbots and each of the monks of Canterbury flogged him. Afterwards, he lay all day and all night on the cold stones in front of the shrine; see, Anne J. Duggan, “Diplomacy, Status, and Conscience: Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder,” in *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult*, XV Parts, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate Variorum, 2007) Part VII, 265-290, and also her “*Ne in dubium*: The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172,” in the same book series, Part VIII, 643-658.

²⁶² Scully, “The Unmaking of a Saint” 582.

saint, as others were, but his visual authority was monumental. Thus, as he makes an appearance in Henry the Lion's *Gospel Book*, positioned directly above Matilda's grandmother, Becket serves as a reminder of the favor he once bestowed upon the family, which would extend to Matilda's own family, including Henry the Lion.

More interesting, however, is the top half of the presentation image folio (fig. 5) in which, as discussed above, the Virgin Mary sits enthroned to receive the *Gospel Book* from Henry's left hand below, along with what appears to be a chain of jewels²⁶³ being offered by Matilda in an act of joint patronage. Arguably this book was created as a gift for the Church at Brunswick, which would sit atop the altar of the Virgin that Matilda had commissioned and donated not long before. Since it has been established that the altar was created before the book (see above p. 78), the altar can also be viewed as an inspiration for this image. In other words, Matilda's patronage of the altar of the Virgin may have been a catalyst for the depiction of Henry's dedication of the *Gospel Book* to the mother of Christ and Matilda's shared role in that donation. Moreover, considering the numerous pieces of evidence throughout the manuscript that are intricately tied to Matilda, such as her name on the dedication page, her image on the presentation and coronation pages, where she is depicted on a similar footing with her husband, the inclusion of her religious associations along with genealogical ties, and the fact that the work was produced in a region connected with her, it can be concluded that she had at least a partial stake in the *Gospel Book's* creation. The last act of patronage with which she was associated is the tomb reserved for herself and Henry.

²⁶³ Several objects have been suggested, including an appended seal, a pyx, a paten, or even a part of her dress; see Jasperse in *The Many Faces of Duchess Matilda* 189-190.

Matilda died in 1189, six years before Henry the Lion, who had her buried at Brunswick Cathedral,²⁶⁴ his most patronized location. Tellingly, she is buried before the altar of the Virgin that she had donated to the Church and beneath the choir that housed numerous images of Thomas Becket below those of the patron saints of Brunswick, such as Saint Blaise.²⁶⁵ Much as Matilda's connection to Becket was of importance during her life,²⁶⁶ so too he remained important in death as a reminder of his blessings upon Matilda's family, including her son, Henry, who would continue to emphasize the connections his mother had made when he renovated his parents' tomb in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁶⁷ This was a common activity for children, as will be discussed in the following chapter in connection with Marie de Brabant. When Henry the Lion died, he had himself buried beside Matilda.²⁶⁸ The lack of documentation attributing agency to Matilda for creating the tomb functions in much the same way as her lack of direct recognition for the altarpiece to the Virgin or the *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*. Her husband financed the endeavors, and thus had his name attached to them, while Matilda's contributions must be inferred from the details provided in the following section.

²⁶⁴ It was designated a Cathedral in 1226, after their deaths.

²⁶⁵ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 163.

²⁶⁶ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 158-159.

²⁶⁷ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 213-215.

²⁶⁸ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 189.

E. Building a Tomb and a Connection: From Brunswick to Fontevraud

Since Eleanor's marriage to Louis VII, she had understood the importance of family tombs in order to create a visual program for displaying genealogy.²⁶⁹ Even though the concept had long been established, the practice was not yet fully developed, especially in Europe. Further, unlike France, England had not yet founded a princely burial ground. Even though Saint-Denis was relatively new, and Louis VII had decided to be buried elsewhere, the Abbey's role as a necropolis going forward was understood, given that family mausoleums that would extend out several generations were becoming a trend throughout the major houses,²⁷⁰ and those currently in power were beginning to look towards funerary preparations that would allow for such a model. Saxony, like England, lacked a centralized location for its leading rulers to be buried.²⁷¹ However, unlike previous generations, Henry the Lion attempted to create a space that would display his and Matilda's genealogy, perhaps in the hopes of erecting a monument that could be utilized by his own heirs in asserting themselves through the power of their family name. He could not have known his final

²⁶⁹ Greenhill, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis" 83-84.

²⁷⁰ Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program of St. Louis" 239-240; George Gilbert. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (London: John Henry and James Parker, 1863) 21.

²⁷¹ Henry the Lion's predecessor, Albert the Bear, had been buried in Ballenstedt Castle, in the city of the same name; see, Jonathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013) 40. Henry the Lion's father, Henry the Proud, was buried at the Imperial Cathedral of Königsutter; see, Hugh Chisholm, ed. "Henry the Proud," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1911) np. Essentially, each ruler picked his own burial space with little regard to the choice of his predecessors, whether or not they were directly related, and without any regard towards future generations. For English burial sites, see Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 367-368.

resting place would serve these purposes for only two generations.²⁷² At the time of Matilda's death, Eleanor could not have known Brunswick's fate either. Neither could she have known that Fontevraud would never turn into a necropolis of English kings, as Westminster would later become. Nevertheless, Brunswick, where Henry and Matilda were buried, was for all intents and purposes predisposed to become a familial mausoleum, and this was the state in which Eleanor last knew of it.²⁷³

While Matilda's and Henry the Lion's effigies were part of their son's Henry's renovation efforts c. 1235-40,²⁷⁴ and not contemporaneous with their actual deaths,²⁷⁵ the program of the tomb was one of the first of its kind (fig. 8). Even though effigies had long been in existence, even in Europe, the recumbent tomb was not prominently used.²⁷⁶ Nevertheless, even without the gisants present at the couple's death, the ideology associated with them, namely the connection between the dead and living, was present at the site of their burial through its location and other adjacent objects, such as the saintly tableaux, the

²⁷² Henry the Lion and Matilda's son, Otto, who would become Holy Roman Emperor, is the only one who chose to be buried at Brunswick with his wife; see, Joseph Patrick Huffman, "Richard the Lionheart and Otto IV: Itinerant Kingship and the City of Cologne," *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066-1307)*, ed. Joseph Patrick Huffman (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000) 133-177. Another royal burial did not occur at the cathedral until the seventeenth century.

²⁷³ Even though there is no record that Eleanor ever went to Brunswick, she had contact with Matilda as late as 1185 when she went with her and Henry the Lion to France to make a grant to Fontevraud. See, Nolan, "The Queen's Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud" 382. Construction at the church in Brunswick was well underway at this point, and it is not unlikely they discussed it, especially once at Fontevraud.

²⁷⁴ It has been argued that their other son, Otto, was the one responsible for the renovations of the Cathedral and the creations of their tombs; see, Norgate, "Matilda, duchess of Saxony" np. However, in light of Henry's charters, as documented by Jordan, there is more evidence of Henry's preoccupation with the location than Otto's, despite the latter's burial there.

²⁷⁵ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 213-215.

²⁷⁶ Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles*.

reliquary, and a massive candelabra.²⁷⁷ It was also one of the first tombs created by Eleanor of Aquitaine's direct family. Rightfully so, much has been written about the relationship Fontevraud had with other burial sites,²⁷⁸ as it was unprecedented in many ways, such as the innovative life-sized gisants that were among the first of their kind in Northern Europe (fig. 9), only ever preceded by Louis VII's gisant at Barbeaux in 1180, nearly twenty years earlier.²⁷⁹ However, after scholars accepted Las Huelgas, where Leonor, Eleanor's other daughter built her familial tombs, as one of the main sources of inspiration for Eleanor, little else has been written about what other funerary sites may have influenced her when establishing her family burial site at Fontevraud.²⁸⁰ It may have long been her favorite retreat,²⁸¹ but arguably Brunswick, at least in small part, played a role in Eleanor's decision to have Henry II, her son Richard I, and herself interred there, especially considering Eleanor's life-long relationship with Matilda.

²⁷⁷ Jordan, *Henry the Lion* 202; Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 157, 163.

²⁷⁸ Rose Walker, "Leonor of England, Plantagenet Queen of King Alfonso VIII of Castile, and her Foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Las Huelgas in Imitation of Fontevraud?" *Journal of Medieval History* 31.4 (2005): 346-368; Elizabeth Connor, "The Abbeys of Las Huelgas and Tart and Their Filiations," in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women*, eds. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank (Kansas City: Cistercian Publications, 1995) 29-48; Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics and Power: The Patronage of Eleanor of England and her Daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996) 202-227; Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 195-200. In subsequent parts of this project I will also look at Fontevraud as a well of inspiration for future queens, such as Marie de Brabant and Jeanne d'Évreux.

²⁷⁹ Erlande-Brandenburg, "La sculpture funéraire vers les années 1200" 561.

²⁸⁰ Nolan discusses other possible influences besides Las Huelgas, including the Church of Holy Apostles in Constantinople, the Church of Our Lady in Jerusalem, Monreale in Sicily, and of course, the Abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris, but does not consider Brunswick among the options; see, "The Queen's Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud" 385-389.

²⁸¹ Brown, "Eleanor as Parent, Queen, and Duchess" 12.



Figure 8. Tomb of Henry the Lion and Matilda of Saxony at Brunswick Cathedral



Figure 9. Gisants of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II, Richard I, and Isabella of Angoulême at Fontevraud²⁸²

Henry II died roughly a week after Matilda. Even if Eleanor had premeditated Henry's burial, no actions had been taken before his death to erect his resting place at Fontevraud; it appears the program at Henry's tomb was designed at the time of his death. Matilda's, however, had not been created as hastily, and she and Henry the Lion had been endowing Brunswick Cathedral for years, building it up to represent a familial mausoleum.²⁸³ Nevertheless, both spaces held deep-seated familial ties. While Brunswick was enriched by the memory of familial saints for both Henry and Matilda, Fontevraud

had been controlled by Eleanor's ancestors since the tenth century: her grandfather, William IX. had donated the lands on which the abbey was to be

²⁸² Eleanor's, Henry's, and Richard's gisants are made of painted tuffeau, limestone from the Loire Valley. Isabella's, commissioned by Henry III in 1254, is made of wood, then painted to match the others. For a discussion of the materials and their historical use, see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le 'cimetière des rois' à Fontevraud," *Congrès archéologique de France, Anjou* 122 (1964) 486-487; Erlande-Brandenburg, "La sculpture funéraire vers les années 1200" 566-567.

²⁸³ Oexel, "Lignage et parenté 346,350.

built, and his wife, Philippa of Toulouse, took refuge at Fontevrault after she was repudiated in 1115, dying there in 1118. Eleanor's father, William X, had made a grant to the abbey in 1134 [...] Fontevrault was also linked to the Angevin dynasty: it was patronized both by Henry II's grandfather Fulk V, as well as his father Geoffrey, and Henry's aunt Matilda was abbess there when he was crowned king of England.²⁸⁴

Even if the abbey was not visibly regal enough to house the remains of a king, its history and connection to these important houses rendered it more than suitable as Henry's burial place. Lastly, Henry and Eleanor patronized Fontevraud as one of their last joint acts in 1173 with a grant to the abbey, before Eleanor was imprisoned.²⁸⁵ Then, in 1185, Eleanor "returned to France, accompanied by her daughter Matilda and Henry the Lion, and made a further grant to [Fontevraud] of one hundred pounds per annum and revenue from wine tax in Poitiers."²⁸⁶ These are only two of many other instances of her patronage, leaving little doubt that the abbey was important for Eleanor, especially since she chose to reside there at the end of her life.

However, it was simultaneously important for several other members of her family, which is most likely what Eleanor was capitalizing on when choosing it as a royal tomb. Henry's burial there not only helped bolster the abbey's importance, as it was the first royal burial in the location in spite of the abbey's history of royal patronage, but his presence there solidified his previous claim to the land surrounding the abbey, and consequently Eleanor's

²⁸⁴ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 189-190.

²⁸⁵ Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, in *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, 4 Volumes, ed. Léopold Delisle (Imprimerie Nationale, 1916-1927) Volume 3, 457.

²⁸⁶ Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* 189-190.

claim to it as well. By also having Richard I, her son, and herself, entombed within the abbey, Eleanor laid unquestionable claim to the territory for her future family. As she oversaw all of the burials, she had Richard placed in the crypt next to Henry in 1199, where she would join them. Additionally, Joanna, one of her daughters with Henry II, who had originally been buried at an abbey in Rouen, would be reburied at Fontevraud under Eleanor's command.²⁸⁷

However, much like Henry the Lion, Eleanor could not have known only three generations would make use of the abbey for this purpose.²⁸⁸ Nevertheless, despite the abbey's abandonment as a necropolis for future English kings, its reputation persisted, and arguably, after the Angevin territory passed to France in 1214 after Philip II defeated John, the abbey served to influence future French queens, such as Marie de Brabant (d. 1322), Jeanne d'Évreux (d. 1371), and Blanche de Navarre (d. 1398), who wished to build a different kind of mausoleum – one dedicated to themselves and their female relatives, completely eschewing the resting places of their husbands, while rewriting genealogical lines. As I have discussed the ways in which the circumstances present in women's lives influenced their decisions when participating in patronage, I will continue to argue in the following chapters that women used patronage as a means for both memorialization and demonstration of power, often in tandem, according to what each situation demanded.

²⁸⁷ Joanna's tomb and effigy, if there was ever one, have been lost, and the exact location of her burial at Fontevraud is under debate; see, Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Children" 286. Isabella of Angoulême, John's second wife and Eleanor's daughter-in-law, is also buried there, but her tomb was added much later, and neither adds nor detracts from the original program. Joanna's son, Raymond VII of Toulouse was also buried there, and Eleanor's other grandson, the son of John and Isabella, Henry III, had his heart interred there; see Charles T. Wood, "Fontevraud, Dynasticism, and Eleanor of Aquitaine," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 407.

²⁸⁸ Even though there were still a number of extended family members buried there, as the territory reverted back to France, it was most likely no longer a suitable location for burial of the English royal family.

III. Marie de Brabant, Stepping into the Role of Queen: A Life-Long Journey of Patronage Surrounding Death

When Belle Doette, the titular character in the thirteenth century *chanson de toile*, hears the news that “morz est mes sires, ocis fu al joster”²⁸⁹ [dead is my lord, he was slain in a joust],²⁹⁰ the first thing she does is vow to him that “por vos ferai une abbaie”²⁹¹ [for you I will build an abbey]. In other words, her immediate impetus is for memorialization through an act of patronage. Notably, such undertakings had become increasingly common preoccupations for women since the twelfth century, whether they wished to venerate loved ones or bolster their own image, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter by the actions of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her daughters. As the practice spread throughout Europe, royal women in Brabant and France continued to practice patronage as a means of inserting themselves into both politics and the cultural life at court while alive as well as into the collective memories of those they left behind after death.

Throughout her career as patroness Marie de Brabant commissioned a number of extravagant pieces to ornament religious milieux. In this chapter I argue that her choices of venues were not necessarily reflective of her piety, but rather tactical moves that showcased her origins in strategically located churches and cathedrals that were bound to attract large numbers of visitors and pilgrims. Most notably, as Tracy Chapman Hamilton astutely states, the places Marie chose to patronize follow an interesting procession from her natal town of

²⁸⁹ “Bele Doette” 91.

²⁹⁰ My translation.

²⁹¹ “Bele Doette” 91.

Louvain to Paris, in a fashion similar to the itinerary she travelled when arriving in Paris as the new queen of France (fig. 10).²⁹² Her earliest commissions began with the reliquary for St. Gertrude in Nivelles, the stained glass windows at her parents' tomb at Louvain, and the Church of St. Nicaise in Reims, culminating with a decorated manuscript containing literary and didactic works in 1285 in Paris. Much like the physical route from Louvain to Paris, Marie's commissions followed her political path as she progressed from Duchess of Brabant to Queen of France. I argue that each commission recreated a segment of her life, with the penultimate stained glass window depicting her collective success as wife, queen, and mother. Little else could seemingly be added to such an illustrious program. Thus, as I discuss the role of Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, for which there would have been a significantly reduced audience, I will build upon the vast amount of research conducted by Tracy Chapman Hamilton to further evince the manuscript's importance in Marie's life and patronage.²⁹³

²⁹² Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 32.

²⁹³ Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*.



Figure 10. Trajectory of Marie de Brabant’s Acts of Patronage²⁹⁴

Shortly after Marie de Brabant married Philip III of France in 1274, she broadcast her genealogy in a new way that iconographically wed her line with Philip’s, underscoring her indelible place by his side. Not unlike Belle Doette, Marie looked towards patronizing a religious institution to achieve her goal. The shrine of St. Gertrude at Nivelles had been originally commissioned in 1272, but was in need of further financial support to complete the extensive program.²⁹⁵ Marie provided the necessary contributions in the form a ch[^]asse (a box

²⁹⁴ The cities have not moved since the Middle Ages, and the main travel routes have shifted very little since the thirteenth century. In making her claims about the geographical trajectory of Marie’s patronage, Hamilton focuses on the two main places she occupied, Brabant, and Paris; see, Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 32.

²⁹⁵ J. Lestocquoy, “The Reliquary of St. Gertrude at Nivelles,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 77.452 (1940): 163–164.

reliquary) for Saint Gertrude,²⁹⁶ who was one of several ancestral saints Marie could claim that would link her sacred and secular lineage, while solidifying the latter. Gertrude, however, was more than a symbolic figure for the Brabantian ducal family; she was a great-aunt of Charlemagne, and consequently her resting place became a focal point for the family.²⁹⁷ Numerous generations had identified themselves with the Carolingian line by erecting tombs alongside Gertrude's shrine.²⁹⁸ By the time Marie emerged as a patron, the shrine had become the obvious place for her to position herself among celebrated family members, such as Gertrude's mother, Itte, who was also Charlemagne's great great grandmother, while promoting her status as Queen of France by commissioning one of the most elaborate and well-constructed pieces of a reliquary during the thirteenth century (fig. 11).²⁹⁹

Tellingly, of all the contributions to Gertrude's shrine that Marie could have offered, she chose to commission a reliquary, an object that functioned as a memorial, or a container of memories. Even though "Marie's patronage of the magnificent, architectural silver-gilt chasse that formerly held the relics of Saint Gertrude of Nivelles has remained conjectural," multiple scholars, including Hamilton, believe that Marie was the most likely candidate for its donation, since a work of this magnitude and this expense could only have been

²⁹⁶ Hamilton describes the reliquary in greater detail as she analyzes it from an art historical perspective; see her *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 201-202.

²⁹⁷ *Genealogia ducum brabantiae heredum Franciae, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum.* 1880 387-388.

²⁹⁸ Claudine Donnay-Rocmans, *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles*, 2nd ed. (Nivelles, Office du Tourisme de 449 la Ville de Nivelles, 1996) 59.

²⁹⁹ James Bugslag, "The Shrine of St. Gertrude of Nivelles and the Process of Gothic Design," *RACAR: Revue d'Art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, 20, ½: (1993) 16-28. A bomb in Germany destroyed the original reliquary in 1940. The existing reliquary is a reproduction that was cast from the 337 pieces recovered from the explosion, and it is currently housed at the Pushkin Museum.

commissioned using money from the royal coffer.³⁰⁰ As much as the reliquary displayed Gertrude's life across its different panels, the multiple statues, engravings, and design elements also indirectly invoked Marie's, such as her coronation. Further, she looked to Philip's own father as a mentor. After all, Louis IX had built the Sainte-Chappelle as a demonstration of power and piety,³⁰¹ and Marie had miniature elements of the famous structure incorporated into the details of the reliquary, such as the gables on the side, above the triforium.³⁰² Moreover, Marie's coronation had actually taken place in the Sainte-Chappelle, where she had knelt before the archbishop of Reims to receive her crown.³⁰³ Both elements of her coronation are thus recreated in the reliquary's design, explaining the "two influences which are so evident in the Nivelles reliquary: those of Paris and Rheims."³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 201-213, 201 quoted above; see also Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "La Châsse de Nivelles et les arts précieux," *Un trésor gothique: La châsse de Nivelles* (Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996) 250-251. The sentiment is shared by other authors of articles in *Un trésor gothique*. Bugslag, in "The Shrine of St. Gertrude of Nivelles and the Process of Gothic Design," comes to a similar conclusion.

³⁰¹ Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth Century Paris* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014) 2.

³⁰² Peter Kurmann, "Cathédrale miniature ou reliquaire monumentale?" 135-153.

³⁰³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Philippi tertii francorum regis. Lhistoire du roy Phelippe, fils de monseigneur saint Loys. In Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1840) Volume 20, 497.

³⁰⁴ Lestocquoy, "The Reliquary of St. Gertrude at Nivelles" 163.



Figure 11. Replica of the Reliquary for St. Gertrude at Nivelles, Currently at the Pushkin Museum

The artistic program for the reliquary drew from an entire pool of religious, historic, and contemporaneous events and called attention to its connection to other royal houses.³⁰⁵ Alongside the Capetian fleur-de-lys and Brabantian lions that clearly intertwined Philip's and Marie's houses, one also discovered Spanish spires, reminiscent of Castile, atop the reliquary roof, and alongside the main structure. Blanche of Castile, Louis IX's mother and Eleanor of Aquitaine's granddaughter, whom Eleanor had personally selected to become Louis VIII's bride as part of a truce between King John and Philip Augustus, Louis' father,³⁰⁶ had gone on to found several abbeys, including one at Nivelles.³⁰⁷ Marie's patronage at the same place as another notable woman related to her husband further connected the two families, but also called attention to the tradition of female patronage that had started with Gertrude and her mother, Itte, who first founded a monastery in Nivelles in 648, and from whose bloodline the Carolingian dynasty would be created.³⁰⁸ Thus, Marie de Brabant stepped into her role as queen by also stepping into a long-established tradition begun by her forebears, both from her homeland and from her husband's family, which she would go on to promulgate for generations to come.

As a liaison between her Carolingian and Philip's Capetian lineages, Marie, I argue, would have understood her power to change courtly dynamics, along with revisualizing queenship, whereby the king's wife would become a more visible figure at court, artistically

³⁰⁵ Robert Didier, "Les statuettes, la sculpture architecturale, les figures d'appliqué et les reliefs du toit," *Un trésor gothique: La châsse de Nivelles* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996) 154-175.

³⁰⁶ Brown, "Eleanor as Parent, Queen, and Duchess" 23.

³⁰⁷ Alexandra Gajewski, "The Patronage Question Under Review" 198.

³⁰⁸ Donnay-Rocmans, *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles* 52.

and politically. The motivation for her actions was in line with her upbringing – noble women were taught diplomacy at a very young age, knowing their value would come from securing alliances through marriage.³⁰⁹ Moreover, once married, women would act as ambassadors of culture, since it was most often the women who migrated to their husband’s territories.³¹⁰ They would bring with them their ideologies and personal tastes. Marie fulfilled her duties while taking ownership of her position, not only by introducing her new family to her native ways, much as Matilda of Saxony had introduced Henry the Lion to romances and *chansons*, but also by imbuing the court in France with Northern practices, literatures, and her kinsmen.³¹¹ Unfortunately, large parts of Marie’s life would be mired in uncertainty and constantly punctuated by grief, as discussed below, providing her with an ongoing impetus to produce works that simultaneously touted her genealogy while ensuring her continued cultural and political power alongside the king during his life, and then her presence at court as a widow. The means of asserting authority through the acquisition of luxurious objects and other kinds of commissions, which she had learned from her family, such as her brother’s *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae*, would serve her throughout her period at the French court, beginning with her first act of patronage, the reliquary for St. Gertrude, and continue the rest of her life. In other words, Marie did not allow her role as wife and mother alone to fulfill her duties, but also harnessed the power inherent within her position to further confidently assert

³⁰⁹ John Carmi Parsons, “Mothers, Daughters, Marriage and Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence” 63-78. Specifically, on p. 74, he discusses how the practice of preparing young noble women was widespread throughout royal families.

³¹⁰ Susan Groag Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7.4 (1982): 763.

³¹¹ Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998) 292; Charles-Victoire Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (1987, rpt. Mégarlotis Reprints, 1979) 32-33; Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 32.

herself in ways that would not be forgotten, through commissioning pieces of art, such as the stained glass windows discussed below, even during delicate circumstances that would later place her in more precarious situations.

When Marie became Philip's second wife in 1274, she came into a marriage that did not depend upon her to produce heirs, since Philip's first wife, Isabella of Aragon, had already provided the French kingdom with three sons before her untimely death in 1271. In fact, her children with Philip would only serve as potential contestants to the already established hierarchy. Thus, she presumably had to make herself indispensable to Philip outside of simply serving as the liaison between their families – a role that had been completed with the marriage ceremony and needed no further assistance from Marie. It had been chronicled that Philip chose Marie because he found her to be both a “dame bonne et bèle et sage,” [a woman good and beautiful and wise] and “estraite de gentil linage et de grant, fille au noble duc de Braibant” [extracted from a noble and grand lineage, daughter of the noble duke of Brabant].³¹² If her genealogy and wisdom were what attracted Philip to her, she would use these traits as tools to make herself a crucial member of court during Philip's life and afterwards. In the following section I argue that in order to achieve this, Marie turned towards acts of patronage to broadcast her genealogy, along with that of her children and husband, essentially creating a memorial for all of them.

³¹² “La chronique anonyme” 92.

A. “Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown”³¹³

To underscore the importance of patronage during a critical period in her life, I turn to the nearly two years of unrest that were in store for Marie de Brabant after she was wrongfully accused of murdering her husband’s, Philip III’s, sons from his first marriage. Her past patronage of the reliquary for St. Gertrude had demonstrated an understanding of queenship and all it entailed: cultural and political power arose from acts of authoritative assertion of genealogy, to remind others of one’s provenance in times of duress and perhaps as a means to enlist their help, socially or politically, should it later be needed. Nivelles, the receiving town for her generous gift, the completed reliquary to St. Gertrude in the first stages of her marriage, would become her saving grace as the harbinger of freedom from further suspicion in regard to Philip’s sons. It was a beguine from Nivelles who delivered testimony in the form of a confession about a vision she had to the abbot of Saint-Denis that sparked the investigation, leading to further testimonies against Pierre de la Broce, and consequently Marie’s acquittal.³¹⁴ The relationship Marie presumably had already established with Nivelles would in this instance become solidified, and another important act of patronage, four years later, would spring from this incident: the erection of a hospital for beguines in Nivelles,³¹⁵ which could be seen as a gesture of giving thanks to more than just the single beguine who testified, but as a benefit to the entire territory that had come to her

³¹³ The quote is from Shakespeare’s *Henry IV*, Part II, Act III, Scene I, and is here used for its unparalleled ability to succinctly describe the travails of royalty.

³¹⁴ Nangis, *Gesta Philippi* 503, 509-512.

³¹⁵ R. Hanon de Louvet, “L’origine nivelloise de l’institution béguinale: ‘La Royauté,’ fondation béguinale d’une reine de France: Marie de Brabant et la légende de la béguine de Nivelles,” *Annales de la société archéologique de Nivelles* 17 (1952): 45-46.

rescue in her time of need.³¹⁶ Arguably, this was a mode of insurance against further claims about Marie's legitimacy as a co-ruler with her husband, especially in light of the impossibility of her offspring ever becoming heirs to the throne.

While the previously discussed women in this dissertation combined secular and spiritual acts of patronage throughout their lives, with the latter taking hold in later years, Marie seamlessly exercised the two forms of benefaction throughout her life. Moreover, as I argue, she drew the most amount of power and prestige from her secular identity that doubled as a genealogical tie to her natal family. Prior to Philip III's ascension to the throne, France had been veiled in the piety prescribed by Louis IX for nearly forty-five years. His influence would not dwindle in subsequent years, but would combine with ideas from the northern part of the country, and from Brabant, the region that would deliver the land with a new queen who would ultimately encourage the kind of environment necessary for a different kind of artistic creation, and who would champion the secular court manuscript tradition native to her home, even as she continued to also rely on more traditional acts of patronage, such as endowments to churches. After all, it had been the North that introduced the first romance,³¹⁷ and as Hamilton asserts: "after the time of Marie's arrival the cultural interests of the court changed, a transformation in atmosphere that can be attributed to the combined agency of Marie and the network of women and men with whom she and Philippe (1245-1285) surrounded themselves."³¹⁸

³¹⁶ For a brief discussion of how Nivelles benefitted from the donation, see Susan L. Ward, "Fables for the Court" 203, n. 32.

³¹⁷ Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 Volumes (New York: Rodopi, 2002) Volume 1, 103.

³¹⁸ Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 20.

Meanwhile, during the early stages of her problematic relationship with Pierre de la Broce, and consequently her husband, Marie turned to acts of patronage within religious houses as a means of continuing to insert herself into genealogical settings, and also in a possible attempt to ameliorate her situation. Regardless of whether she felt any grief at the death of her step-son, Louis, it was his death that set into motion her trial, and arguably her actions as patroness at this time served as a means of asserting her importance.³¹⁹ In 1276, after she gave birth to her son Louis, and as her position remained uncertain, Marie commissioned a stained glass window for her parent's tomb, to be discussed below.³²⁰ A few years later, in 1284, she commissioned another stained glass window at the Church of St. Nicaise in Reims,³²¹ and the two together can be seen as bookends comprising both the troublesome period in her life and the following peaceful portion, as will be demonstrated by

³¹⁹ One of the most damning pieces of evidence Pierre de la Broce was able to use against Marie was her own pregnancy at the time the king's sons were poisoned, suggesting she was anticipating a son, a sentiment every queen carried, and that her son would replace the king's. As the investigation continued, she indeed gave birth to a boy, and strikingly gave him the same name as the king's dead son, Louis. While this was most likely an homage to the boy, and more importantly to Philip, it played into the idea that the new baby was meant to replace the original. Even though Philip's second oldest son, Philip, would go on to rule, and Marie's son would never become king, her choice of names was extremely risky, with the potential of being interpreted negatively. The situation was not getting resolved, and there was little else Marie could do to expedite the process. With no end to her strife in sight, she had all but lost her husband.

³²⁰ Meredith Parsons Lillich, "Heraldry and Patronage in the Lost Windows of Saint-Nicaise de Reims," *L'art et les révolutions* 8, *27e Congrès international de l'histoire de l'art, 1989* (Strasbourg: Société alsacienne pour le développement de l'histoire de l'art, 1992) 82-83.

³²¹ Meredith Parsons Lillich, *The Gothic Stained Glass of Reims Cathedral* (Univeristy Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011) 219. Lillich dates the St. Nicaise window to 1284, and while this is not certain, there is nothing unlikely about the date. Since all three of Marie's children are present in it, the window could not have been commissioned before 1279. Philip's presence in the window does not offer much in the way of dating – even though he died towards the end of 1285, his presence could have also been symbolic, emphasizing Marie's children's patrilineage from a king of France.

their artistic programs. Much like Belle Doette, who lost her lover and channeled her grief into building an abbey,³²² Marie de Brabant would commission ornamentation for a church.

The tomb of Marie's father, Henri III of Brabant, was sculpted very shortly after his death in 1261, leaving it unclear whether he had any say in its execution or whether Aleyde, his wife and Marie's mother, who was eventually buried there in 1273, had sole authority in its design, in which case it would provide evidence of another instance of female patronage. Regardless, the outcome was remarkable.³²³ The body sculpture was cut from a deep blue marble on a white base, and the whole was coated in gild. In the panel below the reclining figures angels offered the souls of the duke and duchess to Christ (fig. 12).³²⁴ Inscribed directly above the couple's heads, epitaphs not only celebrated their generosity but also named them as founders of the Dominican cloister at Louvain where they were buried, indebting those making use of the location to the family name.³²⁵

The burial site marked the names to be remembered by visitors and well-wishers praying for the souls of the deceased. However, closer inspection reveals another reason for the tomb's creation - the series of figures that was carved into its base. The heraldry of each entity, as identified by scholars, represented powerful figures of the ducal family on both sides, extending eight generations back.³²⁶ Ultimately this inscription would serve as a model

³²² "Bele Doette" 90-91.

³²³ Anne Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France* 27-30.

³²⁴ All of the descriptions for this tomb, which has since been mostly destroyed, are derived from Antoine de Succa, *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa*, eds. Micheline Comblen-Sonkes et Christine Van den Bergen-Patens, 2 Volumes (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1977) Volume 1, 204-208; and Pierre François Xavier de Ram, *Recherches sur les sépultures des ducs de Brabant à Louvain* (Brussels: M. Hayez, 1845) 22.

³²⁵ de Ram, *Recherches sur les sépultures des ducs de Brabant à Louvain* 23.

³²⁶ de Succa 208.

for future patronage by Marie and her female relatives and close friends, who would make use of similar choices to position themselves among the aristocracy.³²⁷

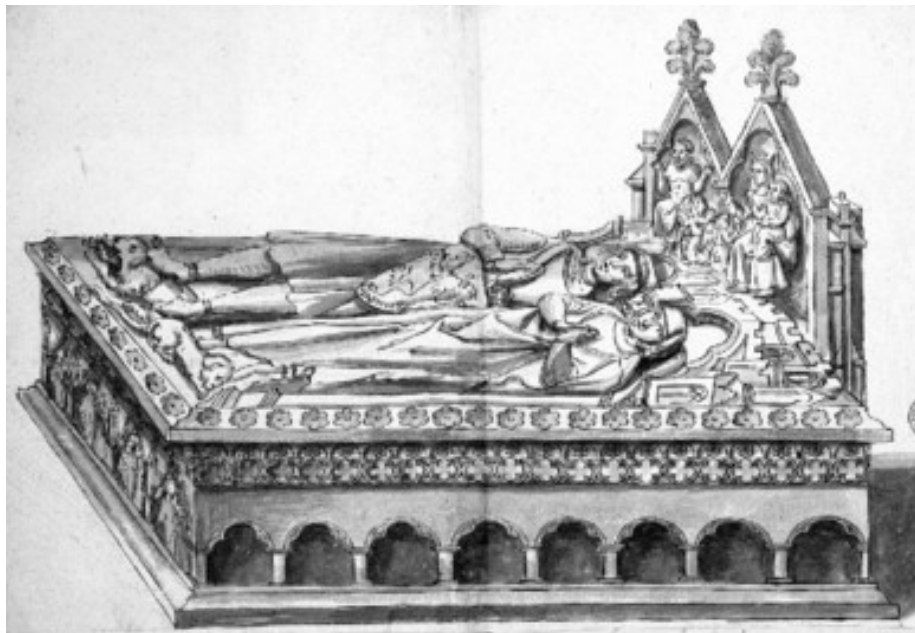


Fig. 19 - Mausolée d'Henri III et d'Alix de Bourgogne, dessin dans *Sigillographica Belgica* de Charles le Rietwijck, début du XVIII^e siècle (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Manuscrits, 22483, p 64v-65).

Figure 12. Tomb of Henri III of Brabant, and His Wife, Aleyde, at Louvain in the Dominican Church of Notre Dame³²⁸

Some representations of lineage throughout the Brabant family rely on outlining the Carolingian ancestry, while others go back to later Holy Roman Emperors. Yet the opulence of these types of alterations betokens other concerns and anxieties on the part of their patrons. It was no secret the Carolingian line was dwindling with no real chance of regaining power.

³²⁷ Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

³²⁸ This image is taken from an article by Thomas Coomans and Anna Bergmans, "L'église Notre-Dame des Dominicains à Louvain (1251-1276). Le mémorial d'Henri III, duc de Brabant, et d'Alix de Bourgogne," *Bulletin Monumental* 167.2 (2009) 111.

Further, the Capetian family had, through its efforts of primogeniture and legitimization, so successfully laid claim to the throne that previous dynasties were no longer threats, if ever they had been.³²⁹ By the thirteenth century the Capetians were immensely more powerful than the Carolingians. Nevertheless, mention of Carolingian genealogy always represented a potential danger – one that Carolingians would exploit, even if only for show.

Tellingly, the stained glass window in the abbey housing Marie's parents' tombs at Louvain focused on her identity and relied once more on her natal family and ancestry, perhaps to bolster her own image, especially considering the turmoil she was still undergoing with her aforementioned murder accusations. The window, originally commissioned by Marie in 1276,³³⁰ has long been destroyed, but existing descriptions provide details that can be used to form conjectures about Marie's motives. The central figure was Christ on the cross with angels on either side. St. Nicholas and St. Denis, whose names were erroneously transposed during the making of the glass, flanked Christ on both sides. Below these figures stood Aleyde, Marie's mother, Marie, and Henri III of Brabant, Marie's father, based on their inscriptions. Not only was Marie named "ROYN DE FRANCE" in the stained glass, but every border of the window intertwined the Brabant lions and the fleur-de-lys.³³¹ Marie was

³²⁹ The Capetian dynasty dates back to 987 when Lothar's son, Louis V (of the Carolingians) died without an heir, and his brother, also of Carolingian descent, had a blood right to the throne but was unable to lay claim to it due to military weakness. Hugh Capet seized the opportunity and obtained the crown; see, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Volume 3, 146-147. Yet despite multiple generations of Capetians successfully holding on to the kingship, their power always remained tainted with an air of fraudulence; see, Hallam, *Capetian France*.

³³⁰ Lillich, "Heraldry and Patronage in the Lost Windows of Saint-Nicaise de Reims" 82. Even though this article focuses on the second window Marie commissioned at Reims, Lillich dates the first window at Louvain as well, since Marie serves as a central figure in both.

³³¹ de Succa, *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa*, Volume 1, 204-206; de Ram, *Recherches sur les sépultures des ducs de Brabant à Louvain*. de Ram states that the chapel was renovated and "on enleva les vitraux qui se trouvaient dans la croisée du fond. Nous avons pour garant le témoignage d'un contemporain, qui a fait un dessin colorié de ces vitraux, dessin que nous avons eu le bonheur de

positioned in the middle section of the window, below Christ, and functioned as an equally central figure, insinuating her agenda, extended beyond simply adding commemorative articles to her parents' tomb, but rather focused on commemorating herself as the descendant of the Brabantian dynasty. Considering the date of the commission and Marie's central position within the program, I believe, like Lillich,³³² that it is unlikely that anyone but Marie had a hand in its creation. Thus, Marie was clearly concentrating on reminding those who saw the window of her genealogical ties.

Just as Matilda of Saxony had made use of Becket's history with her family to cast a favorable light upon herself in the *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion* miniature analyzed above in Chapter 2, here the two saints, Nicholas and Denis, wed the Brabantian and French ruling families. After all, this window was designed as a piece embellishing a tomb, and by linking St. Nicholas, an important figure for the church at Louvain and adjoining territories, with St. Denis, the patron saint of Saint-Denis, the necropolis of French kings, Marie made the direct connection between the two locations. Moreover, recalling the *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae* that Marie's brother had commissioned in 1268, this connection not only linked both houses to which Marie belonged, but also cast Louvain, and specifically Marie's parents' tomb, as being on par with those tombs at Saint-Denis, since according to the *Genealogia*, the Brabantian line was much purer in royal blood than the dynasty of the Capetians, who claimed the more famous structure. At a time when Marie's position as queen was at risk, during her trial in 1276, she drew attention to herself as belonging among royalty, while

trouver dans un ancien recueil de chartes," 24-25. However, he does not reveal any bibliographic reference for his source, leaving behind only his own description and a black and white copy in the appendix that is too incomplete to reproduce properly (which is most likely due to the poor copy of the book in my possession and not de Ram's original intent). All of my descriptions for this window are based on these two sources.

³³² Lillich, "Heraldry and Patronage in the Lost Windows of Saint-Nicaise de Reims" 71, 82.

bringing with her the entire Brabantian, and thus Carolingian, lineage. The two saints and heraldic symbols could only coexist as long as she remained Queen of France, and she was banking on Philip's desire for such a union to save her, when delivering him with a male child could not. Suggestively, given the trouble her son's existence was causing, no mention of him was made in this program – Marie stood alone, as the daughter of a powerful family, within a border that served as a reminder of why Philip had married her: the enticing potential to share her genealogical potency.

Marie de Brabant's second stained glass window at St. Nicaise, created much later, in 1284,³³³ offers a completely different image of Marie as she stands amidst her children and husband, secure in her position. As was evident from the allusion to Reims in the *châsse* for Saint Gertrude, Reims, the city that housed the Church of St. Nicaise, would remain an important place for Marie. The city was one of the first venues where the cult of St. Louis originated,³³⁴ and the archbishop of Reims traditionally served in royal coronations. Marie's patronage of a church within the heart of the city would serve as a direct reminder of his presence at her own coronation and of her place within the royal family. Surely her early years of marriage had taught her that safety in one's position could be deceptive and advertising one's self could at any time become valuable. What Marie could not have known was that a year after her commission of the stained glass window at St. Nicaise, Philip's death would disrupt her peace, leaving her to cope with yet another episode of life, widowhood, which would entail new kinds of acts of patronage.

³³³ Lillich, "Heraldry and Patronage in the Lost Windows of Saint-Nicaise de Reims" 83; Dom Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, 4 Volumes (Paris: L. Jacquet, 1846) Volume 3, 335-337.

³³⁴ David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City: 1300-1500* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 298.

However, she must have known that her children would eventually require the same genealogical emblems that she had inherited from her own parents. Negotiations for their marriages were not yet underway, but not far off either.³³⁵ This is evident by the fact that individual heraldries were not portrayed in the St. Nicaise window, meaning the children had not yet left home. Much like the stained glass image at Louvain, only the Brabantian lions and fleur-de-lys were represented. Even as Marie at this time no longer needed to assert her importance to protect her place at court, she had to ensure her children's future success, especially with her step-son, the future Philip IV, on the horizon. Philip III may have quickly forgiven Marie and looked past his son's death almost a decade earlier, but Philip IV would not. Even as he only openly showed contempt for Marie, a pattern that would hold into her widowhood,³³⁶ this did not mean he would be any kinder to her children.

Despite the legitimacy of Marie's marriage to Philip III, Marie needed to protect the legitimacy of her children on the world stage. In other words, she needed to safeguard their reputation so that they would not be viewed as secondary in importance to their half-brothers, even if one of them happened to be King of France. If literature, especially fiction, can be viewed as a window into real life concerns, then a brief turn to the *lais* of Marie de France can evince why Marie de Brabant's actions were so imperative. Even though the *lais* are typically associated with courtly love and the romantic relationships between men and women, it must be remembered that the offspring borne from such relationships are also

³³⁵ Alison Weir, *Queen Isabella: Treachery, Adultery, and Murder in Medieval England* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005) 4-5; John Bell Henneman Jr., *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William F. Kibler (New York: Routledge, 1995) 327-328; Phillips, *Edward II* 132. Marie's eldest, Louis, would become Count of Évreux, and marry Marguerite d'Artois; her first daughter, Blanche, was betrothed four times before finally marrying Duke Rudolph III of Germany; Marie's second daughter, Marguerite, became Queen Margaret of England after marrying Edward I.

³³⁶ Ward, "Fables for the Court" 199; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philippe the Fair of France," *Medieval Studies* 49 (1987): 303.

relevant to several of the narratives. Moreover, even though the offspring in the *lais* are, in fact, illegitimate, the central plot point insists on their reinstatement into the family hierarchy, and their legitimacy relies on lineage, with the mother's involvement serving as a catalyst for asserting their ancestry.

While the implications of lineage within *Yonec* are discussed in Chapter 1, they cannot be overstated as one of the central themes of the narrative. The mother's involvement in establishing her son's proper lineage underscores the important work women conducted in the interest of their children as well as out of "concern for genealogical continuity."³³⁷

Another such demonstration occurs in both *Le Fresne* and *Milun*, which are perhaps more relevant to a discussion about Marie de Brabant. In *Le Fresne*, the titular character refers to an orphaned child who rises from the status of servant and mistress to that of wife and great lady through the agency of her mother who recognizes the ornate brocade with which she was abandoned, which also serves as a reminder of her noble parentage. This exemplifies the power of lineage to trump other factors, such as upbringing, which in this case would have kept Le Fresne as a servant. Such an argument is carried even further in *Milun*. Even as the titular character of the *lai* is the father, he is no more important than his lover and their child, both of whom arguably occupy the greater amount of space within the narrative, but also within the minds of the reader. In fact, it is the lead woman, Milun's lover, whose agency progresses the plot. After she pursues Milun due to his prowess as a knight, becomes his lover, and then finds out she is carrying his child, she decides its fate, and tellingly sends the baby off to be raised by her sister. As she instructs her sister that her child is to be "bien

³³⁷ R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 190.

nurriez”³³⁸ [well-nourished], the implication is that the child will be raised according to the mother’s social status. This is further underscored by the mother’s admittance that the baby belongs to the woman’s “serur”³³⁹ [sister], with the father’s role reduced to simply a name, albeit a critical element in the dénouement. As the mother’s wishes are honored and the boy is raised well, later to be knighted, to accompany the gift of lineage he receives from his mother, he is also given a ring that his father once gave to his mother. The ring can be read as a symbol of lineage that metaphorically weds the two families from which he is derived, functioning in a similar fashion as a coat of arms. While the son’s ancestry offered him a position in society, the ring further validates it, especially for those, like his father, who would recognize it and understand its significance. Even though both parents contributed to the child’s existence, it is through the mother’s prerogative and action that he maintains his status and is able to use it to his advantage later in life.

Just as the unnamed leading lady in *Milun* needed to disclose her son’s parentage to her sister in order to make sure he was raised with the respect his lineage demanded, or the mother in *Le Fresne* needed physical proof to raise her daughter to her birth status, Marie de Brabant would have to promote the lineage of her offspring for their own sake, beginning with the aforementioned stained glass window at St. Nicaise. However, showcasing their genealogy did not always entail directly depicting them. By strengthening her own persona, much as the lady in *Milun* indirectly lent power to her son with the ring she gave him, Marie would indirectly lend power to them through the stained glass window, which would be beneficial for securing strong marriages and alliances, as will be evident in her next act of

³³⁸ Marie de France, *Milun*, in *Lais de Marie de France*, eds. Laurence Harf-Lancer and Karl Warnke (Livres de Poche, 1990) 222. Translations are mine.

³³⁹ Marie de France, ed. Harf-Lancer and Warnke, *Milun* 222.

patronage, a miscellany commissioned from her favorite trouvère, Adenet le Roi, the famous Arsenal MS 3142,³⁴⁰ especially considering that one of the central themes in the texts created by Adenet for the manuscript focuses on the importance of marriage, offspring, and lineage, as discussed below. Future queens of France including Marie's granddaughter, Jeanne d'Évreux would adopt Marie's approach to the matter of patronage in times of uncertainty and insert themselves into artistic programs.

B. A Queen, A Widow, and A Commemorative Manuscript for Marie

At first glance Arsenal MS 3142 appears to be an ornate possession commissioned by a queen who has already achieved her greatest acts of patronage, and who would now arguably look to reap the rewards of her previous efforts. Additionally, while the manuscript is exquisite by any measure, it could not measure up to her significantly larger acts of patronage. Far fewer people would be privy to its excellence than to the massive public monuments and memorials strewn across the land. However, I believe this manuscript served just as important a role as Marie's other commissions, and, despite its size and presumably limited audience, functioned in many of the same ways. Within the miscellany³⁴¹ a

³⁴⁰ Aside from dissenting ideas about the manuscript's creation, such as Roberta Krueger's statement that it was possibly meant as a presentation copy for Robert d'Artois, (see her *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 248), it has generally been accepted that the manuscript was related to Marie, as either having been commissioned by her or created for her. Although Robert d'Artois, an important figure at the French court, was mentioned in the manuscript, this does not mean he superseded Marie as the prominent figure in it. For a discussion of the distinction between commission and dedication, see Chapter 2. Below, I continue to build on Hamilton's research in regard to the manuscript and I address Marie's involvement with the manuscript, along with Robert d'Artois's association with it; see, Hamilton's *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*.

³⁴¹ In the late thirteenth century, the vernacular miscellany came into vogue in France; see, Sylvia Huot, *Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (New

combination of romances and didactic texts play off of each other, and harmoniously serve to point towards Marie's Northern background, genealogy, status as Queen of France, and enduring influence on French courtly culture. In the following section I demonstrate that this manuscript served as a commemoration of Marie and her court, to be given to her step-daughter-in-law, Jeanne de Navarre as a coronation gift.

The first folio of Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142 (fig. 13) opens with a portrait that includes the woman who commissioned and participated in the creation of the manuscript, Marie de Brabant, and her sister-in-law and close friend, Blanche de Castile (1253-1323), accompanied by another of Marie's kinsman,³⁴² and also the author of the text,

York: Cornell University Press, 1987) 4-7. The very inclusion of a variety of texts is precisely why this manuscript is described as a miscellany as opposed to an anthology. Even though all of the texts are literary in nature, and they can be considered didactic in various ways, their disparate genres preclude them from collectively being called an anthology. For a larger distinction, see Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds, *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Kalamazoo: University of Michigan Press, 1997) 5. Moreover, since several of the texts found within the manuscript also circulated in booklet form, either independently, or attached to other manuscripts, having been brought together here serves as a further argument for the miscellany aspect of the manuscript. For a broader discussion on the complexities of production and distribution, see Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375 – 1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007), 279-315.

³⁴² The uncrowned figure has been identified as Marie's brother, Jean, duke of Brabant, most likely due his robe that displays the Brabantian lions. See Ward, "Fables for the Court" 198, 199. This is not impossible, but it is doubtful – while the goal of including the figure who bears the Brabantian heraldry is to create a tie between Marie and her homeland, her brother's presence was not necessary for achieving this. According to Albert Henry, the figure is "un adolescent, qui est probablement Jean [II] de Brabant;" see his *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, Tome 1, *Biographie d'Adenet: la tradition manuscrite* (Bruges, 1951, rpt. Genève: Slatkine, 1996) 96. Sandra Hindman came to the same conclusion when discussing the piece; see "Aesop's Cock and Marie's Hen: Gendered Authorship in Text and Image in Manuscripts of Marie de France's Fables," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Lesley Janette Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996) 52. Hamilton also believes it is Jean II who is depicted in the image; see her *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 80. However, none of these authors provides any rationale as to why one Jean would be preferable to another, and Ward refers to the figure as Marie's brother, but also as Jean II, who would have been her nephew. Even though the youth appears to be fully grown in size, manuscripts were not always true to reality. Additionally, it would make much more sense for Jean I's son, Jean II, who would have been ten years old at this time, to be present in the queen's bedchamber during a manuscript presentation, which is indirectly hinted at in the scene, than for a

Adenet le Roi. Sylvia Huot believes Adenet was responsible for the design and production of the entire manuscript, with input from Marie who may have overseen its entire creation.³⁴³

Despite the fact that other scholars have been more skeptical about such a concrete attribution, I accept Huot's analysis in this regard, as she discusses the multiple facets of manuscript creation in conjunction with Marie's potential impetus for involvement.³⁴⁴ In the opening miniature, Adenet is appropriately depicted holding a musical instrument, as a sign of his trade as a *trouvère*, and wearing a crown, as a symbol for his name. If the heraldry on their robes³⁴⁵ and the crowns on their heads are not enough to identify the two women, as Hamilton has disclosed, on folio 71v Adenet inserts an acrostic into the text that quite literally spells out their names (figs. 14a, 14b, 14c).³⁴⁶ As Adenet writes in the main text about "Les dames qui me comanderent a faire ce livre" [the ladies who commissioned me to

fully grown man, who had nothing to do with the manuscript and who would probably have had more important matters to attend to, such as overseeing his lands at a time when one of his greatest allies, Philip III of France, had passed away. Additionally, since it was very common to send young children to court for various forms of education, Jean II could easily have been present at his aunt's side as a means of learning courtly behavior, a responsibility that could have fallen to royal women.

³⁴³ Huot, *Song to Book* 43-45; Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 82.

³⁴⁴ Ward is more reserved about crediting Marie with a larger role than that of patron and inspiration in the making of MS 3142, while Hamilton believes Marie had a much larger influence on its creation and design, yet she does not overtly state this. Rather she presents all of her detailed research on the manuscript, allowing the reader to draw that conclusion.

³⁴⁵ Marie, lying atop the bed, wears a robe whose decoration is evenly divided between the fleur-de-lys and the Brabantian lions. Beside her, on the ground sits her sister-in-law, Blanche, wearing on her clothing the fleur-de-lys representing her birth into the Capetian house on one side, while the other side bears the dual emblem for Blanche's husband, Ferdinand de la Cerda, which combined the Castilian gold castles on a red background and the purple León lions on a silver background. See Michael Maclagan and Jiri Louda, *Lines of Succession* (London: MacDonald and Company, 1981), Table 47.

³⁴⁶ Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 81-82.

make this book],³⁴⁷ the acrostics begin with the champ initial “L” in “Les” and continue downward to spell out “LA” (fig. 14a). In the second column of verse, as the lofty description of these ladies continues in the horizontal text, the first half of the acrostic reads vertically “ROIINE DE FRANCE MARIE” (fig. 14b), and then, beginning with the next champ initial, the acrostic spells out “MADAME BLANCHE ANNE” (fig. 14c).³⁴⁸ Thus, as the two ladies who commissioned the work are identified by their character traits, such as “humilité” [humility], “valour” [valor], and “biauté”³⁴⁹ [beauty], they are doubly identified directly by name, so as to confirm their participation in the “book’s” making.

³⁴⁷ Ward, Hindman, and Hamilton believe Marie was the sole patron of the manuscript. I, like Hamilton, believe Blanche had her hand in the creation of *Cléomadès*; I think it is possible Marie may have consulted Blanche on other matters, and she clearly valued her enough to be depicted alongside her in the opening portrait, but there is no concrete evidence for any further involvement on Blanche’s part.

³⁴⁸ Ward quotes this part of the acrostic as “Anne” (see “Fables for the Court” 199), while Hamilton quotes it as “Annn” in the transcription and “Ann” in her text (see *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 82). Hamilton is accurate in that the next letters after “AN” in the first line of the new stanza governed by the champ initial N are in fact “nn.” However, the champ initial N is followed by “ne” in the second line of the stanza, so I agree with Ward and chose to transcribe the acrostic as “Anne” with just two “n’s” and an “e” in both my text and the image.

³⁴⁹ MS 3142, f. 1r.

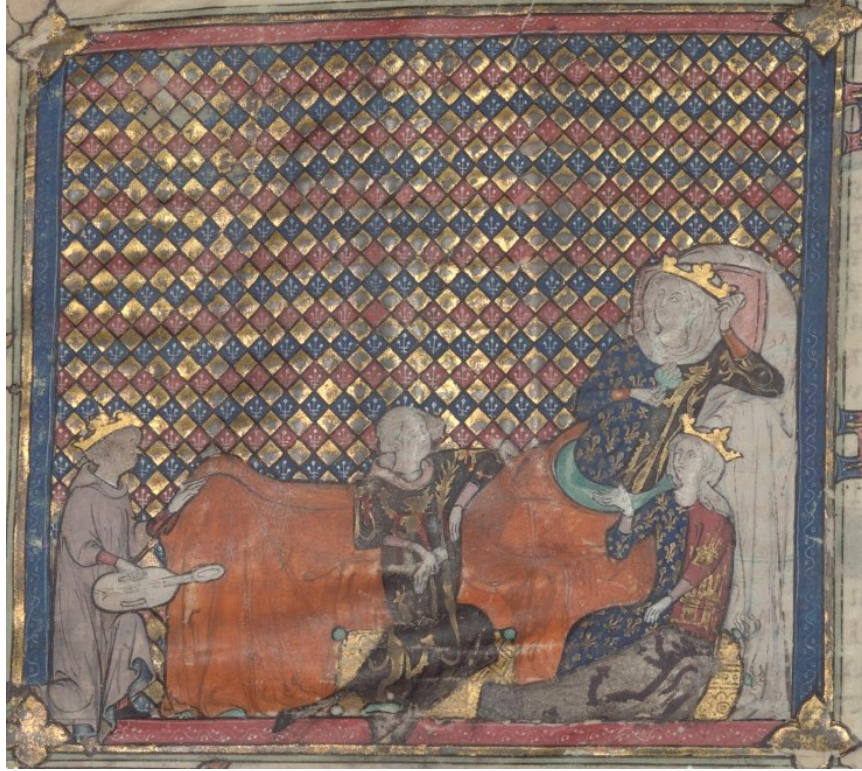


Figure 13. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 1r

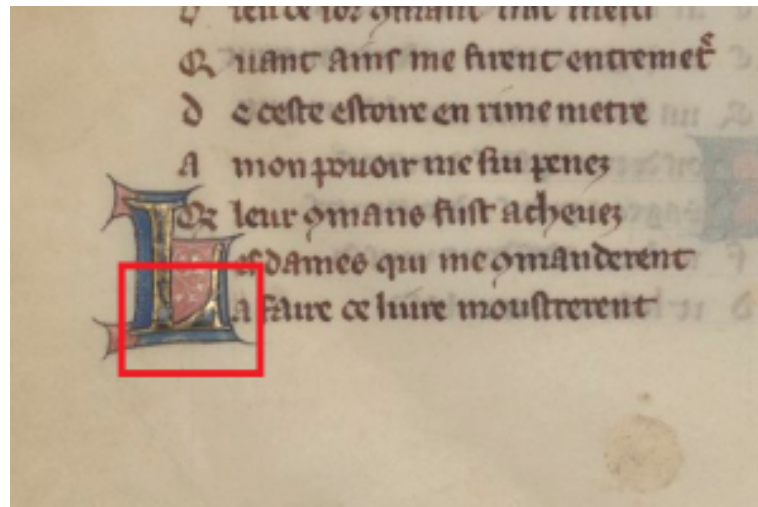


Figure 14a. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 71v

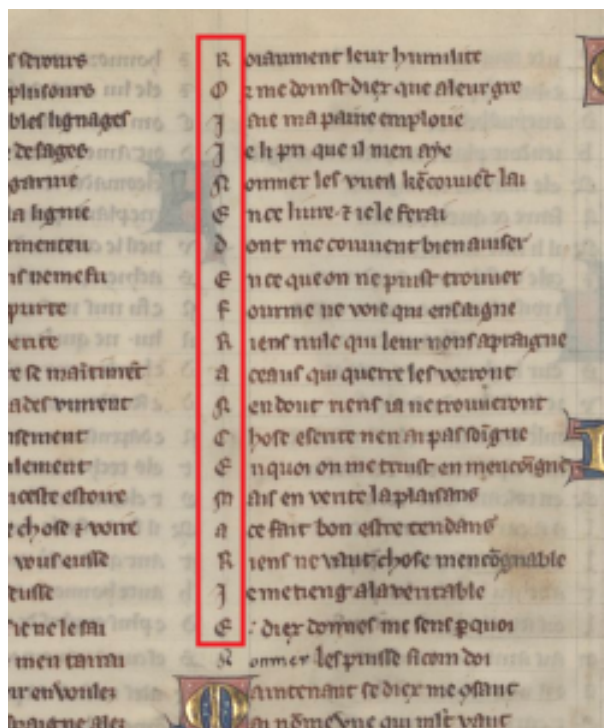


Figure 14b. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 71v

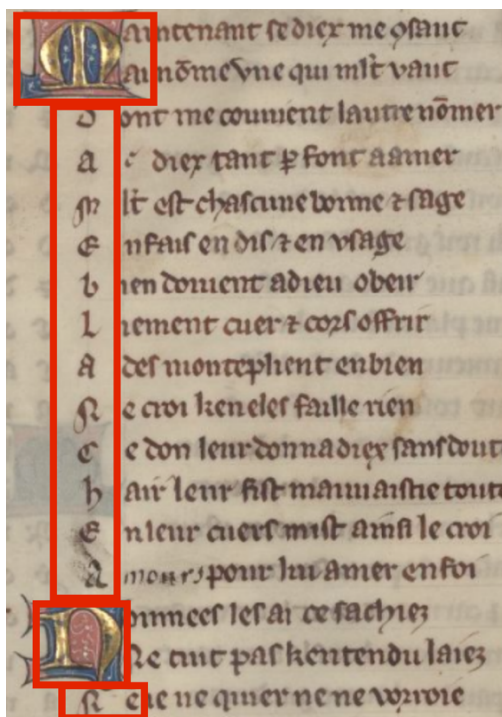


Figure 14c. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 71v

The entirety of the manuscript must be engaged with from this starting point, with a constant return to the central image of Marie and her associates on the first folio, begging the question as to its *raison d'être*. I believe that in much the same way that the *Eructavit* that was dedicated to Marie de Champagne was subsequently meant as a wedding gift for Marie's daughter, MS 3142, despite its seeming dedication to Marie de Brabant, was meant as a coronation gift for Marie's step-daughter-in-law, Jeanne de Navarre, for Marie may well have wished to ingratiate herself with the new queen (her daughter-in-law) at whose court she would remain for nearly thirty years.³⁵⁰ Both Marie de Champagne and Marie de Brabant would have originally received their respective manuscripts; however, as I argue, they could also have subsequently gifted them to the next generation. Additionally, if MS 3142 was ultimately intended as a coronation gift, then it would have commemorated not only Jeanne de Navarre's new position as queen in 1285, but also the memory of the previous queen and king, Marie and Philip III, long after their death, meaning that MS 3142 can also be read as a commemoration and an example of funerary art. In this vein, it displays one of the most prevalent features of funerary art – genealogy. Several key texts within the manuscript facilitate such a reading, beginning with the first, *Cléomadès*.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Blanche's participation in the manuscript, in at least the first part, is not at odds with this argument. Just as Marie perhaps wished to ingratiate herself with the new queen, her daughter-in-law, at whose court she would remain, so too Blanche might have wanted to be a part of a gift for her new niece.

³⁵¹ The full contents of the manuscript are as follows: *Cléomadès* (f. 1r-72r), *Enfances Ogier* (f. 73r-119v), *Berte aus grans piés* (f. 120v-140v), Alard de Cambrai's *Dits des sages* (f. 141r-165v); *Les vers de Job* (f. 166v-178v), *Beuves de Commarchis* (f. 179r-202v), Le Reclus de Moliens' *Miserere* (f. 203r-215r); *Dit de la Charité* (f. 216v-226v); *Congé* (f. 227v-229r), *Chanson de Saisnes* (f. 229r-253v), *Fables d'Ysopet* of Marie de France (fol. 256r-272v), *Les proverbes au vilain* (f. 273r-278v), religious and moral *dits* by Baudoin de Condé and others (f. 280r-320r), *Proverbes Seneke le philosophe* (f. 320r-321v).

Adenet le Roi most likely procured the Spanish tale of *Cléomadès* from Blanche de Castile, Marie's sister-in-law, through oral tradition,³⁵² in accordance with the way in which he portrays her reciting the tale – see her “speaking” hands – at the beginning of the Arsenal manuscript (fig.13).³⁵³ However, Blanche's contribution is only one of the reasons for the tale's inclusion in the manuscript. The story begins with the marriage of Cléomadès' parents, Ynabele and Marcadigas, which is depicted in the only illustration directly related to the narrative (f. 1v), clearly signaling that lineage would be an important factor in the tale, as well as marriage and a coronation ceremony, which continue as recurring themes throughout the entire manuscript. Further, in connection with the display of heraldry on the opening folio, this illustration serves to set the tone for the way the rest of the manuscript was to be read as an homage to lineage. Once again, if this was indeed meant as a coronation gift for Jeanne de Navarre, who would have relied on similar genealogical networks as Marie had, such imagery of family ties would make the most sense as opposed to depictions of other story elements, such as knightly quests, even if they were perhaps more engaging.

³⁵² Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 1, 75.

³⁵³ Right below the aforementioned portrait of Marie accompanied by Blanche and others (fig. 13) is an historiated initial containing a crowned figure, Adenet le Roi (fig. 15a). Albert Henry believes Adenet was depicted there composing his story; see, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 97. Hindman believes the same; see “Aesop's Cock and Marie's Hen.” While I do not disagree, there appears to be more to this initial. When juxtaposing this image with the one of Adenet on folio 73r, in which he is clearly writing in a manuscript (fig. 15b), the illustration on folio 1r is distinctively different and looks much more as if the poet is holding two tablets from which he appears to be reading (even though there does appear to be a writing implement between his 2nd and 3rd fingers, it does not look as though he is actively using it). According to Mary Carruthers, “composition starts in memorized reading,” which would further reinforce the idea of reciting a story that Adenet would have obtained from elsewhere, such as the very illustration right above his head in which Blanche's hands insinuate speech. In other words, the combination of illustrations may well depict the entirety of the story's origins from the time Adenet originally heard it, and most likely began to memorize it, to the point he related it to his own audience. For compassion and memory, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memorial in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 237.



Figure 15a. Adenet Composing His Story. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 3142, f.

1r



Figure 15b. Adenet Writing His Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 3142,

f. 73r

The *Cléomadès* narrative appears to be an excellent choice for inclusion in the miscellany by virtue of its highly entertaining nature; however, aside from Hamilton's belief that an important episode in *Cléomadès* reveals a parallel between the queen's entrance into the city and that of Marie de Brabant's actual entrance into Paris over a decade earlier,³⁵⁴ little else by way of a connection can be immediately made between the work and Marie de Brabant, much less Jeanne de Navarre, the intended recipient of the manuscript. Further, if it is to be believed that the manuscript was commissioned shortly after Philip III's death, since the manuscript was created in 1285, even if it was not intended to commemorate Philip, but rather serve as a coronation gift to Jeanne, its focus on marriage and adventure appears out of place for both occasions. Nevertheless, in order to support my argument that Jeanne was one of the figures linked with the manuscript, those around her must be accounted for, and arguably the characteristics of the titular character in *Cléomadès* bring to life two of the most important men in Jeanne's life, Philip III and his son and Jeanne's husband, Philip IV, while Jeanne can be associated with both Marine and Clarmondine, given her past history.

Additionally, to further my claim that Marie intended the manuscript as a coronation gift for Jeanne de Navarre, a bit of plot summary is necessary. After the marriage ceremony, followed by Cléomadès' birth, the first part of the tale is concerned with Cléomadès' sisters and their marriage prospects with three African kings, focusing on the youngest, Marine, who is promised to the ugliest and most unsuitable of the three suitors. Cléomadès takes it upon himself to liberate his sister from this fate. While doing so, he encounters an adventure that ultimately leads him to find his own lover, Clarmondine. Without summarizing the lengthy³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 97.

³⁵⁵ The entirety of the tale is 18,688 lines long. The story is written in three columns per folio, with forty-four lines per column. This would amount to 19,008 lines; however, the segments for the two

Arthurian-like³⁵⁶ romance in its minute details, Cléomadès is made out to be the champion of women, relieving Marine of her duties to marry the undesirable suitor, rescuing a slew of women along the way, while saving Clarmondine from her own disagreeable prearranged marriage, and ultimately marrying Clarmondine himself, which the audience is led to believe is what she wanted.

Two-year-old Jeanne de Navarre, accompanied by her mother, Blanche d'Artois, came to the French court seeking refuge in 1274. Shortly after Blanche's husband died, the two women had been unable to fend off powerful foreign and domestic forces that wished to take advantage of the extremely young heiress, Jeanne, and her inexperienced regent mother.³⁵⁷ King Philip III provided the necessary assistance, took in the two women, and Navarre was thereafter governed from afar by Jeanne the entirety of her life, under the protection of the French crown. Additionally during this period, even as the princess was ensconced away to safety, her mother had to navigate various marriage proposals from those looking to obtain control over Navarre.³⁵⁸ Luckily, Blanche de Champagne and Navarre (1177-1229), Marie de Champagne's daughter-in-law and consequently Eleanor of Aquitaine's grand-daughter-in-law, had in the early part of the thirteenth century established the right of women to rule independently of men, specifically in Champagne and Navarre,

miniatures that detract from this final count must be accounted for, leaving it at slightly less. In short, my succinct summation of the piece is meant to highlight main points conducive to my argument, and in no way meant to actually fully summarize this incredibly complicated romance.

³⁵⁶ Considering Chrétien de Troyes's popularity only a hundred years earlier, especially in the Northern territories, it is likely that the numerous quests, magical elements, and romantic plots in *Cléomadès* would have reminded readers far more of Arthurian tales than the original Spanish narrative from which it actually came.

³⁵⁷ Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274-1512* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 21-29.

³⁵⁸ Henry Cabot Lodge, *History of Nations: Spain and Portugal*, ed. G. Mercer Adam (New York: P. F. Collier and Sons, 1913) 207-208.

which would later allow Blanche d'Artois to exercise a considerable amount of freedom when negotiating Jeanne's marriage.³⁵⁹

However, at the moment Blanche and Jeanne needed substantial protection, and Blanche took the opportunity to turn her protector, Philip III, into Jeanne's future father-in-law with the Treaty of Orléans in 1275, which stipulated a papal dispensation would be procured in order for Jeanne to marry one of Philip's sons,³⁶⁰ either the future king or his younger brother.³⁶¹ In the interim, Jeanne I of Navarre, like Marine in *Cléomadès*, needed to escape any situation that could potentially lead to undesirable marriage proposals. Philip III initially aided her, but it fell to his son, with whom Jeanne had been raised, to continue taking care of her, much as Cléomadès took it upon himself to rescue his sister, Marine, from her unattractive suitor. As the two grew, their attachment transformed from the kind found between siblings into a deeper attraction, and Philip married Jeanne³⁶² in the same manner that Cléomadès married the princess he had once saved, Clarmondine.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne;" Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 34.

³⁶⁰ Jeanne's mother, Blanche, was the daughter of Robert I d'Artois and Matilda de Brabant, who were Philip III's and Marie de Brabant's uncle and aunt respectively. Thus, Jeanne and Philip IV were second cousins. This also meant that Jeanne was Marie's great-niece; however since almost everyone was related to everyone else at court, sanguinity would not necessarily ensure any kind of bond.

³⁶¹ Philip III's initial altruism, and perhaps familial affection, in protecting Blanche and Jeanne, turned into a vested interest, and thus Navarre became indirectly, yet completely, under the control of France. Jeanne married the future Philip IV of France, and so Navarre remained tied to France and its kings until Jeanne's granddaughter, Jeanne II of Navarre, took over the throne of Navarre in 1328, severing the ties between the two countries.

³⁶² Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 41-43.

³⁶³ While the Treaty of Orléans was the more realistic incentive for the marriage between Philip and Jeanne, it was not specified in the treaty which son Jeanne had to marry. Even though marrying the future king rather than his younger brother was more advantageous, Jeanne's and Philip's mutual

Nothing beyond their first year of marriage would have been known at Jeanne's coronation in 1285; however, as Jeanne's step-mother-in-law, Marie de Brabant had spent almost the entirety of Jeanne's life with her and had been a close witness to the relationship between Jeanne and Philip. Considering Marie and the future Philip IV did not have a very good relationship,³⁶⁴ should Marie remain connected to the court, she would have to rely on Jeanne's kindness. If Marie wanted to ingratiate herself with the new queen of France, in whose domain she would be residing, commencing MS 3142 with a marvelous tale that in many ways incorporated elements of Jeanne's life, while celebrating all those who were important to her, would have been an astute decision. Further, Blanche Anne of Castile, Philip's sister, and consequently Marie de Brabant's sister-in-law, would also have been keen to remain in the new queen's graces. She had maintained many rights at court while her brother was king and the queen was her close friend, and even though she was the new king's aunt, there was no guarantee her situation would remain as secure. This tale of Cléomadès, then, was likely Blanche's contribution to the program for the manuscript, followed by a variety of other works that highlighted Marie's importance at the side of the new king and queen.

To make the connection even clearer between *Cléomadès* and those who wished its inclusion in the manuscript, the aforementioned acrostic reveals the names of Marie and Blanche. This is unlike most manuscripts that usually reserve all of the dedicatory materials for the first set of folios, followed by a litany of miscellaneous stories. By being sandwiched

affection was considerable, and continued throughout their marriage until Jeanne's death, after which Philip never remarried; see Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 41-43.

³⁶⁴ Philip was not as quick as his father and others at court to believe Marie's innocence in regard to his brother's poisoning. Later, he would withhold Marie's pensions at various intervals. See Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King" 321-323.

between the large portrait of Marie with her entourage (fol. 1r) and the dedicatory folio (fol. 71v), *Cléomadès* exists in a limbo between fiction and reality, allowing the reader to delve into the former only for the span of the tale while being brought back to the latter immediately upon its conclusion. Further, before moving on to other parts of the manuscript, the last section of that folio (71v) depicts a portrait of Adenet handing a book, most likely a copy of this very account of *Cléomadès*, to Robert II of Artois,³⁶⁵ a great patron of the arts and artists, who was also recognized to have owned a considerable library with some of the best known texts.³⁶⁶ In my reading of MS 3142 as vacillating between fictional escapism and reality, a theme that extends throughout the manuscript, a dedication to Robert d'Artois would certainly fit into Adenet's personal agenda for acquiring patrons and earning a livelihood. While this may certainly have been the case, it must also be noted that Robert was Jeanne de Navarre's maternal uncle, and additionally an invaluable ally for the royal family. Regardless of Adenet's motives, invoking Robert achieved another tie between Philip III, Philip IV, and Jeanne.

Robert's representation in the manuscript also served as a link between Marie and Jeanne, as he was a reminder of the Aragonese Crusade against Pedro III of Aragon and of Robert's valor, alongside that of Marie's late husband and Jeanne's father-in-law, Philip III,

³⁶⁵ The dedication reads: "A noble conte preu et sage / D'Artois, qui a mis son usage / En dieu honorer et servir / Envoi mon livre pour oÿr / Comment il est fais et dites. / Or vueille dieus que il sont tes / Que li quens le receive en gre / Et li doinst par sa grant bonte / Honneur d'armes et d'amour joie" [To the noble and wise count of Artois, who has strived to honor and serve God, send my book for him to hear how there are actions and words [in it]. Now may God wish that they are such that the count receives it graciously. And may He give him through His great goodness honor in arms and joy in love].

³⁶⁶ Anne Hagopian Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986) 130-131; Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis, Mahaut, Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302-1329)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1887) 149. He also owned a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which Jean de Meun praised Robert's father, Robert I of Artois for his generosity and honor; see British Library Harley MS 4425, f. 161r. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4425.

as well as that of Marie's step-son and Jeanne's husband, Philip IV.³⁶⁷ Philip III had embarked on the Aragonese Crusade to help his son, Charles, taking with him his other son, the future Philip IV, and Robert II d'Artois, his cousin and good friend. During the Crusade, Philip III died in Perpignan,³⁶⁸ and his death marked the ascension of Philip IV to the throne. Notably, Robert had not only served Philip III in previous battles, demonstrating his loyalty to his cousin,³⁶⁹ but had also been one of the most adamant about Marie's innocence in her trial with Pierre de la Broce nearly a decade earlier, being among the first to sign his name denouncing Pierre and supporting that he be hanged.³⁷⁰ In other words, Robert was an important figure at court, and his presence signaled numerous favorable memories, upon which Marie would likely have wished to capitalize. As we can see from these examples, every part of MS 3142 was orchestrated to achieve a specific purpose, namely that of emphasizing Marie de Brabant's lineage or position alongside other integral members of court while simultaneously celebrating Jeanne de Navarre's newly gained queenship.

As *Cléomadès* offered parallels with Jeanne's coming-of-age story, the other three romances by Adenet in MS 3142, including the two works immediately following *Cléomadès*, correspond to Marie's life. The first is *Enfances Ogier* (f. 73r-229v), which challenges categorization, as it is part romance, part *chanson de geste*, and part historical text. The

³⁶⁷ Pedro III of Aragon was the brother of Philip III's first wife before he married Marie, Isabella of Aragon (1248-1271). However, after becoming one of the suitors for Jeanne de Navarre in 1275 in an attempt to take control of her lands, Pedro fell out of favor with the French monarchy. In 1284 when Pope Martin IV declared a crusade against Pedro for attempting to take Sicily, considered a fief of the Holy See, away from Philip III's son, Charles, who was conceived by Isabella of Aragon, and was therefore Pedro's nephew. Pedro became an official enemy of France – a position that would not change throughout his life; see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 200-209.

³⁶⁸ H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London: Methuen Press, 1933) 107.

³⁶⁹ Nangis, *Gesta Philippi* 507-508.

³⁷⁰ Nangis, *Gesta Philippi* 511-512.

narrative traces Ogier's different adventures that are intertwined with Charlemagne's, ultimately providing a shining example of Charlemagne's benevolence and righteousness. The same can be said for the piece found later in the manuscript (f. 179r-202v), *Beuves de Comarchis*, a bildungsroman that culminates with the knighting of Beuves' sons, as depicted in the miniature on the first folio of the text of Beuves, which portrays his two sons and a small audience watching the event.³⁷¹ As in *Cléomadès*, the family portrait at the commencement of the story sets the tone for the rest of the manuscript, already implying that genealogy would play an important role for the characters. Adenet adapted the text from what has been called the *Guillaume d'Orange* cycle, an extensive series of medieval epics that narrated historical accounts from the ninth century, but which survived only orally until about the twelfth.³⁷² Within the cycle that deals extensively with Guillaume, there are offshoots that center around other prominent family members and their adventures. Beuves is the nephew of Guillaume d'Orange, later discovered to have been the second duke of Toulouse, who was identified as Charlemagne's cousin, and later fictionalized as a chief under Charlemagne.³⁷³

Much as will be seen in *Berte aus grans piés*, which is also included in MS 3142, there is a very narrow line between reality and fiction, and the latter constantly acts as a referent to the former, demonstrating how fiction is often a reworking of reality, while underscoring the importance of familial relations and the ways in which aristocratic traits,

³⁷¹ MS 3142, f. 179r. The figures are identified by Albert Henry as Gérard and Guielin; see *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 97.

³⁷² Joan M. Ferrante, *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth-Century Epics*, ed. Joan M. Ferrante (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

³⁷³ *Le Bibliophile Belge: Bulletin Mensuel*, Publié sous les auspices de la société des Bibliophiles de Belgique (Brussels: Chez Fr. J. Olivier, Libraire, 1878) 270-272; Hugh Chisholm, ed. "Guillaume d'Orange," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1911) np.

such as chivalry and nobility, are passed down.³⁷⁴ As Gabrielle Spiegel argues, medieval romances “enormously enlarged the temporal, spatial, and cultural boundaries within which the imagination of French writers and audiences operated, supplying a much broader range of subjects, images, and traditions against which to interpret their own cultural performance.”³⁷⁵ For example, as Beuves’ own sons work towards becoming noble men, it is insinuated that their training is directly derived from Charlemagne, who was considered the best knight of them all. Thus, in this sense, the romance is presented, borrowing Robert M. Stein’s theory, as “inseparable from the consciousness of social and political processes in the secular world.”³⁷⁶ In other words, Charlemagne becomes integral in the formation of French identity during the Middle Ages as his representation throughout fictional narratives serves as a placeholder for the values society deemed important, such as chivalry, lineage, and nobility.

Therefore, the inclusion in the manuscript of these two narratives, *Beuves de Comarchis* and *Enfances Ogier*, speaks as much about Charlemagne as about the person at whose bidding they were inserted into the miscellany, or at the very least who was taken into consideration during the compilation process, which in this case would be Marie de Brabant. Adenet le Roi had had a lucrative career in Flanders and Brabant, working first for Marie’s father, Henri III of Brabant, then for both of her brothers, Jean I of Brabant and Godefroy,

³⁷⁴ In *Thinking Through Chrétien de Troyes* (London: D.S. Brewer, 2011), Zrinka Stahuljak, Virginie Greene, Sarah Kay, Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken argue that medieval romances have to be read according to the prevalent “modes of thought, political conditions, and circumstances of textual production and transmission” (2) at a specific time. Even though their analysis is specific to the texts of Chrétien, their argument is greatly applicable to medieval romances in the broader sense.

³⁷⁵ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past* 101.

³⁷⁶ Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006) 125.

and then Guy de Dampierre, the count of Flanders.³⁷⁷ Further, around 1270 Adenet was thought to have been responsible for designing Charlemagne's coat of arms, again under the patronage of those in the courts of Northern Europe.³⁷⁸ Thus, Adenet would have been well versed in Charlemagne's history as well as his importance for Northern families, providing a very simple explanation for including him in the program for MS 3142. Yet, if *Cléomadès* is any indication, Adenet did not work alone in selecting the materials, and while he may have provided suggestions based on his large corpus of knowledge and expertise in designing manuscripts,³⁷⁹ he operated within a larger schema when building MS 3142.

The *Enfances Ogier*, especially in conjunction with *Berte aus grans piés*, I contend, underscored Marie's interest in and desire to maintain the link between herself and her distant relative, Berthe, and consequently, Charlemagne.³⁸⁰ The *Enfances*, not unlike *La Chanson de Roland*, portrays the primary hero as a means of introducing Charlemagne, which is essentially the role the story plays within MS 3142. The sole illustration for the

³⁷⁷ MS 3142, f. 72r.

³⁷⁸ Heraldry began in the mid-twelfth century as a means for noble families to identify themselves. By the mid-thirteenth century it had become a tool for nobles to draw connections to those in the past as well. However, due to the recency of the practice, it was still at times difficult to make use of them since previous heraldic symbols may not have yet existed and had to be created from scratch. To combat the paucity of heraldic emblems, artists were being commissioned to retroactively create coats of arms. Thus, Charlemagne would not have had a contemporaneous heraldic emblem, since they did not exist in the eighth century, and so Adenet was tasked with designing it so that the nobles in the North could associate with it for genealogical purposes. Meredith Parsons Lillich, "Early Heraldry: How to Crack the Code," *Gesta* 30 (1991): 41, 44-45.

³⁷⁹ The first four major pieces within MS 3142 are all Adenet's work (disregarding the smaller dits interjected in between the third and fourth), insinuating that even within a larger program he was still asserting his authorial presence. See Busby, *Codex and Context* 404.

³⁸⁰ There are nine extant copies of manuscripts containing the story, see Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 110. Mahaut d'Artois owned a copy; see Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis Mahaut Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne* 102-103. Copies of it were documented in the libraries of both Charles V and Charles VI, with the insinuation that Charles VI's wife Isabeau de Bavière read it; see Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Volume 2, item 1160.

story features Ogier delivering a hostage to Charlemagne, who is brightly illuminated, drawing attention to his radiance juxtaposed with the rest of the figures present in the portrait. Tellingly, the miniature is found on the first folio of the story,³⁸¹ already signaling that Charlemagne, and not Ogier, would become the real concern throughout the work. Additionally, the narrative's fantastic plot with many of the complex components that echoed the previous *Cléomadès*, such as knightly conquests and diverse magical elements, promises to entertain while drawing attention to the key figures and their real-life importance. As Marie's brother years earlier had commissioned the *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae*, which boldly asserted Brabantian superiority in light of the Brabantian dukes' direct connection to Charlemagne, MS 3142 provided an opportunity to make the same connection in a different, although no less blatant, style. Then, to further endorse Marie's importance at court, *Berte aus grans piés* immediately follows in the manuscript.

The narrative is an intersection of myth and history, directly related to Charlemagne and his lineage, but most importantly to his mother, Berthe, demonstrating other connections Marie de Brabant may have wished to emphasize. The first folio of the story, folio 120v, begins with a large miniature of Pepin le Bref, king of the Franks, hunting a lion. Even as Berthe would be the heroine in the tale, by depicting Pepin first, Adenet makes clear the story's focus would be placed on the royal house and the issues that would concern it. In the narrative, Berthe, a princess of Hungary, is destined to marry Pepin le Bref; however, her cousin and his maidservant intervene, substituting the maidservant's daughter for Berthe. In order to escape detection, the accomplices accuse the real Berthe of attempting to murder the false queen, and her cousin thus persecutes her in an attempt to remove her from the immediate situation so that she is unable to give away the truth. Following a series of

³⁸¹ MS 3142, f. 73r.

unfortunate events, Berthe is recognized by the size of her feet. She resumes her rightful place alongside Pepin, and goes on to give birth to Charlemagne and his siblings.

Despite its entertainment value, the plot of *Berte aus grans piés* does not appear to justify its placement in the manuscript, if furthering Marie's agenda through this collection was one of her objectives. However, aside from the already established connection to Charlemagne that points towards Marie's own lineage, Berthe's ascension to the throne after the recognition scene in fact mirrored two significant events in Marie's life – her own excessively lavish entrance into Paris and subsequent coronation,³⁸² and her return to her husband's side after their near two-year separation due to the murder charges against her. Marie persevered in her role as queen, and so Berthe's story could have served as a reminder of the potency with which Marie had entered France in 1274 amidst those who would then attend her coronation in 1275, and those who would stand beside her against murder charges in 1276.

As Philip III was looking for a new wife after his first wife's death, chronicles document what he had learned about Marie, which prompted his decision to marry her, for they focused on a combination of her beauty, charm, and high lineage.³⁸³ In the same manner, Pepin in *Berte aus grans piés* relies on the counsel of others to select a suitable bride, and in response to his query, he receives the following reply:

³⁸² For details on Marie's coronation, see Françoise Barry, *Les droits de la reine sous la monarchie française jusqu'en 1789* (Paris: Les Editions Donat-Montchrestien, F. Loviton, 1932) 80-84. Although Hamilton focuses on other parts of Berthe's narrative, predominantly the physical appearance of the miniatures and the overall codicological aspect of its segment in the manuscript from an art historical perspective, we both discuss the similarities between Berthe's fictitious coronation and Marie's real-life one; see Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 97.

³⁸³ Marie is described as a “dame bonne et bèle et sage,” [a woman good and beautiful and wise] and “estraite de gentil linage et de grant, fille au noble duc de Braibant” [extracted from a noble and grand lineage, daughter of the noble duke of Brabant]; see, “La chronique anonyme” 92.

Sire, je en sai une, par le cors St Omer,
Fille le roi de Hongrie moult l'ai oy loer.
Il n'a si bele de ca ne de la mer :
Berte la debonaire ainsi l'oy nommer.³⁸⁴
[Sire, I know one, by the body of St. Omer,
Daughter of the king of Hungary, I have heard her much lauded.
There is no one more beautiful in the world:
Berte the Debonair, so I have heard her named.]

Several interesting pieces of information are related in this very brief introduction to Berthe. While it was not uncommon to swear by a saint's body as an indicator of telling the truth, or simply emphasizing a statement, St. Omer is directly associated with the Northern territories, where he was venerated as the patron saint for the small town northwest of Lille that bears his name.³⁸⁵ Essentially, the mention of St. Omer situates Berthe's narrative in the North, since it would be unlikely that anyone from a different region would be so intimately familiar with St. Omer as to swear upon his body. This allusion thus created the connection between Berthe, Charlemagne's mother, and the territories of Flanders, Marie de Brabant's homeland.

Moreover, the first piece of information divulged about Berthe in this description is her lineage, as she is identified as the daughter of the king of Hungary. Unless a particularly important treaty or alliance needed to be forged, a blood princess would be more favorable than other noble women as a prospective bride. In a parallel fashion, Philip was initially intrigued by Marie's pure blood that could be traced back to the real-life source behind the

³⁸⁴ MS 3142 f. 121r. I have added modern punctuation to the quotes for clarity.

³⁸⁵ The town had been a disputed region under Philip Augustus, who had acquired it from Flanders with the Treaty of Pont-à-Vendin, which was later challenged and led to the Battle of Bouvines; see, John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* 16, 81-82, 477-479.

fictionalized Berthe, Bertrada, wife of Pepin le Bref. Lastly, Marie, like Berthe, had been known for her beauty and pleasant personality, and Berthe's epithet, "Berthe the Debonair," insinuates her charm and wit, which were akin to the traits for which Marie had been known. In short, Pepin was as enthralled with the idea of Berthe as Philip was with Marie, and so Pepin with haste "a fait moult grant gent assembler / por aler en Hongrie la dame demander" [assembled a great many people to go to Hungary to ask for the lady's hand].³⁸⁶ Yet, despite all of the fanfare that went into bringing Berthe from her homeland to France, it would be those closest to the royal family and with the most access to Berthe who would perpetuate her downfall.³⁸⁷ The scenario is eerily close to Marie's own ordeal in which she was wrongfully accused of murder by one who wished to maintain power over the king in order to accrue favors. Unlike Marie's situation, which left many people with suspicions about her for years during her trial, Berthe is unquestionably innocent, and the reader is aware of her misfortunes from the beginning. Despite being acquitted, Marie never escaped rumors of her guilt, nor was she ever able to convince everyone of her innocence.³⁸⁸ Perhaps Berthe's narrative was a means of extending the comparison to further point towards Marie's own real innocence. Berthe escapes, but cannot find a means of amending her situation, and thus withdraws from court to the countryside, where she spends years laboring, while the false

³⁸⁶ MS 3142, f. 121r.

³⁸⁷ In *Berte aus grans pies*, Berthe's cousin, Tibert, conspires with his servant, Margiste, to replace Berthe with the servant's daughter, Aliste, who was just as beautiful as Berthe. In doing so, Tibert could control the situation and be guaranteed a position close to the royal couple and take advantage of all of the political and personal favors that that proximity would entail. In order to achieve Tibert's goal, Berthe would have to be disposed of, and thus accusations are made against her stating she was the servant's daughter who wished to murder the future queen.

³⁸⁸ Ward, "Fables for the Court" 203, note 32.

queen sits upon her throne. Eventually Tibert's conspiracy is exposed, and just like Pierre de la Broce, he is hanged.

The identification scene that leads to the resolution of the injustice of Berthe's situation has a much more subtle parallel embedded within it; nevertheless, it highlights the most important trait Marie possesses: her genealogy. After Tibert is apprehended and a search is made for Berthe, she comes upon the king's men and not knowing if they are villains, she demands that they not touch her, claiming "femme au roi Pepin sui, rois Floires est mes pere / et si est Blancheflour la royne ma mere"³⁸⁹ [I am the wife of King Pepin, King Flories is my father, and Queen Blancheflour is my mother]. In times of duress, such as this, she breaks from her disguise and relies on her station as queen, as she also at times relies on her role as princess, evoking the names of her parents in conjunction with her husband's. She does not feel marriage to the king is enough to save her and uses her birthright as further insurance against possible harm. That Berthe is eventually identified by her uniquely large feet³⁹⁰ could arguably be seen as a reliance on genealogy, from the standpoint of genetics, in order to ascertain her identity. This is not unlike the tactic used by Marie in her acts of patronage in which she shifted the focus between herself as Queen of France and her past as Duchess of Brabant in order to maximize the strength of her endeavors by benefiting from both positions. Marie's genealogy was thus brought to the forefront by drawing attention to Berthe's.

³⁸⁹ MS 3142, f. 136r. I added punctuation to my translation.

³⁹⁰ MS 3142, f. 138r.

Tellingly, just as Marie's "haute ligniee [...] entre les autres dames"³⁹¹ [high lineage [...] among other ladies] served as the reason for Philip's interest in her, Berthe's identity as a blood princess was visibly established --

La royne de France est a Paris venue ;
de mainte gent i fu moult volentiers veue.

Noblement l'en amainent contreval la grant rue³⁹²

[The Queen of France arrived in Paris;

There she was enthusiastically seen by many people.

They nobly led her along the great road]

-- amidst a celebration that would last for over a week and be remembered as the most noble and lavish in memory ["plus noble ne plus riche niert mais remanteue"]³⁹³. While the scene may have been embellished for literary purposes, it was also rooted in reality. Adenet had accompanied Marie to Paris and had been among her retinue at the time of her arrival in the city, her marriage to Philip, and her coronation a year later. His fictionalized account of Berthe's entrance into Paris very closely mirrored Guillaume de Nangis' chronicled summation of Marie's coronation:

Prelas et barons du royaume de France et d'Almaigne sassemblerent et vindrent a Paris, et pluseurs autres nacions, pour ce que la roine Marie devoit estre couronnee. Si fu lassemblee moult grant et moult bele de haux princes et de grans barons. [...] La feste fu moult grant et bele qu'a poine le pourroit nul

³⁹¹ Nangis, *Gesta Philippi* 495.

³⁹² MS 3142, f. 139v. I have added modern punctuation and capitalization to the original text.

³⁹³ MS 3142, f. 139v.

raconter.³⁹⁴

[Prelates and barons from the kingdoms of France and Germany and many other nations assembled and came to Paris, because Queen Marie was to be crowned. The gathering of high princes and great barons was large and beautiful. [...] The celebration was so great and beautiful that no one could easily describe it.]

Adenet did not elaborate on Berthe's episode to the same extent as Nangis, who provided details of Marie's coronation; however, even without the specifics, the similarities are striking. In directly or indirectly invoking Marie's coronation in Berthe's episode, Adenet may have recreated the majesty of the very event he himself had witnessed. Further, the episode points towards the reasoning behind such a lavish reception for the queen. At his own coronation Philip III had made use of Charlemagne's memory, including his sword, *Joyeuse*,³⁹⁵ making apparent Philip's desire for a connection to the noble king and emperor. Thus, Marie's coronation may well have provided Philip a means to celebrate her lineage, which, much like Charlemagne's sword, he was all too happy to receive into his family.

Pepin had married the original connection to Charlemagne, Berthe, the noble king's future mother, while Philip III married his descendant. By this point the Capetian family had accumulated some Carolingian blood by continuously marrying into that family,³⁹⁶ but Marie's ancestry was much more direct, and her relations could all claim the same lineage,

³⁹⁴ Nangis, *Gesta Philippi* 497.

³⁹⁵ Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King" 286.

³⁹⁶ Louis VII's marriage to Adela of Blois initially provided a direct link to the Carolingian line, and Philip Augustus was the first Capetian king to be born with dual ancestry. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France* 54-56. Nevertheless, to accrue even more Carolingian ancestry remained a preoccupation of the Capetian kings until the end of their line only a few generations later, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

allowing Philip to marry into an entire pool of Carolingian descendants. Jeanne de Navarre's coronation would have been an ideal moment for Marie to advertise the unprecedented magnificence of her own coronation, along with its implication about her importance to the Capetian family. Jeanne may not have been old enough to remember the event, if she had even been present at it, but considering the extravagant affairs coronations were becoming,³⁹⁷ during the planning of her own coronation, Jeanne would probably have been told about Marie's. Lastly, much as the *Eructavit*, which had been a wedding gift from Marie de Champagne to her daughter, as I argued above in Chapter 2, offered useful and practical advice to its owner(s), so, too, Marie's tenacity at vindicating herself might have been used to provide strength at Jeanne's coronation for her future as queen, should she ever need to defend herself against any injustices. Considering the works directly following *Berte aus grans piés* in the manuscript, we can see that the case for such an argument is quite strong.

In between *Berte aus grans piés* and the next lengthy tale that was also written by Adenet, *Beuves de Commarchis*, MS 3142 includes two other only slightly shorter moralizing pieces: a poem by Alard de Cambrai, *Livre de philosophie et de moralité*, or the *Dits des sages* (f. 141r-165v),³⁹⁸ as it is referred to in the makeshift table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript,³⁹⁹ and *Les vers de Job* (f. 166v-178v),⁴⁰⁰ whose title clearly places it in the

³⁹⁷ For a discussion on the ways in which coronations, among other celebratory events, were proceeding throughout large cities and the effect they had on the people, along with other nobles, see Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds. *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 2-3.

³⁹⁸ Of the nine extant manuscripts that contain the *Dits des sages*, only three, including MS 3142, contain the complete work; see, Jean-Charles Payen, "Le Livre de philosophie et de moralité d'Alard de Cambrai," *Romania* 87.346 (1966): 152.

³⁹⁹ Prior to the first numbered folio in the manuscript, there is a list of works jotted down with folio numbers, by a later hand.

same moralizing genre.⁴⁰¹ Care was taken to insure its presentation, as evident from its program in the manuscript. The general layout of *Les vers de Job* consists of a series of sentences or phrases that act as headers, signaled by both rubricated letters and champs or historiated initials, announcing the lesson to be learned, followed by an explanation, often accompanied by examples. The concept is not unlike the advice one would expect a young wife to receive, or what a mother would use to educate her children. Such descriptions are apt for Jeanne de Navarre, who was both a relatively new wife and, at eleven years old, quite young even by medieval standards. She was no longer a child, to be sure, but it would nevertheless be fitting for her new step-mother-in-law to bestow upon her such a work, especially to balance out the other more entertaining writings in the manuscript collection.

A closer look at the content of the *Dits des sages* evinces other reasons for its inclusion in a manuscript that may have been gifted to Jeanne by Marie. While it is essentially a compilation of advice from authors such as Solomon, Socrates, Seneca, Cicero, Boethius, Plato, and Aristotle, among others, the description does not cover its more versatile nature. Its title, *Dits des sages*, implies an elevated discourse on philosophy and morality, but its content suggests a lay audience, specifically the nobility, who could benefit from lessons on “largesse,” “gentillesse” (nobility), “elegance,” and other values that concerned the medieval aristocracy. The text includes excerpts on being a good feudal lord and justly governing one’s people, which in the thirteenth century had become topics of interest for

⁴⁰⁰ Hamilton believes these may also have been written by Alard de Cambrai; see Hamilton *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France* 79.

⁴⁰¹ The practice of interspersing moralizing tales in between romances, or other narratives, which are seemingly unrelated was common in thirteenth-century miscellanies and served to instruct the reader on how to apply the lessons from the tales to other texts, and perhaps even real life; see Nichols and Wenzel, eds, *The Whole Book* 137.

both men and women of the aristocracy.⁴⁰² As the *Dits des sages* progresses, it becomes increasingly clear why such a work would be appropriate in the hands of a newly crowned queen. Even if she undoubtedly read such works throughout her life in anticipation of not only queenship but also the eventual governance of her own native land of Navarre and Champagne, this would be an opportune moment to be reminded of her moral obligation to her people, along with the proper way to behave as the queen of a very powerful country.

The didactic role of MS 3142 is further emphasized by the numerous other texts in the codex that served outright as teaching instruments, such as the *Le dits* by Baudoin de Condé or *Les desputes Seneke le philosophe*, while others couched lessons within more fictional texts, such as Jean Bodel's *Congé* or Marie de France's *Fables*. The latter work has received much recent scholarly attention, not as much for its text as for its artistic program.⁴⁰³ The *Fables*' inclusion in MS 3142 can be attributed to an array of reasons that combine their content, authorship, and form.

Fables are known for their didactic nature and are often used to teach small children life lessons. Marie de France adapts the simple concept and recreates it in a genre suitable for courtly matters. Her fables are infused with feudal values such as loyalty, honor, and lordship.⁴⁰⁴ Much as the *Dits des sages* moralized the aristocratic world, so too, Marie de France's *Fables* bring to life the everyday concerns with which nobles, such as queens,

⁴⁰² Spiegel, "Social Change and Literary Language" 130-131.

⁴⁰³ Ward, "Fables for the Court" 201.

⁴⁰⁴ Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 58-60.

would be faced.⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, as R. Howard Block asserts, “not only are the individual tales set within a didactic framework by the moral tacked to the end, but a group of tales involving parental instruction form a virtual subgenre.”⁴⁰⁶ While Marie de Brabant must have enjoyed the fables enough to commission them in the manuscript, it is less likely that a seasoned queen who was about to step off the throne in favor of her step-daughter-in-law would have had much actual use for them aside from said enjoyment. Such a reading strengthens the case for her intention to gift the manuscript to the young, up-and-coming queen, much as a mother would bestow a *Mirror of Princes*, or a similar text, upon her daughter. If the *Fables* are to be read as a parallel text to the *Mirror of Princes*, as Charles Bruckner and Karen Jambeck have convincingly suggested,⁴⁰⁷ then Jeanne would be one of the best choices for receiving it.

At the beginning of her career, as Marie de France was writing the *Lais*, she laid out her prerogative in her Prologue. She stated that she decided to write the *Lais* after considering her options, including translating great works into French, but decided against such an idea, since so many others had already performed similar tasks.⁴⁰⁸ Marie wanted to be original and retell tales that she had heard but had not yet been written down, or at the very least did not exist in the version in which she would deliver them. While this is not what she achieved in the *Fables*, which were in fact retellings of Aesop’s fables along with a

⁴⁰⁵ Charles Bruckner, “The *Fables* of Marie de France and the *Mirror of Princes*,” in *A Companion to Marie de France*, ed. Logan Whalen (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 209-236; Karen K. Jambeck, “The *Fables* of Marie de France: A *Mirror of Princes*,” in *In Quest of Marie de France: A Twelfth-Century Poet*, ed. Chantal Maréchal (New York: Edwin Mellon Press, 1992) 59-106.

⁴⁰⁶ R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 142.

⁴⁰⁷ Bruckner, “The *Fables* of Marie de France and the *Mirror of Princes*,” Jambeck, “The *Fables* of Marie de France: A *Mirror of Princes*.”

⁴⁰⁸ Marie de France, “Prologue,” in *Lais de Marie de France*, eds. Laurence Harf-Lancer et Karl Warnke (Livre de Poche, 1990) 25.

myriad of other sources,⁴⁰⁹ her legacy had been established and even her retellings bore the emblems of her originality as she redressed them for her courtly audience. Marie de France's ambition was not unlike Marie de Brabant's objectives throughout her history of patronage. Both women wished to assert themselves in areas that had previously belonged to men – writing and appropriating genealogical concerns to fit into artistic programs suitable for women.

There is a possibility that Marie de Brabant turned towards a namesake author with similar aspirations when looking to add another text to the corpus of MS 3142. Adenet may have been Marie's favorite trouvère, but Marie de France fulfilled a role he could not – she was female, and her name would be a constant reminder of the manuscript's patron. Notably, Marie de France was allotted two miniatures for her *Fables* in MS 3142, in the beginning and at the end of this section (figs. 16a and 16b),⁴¹⁰ despite other manuscripts' traditional representation of Aesop in association with the *Fables*.⁴¹¹ Marie de France was specifically being highlighted. Additionally, the *Fables* contain more miniatures, historiated initials, illuminated initials, and champs than any of the other sections in MS 3142. The artistic program suggests the work was meant to draw a lot of attention.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ Karen K. Jambeck, "Textual Explorations: 'The Fables' of Marie de France and Beyond," *Le Cygne* 6 (2000): 54-55; Judy Shoaf, "The Lais of Marie de France," University of Florida website: https://people.clas.ufl.edu/jshoaf/marie_lais/.

⁴¹⁰ MS 3142, f. 256r and 273r. Adenet had more portraits of himself, but they were disbursed throughout the manuscript, and none of his stories contains two images of him.

⁴¹¹ Ward, "Fables for the Court" 195.

⁴¹² As discussed above, according to Huot, Adenet was responsible for all aspects of the manuscript's creation, including the artistic program; see, *From Song to Book* 44.



Figure 16a. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 256r



Figure 16b. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 273r

Joan Holladay and Madeline Caviness have both argued that manuscripts in Capetian France were often commissioned for young queens and noble women in attempts to present them with artistic programs that could be used to manipulate their behavior by introducing imagery in line with male prescribed conduct.⁴¹³ Susan Ward, however, believes that in this specific case the artwork illustrated “not Marie’s dependence on men or the French monarchy, but her independence both as an active reader and as a courtly patroness.”⁴¹⁴ Arguably, the illustration program is meant to suggest certain thoughts to its viewer, but in this case not as a means of controlling Marie de Brabant and not in the form of a message related by men in an attempt to influence women, but rather as a means for Marie de Brabant to influence and even inspire her intended viewer, another woman. As Ward continues to state, “the style of the Arsenal manuscript may be Parisian, but the message suggested by the illuminations emphasizes Marie’s autonomy and Brabantian origin.”⁴¹⁵ If this was not Marie’s objective, then the manuscript would have had another intended viewer. In other words, Ward sets up the perfect evidence upon which to build a case for Marie’s reasons in commissioning this text. Aside from Adenet’s four romances, Marie de France’s section is among one of the longest and most elaborate texts in the manuscript, touching upon numerous aspects of Marie de Brabant’s life, such as the risks of being falsely accused, while also coincidentally acting as a reminder of her name. Further, it also served as a perfectly appropriate work for Jeanne de Navarre who could benefit from its didactic nature, urging

⁴¹³ Madeline H. Caviness, “Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for her Marriage Bed,” *Speculum*, 68/2 (April 1993): 358-359; Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Evreux” 585-611.

⁴¹⁴ Ward, “Fables for the Court” 199.

⁴¹⁵ Ward, “Fables for the Court” 199.

her to read the examples of past rulers so as to not fall prey to false trickery, in order to follow in the footsteps of her well-connected predecessor.

The entirety of MS 3142 carries the imprint of Marie de Brabant's patronage, and her ambitions, intentions, and predilections. As Hamilton asserts, the manuscript's "illumination and textual program refer to Marie's courtly background and northern allegiances while communicating her status as French queen and patron [...] We can also view it, however, as textual and pictorial evidence for Marie's deep interest in her Carolingian ancestors and larger issues of genealogy and female agency."⁴¹⁶ Each text is well chosen to fit into the overarching program that represents a once powerful queen whose genealogy shines as brightly as it did on the day of her coronation, who sits among her entourage, which continues to support her, and whose presence at court remains an asset to those whose star is only just now rising. Marie de Brabant commissioned the manuscript to bolster herself in others' eyes, and it remains a token of her potency. By gifting it to Jeanne de Navarre as a coronation present, as I argue, she strengthens the bond with her step-daughter-in-law that would not only benefit her, but also her children, as was evident almost a decade later by the help Jeanne provided Marie in marriage negotiations for her daughter, Marguerite, to Edward I of England.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, regardless of any political machinations Marie may have entertained, there is also another, quite simple reason for wishing to endow Jeanne de Navarre with a manuscript of this magnitude – spending well over a decade in the same household after Jeanne's mother came to Philip III seeking protection in 1274, and undergoing many of the same conditions probably brought the two women together and they

⁴¹⁶ For a larger discussion on the manuscript, especially its artistic program, see Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*. Above quote is from p. 118.

⁴¹⁷ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 172, 395-396; Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King" 303.

had quite likely become very good friends. Lastly, the ultimate test of their friendship was delivered at death as Jeanne de Navarre wished to be laid to rest at the Cordeliers Convent in Paris in 1305, the same place where Blanche de Castile and Marie de Brabant would also choose to spend eternity.⁴¹⁸

C. A Necropolis for Queens

“Using their fairy powers, they sealed their father inside that mountain,” Jean d’Arras wrote of Melusine and her sisters, as they followed through with their plan and entombed their father alive in Northumberland.⁴¹⁹ Royal burials, even when committed treacherously, were usually premeditated affairs. If nobles did not have the foresight to plan their own memorials, or died too young or too suddenly, it fell upon their relatives to ensure proper burial and entombment, often in accordance with the wishes of the departed. Thus, I will end this chapter discussing royal burials, culminating with an analysis of the importance of Marie de Brabant’s tomb at the Cordeliers Cathedral in Paris. In France, the Saint-Denis Cathedral was at one point reserved only for the burial of kings, and “their wives were destined for funerary transience, which led them to a variety of resting places depending on the degree of their religious devotion or their affective and dynastic preferences.”⁴²⁰ Marguerite de Provence, Louis IX’s widow, through her patronage was very likely one of the two main influences on Jeanne de Navarre when choosing a burial site, while through her death Jeanne would help change the entire burial culture of Saint-Denis.

⁴¹⁸ Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 142; Brown, “La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre” 124-141.

⁴¹⁹ Jean d’Arras, *Melusine; or the Noble History of Lusignan*, eds and trans. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2012) 25.

⁴²⁰ Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 142.

Marguerite performed few acts of patronage during her life, especially without Louis IX's expressed consent.⁴²¹ However, together they were great patrons of the Franciscan Order, founding numerous convents, including the one at the Cordeliers in Paris.⁴²² The Franciscans were also instrumental in promoting Louis' sainthood,⁴²³ an endeavor for which Margaret worked with great zeal until the end of her life in 1295, during the reign of her grandson, Philip IV, and his consort Jeanne de Navarre. In accordance with tradition, Louis was buried at Saint-Denis, yet, there were no provisions for Marguerite to be interred in the same place, since women were not yet a part of the program.⁴²⁴ Philip IV, however, arranged for her entombment next to her husband,⁴²⁵ as he repositioned the tombs to satisfy his own agenda.⁴²⁶ Marguerite's own desires are unknown; however, given her affiliation with numerous branches of the Franciscan Order,⁴²⁷ including the endowment of a monastery for her

⁴²¹ Jean de Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1986) 321-322.

⁴²² Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 251-252. It is important to note that Louis patronized numerous religious houses of many denominations – Franciscan, Dominican, Cistercian – and that he spread his wealth funding churches throughout the country. See M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, “The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris,” *Gesta* 39.1 (2000): 66. Thus, even though he was partial to the Franciscans, it is Marguerite's unwavering loyalty to the Order that is of interest.

⁴²³ Louis Carolus-Barré et Henri Platelle, *Le procès de canonisation de saint Louis (1272-1297): Essai de reconstitution* (Paris: École Française de Rome, 1994) 17-19.

⁴²⁴ Nolan, *Capetian Women* 48.

⁴²⁵ Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985) 165.

⁴²⁶ Philip's motives in this regard will be discussed below in the section on Jeanne d'Évreux.

⁴²⁷ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis* 154-155; Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (South Bend: Notre Dame University Press, 2006) 65-66.

daughter, Blanche Anne, to reside in,⁴²⁸ it is not difficult to imagine she would have wished to be buried with those who would have had the greatest reasons to pray for her for eternity.

Familial saints were important and were taken into account when family members commissioned means of memorialization, and Louis IX would be the first familial saint for the Capetian dynasty. Much as Marie de Brabant chose Nivelles as a site for her patronage due to its ties with both her familial saint, Gertrude, and the site's previous patron, her grandmother-in-law, Blanche de Castile (d. 1252), so too it is probable that Jeanne de Navarre looked for guidance to her own grandmother-in-law, Marguerite, and the only family saint she could claim, Louis.

To reinforce the claim that Jeanne was looking to associate with her husband's grandparents, another act of patronage that she commenced right before her untimely death was to fund the College of Navarre at the University of Paris.⁴²⁹ Both Marguerite and Louis had been patrons of the University throughout their lives, and, perhaps not so coincidentally, the exact place where the College of Navarre was built had originally been the site where Louis and Marguerite had wanted to erect the Convent of the Cordeliers, but decided against it and placed it in a more secluded location.⁴³⁰ Even though Jeanne de Navarre was not ultimately buried with her grandparents or her husband, she closely adhered to the program of patronage that her grandparents had followed throughout their lives, and chose a venue that had been important to them for her burial site, rather than their final resting place. Lastly,

⁴²⁸ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis* 155-156.

⁴²⁹ Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 12-13.

⁴³⁰ Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 12-19, 35-40, 290-291.

Jeanne de Navarre's confessor and executor of her will,⁴³¹ Durand de Champagne, was a Franciscan, and most likely influenced Jeanne's decision to forsake her husband's wishes to be among the first women buried at Saint-Denis.⁴³² Thus, despite Saint-Denis finally becoming available to women as a burial site, Jeanne quite literally followed her heart, as it was uncharacteristically left in her body during interment, and decided to continue the female tradition that allowed women to be buried with the religious orders they most aligned with in their lifetime and the people who were important to them, at the Convent of the Cordeliers in Paris.

Seventeen years later, when Marie de Brabant was in a position to consider her final resting place, she was in need of a burial site. She was Philip III's second wife, and he had already interred his first wife, Isabella of Aragon, at Saint-Denis next to him, leaving no space for her. However, Marie had spent nearly half a century in Paris; even when given the opportunity to leave the city after Philip III's death, when her relationship with Philip IV was strained, she remained within proximity, choosing to retire to Mantes, outside of Paris.⁴³³ Her decision to remain close to the French court indicates that she probably would not have wanted to return her body to her native land and entomb herself next to her parents at Louvain, or with any of her other relatives in that region. Jeanne de Navarre's choice provided the perfect solution for Marie. She would have her body interred with the Franciscans, joining a fellow queen of France in her resting place, and simultaneously place

⁴³¹ Catherine Louise Mastny, "Durand de Champagne and the Mirror of the Queen: A Study in Medieval Didactic Literature," Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1968, 59.

⁴³² Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King" 306, n. 84; and her "La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre" 125.

⁴³³ Alphonse Durand and Eugène Grave, eds. *La chronique de Mantes ou histoire de Mantes depuis le IXe siècle jusqu'à la Révolution* (Mantes: Imprimerie du Petit Mantais, 1883) 200-236.

her heart within the Dominican Jacobin convent in Paris,⁴³⁴ which would allow her entire interred body to remain local, while also paying tribute to the Dominicans that housed her parents at Louvain and Philip at Saint-Denis. Further, much as the women in the previous chapter wished to be buried in locations they had supported with donations throughout their lives, Marie had been making regular payments to the Cordeliers for over two decades before her death, in sums far greater than her other donations, indicating her affinity for the establishment.⁴³⁵ Just as Marie most likely guided Jeanne in her early years, especially in her new role as queen, Jeanne would now guide Marie in death, and by replicating Jeanne's choice of burial sites, Marie unwittingly established a necropolis for queens and other noble women to come. Despite the lack of concrete details directly outlining Marie's wish to be buried at the Cordeliers, such as a testament or other written documentation, the circumstantial evidence is strong enough to build a case that it could have been her wish.

Unsurprisingly, the next queen to be buried alongside Jeanne, who may have also influenced Marie's decision to be buried at the Cordeliers, was Blanche de Castile,⁴³⁶ her sister-in-law and lifelong friend, who had at one point shared Marie's home, and, in regards to MS 3142, Marie's commission of at least the volume's first work. Blanche had also spent a large part of her later life among the Franciscans in the aforementioned house her mother, Marguerite, had had built for her. The queen who followed Jeanne de Navarre on the throne and was wife to Louis X, Clémence de Hongrie, was buried with Marie's heart at the

⁴³⁴ Millin, *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monumens* Volume 4, 69-70.

⁴³⁵ Jules Viard, *Les journaux du trésor de Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1940) 68, 73, 379.

⁴³⁶ Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 275-277.

Jacobins,⁴³⁷ while the queen following Clémence, Jeanne de Bourgogne, was entombed at the Cordeliers.⁴³⁸ Multiple other relatives, male and female, found resting places for their bodies, or parts thereof, beside Marie de Brabant for various reasons connected to their faiths, or their wish for genealogical connections to a well-established Carolingian descendant. Some perhaps wished to link their patronage to a queen who had reinvigorated the French court with her Northern culture and unique proclivities. Others may have regarded Marie, in light of her early troubles at court, as an inspiration in times of duress.

Arguably, when Marie's granddaughter, Jeanne d'Évreux, had her heart placed within the confines of the Cordeliers in 1371,⁴³⁹ as opposed to the Jacobins' Convent, where her husband, Charles IV, had placed his own heart,⁴⁴⁰ she wished to ally herself with each of these aspects associated with Marie de Brabant. The Jacobin Convent would have given Jeanne a different option of being interred near Marie. However, in light of the provisions she made for the various other parts of her body, it is clear that Jeanne was not looking for a joint burial with her husband in this case. After having commissioned Jean de Liège in 1370 to erect the monument for her and Charles IV's entrails at the Cistercian Abbey of Maubuisson, Jeanne d'Évreux had her body itself interred at Saint-Denis in 1371 next to her daughter.⁴⁴¹ Interestingly, Maubuisson had been founded by Blanche de Castile, Louis IX's

⁴³⁷ Millin, *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monumens* Volume 4, 82.

⁴³⁸ Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 277.

⁴³⁹ Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 40.

⁴⁴⁰ Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330" 372.

⁴⁴¹ Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 338. Beaumont-Maillet, *Le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* 40; William H. Forsyth, "A Head from a Royal Effigy," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications*, n.d., 214.

mother, who had also been responsible for establishing the Abbey at Nivelles,⁴⁴² where Marie de Brabant chose to patronize St. Gertrude. Jeanne would link herself to Louis IX through her presence at Saint-Denis, but also by aligning her patronage with Louis's mother, once again evidencing Jeanne's wish to follow the precedent set by her fellow predecessor queens to reach back in history and associate themselves with important familial figures. Further, in choosing the Cordeliers over the Jacobins for the placement of her heart, Jeanne would have removed the ambiguity often attached to dual patronage between husband and wife, and there would have been no question as to whose choice this was. Thus, Jeanne's decision attests to her own volition, separate from Charles, to join herself to a female network, and more importantly to Marie de Brabant, a woman whose books she collected and whose power she sought to emulate, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

As Marie de Brabant's patronage has been traced from her entrance in Paris in 1274 to her death in 1322, I have demonstrated her reliance on a variety of media, such as stained glass windows, reliquaries, and manuscripts, to create an image of herself as an important figure in the court of France both during her queenship and after her husband's death. She understood the importance of genealogy in general, as well as the potency of her own bloodline, which she wielded in times of adversity, as well as a tool for self-commemoration after death. Nearly a hundred years after the women discussed in the previous chapter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Matilda of Saxony, and Marie de Champagne, practiced patronage as a means for remaining relevant, Marie adopted the same tactics, evincing that a shift had indeed occurred in how women were inserting themselves into politics, court, and popular memory. Additionally, these same strategies would continue being deployed by future

⁴⁴² Gajewski, "The Patronage Question Under Review" Volume 1, 198; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy rulers and blessed princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 236.

generations and future queens, such as Jeanne d'Évreux, the subject of the next chapter.

Much like her grandmother, Jeanne had much to overcome, and just as her lineage had aided her throughout life, she, too, would promote it as an instrument for commemoration in anticipation of her death.

IV. The End of the Capetian Dynasty Commemorated Through Monuments, Memorials and Manuscripts: The Patronage of Jeanne d'Évreux

In Watriquet de Couvin's *Miroir aux dames* (BnF, MS fr. 14968), the queen encountered in the Castle of Beauty who wears a "chemise de pureté blanche, cote de chasté, ceinture de digneté, mentel de virginité"⁴⁴³ [shirt of white purity, chaste coat, belt of dignity, mantel of virginity], has been identified as Jeanne d'Évreux.⁴⁴⁴ She is featured throughout the text and most likely commissioned Watriquet to write this allegorical version of the *speculum* genre after she procured a copy of the text Durand de Champagne had composed, the *Speculum dominarum*, for Jeanne de Navarre (d. 1305).⁴⁴⁵ Watriquet's account was given to Jeanne d'Évreux at some point in the 1320s,⁴⁴⁶ suggesting it may have aided in her own education, perhaps in anticipation of having children. As the text's focus remained on cultivating the qualities of wisdom, goodness, courtesy, and beauty, it would have served Jeanne well as a queen, and potentially future mother. Thus, if she received the manuscript after her marriage to Charles IV in 1325, then, in light of women's roles as instructors of their children, it may well have been targeted at educating a queen awaiting the birth of a child in need of proper courtly comportment. Even though this was never the case, the 18

⁴⁴³ MS fr. 14968, f. 18r. I have added punctuation and accent marks to the text.

⁴⁴⁴ Auguste Scheler, ed. *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin* (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1868) 411.

⁴⁴⁵ June Hall McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996) 28.

⁴⁴⁶ Huot, *From Song to Book*, 229.

extant manuscript copies of the *Miroir aux dames*, a conduct manual for noble women, that were produced throughout the Middle Ages attest to its popularity in that period, as it found its way into other noble households.

Further, of particular note, the text breached gender lines when it was employed by both men and women as a didactic tool.⁴⁴⁷ For example, the anonymous *Liber de informatione principum*, adapted from the *Miroir aux dames*' predecessor, the *Speculum dominarum*, was dedicated to Philip IV's son, the future Louis X of France, between 1316 and 1322,⁴⁴⁸ and could have potentially been read by his younger brothers (the future Philip IV and Charles IV), who would also go on to become kings of France. In 1379 Charles V had the *Liber de informatione principum* translated by Jean Golein into French⁴⁴⁹ in a fashion parallel to the original translation of the *Miroir des dames* from the *Speculum dominarum*.⁴⁵⁰ Lastly, a copy of the *Miroir aux dames* was found in the libraries of both Charles V and Jean de Berry.⁴⁵¹ Even though Charles had many books translated into the vernacular, his choice of including *speculum* texts among his acquisitions attests to their literary merit. These books

⁴⁴⁷ Constant J. Mews, "The *Speculum dominarum* (*Miroir des dames*) and Transformations of the Literature of Instruction for Women in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250-1500*, eds. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011) 22-23.

⁴⁴⁸ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and the Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008) 119.

⁴⁴⁹ Paris, BnF, MS f. fr., 1210, f. 1 – "Icy commence le livre de l'information des roys et des princes..." <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451599m/f7.image>.

⁴⁵⁰ The *Miroir des dames* was a literal translation of the *Speculum dominarum*, while the *Miroir aux dames* was an allegorical adaptation of it; see Alice Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique au moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Paris: Cahors, 1903), 122-125. Thus, the straightforward translation commissioned by Charles V was created in the same vein as the *Miroir des dames*, not Watrquet de Couvin's version; see, Léopold Delisle, "Durand de Champagne, franciscain," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 39 Volumes. (Paris, 1733-1999), Volume 30, 311-321.

⁴⁵¹ Lynn Staley, "Anne of Bohemia and the Objects of Ricardian Kingship," *Medieval Women and Their Objects*, eds. Nancy Bradbury and Jennifer Adams, (Kalamazoo: Michigan University Press, 2017) 104-106.

were not lavishly illuminated, indicating they were not being collected for their artistic value, but rather for their written content, which underscores their versatility to teach both princesses and princes.

However, I want to draw attention to another shift that was occurring in female patronage that is signaled by Jeanne d'Évreux's participation in the creation of the *Miroir aux dames*, which will be important for understanding her other cultural endeavors and their impact throughout this chapter, as well as providing a broader appreciation for women's undertakings. The *speculum* genre provided women an instrument, quite literally a mirror, with which to reflect themselves to the world.⁴⁵² Although their images were mediated through the male who wrote the various texts, the works nevertheless allowed for a focus on the feminine in a positive light that celebrated women's better qualities and accomplishments. While Jeanne d'Évreux's famous book of hours, and other acts of patronage have been recognized by scholars such as Joan Holladay,⁴⁵³ Marguerite Keane,⁴⁵⁴ and Madeline Caviness,⁴⁵⁵ among others, as objects of reverence and from predominantly an art historical perspective, as I examine Jeanne's patronage, I attempt to decipher how each of the monuments, manuscripts, and other works of art associated with the French queen functioned in a fashion similar to the aforementioned literary text and created an historical narrative about Jeanne and an image of her with which others would want to associate. Her patronage

⁴⁵² Tilde Sankovitch, "Lambarda's Relectuant Mirror: Speculum of Another Poet," in *The Voice of the Trobairitz: Perspectives on the Women Troubadours*, ed. William D. Paden (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) 183.

⁴⁵³ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux;" and "Fourteenth-Century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Évreux and Her Contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006).

⁴⁵⁴ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*.

⁴⁵⁵ Caviness, "Patron or Matron?"

varies from the previously discussed women in two important ways. Unlike Marie de Brabant's library, Jeanne's book collection that also contained a variety of texts, mostly didactic, were either purchased by or gifted to her. Thus, with the exception of the *Miroir aux dames*, her only act of agency was arguably her decision to acquire or keep certain books.⁴⁵⁶

However, Jeanne's primary focus throughout her life was on commissioning artistic works (monuments, memorials, and statues) that commemorated her as a person and queen, while drawing attention to her lineage that situated her within the networks of nobles from which she drew her importance. Further, with the majority of her actions occurring during her dowager years, there is no ambiguity about her hand in creating these works of art or commemorative spaces, as was often the case with Marie de Champagne or Matilda of Saxony. Lastly, as I will explore the timeline of her funerary arrangements, it is clear that the final resting places that she created for herself, and sometimes her husband, Charles IV, were premediated, unlike the potentially happenstance burial Eleanor of Aquitaine provided for Henry II. In other words, Jeanne d'Évreux's actions were deliberate, and with the *Miroir aux dames* being her earliest act of patronage, she would go on to wield the image of herself that was crafted within its pages and reflect it forward throughout the trajectory of her future undertakings.

Not only did Jeanne d'Évreux use patronage to highlight her own image and lineage, as we shall see, but such tactics had proved successful for other women in the past. As we learned in Chapter 3, Jeanne's grandmother, Marie de Brabant, had demonstrated the significance such endeavors held for the men in the Capetian family. According to chronicles, Philip III had chosen Marie as his wife because he found her to be both "bèle," and from a

⁴⁵⁶ We do not have a complete list of her books, but Joan Holladay has managed to recreate a large part of her library from lists of her purchases, her testament, as well as from the inventories of others to whom she gifted books throughout her life. See, Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens."

“gentil linage.”⁴⁵⁷ Jeanne d’Évreux seems to have understood such blood currency, which carried the most weight with noble families, and advertised her own bloodline, along with that of her daughter, the future Blanche d’Orléans, through a program of beautifully decorated books that she could share with others and large monuments to be seen by many, which struck at the center of the much-coveted Carolingian and Capetian ancestry that she and Blanche possessed.

Through systems of commission, appropriation, and distribution, such as the statue of the Virgin and Child, or the tombs she had made for herself and other family members, Jeanne d’Évreux was able to insert herself visibly into the genealogical branches of her family. Moreover, as I apply Buettner’s theory on Blanche de Navarre⁴⁵⁸ to Jeanne, we will see that Jeanne’s patronage, instead of the point of departure solely for newly created objects of art, extended in both directions – forward towards those who inherited her goods, such as her daughter, Blanche d’Orléans, or her niece, Blanche de Navarre, but also backwards through history tracing herself to a number of important figures such as Louis IX, Hugh

⁴⁵⁷ “La Chronique anonyme” 92. Later, Philip IV, who had been conceived with Philip III’s first wife and not Marie de Brabant, must have felt bitterly excluded from the dual lineage Marie forged for her own children, as can be evinced by the rather unusual request Philip made to the monastery at Saint-Denis to rearrange the royal tombs. See Brown, “The Prince is Father of the King” 310-312 and Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 142. The once divided tombs of the Capetian and Carolingian lines were disrespectfully moved and intermingled at Philip IV’s behest, creating an amalgamation of mausoleums and gisants that effectively erased the notion of a division of family lines; see, Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, 113-115. Philip had no books or documents linking him to Charlemagne, precisely because there was no direct relationship. He and his sons initially married into the Burgundian line that had direct descent from Hugh Capet, who had usurped the throne from the Carolingian line that Philip apparently desired to be a part of. Thus, in much the same way as others flaunted their genealogies through the creation of tombs and monuments, Philip IV became preoccupied with obfuscating the difference. Philip’s son, Charles IV, would not rely on such elaborate meddling and when it came time to choose his own spouse, as opposed to the Burgundian, Blanche, whom he had previously been given, he looked towards Jeanne d’Évreux, who would provide a pure link to the Carolingian line. Philip VI would find a similar match for his son, Philip, in Jeanne’s daughter, Blanche d’Orléans, and later for himself by marrying Blanche de Navarre.

⁴⁵⁸ Buettner, “Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre.”

Capet, Charlemagne, and even Pepin le Bref. She was also able to connect herself symbolically to previous French queens, such as Marie de Brabant, whose cultural legacy was still strong. Further, she channeled other women, such as Jeanne I de Navarre, who no longer held political power and whose lines of descent had long disappeared. Yet these women's memories as savvy wielders of unofficial power remained potent within the books they had commissioned to which Jeanne had access and had most likely read, or, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3, Jeanne demonstrated her allegiance to them by having her heart buried alongside them in the Cordeliers. As Jeanne d'Évreux had numerous books rebound to wed the heraldry and initials of their previous owners with her own, and even her husband's, such as a missal she inherited from Marie de Brabant, a two-volume breviary, a Saint Louis psalter, or books of hours other than the one for which she is most famous,⁴⁵⁹ and as she bequeathed these to her daughter, her niece, and even to her great-nephew, Charles V, she gave away more than just books. Much like her niece Blanche de Navarre would later do,⁴⁶⁰ she handed down history, and in the process indelibly included herself in the narrative.

A. Jeanne d'Évreux's Ascent to Queenship and Need for a Narrative

In 1325, Charles IV of France married Jeanne d'Évreux. Despite two previous marriages Charles had no children, much less any male heirs. As French queen, Jeanne would bear one living child, a daughter, which would put an end to the Capetian dynasty.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 91.

⁴⁶⁰ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*; Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 5-8.

⁴⁶¹ Hallam, *Capetian France* 312-313.

Her legacy, however, would outlive that of many of her male relatives, and her patronage and accumulation of manuscripts, monuments, and memorials would solidify connections between her and her husband's family members from the past with those from the present, such as the emphasis she placed on her and her daughter's descent from both Charlemagne and Louis IX, both of whom were prominent figures for French nobility. Further, I argue that the works of art that will be discussed in this chapter, such as the Virgin and Child statue, Jeanne d'Évreux's tombs, and her most famous book of hours, would achieve what politics and the royal line could not – transmission of lineage through a female. Salic law, which was first created circa 500, and later reinforced in 1316 and 1328, prohibited female inheritance of the French throne and shifted the line of lineage to accommodate male heirs with titles and thrones.⁴⁶² As a result, women were denied their positions as rulers in their own right within noble houses and watched their families hand over titles and roles to more distant kin only to maintain a male line. Jeanne's own daughter, Blanche d'Orléans, who was only considered a better option for the throne of France than Charles IV's nephew, Edward III of England, would be passed over in favor of Charles's uncle, Philip.⁴⁶³ However, monuments, memorials, or manuscripts did not follow these same rules, and were crafted and bequeathed according to generational lines and also the volition of their owners, who were free to create their own political alliances through their bequests. In fact, as has already been touched upon in previous chapters, manuscripts were often transmitted from women to women, frequently

⁴⁶² Hendrik Kern, ed., *Lex Salica: The Ten Texts with Glosses, and the Lex Emendata* (London: John Murray, 1880); Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991) 53-55.

⁴⁶³ James Collins, "Dynastic Instability, the Emergence of the French Monarchical Commonwealth and the Coming of the Rhetoric of 'L'état,'" 1360s to 1650s," in *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe*, eds. Robert Von Friedeburg and John Morrill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017) 109; Clifford J. Rogers, *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999) 249.

avoided male lines altogether, and essentially erected their own cultural networks through such dissemination. The same can be argued about monuments and memorials, as was previously evinced by the necropolis created by Marie de Brabant, where future royal women, including Jeanne d'Évreux, would be buried. In other words, Jeanne was poised to follow in the footsteps of her predecessors and carefully curate her patronage to showcase her lineage and position herself among the highest nobility in France, with or without a male heir.

According to her testament, Jeanne d'Évreux had procured during her long life, through different means, a vast collection of books and cultural objects that came from her support of various artists, both secular and religious.⁴⁶⁴ Furthermore, as she became a patron of the funerary arts, especially in regard to her own tomb at Saint-Denis, she became a model to be emulated by those who followed. Jeanne's methodology for becoming a patron can be traced to one of her earliest endeavors directly following the *Miroir aux dames*, a statue of the Virgin and Child that she commissioned in the early years of her marriage, which, as will be discussed, underscored her Carolingian roots as well as her descent from Louis IX.

B. Gilding Lineage – The Statue of the Virgin and Child, the First Step Towards Her Tomb at Saint-Denis

Gilded in silver and gold, and covered with pearls and other precious stones such as translucent enamels, the Gothic statue of the Virgin and Child of Jeanne d'Évreux (currently

⁴⁶⁴ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Testamentary Strategies of Jeanne d'Évreux: The Endowment of Saint-Denis in 1343," in *Magistra Doctissima: Essays in Honor of Bonnie Wheeler*, eds. Dorsey Armstrong, Ann W. Astell, and Howell Chickering (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013) 217-247; Barbara Drake Boehm, "Le mécénat de Jeanne d'Évreux," in *1300, L'art au temps de Philippe le Bel: Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationales du Grand-Palais, 24-25 Juin 1998*, eds. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, François Avril et Marie-Cécile Baroz (Paris: École du Louvre documentation française, 2001) 15-31.

housed at the Louvre Museum), stands a little over two feet tall, and, according to Barbara Drake Boehm, was commissioned by Jeanne shortly after 1325 and then donated by her to Saint-Denis in 1339.⁴⁶⁵ Considering Jeanne's later decision to be buried at Saint-Denis, she may well have been paving the way for this enterprise by donating prized possessions to the church during her lifetime. The magnificently executed Virgin holds a scepter in the shape of a fleur-de-lys that doubles as a reliquary thought to hold the hairs of Mary herself,⁴⁶⁶ whose sculpture stands atop a pedestal that displays the life and death of Christ (figs. 17a, 17b, 17c). The statue's radiance lent itself to the name of the chapel in which it was situated, thereafter called Notre-Dame-la-Blanche.⁴⁶⁷ Even if Jeanne d'Évreux had never been specifically told of Marie de Brabant's donation of the châsse of Saint Gertrude to the shrine of Saint Gertrude at Nivelles, which had also been commissioned during the first year of Marie's marriage to King Philip III, or that both Marie and Jeanne de Navarre, along with numerous other noble women across Europe, such as Matilda of Saxony, had relied on familial saints when commissioning works, patronage culture over the previous hundred and fifty years, as I have shown in previous chapters, had changed to encompass such practices. The precedent had been set by her female forebears, and Jeanne's patronage likely drew from and built upon the experiences of these past women.

⁴⁶⁵ Boehm, "Le mécénat de Jeanne d'Évreux" 18-19; Fred S. Kleiner, "Gothic Europe: France" in *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: The Western Perspective*, Fourteenth Edition, ed. Fred S. Kleiner (Boston: Wadsworth Publishing, 2014) 388. The statue's whereabouts between commission and donation are either unknown, or not mentioned by scholars.

⁴⁶⁶ Kleiner, "Gothic Europe: France" 388; Boehm, "Le mécénat de Jeanne d'Évreux" 19.

⁴⁶⁷ Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris: Éditions du Palais-Royal, 1706) 530-533. Like many of the monuments discussed in this project, this chapel, too, was damaged at different intervals in history, before finally being completely destroyed during the nineteenth-century renovations of Saint-Denis. See Caroline Bruzelius, *The Thirteenth-Century Church at Saint-Denis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 15-16.



Figure 17a. The Virgin and Child of Jeanne d'Évreux



Figure 17b. Detail of the Virgin's Scepter



Figure 17c. Detail of the Statue's Base Featuring the Death of Christ

By placing the statue of the Virgin and Child at Saint-Denis, Jeanne paid homage to her own family as much as to the one into which she married. Louis IX was her familial saint as much as he was Charles's,⁴⁶⁸ rendering the necropolis that housed Louis' tomb an appropriate location for Jeanne to conduct her patronage. Despite being Charles's third wife, Jeanne became responsible for fulfilling what those before her could not – producing a male heir –, meaning that any son she bore would become king. Each interaction she had with Saint-Denis, of which there were several, as described below,⁴⁶⁹ solidified her legitimacy as part of the Capetian family, and consequently strengthened the recognition her anticipated future-born son would receive. However, once Charles died in 1328, and she gave birth not to a son but to their third daughter (Blanche), Jeanne refocused her energy, first, towards attempting to override Salic law in favor of her daughter, the future Blanche d'Orléans.⁴⁷⁰ When that failed, she channeled it toward bolstering her daughter's image in anticipation of a favorable

⁴⁶⁸ Jeanne d'Évreux and Charles IV were cousins, as is evident from the papal dispensation they required at marriage; see, Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 337.

⁴⁶⁹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis," *Mediaevalia* 10 (1984): 280-299.

⁴⁷⁰ Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* 168.

marriage, which she achieved when Blanche wed Philip d'Orléans, the second son of Charles's successor, Philip VI.

Thus, when Jeanne commissioned her gisant for Saint-Denis in the 1340s, while she was only in her thirties and long before she was even close to dying,⁴⁷¹ she was relying less on her marital ties with Charles than on her own family history, or genealogy, to secure her position in the royal necropolis. As the granddaughter of Marie de Brabant and King Philip III, she carried within her the bloodline of both Charlemagne and Saint Louis. In other words, as Jeanne placed herself next to the pre-existing gisant of Charles IV as his consort, she positioned herself between Charles IV and the extant tombs of other French kings, Philip V, with Jean II and Philip IV only a few feet away (fig. 18). Initially this might seem quite extraordinary, especially considering that there were no other females in proximity at the time until the tomb of Jeanne's own daughter, Blanche (d. 1393), who wished to be buried with her parents as opposed to her husband, Philip d'Orléans (d. 1376),⁴⁷² was created and placed in the same grouping much later. However, up to her last act of patronage, with her commission to Jean de Liège in 1370 for a tomb for her and Charles IV's entrails at Mauboisson (fig. 19),⁴⁷³ just as with her earlier commission of the Virgin in the Virgin and Child statue who wielded the fleur-de-lys scepter as the Queen of Heaven, Jeanne would, until her death and after her death, remind others that she remained a true Queen of France,

⁴⁷¹ Carla Lord, "Jeanne d'Evreux as a Founder of Chapels: Patronage and Public Piety," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, ed. Cynthia Lawrence (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1997) 25.

⁴⁷² Jeanne also commissioned Blanche's tomb; see, Lord, "Jeanne d'Evreux as a Founder of Chapels" 26.

⁴⁷³ Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 338.

and that her and her family's place was among kings. Such a perception of Jeanne d'Évreux will be further evinced when exploring her library.



Figure 18. Gisant of Jeanne d'Évreux at Saint-Denis.
From left to right: Jean II, Philip IV; Philip V, Jeanne d'Évreux, Charles IV; Blanche d'Orléans



Figure 19. Tomb for Jeanne d'Évreux's and Charles IV's Entrails at Maubuisson

C. The Queen's Library: The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*

Jeanne likely learned the importance of manuscript collections and their dissemination from several women in her family, such as her grandmother, Marie de Brabant, her great aunt, Mahaut d'Artois, and even her sister-in-law, Clémence de Hongrie, who all had enviable libraries from which Jeanne purchased many books.⁴⁷⁴ Brigitte Buettner, Joan Holladay, Marguerite Keane, and Susan Groag Bell,⁴⁷⁵ among others, have explored these women's book collections, and dissected them to focus on individual works in order to decipher their art historical importance. I draw on their research while examining and reassessing medieval women's libraries in conjunction with other works of art, such as the monuments and statue mentioned above. While I focus on types of books more than on specific manuscripts themselves, in order to create broader conclusions, I also rely on the research conducted by Anne-Marie Legaré in which she discusses the importance of women's books within men's libraries, as well as the work of Brigitte Buettner in regard to the acquisition and distribution of books through gift-giving.⁴⁷⁶ Therefore, I will discuss and analyze the manuscripts in the following sections according to their genre (books of hours,

⁴⁷⁴ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 84, 91; Jules-Marie Richard, "Les livres de Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne 1320-1329," *Revue des questions historiques* 40 (1886): 235-241; Louis Douët-D'Arcq, "Inventaire et vente après décès des biens de la reine Clémence de Hongrie, veuve de Louis le Hutin, 1228," *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1874) 37-112; Paulin Paris, "Livres de la reine Clémence, femme de Louis le Hutin, morte en 1328," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 2nd ser., 18 (1837): 561-564.

⁴⁷⁵ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 1-14; Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux" 585-611; and her "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 69-100; Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*; Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture" 742-768.

⁴⁷⁶ Anne-Marie Legaré, *Les Bibliothèques de deux princesses: Marguerite d'York et Marguerite d'Autriche* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Buettner, "Women and the Circulation of Books."

romances, or historical texts, among others), with special attention paid to the implications of each type of work within larger political and historical contexts.

Even when they refused to acknowledge women in political lines of succession, Jeanne d'Évreux's contemporaries, including Kings Philip IV, Philip VI, and Charles V, appropriated manuscripts originally created for women as tools for asserting their own legitimacy. As was made evident in Chapter 1 by the various genealogies and chronicles commissioned in the thirteenth century,⁴⁷⁷ men would look to manuscripts as a means of establishing family ties in a straightforward manner by outlining their genealogies across multiple generations. However, they would also participate alongside women in the patronage of a variety of secular and religious texts for the same ends of showcasing their lineage, as we witnessed through Henry the Lion's *Gospel Book* (c. 1188), or the translations of a French romance and *chanson de geste* that he commissioned most likely under the influence of his wife, Matilda of Saxony. As shall be demonstrated in the following section in this discussion of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (1324) and the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* (1338), the practice persisted well into the fourteenth century as well.

Jeanne acquired her most famous book of hours, known as the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, MS 54.1.2), as a wedding gift from her husband, Charles IV in 1325.⁴⁷⁸ Even though books of hours received their name from the Office of the Virgin, which is typically the most elaborate component within these manuscripts, books of hours were also highly customizable. Often those creating them would insert across their pages names or images of members of the royal family for whom the books were commissioned, building an even more personal relationship between the

⁴⁷⁷ See pages 15-32 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷⁸ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux" 585.

books and their owners,⁴⁷⁹ as will be seen with the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*. Virginia Reinburg, in her essay on the relationship between women and books of hours, beautifully encapsulates the essence of these precious possessions:

They were valued not only for the prayers and images enclosed in their covers, but also because they testified to and even embodied their owners' lives and relationships. Women considered their books of hours intimate possessions, objects to be passed down as a precious legacy to daughters, goddaughters, and dearest friends. Patterns of gift-giving and inheritance show this. To be sure, women sometimes gave books of hours to men, often sons, or sons-in-law. And men gave books to the women in their lives, usually their wives and daughters. But gifts among women were special: they wove webs of reciprocity, in which prayers and prayer books were signs of affection and enduring relationships.⁴⁸⁰

In Jeanne's case, one of the many notable aspects of her book of hours was its inclusion of the Office of Saint Louis,⁴⁸¹ in commemoration of Jeanne's and her husband's great grandfather (fig. 20). For Charles IV, aside from bestowing upon his new wife an extremely beautifully illuminated manuscript as a present on the occasion of their marriage, he may

⁴⁷⁹ Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); also, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 Volumes (London: Harvey Miller, 2000).

⁴⁸⁰ Virginia Reinburg, "For the Use of Women': Women and Books of Hours," *Early Modern Women* 4 (2009): 235.

⁴⁸¹ Margaret M. Manion "Women, Art, and Devotion: Three Fourteenth Century Royal Prayer Books," in *The Art of the Book: Its Place in Medieval Worship*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998) 23-24.

have had other significant reasons for giving her such a book. This same Charles had given his first wife, Blanche de Bourgogne, the earliest known book of hours in the possession of a woman to have included a similar program containing Saint Louis.⁴⁸² It had most likely been a means of inculcating in her the importance of the family into which she married, while also guiding her spiritual evolution. However, her long-term affair with a Norman knight that resulted in her imprisonment and eventual mysterious death⁴⁸³ suggests she perhaps needed more than a book to guide her moral compass.

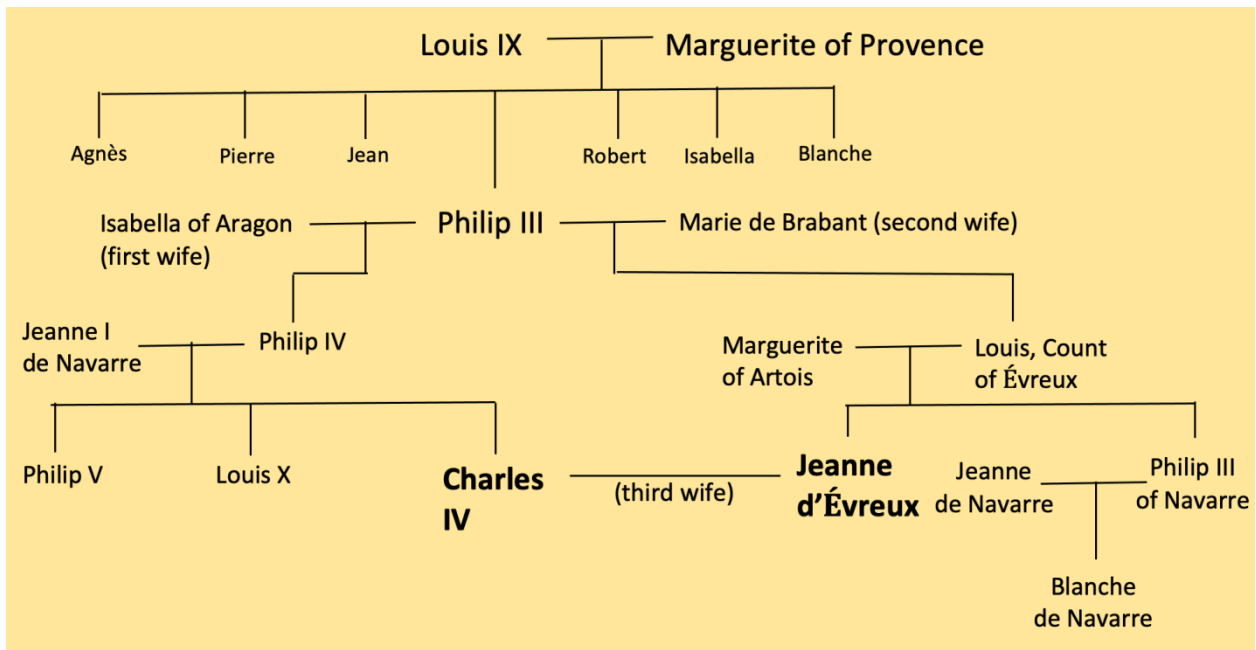


Figure 20. Common Ancestors and Relatives of Jeanne d'Évreux and Charles IV

⁴⁸² Delisle, "Les heures de Blanche de France, duchesse d'Orléans," 489-539. The manuscript in question is New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 56.

⁴⁸³ Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Political Thought as Improvisation: Female Regency and Mariology in Late Medieval French Thought," *Virtue, Liberty, and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women, 1400-1800*, eds. Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007) 11-15.

Nevertheless, I believe such gift-giving established precedence for Charles's reliance on books of hours as instructional tools. Whether or not Charles gifted books of hours to his wives with such a prerogative in mind, it was not uncommon for the perpetuation of piety to fall on the wife and he facilitated this activity.⁴⁸⁴ However, it is important to take into consideration the entirety of the program within a book of hours, and not fall into the trap of relegating it solely to the genre of pious reading material. The personalized nature of these books allowed them to serve as spiritual guides, but also as genealogies, family histories and forms of entertainment.⁴⁸⁵ As will be seen, men such as Philip VI and Charles V even integrated women's books into their libraries after the initial recipient had died, since ownership of books such as the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* or others from the library of Clémence de Hongrie, wife of Louis X, served to build connections between the Capetian dynasty and the newly emerging Valois reign. The piety and even beauty once ascribed to these books were perhaps overshadowed by their symbolic dynastic authority. Additionally, at times, as was most likely the case with Charles IV when commissioning books of hours for his wives, the books were more important to him, the patron, for acting as transmitters of piety, obedience, and lineage than to the women who received them.⁴⁸⁶

Yet Charles IV found himself in a precarious position that perhaps provides a reason for his insistence on bestowing on his wives books of hours as didactic tools. He was the last of three brothers, each of whom had ascended the French throne, but none of whom had

⁴⁸⁴ Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture" 755-756.

⁴⁸⁵ Anne D. Hedeman, "Gothic Manuscript Illumination: The Case of France," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) 427.

⁴⁸⁶ Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 358.

produced a male heir who lived to adulthood. There was also an absence of a male heir from his first two marriages.⁴⁸⁷ For his third wife he chose Jeanne d'Évreux, a woman with a shared lineage who would also have a strong interest in maintaining the Capetian line from which she was a direct descendent. Consequently, within the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* Jeanne's ancestry is depicted on several occasions, such as the inclusion of her uncle and great uncle, King Philip IV, and Robert d'Artois in the image on folio 173v. But most impressive is the placement of her father, Louis d'Évreux, in the same image, as a pallbearer for Saint Louis' reliquary.⁴⁸⁸ Louis d'Évreux was the son of Marie de Brabant and Philip III, making him Charles IV's half uncle, but more importantly also Saint Louis's grandson, so his inclusion in the manuscript drew a direct line between Jeanne d'Évreux and Saint Louis.

Notably, the various depictions of Saint Louis within Jeanne's book of hours became intermingled with depictions of Jeanne herself, such as the miniature on folio 102v of the manuscript (fig. 21). The text below the image states that "Incipiunt hore beate ludovi" [Here begin the Hours of Saint Louis], and the Office of Saint Louis is ushered in by an image of Jeanne standing in a shrine-like space reading from what can be presumed to be her book of hours as Louis's specter stands atop his tomb, while two guards or servants sit nearby. Clearly Jeanne is meant to invoke the memory of Saint Louis, but her presence bears a

⁴⁸⁷ Charles' first wife, Blanche de Bourgogne, was imprisoned for life after her trial for adultery, and not only did her two children die young, but the youngest child's paternity was under question from the beginning. See, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Laver de ses pechiés une pecheresse royale: Psalm Collects in an Early Fourteenth-Century Devotional Book," in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, eds. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2007) 164-166, and note 8 and Anne Echols and Marty Williams, *An Annotated Index of Medieval Women* (New York: Markus Wiener, 1992) 87. Charles' second wife, Marie of Luxembourg, only lived roughly two years: long enough to become pregnant, get into an accident, and die along with her prematurely born son; see, Jean-Marie Cazilhac, *Jeanne d'Évreux, Blanche de Navarre : Deux reines de France, deux douairières durant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 2010) 80.

⁴⁸⁸ The men present at Louis' burial are identified by Joinville; see *The Life of Saint Louis* 351-352.

duality in which her mode of understanding the work differs from how other readers might have seen it. As we look at the image, her presence at the left suggests she is a witness to the resurrection-like scene, and perhaps even the narrator for the Office of Saint Louis.⁴⁸⁹

However, from her perspective, as she gazes at her own image on the page, Jeanne d'Évreux might have interpreted the miniature as a pedagogical tool meant to help her read, or learn, about Louis' life as she progresses through the remaining folios of his hours, each of which depicts one of his good deeds. He is shown feeding lepers,⁴⁹⁰ helping the sick,⁴⁹¹ and washing the feet of the poor,⁴⁹² among other acts. While Jeanne may be a witness to Louis's life in this illustration, as she simultaneously looks at him while reading from a book (quite possibly her very same book of hours), she remains in reverence to Saint Louis, her great grandfather.

⁴⁸⁹ Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, "An Image of Saint Louis and the Structuring of Devotion," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (1971): 265.

⁴⁹⁰ MS 54 f. 123v.

⁴⁹¹ MS 54 f. 142v.

⁴⁹² MS 54 f. 148v.



**Figure 21. The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, MS 54.1.2, f. 102v.
Beginning of the Hours of Saint Louis**

The only other image of Jeanne within the book is tellingly found in the Annunciation scene on folio 16r (fig. 22),⁴⁹³ below the main image on the page, in the historiated initial. Much as in the Hours of Saint Louis, Jeanne is removed from the immediate action, and through the act of reading is reminded of her role to learn from what is on the page. In both cases she is, importantly, closely associated with reading the book. However, there are two distinct events occurring in this image – one within the main miniature, and the other in the *bas-de-page*; Jeanne's position at the center of the folio, between the two scenes, makes her privy to both.

⁴⁹³ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux" 598-599.



**Figure 22. The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS 54.1.2, f. 16r.
Annunciation to the Virgin**

Jeanne's presence at Gabriel's announcement to Mary that she will give birth to a son is hardly surprising, considering the amount of pressure Jeanne must have faced to deliver Charles with an heir, since without one the Capetian dynasty would end. Additionally, the message Jeanne is supposed to receive is echoed by the figures at the bottom of the page, in which a group of individuals are seen frolicking. Amidst the merrymaking, a woman is seemingly about to be carried off by her dress as people and angels alike are rejoicing. Madeline Caviness analyzes this image as a sexual subjugation of the woman, and Michael

Camille agrees with her. I concur that there are sexual overtones in the image but disagree with Caviness's point that they necessarily depict "the life [Jeanne] must avoid."⁴⁹⁴ Rather I argue that these images are a worldly reminder of the physical requirements for sexual reproduction. At Jeanne's feet, right at the border of the initial she inhabits, lies a small dog, typically associated with fidelity, while above her head is one of several rabbits, which are generally thought of in connection to fertility. The idealized outcome in the main scene of the folio is balanced out by the reality of the situation in the lower register, in which the idea of childbearing has a corporeal component, manifested by the rabbit, as well as the frolicking people, since Jeanne can only emulate the Virgin's spirituality, but ultimately cannot actually become her.

Accordingly, Jeanne is presented with an overt moral lesson through the prayer for the Virgin, which she is depicted reading within the confines of her historiated initial, while presumably being reminded of the urgency of bearing a child, which prayer alone cannot produce. In other words, I believe that the merry-making scenes, ripe with fertility imagery, are juxtaposed with the devotional elements in order to remind Jeanne of her more secular obligations involved in conceiving an heir. Just as the genealogical connection between herself and Louis IX is underscored by his appearance in her book of hours, so too Jeanne must continue that lineage. Thus, the meticulously executed book of hours serves to instill a moral obligation in Jeanne as a wife, but also as a great granddaughter to Saint Louis, to remind her of her shared commitment to continuing the familial lineage⁴⁹⁵ and to underscore the potency of any male heirs to whom she might give birth, who would in turn be linked

⁴⁹⁴ Caviness, "Patron or Matron" 339. Michael Camille, "'For our Devotion and Pleasure': the sexual objects of Jean, Duc de Berry," *Art History* 24.2 (2001): 181.

⁴⁹⁵ Madeline Caviness, "Patron or Matron" 355-356.

through two pious, spiritual parents to the ultimate symbol of religious devotion in their family.

1. *The Office of Saint Louis*

Of the known books of hours containing the Office of Saint Louis, others prominently echo the genealogical ambitions found in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and demonstrate the effectiveness of such books as instruments of legitimization, one owned by Blanche de Bourgogne,⁴⁹⁶ another by Marie de Navarre (see below, n. 519), and the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, on which I will focus here. Jeanne de Navarre (1311-1349) was the only child of Louis X, the first of Philip IV's three sons to inherit the throne, conceived with his first wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne. However, she was herself caught up in the series of affairs along with her sister, the wife of Charles IV, Blanche de Bourgogne, that consumed the entire royal family and led to an annulment of their marriage. Jeanne de Navarre was not deemed illegitimate despite this family drama, but she nevertheless carried the burden of having her patrilineage constantly doubted.⁴⁹⁷ After both of Louis X's brothers subsequently took the throne but produced no male heirs, and the kingship was being passed on to their uncle, Philip VI, Jeanne de Navarre and her supporters boldly contested the claim because they

⁴⁹⁶ Blanche de Bourgogne, Countess of Savoy (1288-1348), has also been identified as having owned a comparable book of hours containing the Office of Saint Louis that was presumably used as a means of drawing family lines and connections to the French royal family; see, Dom P. Blanchard, *Les Heures de Savoie* (London: Chiswick Press for Henry Yates Thompson, 1910) 2-3. The manuscript in question is New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390.

⁴⁹⁷ Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 52.

believed she was the rightful heir.⁴⁹⁸ Her father, Louis X, had, through his mother, Jeanne I de Navarre, inherited Navarre as well as France from his father. Unlike France, Navarre had a precedent for female rulers, and as a means to pacify Jeanne, she was able to rule Navarre in her own right so long as she quit her claim to the French throne.⁴⁹⁹

However, Jeanne de Navarre's legitimacy in ruling her land was intricately intertwined with her lineage in the Capetian line, and her established control of Navarre reinforced her link to the Capetians, a fact that was reflected in her book of hours (Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 3145), which elaborately and significantly displayed the Office of Saint Louis (ff. 85v-108v),⁵⁰⁰ who was her and her husband's great grandfather. On folio 151v of the manuscript, shortly after the Hours of Saint Louis, Jeanne is identified in a prayer to the Virgin Mary as "Johanna nauarre regina," Queen Jeanne of Navarre (fig. 23), meaning that the work was commissioned, possibly by King Philip VI, after 1328 when she took the title.⁵⁰¹ This reveals that even as Jeanne de Navarre relinquished her claim to the throne of France, she maintained her Capetian ties to it, given the established genealogical significance of including in her book of hours the Hours of Saint Louis, which were present in only a

⁴⁹⁸ Collins, "Dynastic Instability, the Emergence of the French Monarchical Commonwealth and the Coming of the Rhetoric of 'L'état'" 106-107; Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 57-62; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975) 408-410.

⁴⁹⁹ Marguerite Keane, "Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Jeanne of Navarre," *Visual Resources*, 20:2-3 (2004): 240-242; Navarre would not become a part of France again until 1572, when François II's sister, Marguerite, married Henri III of Navarre and unified the two kingdoms, leaving the fate of Navarre to once again be defined by women.

⁵⁰⁰ Marcel Thomas, "L'Iconographie de Saint Louis dans les Heures de Jeanne de Navarre," in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis: actes colloques du Royaume et de Paris* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1976) 209-231.

⁵⁰¹ Sydney Cockerell, "Horae of Jeanne II, Queen of Navarre," in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, ed. M.R. James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 152-153.

handful of manuscripts. There is even a theory stating that King Philip VI gave the book of hours to Jeanne as a gift upon her coronation as the Queen of Navarre, since folio 150r depicts Philip with his first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne (1293-1349), and his son, the future Jean II, with his wife, Bonne de Luxembourg (fig. 24).⁵⁰² This interpretation is based on Christopher de Hamel's belief that the manuscript was commissioned by Philip, and further created in two turns, ten years apart,⁵⁰³ which would be the only way in which Charles V, who was born in 1338, could be present in the illustration of a manuscript created for Jeanne de Navarre's coronation in 1328.⁵⁰⁴ Further codicological evidence is needed in order to confirm the claim of the book's creation over the span of a decade. However, in light of Charles V's presumed presence in the miniature, the manuscript's *terminus post quem* acquires a new date of 1338, narrowing the timeframe for the period when the book could have been commissioned. While several other options have presented themselves as motivations for the book's creation, such as when Jeanne renounced her claim to Champagne in 1336,⁵⁰⁵ none remains completely convincing.

⁵⁰² Christopher de Hamel, *Meeting with Remarkable Manuscripts* (London: Allen Lane, 2016) 412. If Philip indeed gifted the book to Jeanne de Navarre, it was done well before he married her daughter, Blanche de Navarre, in 1350.

⁵⁰³ de Hamel, *Meeting with Remarkable Manuscripts* 413.

⁵⁰⁴ It is possible that the child in the image is not Charles V, and could symbolically stand for one of the other male children born to Jeanne de Bourgogne who all died within days of being born between 1329 and 1333. However, the argument remains that the latest date for the manuscript could have been 1338.

⁵⁰⁵ Thomas, "L'Iconographie de Saint Louis dans les Heures de Jeanne de Navarre" 230.

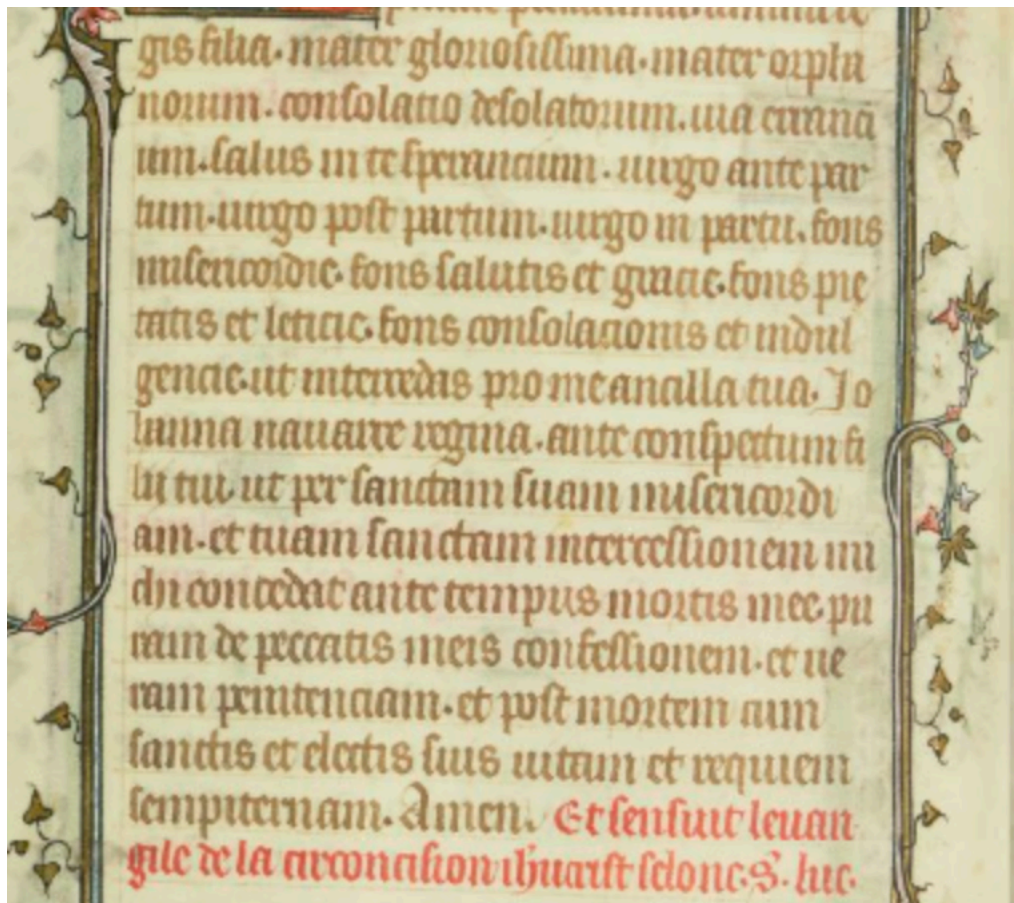


Figure 23. The *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*.
Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 3145 f. 151v.
Lines 7-8 name “Johanna nauarre regina”



**Figure 24. The *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*.
Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 3145 f. 150r⁵⁰⁶**

Regardless of any feelings of resentment that may have existed between Jeanne de Navarre and Philip VI, and whether or not he actually gifted the manuscript to Jeanne, her genealogical connections within the book are strong. Not only do the Hours of Saint Louis appear in the manuscript as a reminder of Jeanne's familial ties to the saint, but the first three generations of the newly forged Valois line are also portrayed, showcasing how Jeanne's associations could rely on both the past and the present to insure her standing among royalty. Additionally, the ways in which the manuscript was bequeathed to Bonne de Luxembourg accords Jeanne de Navarre a potential layer of agency. It is believed that Jeanne initially intended to give her book of hours to Bonne as a means of returning it to the family from whence it had come, if the theory that Bonne's father-in-law, Philip IV, had originally

⁵⁰⁶ Philip VI kneeling with his wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne, right behind him; the future Jean II of France with his first wife Bonne de Luxembourg, accompanied by their son, the future Charles V.

gifted the manuscript to Jeanne is accepted.⁵⁰⁷ Not unlike Marie de Brabant's potential motive for gifting Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142 to Jeanne I de Navarre as a coronation gift, a more probable reason for Jeanne II de Navarre to gift BnF, MS n. a. lat. 3145 to Bonne would have been for Jeanne to perform a gesture of friendship towards the wife of the forthcoming ruler of France (Jean II) in the hopes of forging an alliance that would be beneficial for her daughter, Blanche de Navarre, in any upcoming marriage negotiations.⁵⁰⁸ Further, if Blanche were to marry soon afterwards, should she too have a daughter, a friendship with the royal family of France, who happened to have a very young son, could only be beneficial.

However, these are only conjectures that rely on the typical inner workings of royal families and can never be proven in light of the devastating plague that occurred in 1349, wiping out half of the royal family, including Bonne de Luxembourg in September and Jeanne de Navarre only a few weeks later in October.⁵⁰⁹ Any intentions Jeanne may have had would have dissolved; and in their place a new family dynamic was formed. Even if the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* had been intended for Bonne, as seems to have been the case,⁵¹⁰ upon Bonne's death, Jeanne de Navarre's daughter Blanche intercepted the manuscript⁵¹¹ as

⁵⁰⁷ de Hamel, *Meeting with Remarkable Manuscripts* p. 413.

⁵⁰⁸ Relations between Philip VI and Jeanne de Navarre were strained at best (see, Keane, "Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre" 252, note 27), so it would make no sense for Jeanne de Navarre to attempt any friendship with Philip's wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne.

⁵⁰⁹ David Nicolle, *Poitiers 1356: The Capture of a King* (Oxford: Osprey, 2004) 17; Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant* 66.

⁵¹⁰ According to Jean de Berry's inventory, the manuscript did briefly belong to his mother, Bonne de Luxembourg; see Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, Duc de Berry, 1401–1416* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896) 134, item 1057.

⁵¹¹ It is not known how this occurred, and there is no scholarship about this bequeathal, only that Bonne is mentioned in Jean de Berry's inventory in the previous note.

well as (briefly) Bonne's previous place beside Jean II.⁵¹² However, during the marriage negotiations for his son and Blanche de Navarre, the newly widowed Philip VI took a liking to the young and beautiful Blanche, and wedded her himself instead, and so Blanche became queen of the land whose title her mother had been denied.⁵¹³

The significance of these genealogical connections lies with understanding the potential motivations for the creation and dissemination of manuscripts along family lines, despite the often-confusing familial ties that were forged, broken, and subsequently rebuilt. Moreover, such consequential associations reinforce why these manuscripts made for and by women also became important instruments for men. Apart from their avid bibliophilic activities, Jean de Berry's procurement of the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* through Jeanne's daughter's testament⁵¹⁴ and Charles V's acquisition of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* directly from Jeanne d'Évreux at death⁵¹⁵ attest to the cultural power of these books, as shall be described in this and the following chapter. At the time of Jeanne d'Évreux's death in 1371, Charles V was King of France, and much like Jeanne's late husband, Charles IV, Charles V had difficulty producing an heir. He had been married for eighteen years before his wife bore a child who would survive and subsequently reign as King Charles VI. As Jeanne d'Évreux was constructing her testament, the young future Charles VI would have been only about

⁵¹² In the interceding weeks between Bonne's and Jeanne de Navarre's deaths, it is difficult to know whether Jeanne had any role in Blanche's almost immediate betrothal to the future Jean II. As remains to be seen, that too, however, was short lived. Jeanne de Bourgogne, Philip VI's wife, was also a casualty of the plague; see, Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 49.

⁵¹³ Her insurmountable beauty is documented in numerous sources, and consequently she was dubbed "Belle Sagesse;" see Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 1 and note 1 and Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship* 43-44.

⁵¹⁴ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 9.

⁵¹⁵ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 70.

three years old, and therefore, whether or not he would live was still uncertain. Jeanne was most certainly familiar with the problematic issue associated with the absence of a male heir, having endured a similar situation herself. It was clear that her own daughter, Blanche d'Orléans, at that point in her forties, would more than likely not bear children, and thus Jeanne very likely relinquished those items that would best solidify the lineage of her great nephew, who most needed them, as further demonstrated by her bequeathal of one of Saint Louis' knives to Charles V, presumably for this same purpose.⁵¹⁶

Blanche de Navarre also had a meticulously executed will,⁵¹⁷ and the great care with which she distributed her possessions suggests that the bequeathal of her mother's book of hours to Jean de Berry was no accident. At her death in 1398, King Charles VI had already experienced bouts of madness,⁵¹⁸ could hardly recognize his own wife or children, was in a state of belligerence most of the time with only short bursts of sanity, and would thus not have been the best candidate to receive the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*.⁵¹⁹ However, his uncle, once regent and a continued source of counsel to the king, Jean de Berry, who also happened to be a lover of luxurious manuscripts, was a far better choice, personally and politically, to receive this bequest. Thus, Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Évreux bequeathed their two most precious books of hours to the libraries of the two men who at the time either directly ruled the country or were in a position to greatly influence political outcomes, and who were the foremost bibliophiles of the day. Arguably each woman

⁵¹⁶ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 70.

⁵¹⁷ Léopold Delisle, "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France" 2.

⁵¹⁸ John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI*, (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996) 173-176.

⁵¹⁹ A different prayer book that once belonged to Blanche de Navarre and which will be discussed in the next section did end up among Charles VI's possessions.

proceeded to do so as a means of lending legitimacy to their manuscript books and to those men who received these gifts, because ultimately their situations were tied to each other: the survival of the Valois line would ensure the continued security of the remaining Capetians in much the same way that the Valois's claim to the throne relied on their connection to the previous dynasty.

Charles V's and Jean de Berry's grandfather, Philip VI, had swept in and claimed the throne not only from Jeanne de Navarre, who realistically never stood a chance to overturn Salic law, but also from Edward III of England, son of Isabella of England, Charles IV's sister.⁵²⁰ Philip VI won out because the majority of the French people did not want an English ruler, even though Edward had been a real contender for the throne,⁵²¹ a confrontation that had essentially precipitated the Hundred Years War. Arguably Charles V's collections of manuscripts owned by previous members of the royal family were endeavors at amassing articles that traced lineage and provided legitimizing familial ties as a means of further solidifying his claim to the throne, should he ever need to publicly make use of them. During events when foreign forces could feasibly gain control of the land, proving to fellow nobles one's position within a well-established family could mean the difference between maintaining power or being forced to abdicate the throne.

Additionally, just as Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Évreux were directly related to Saint Louis, so were their step grandson and great nephew, Charles V and Jean de Berry,

⁵²⁰ Collins, "Dynastic Instability, the Emergence of the French Monarchical Commonwealth and the Coming of the Rhetoric of 'L'état'" 109-111; Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 17, 81-87. While Salic law prevented the line from being transmitted from Isabella to Edward, from the time of Henry II of England and his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, England had had large holdings in France, and Edward would have encountered less military resistance as king than Jeanne de Navarre and her husband and was also better equipped to handle it. See, Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI* 76-78.

⁵²¹ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis* 238.

respectively (fig. 25). Thus, two of the most famous manuscripts they acquired, the book of hours from both of these women, along with other jewels and tokens that they were given,⁵²² tellingly reflected these men's desires to highlight this important dynastic connection, as well as these women's efforts to promote their own legacy. In much the same way that Jeanne d'Évreux looked to the future when donating her Virgin and Child statue to the Saint-Denis or building her tomb, she evinces the same calculating moves with the bequeathal of her most famous book of hours to Charles V. Thus, the importance of the connection to Louis IX was not reserved solely for men, and his presence in a family tree remained desirable for female sovereigns as well, including Jeanne de Navarre's daughter, Marie de Navarre (1329-1347), who possessed one of the other books of hours containing the Hours of Saint Louis (Venice, Biblioteca Carciana, lat. I 104).⁵²³ As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, Blanche de Navarre, Jeanne d'Évreux's niece, will use the books in the same fashion, especially those connected with Saint Louis. This is not to say that a single book of hours bore the burden of legitimizing kings and queens, but it added to the cache of sumptuous artworks that could together demonstrate the potency of their owner among the aristocracy.

⁵²² Blanche de Navarre also bequeathed to Jean of Berry a small diamond that had come to her through Philip VI from his own sister, Jeanne de Valois, who was the main mediator in the dispute between Edward III of England and Philip VI for the throne of France. See Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 6.

⁵²³ Marie's claim to the throne of Navarre was also made through rather unorthodox means. Marie's older sister, also named Jeanne, was to be betrothed to Peter IV, King of Aragon, who took a liking to Marie instead. However, Marie, unlike her older sister, did not have any claims to land or potential claims to the throne. Thus, part of the marriage contract devised between Peter and Jeanne de Navarre ousted the older daughter from the line of inheritance in favor of Marie in the event that Jeanne de Navarre died without male heirs. See, Marie-Laure Surget, "Mariage et pouvoir : réflexion sur le rôle de l'alliance dans les relations entre les Evreux-Navarre et les Valois au XIV siècle (1325-1376)," *Annales de Normandie*, 58/1-2 (2008): 34-36. There were a few years during which it remained uncertain whether Marie would inherit the throne, and every effort was made to legitimize her claim by establishing her ties to important familial figures, in the event that she would need such symbols to ensure her reign, in much the same way I argue other nobles used such books. Marie's younger brother, Charles, survived childhood, and so the contract was nullified.

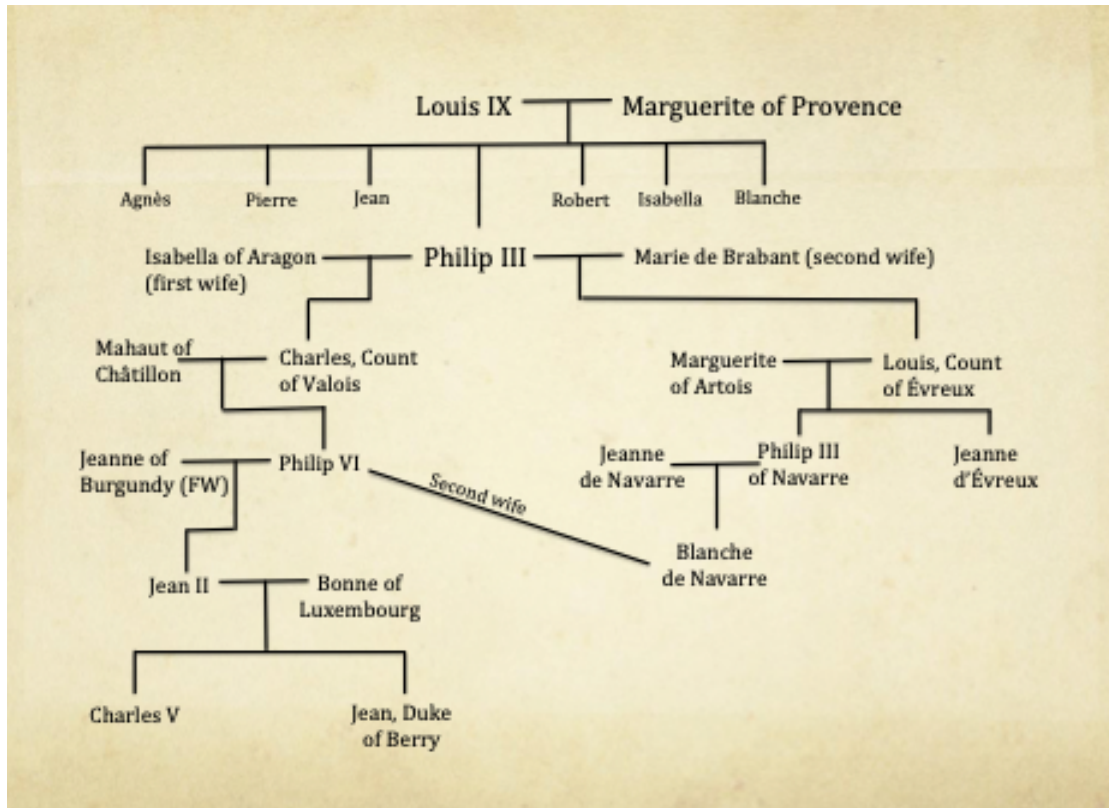


Figure 25. Descent of Charles V, Jean de Berry, Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Évreux from Saint Louis*An Artistic Association Between the Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux and the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*

While the Office of Saint Louis connects all four of the aforementioned books of hours that were initially commissioned for or owned by women (Jeanne de Navarre, Jeanne d'Évreux, Marie de Bourgogne, and Marie de Navarre), and that were likely used by them as means of establishing their roles within a far larger extended family,⁵²⁴ I want to cast light on yet another association between the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*. As mentioned, Jeanne d'Évreux did not commission her own book of hours, for her husband Charles IV had it made for her as a wedding gift, and it is uncertain whether Jeanne

⁵²⁴ The *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, for instance, was handed down from female to female over the generations, which was quite normal. However, it is significant that every single recipient of this manuscript, three of whom were queens, were all direct descendants of Saint Louis. See de Hamel, *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts* 425.

de Navarre commissioned hers; it is possible that Philip VI commissioned it for her. Thus, the similarities between the programs of their respective books of hours cannot be attributed to them, further underscoring the importance of such books beyond their personal use. As Margaret M. Manion asserts, while “many of the picture prayer books of the early fourteenth century were designed with the needs of royal and noble women in mind, within a generation these very manuals or similar compilations had been adopted by the men of the family.”⁵²⁵ In other words, they were just as valuable to the men who commissioned them, if not more so, as I suggest below, since the concerted effort put forth in maintaining their uniformity speaks to the shared dynastic and genealogical messages the books were meant to convey to whoever had the opportunity to examine or read them.

Jeanne d'Évreux, Charles IV's wife, not only relinquished the queenship of France upon her husband's death at the same time that Jeanne de Navarre quit her claim to it, as Philip VI ascended the throne in 1328, but Jeanne d'Évreux was also Jeanne de Navarre's sister-in-law. Given Jeanne d'Évreux's close relationship with Blanche de Navarre,⁵²⁶ Jeanne de Navarre's daughter, there is reason to believe Jeanne d'Évreux and Jeanne de Navarre knew each other well, as did others in their aristocratic circles who would have commissioned their books of hours. Consequently, it is possible that they were all familiar with each other's manuscripts, so it would be no surprise that one owned a book from an

⁵²⁵ Manion, “Women, Art and Devotion” 39.

⁵²⁶ The two women served together as godmothers for Charles's V's daughter, Jeanne, who was born and died in 1366. See Cécile Quentel-Touche, “Charles V's Visual Definition of the Queen's Virtue,” in *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250-1500*, eds. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011) 78; Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France* 56. For their friendship and the books Jeanne d'Évreux left for Blanche de Navarre, see Holladay, “Fourteenth-Century French Queens” 72, 87, and note 11. Their joint political influence will be discussed in the section on Blanche de Navarre.

artist who borrowed heavily from a previously successful artist, as is the case with Jean Le Noir and Jean Pucelle.

The fact that Jean Pucelle had received such a lofty commission for a book of hours from the King of France, Charles IV, for his new wife, Jeanne d'Évreux, speaks to Pucelle's artistic merit and the likelihood of having followers who would duplicate his artwork for their own royal patrons. This would especially be the case if others connected to Jeanne de Navarre, such as Philip VI, had been privy to the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and sought to commission like-quality work. Or perhaps the style was so highly regarded that those imitating Pucelle's works would have garnered commissions even without anyone having seen Jean Pucelle's original work.⁵²⁷ In much the same way that I argued that the early Valois kings relied upon their connection with the previous powerful members of the Capetian dynasty through the collection of their artifacts and books, I also believe they relied on transmitting their genealogies through the same artistic traditions as a means of evincing a sense of continuity. More importantly, both of these books of hours had royal women as central figures alongside Saint Louis. Thus, even though the women themselves did not have a hand in commissioning each text, their presence was a necessary component for the texts' creation in much the same way women were needed for the promulgation of the genealogical line that linked men like Charles IV and Philip VI to Saint Louis. In other words, by commissioning a series of books with similar artistic programs that simultaneously extended the lineage to incorporate royal women, the entire familial unit would be strengthened, along with any future generations that may arise.

⁵²⁷ Pierre Cockshaw, "Le Bréviaire de Belleville (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS latins 10483-10484): Problèmes Textuels et Iconographiques," in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, eds. Peter Rolfe Monks and D.D.R. Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 94-109; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, Volume 1, 266-267; Kathleen Morand, "Jean Pucelle: A Re-examination of the Evidence," *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961): 208.

Yet, regardless of whether those who commissioned the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* were aware of the artist's connections to Pucelle, the artist himself, Jean Le Noir, was clearly looking to imitate his forebear, most likely because that particular style was in vogue. The calendar pages of Jeanne de Navarre's book, created by Jean Le Noir, are identical to those in the earlier *Belleville Breviary* (Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 10483 and 10484),⁵²⁸ one of Pucelle's well-known works created between 1323-1326.⁵²⁹ The majority of the calendar pages for the breviary have been destroyed, making it impossible to compare the entirety of it with Jeanne de Navarre's *Hours*, but an examination of even the remaining folios suggests the similarities are clear, such as between the extant December page in the breviary and the complementary December page in the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, where the fallen castle at the bottom of the page, the foliage and even the people represented are designed in the same style (figs. 26a, 26b).⁵³⁰ However, the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* is not the only instance in which Jean Le Noir borrowed ideas from Jean Pucelle's book, as is evident in Le Noir's other work, the *Grandes Heures* (Paris, BnF, MS f. lat. 919), created for Jean de Berry, which also bears stylistic similarities to the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* scattered throughout its margins, such as the grotesque figures, the floral patterns, and other objects. Note the lines in the cloak, the

⁵²⁸ The dates of Jeanne de Navarre's book of hours are not known, but, as discussed earlier, they could not have been created prior to her becoming Queen of Navarre in 1328, and thus are predated by the Belleville Breviary.

⁵²⁹ Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin* 66/1 (1984): 73-96; John Alexander Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1958) 241-244; de Hamel, *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts* 405-409.

⁵³⁰ Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary" 73-96; Margaret M. Manion, "The Princely Patron and the Liturgy: Mass Texts in the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold," in *The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2007) 193-203; Roger S. Wieck, "Bibliophilic Jealousy and the Manuscript Patronage of Jean, Duc de Berry," in *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen masters at the French Court 1400-1416*, eds. Rob Dücker and Pieter Roelofs (Gent: Ludion, 2005) 121-133.

hair pattern in the turned figure, the chalice, and the extended arm (figs. 27a, 27b).⁵³¹

Moreover, the program for the Office of Saint Louis in Jeanne de Navarre's book of hours strongly resembles the same program in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*,⁵³² both of which were copied from a book made for Blanche de Castile, Louis IX's daughter, by her confessor two decades earlier,⁵³³ prolonging the chain of imitation.

⁵³¹ Most scholars typically compare the *Grandes Heures* with the *Petites Heures* and the *Belleville Breviary*, with only a cursory mention of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* or the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*; see, Patrick M. De Winter, "The *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: The Copyist Jean L'Avenant and his Patrons at the French Court," *Speculum* 57/4 (1982): 786-842, 798; François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)* (Paris: Brazillier, 1978) 35. Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Manuscrits Bréviaires des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, 3 Volumes (Paris: Macon, 1934) 201.

⁵³² Manion, "Women, Art and Devotion" 25-27; also her "Art and Devotion: The Prayer-books of Jean de Berry," in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991) 177-200; de Hamel, *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts* 405-409; Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* 244-246.

⁵³³ The book in question is the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis*, composed by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. See Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux" 589, 606, note 9.

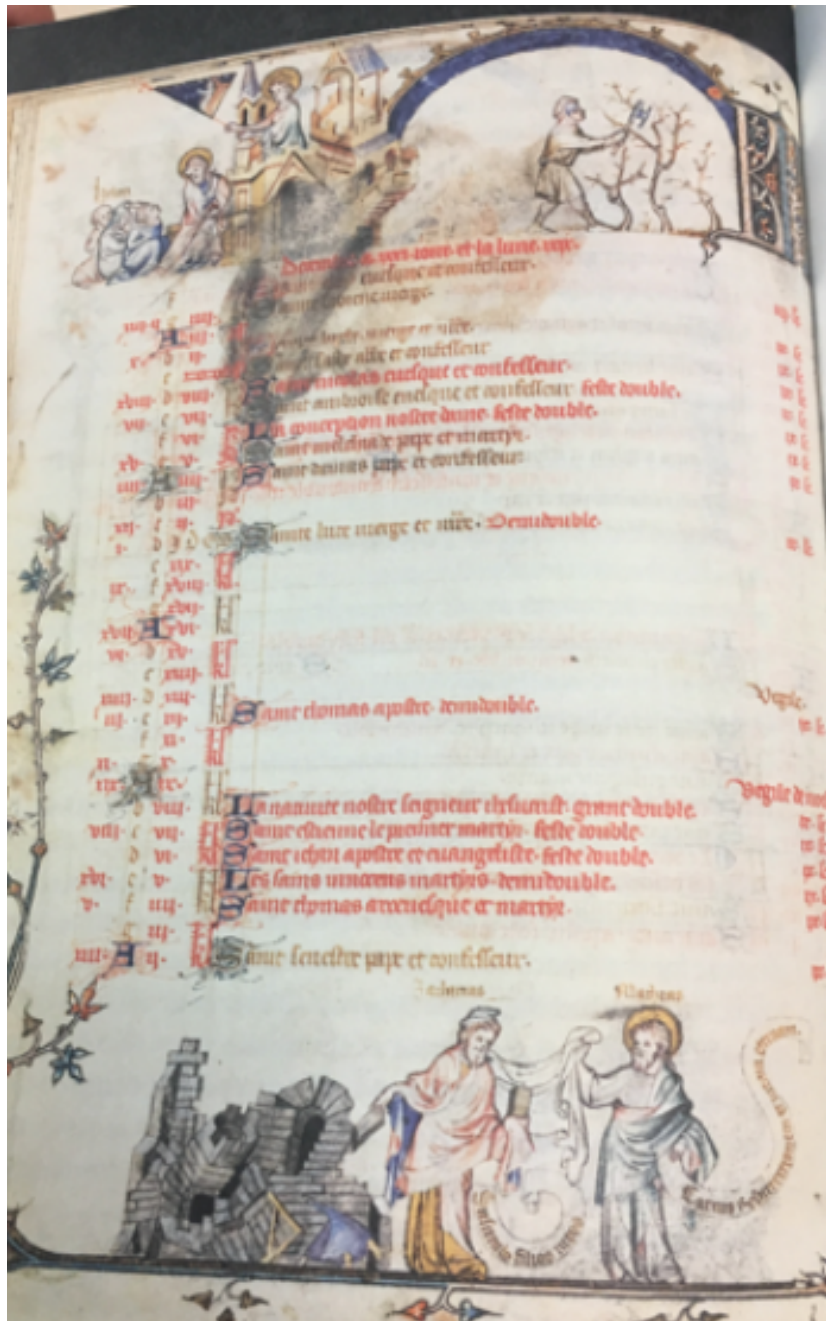


Figure 26a. *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*.
 Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 3145, f. 9v.
 December Calendar⁵³⁴

⁵³⁴ In the *Belleville Breviary* only the November and December calendar pages survive, but both are almost identical to those pages in the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the rest of the calendar would have followed the same pattern.



Figure 26b. *Belleville Breviary*.
 Paris, BnF, MS n. a. lat. 10484, f. 6v.
 December Calendar



**Figure 27a. *The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux.*
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS. 54.1.2, f. 160v.
 The Grisaille Image Created by Jean Pucelle in the margin**



**Figure 27b. *Les Grandes Heures de Jean de Berry.*
 Paris, BnF, MS f. lat. 919, f. 11r.
 A Painted Version of Pucelle's Marginal Image Rendered by Jean Le Noir**

Artists such as Pucelle and Le Noir were well established at the French court and were commissioned to create manuscripts for numerous nobles, but they were not the only ones available. The fact that they were commissioned to create similar manuscripts, books of hours, for such closely related women conveys the larger overarching theme shared by these books that surpasses their basic function: they were books of hours, but with an agenda. As

these books of hours were simultaneously used as devotional aids and markers for lineage, so too their iconographical programs served as linking devices. Further, from the royal collectors' point of view, if the legitimacy of the Valois dynasty rested on its connection to the Capetians,⁵³⁵ then I argue that accumulating numerous manuscripts of the same genre, books of hours, with extremely similar artistic programs, all of which collaborated in depicting the sanctity of Louis IX along with the majesty of his heirs, would have been an invaluable set of acquisitions. The more similarities between the books, the more potent their combined message. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, when the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* are revisited in conjunction with other books related to Saint Louis that were in the possession of Jeanne de Navarre's daughter, Blanche, women relied on the artistic programs of these books in the same way as the men who originally commissioned them.

2. *Additional Acquisitions in the Library of Jeanne d'Évreux*

Books of hours, however, were not the only class of manuscripts acquired by royal women, and Jeanne d'Évreux took advantage of the various types of literary and historical works at her disposal. In the process, as her testament reveals, she built a well-rounded library that prominently displayed her in the center as giver and recipient of important books. Further, while Saint Louis was most certainly an important figure who was frequently invoked in her manuscripts, Jeanne also drew attention to her lineage beyond the Capetian family through her selection of books directly related to Charlemagne, her great grandfather. For example, one of the fourteen books she purchased from her sister-in-law, Clémence de

⁵³⁵ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 94-96; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 1, 282, 365-366; Anne D. Hedeman, *The royal image. Illustrations of the Grandes chroniques de France 1274-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 51-70.

Hongrie, in 1328, was an *Enfances Ogier* (Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 1471),⁵³⁶ whose relevance stems back to its inclusion in Marie de Brabant's miscellany created for her by Adenet le Roi.⁵³⁷ He had also created other stand-alone versions of the work, such as MS 1471 that was the copy owned by Jeanne, purchased from Clemence's library.⁵³⁸ As previously mentioned, the work's inclusion in Marie de Brabant's miscellany, along with its existence in others' libraries, can be construed as much as the owners' desire to highlight their links to Charlemagne as Charlemagne's prowess as a king and warrior.

The *Enfances* was a popular story at court that was well disseminated among nobles.⁵³⁹ Such an understanding could explain Clémence's ownership of the work, but Jeanne d'Évreux's purchase of the book most likely had a more personal impetus in line with the romances commissioned by her grandmother, Marie de Brabant. Not only had the *Enfances* been crafted for Jeanne's grandmother, but by owning the original book that had once belonged to her grandmother, she would have been able to insert herself into the Carolingian line of descent as only twenty-two generations removed from the work's central character, one of France's greatest rulers.⁵⁴⁰ In much the same way that *Cléomadès* in Arsenal MS 3142, owned by Marie de Brabant, began with the illustration of the marriage of

⁵³⁶ Louis Douët-D'Arcq, "Inventaire et vente après décès des biens de la reine Clémence de Hongrie" 63.

⁵³⁷ See a discussion of this manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, in Chapter 3.

⁵³⁸ According to Albert Henry, Delisle believed this to be a presentation copy for Marie de Brabant. See, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 114.

⁵³⁹ There are nine extant copies of manuscripts containing the story; see Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* 110. Mahaut d'Artois owned a copy; see Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis Mahaut Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne* 102-103. Copies of it were documented in the libraries of both Charles V and Charles VI, with the possibility that Charles VI's wife, Isabeau de Bavière, read it; see Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Vol. 2, item 1160.

⁵⁴⁰ Ward, "Fables for the Court:" 199.

Cléomadès's parents (f. 1v), which was meant to signal that the tale would be directly concerned with lineage, the only image related to the *Enfances* in both the BnF and Arsenal manuscripts depicts Ogier, kneeling behind his father as he is about to be handed off as a tribute to Charlemagne (figs. 28a, 28b). The titular character in this scene is eclipsed by Charlemagne, whose radiant robe draws the viewer's attention, as it tellingly showcases his familial connections through the dual representation of the French fleurs-de-lis and Germanic coat of arms painted in gold and other bold colors. He is in command of the situation, much as he will remain a pervasive force throughout the narrative, even while the action centers on Ogier's exploits as Charlemagne's loyal vassal. In other words, Ogier is only as important as his relationship with Charlemagne, who remains the most relevant figure in the text as a reminder of the genealogy he imparts upon future generations.



Figure 28a. Paris, BnF, MS 1471, f. 1r.⁵⁴¹
Ogier Kneeling Behind His Father Before Being Handed Off to Charlemagne

⁵⁴¹ The manuscript in question, Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 1471, is reproduced digitally in black and white from BnF's Gallica; however, the artwork is almost identical to the same image used in MS 3142, so I show both for comparison.



Figure 28b. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, f. 73r.
Opening Image of the *Enfances Ogier*⁵⁴²

Further evidence of Jeanne's desire to procure books as a means of reinforcing her lineage can be found in the ways in which she and others decided which books were worth collecting.⁵⁴³ While Philip VI, Jeanne's cousin, did not purchase the *Enfances* from Clémence's library -- he may have felt that important books, such as those with genealogical ties or those with elaborate decorations, should stay within the family --⁵⁴⁴ unlike Jeanne d'Évreux, he would have had no political reason to collect a copy of the *Enfances*. The work

⁵⁴² This image is nearly identical to the BnF manuscript above – Ogier kneeling behind his father as he is about to be handed off to Charlemagne.

⁵⁴³ Joan Holladay draws some conclusions as to why Philip VI, Jeanne's cousin, may have gone about purchasing books from Clémence's library; see her "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 85.

⁵⁴⁴ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 86.

did not celebrate *his* family,⁵⁴⁵ nor was it a particularly attractive manuscript. However, books, on Saint Louis, for example, that made their way into subsequent Valois libraries, such as the library created by Charles V, had a different significance since Louis “raised the status of his descendants, and legitimated the accession of the Valois dynasty, in only its third generation on the throne.”⁵⁴⁶ In other words, books seemed to have been strategically collected, and Jeanne engaged in similar practices as her peers, even if her reasons for doing so can sometimes be more difficult to decipher, especially considering her position as a widow without any marriage prospects, or desire for any, at the time of these acquisitions.

However, I believe it was not her own position that Jeanne wished to bolster in her attempts at establishing her familial splendor throughout monuments and manuscripts, but rather that of her daughter who would carry with her the stigma of having been born a girl when the last of the Capetian kings desperately needed a male heir. After serving as the last hope for the fate of the Capetian dynasty, but failing to maintain the legacy, in her time of uncertainty, Jeanne d’Évreux, Dowager Queen of France, used her former, albeit briefly held, position to remain close to the court. Given Jeanne’s consanguinity with her deceased husband, Charles IV, she had many relations nearby, including her cousin, Philip VI, father of her daughter’s future husband (1345). It was too late to marry her daughter, Blanche, off to Philip’s eldest son and future king, Jean, but by continuously reminding others of her dual provenance from Saint Louis and Charlemagne, Jeanne was nevertheless able to forge a union between her daughter and Philip’s second born, Philip d’Orléans.

⁵⁴⁵ Both Jeanne and Philip VI’s lineage stemmed from Philip III, but at that juncture they bifurcated, and Philip VI was conceived from the line formed by the union between Philip III and his first wife, Isabella of Aragon, while Jeanne d’Évreux’s side was formed from Philip III’s union with his second wife, Marie de Brabant, who was the access point to Charlemagne.

⁵⁴⁶ Holladay, “Fourteenth-Century French Queens” 96.

Interwoven with lineage and books were morals that Jeanne likely passed down to her daughter, Blanche, found throughout didactic texts, such as the *Dit de la panthère*, Aesop's *Fables*, and an unnamed book written by the Reclus of Moliens. These were manuscripts she purchased from Clémence's library, which were in Jeanne's possession as she was raising Blanche.⁵⁴⁷ Since it had become accepted that women would be in charge of their children's education until the age of majority,⁵⁴⁸ daughters needed to be literate and well-versed in order to perform these duties,⁵⁴⁹ should they have sons of their own. It must be assumed that Jeanne's daughter, Blanche, was expected to produce male heirs, and thus her education would have been a prerequisite for fulfilling her role in the household later.⁵⁵⁰ Thus, even though there is no evidence Blanche inherited the books Jeanne purchased from Clémence, she would have arguably had access to them during her youth and may well have been read to from them growing up. As was witnessed with Marie de Brabant's miscellany, Arsenal MS 3142, which contained similar works, such texts provided a combination of fiction and history and simultaneously supplied moral lessons, such as sympathy for the unfortunate, courtesy and abstinence from unvirtuous behavior, which are found throughout the various passages. The *Dit de la panthère* further supplied lessons in the art of letter writing, which

⁵⁴⁷ Paulin Paris, "Livres de la reine Clémence" 561-564; Busby, *Codex and Context*, vol. 2, 640.

⁵⁴⁸ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (New York: Routledge, 1984) 90-96, 231-234; Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 133-135.

⁵⁴⁹ Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture" 743.

⁵⁵⁰ In the end, she did not actually produce any children, which is why she bequeathed so many items to her and her mother's very good friend, Blanche de Navarre, whose many possessions will be discussed in the following chapter.

would have been incredibly important for a noble woman in the Middle Ages.⁵⁵¹ While it is difficult to know how many of these books, if any, eventually found their way to Blanche d'Orléans library,⁵⁵² which would provide direct evidence of her having owned them at some point, the ways in which such books were read in general would have been conducive to shaping Blanche's early education in Jeanne's home. Holladay has documented that Jeanne herself was educated with such texts,⁵⁵³ so there is little reason to believe she did not employ the same pedagogical tools to raise her only daughter.⁵⁵⁴

In a similar study of Claude de France's library, Cynthia Brown argues that in the absence of concrete documentation, exploring the extant books that were "written about, dedicated to, or commissioned by the queen," can be a useful methodology for gauging her intellectual interests, but also her "cultural impact on others."⁵⁵⁵ Therefore, further evidence of Jeanne's educational program with regards to Blanche might be seen in her purchase of a French translation of *De Regimine Principum*, and *La Somme le Roi*.⁵⁵⁶ Holladay notes the

⁵⁵¹ Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 64.

⁵⁵² Before being properly documented, a large number of books were removed from Jeanne d'Évreux's library at death, presumably to go to her daughter; see Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux" 589 and Delisle, "Les heures de Blanche de France, duchesse d'Orléans" 490-491. Each item in Blanche de Navarre's testament states its provenance, its import (or absence of it), and several are attributed to Blanche d'Orléans. However, it is not clear how many were given to her in life and how many were bequeathed at death. See Delisle, "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France."

⁵⁵³ Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux" 588.

⁵⁵⁴ Jeanne d'Évreux had two other daughters: the first Blanche who died in infancy, and Marie who also died at fourteen. See "La Chronique anonyme" 687-688.

⁵⁵⁵ Cynthia J. Brown, "Books for a Queen: The Literary Patronage of Claude de France," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2 (2012): 257.

⁵⁵⁶ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 99.

unusual nature of such acquisitions, since Jeanne was not raising a prince to be heir to a throne.⁵⁵⁷ However, many women commissioned or retained such male-oriented texts to adapt for themselves or to guide other women. For instance, Eleanor of Castile, Edward I of England's first wife, commissioned a romance that celebrated her inheritance of lands in Pontieu and regarded the 9th-century count, Isemberth, her ancestor, as a role model.⁵⁵⁸ This acquisition parallels the way in which Marie de Brabant relied on romances in her own miscellany to transmit history and genealogy alongside historical and didactic texts. Additionally, historical texts that elaborated on the lives of princes and kings were quite often collected by women. The first known copy of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* was commissioned during the reign of Louis IX, but did not find a place in the royal library until shortly after Marie de Brabant became queen,⁵⁵⁹ which is not to suggest the book was placed in the royal library due to her initiative, but simply to imply she would have had many opportunities to read it and the manuscript may have subsequently influenced others, especially other women, in her circle to participate in this same kind of patronage that promoted their lineages and standings within important royal families. Tellingly, Jeanne d'Évreux's great aunt, and Marie's cousin and friend, Mahaut d'Artois, commissioned two copies of the *Grandes Chroniques*,⁵⁶⁰ one of which contained 40 illuminations.⁵⁶¹ For those

⁵⁵⁷ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 86.

⁵⁵⁸ The book has since disappeared, and only a reference to "un romanz de Isembart" remains, with no title, but it appears to have been a retelling of *the chanson de geste, Gormond et Isembard*; see, John Carmi Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth-Century Plantagenet Queens," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (University of Georgia Press, 1996) 181-183.

⁵⁵⁹ Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* 9-10.

⁵⁶⁰ Christelle Balouzat-Loubet, *Mahaut d'Artois, une femme de pouvoir (1302-1329)* (Paris : Perrin, 2015) 174-175.

⁵⁶¹ Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis Mahaut Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne*.

not as well versed in Latin, there were also vernacular versions of historic texts available, such as the Pseudo-Turpin,⁵⁶² which had originally been translated in 1200 by Yolande de Saint-Pol.⁵⁶³ In short, the way history books were commissioned and consumed was changing as history was becoming incorporated into a variety of genres from romances to moralizing texts and no longer found solely in genealogies.⁵⁶⁴

Jeanne d'Évreux's copy of the *Livre du gouvernement des rois* was Henri de Gauchi's French translation of *De Regimine Principum*,⁵⁶⁵ and while it was neither a history nor genealogy per se, it embodied many aspects of the newly developing type of literary texts that included historical accounts alongside other narratives or didactic materials, as was seen with Marie de Brabant's miscellany in the previous chapter. Such works relied on chronicled anecdotes as teaching tools, while also borrowing from the older traditions that incorporated both seemingly verified facts and romanced allegorical versions.⁵⁶⁶ *La Somme le Roi* took a different approach toward instruction, having originally been commissioned by Philip III

100.

⁵⁶² Diane Tyson, "Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Romania* 100 (1971): 189-191, 220.

⁵⁶³ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past* 70.

⁵⁶⁴ Spiegel, "Social Change and Literary Language" 130-131.

⁵⁶⁵ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 99; and also her "The Education of Jeanne d'Évreux" 602.

⁵⁶⁶ Ian Short, "A Note on the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle : Some Unnoticed Versions and Their Sources," *Medium Aevum* 38 (1969): 1-22; Pierre Botineau, "L'histoire de France en français de Charlemagne à Philippe-Auguste: la compilation du MS. 624 du fonds de la reine à la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Romania* 90 (1969): 79-99; Lorraine Daston, "Baconian Facts, Academic Civility, and the Prehistory of Objectivity," in *Rethinking Objectivity*, ed. Allan Megill (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994) 37-64; Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59-86.

from his confessor as a more spiritual work before making its way into Jeanne's library.⁵⁶⁷

Women did not figure prominently in any of these texts, but might have taken advantage of their lessons not only for moral improvement, but in order to learn about diplomacy and politics, since these were the predominant subjects of such texts and there would be few other reasons for women to collect them. Princes would have to openly practice traits, such as diplomacy, or exercise politics, but princesses and queens also quite often participated in similar activities, even if in different ways. After all, after being widowed, it was Jeanne who negotiated the marriage contract of her daughter and preserved her own presence at court, while maintaining a close friendship with, and consequently influencing the current queen, Blanche de Navarre, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

There remains no doubt that Jeanne d'Évreux was a highly literate woman who owned a sizeable library. However, conducting a taxonomy of her manuscripts offers an even more nuanced analysis of the types of books she owned and the various functions they may have fulfilled beyond the stereotypically ascribed practices associated with them. In other words, as I evinced through the discussion on the books within Jeanne's library, romances were not only acquired for entertainment purposes but likewise as reminders of one's genealogy; prayer books also held worldly advice and could be construed as political tools; and didactic texts previously thought of as men's books were quite often collected and perhaps read by women. Moreover, like several of her predecessors, Jeanne d'Évreux asserted herself through more than a single medium, relying upon an entire store of tactics to draw attention to herself as an important royal figure. Her books and memorials had practical and symbolic meanings used to establish lineage and power, allowing their owners and creators to promote their own potency within their families and at court through a variety of

⁵⁶⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, Volume 1, 127-135.

means. Books and monuments then, much as now, were markers of status. Large library collections could speak volumes about their owners, while single monuments achieved the same ends with a larger audience. Jeanne d'Évreux was well versed in these practices as she amassed her own collection, and, as this chapter has shown, mapping such an arsenal entails looking beyond the woman who created it and into the ways in which it was seen and used by those following in her footsteps.

V. The Currency of Queens: Reading Blanche de Navarre's Testament as Funerary Art

When Guildeluec, the wife in Marie de France's *Eliduc*, releases herself from her wifely duties in favor of her husband's lover, Guilliadun, whom he wishes to marry, Guildeluec immediately decides to build an abbey,⁵⁶⁸ not unlike the titular character in "Bele Doette," who turns to church building in widowhood.⁵⁶⁹ While Guildeluec is not a widow, and voluntarily relinquishes her wifhood for the happiness of her husband and Guilliadun, her choice of patronage is telling of the author's time. Such an endeavor has been demonstrated by the women thus far discussed in this dissertation in which churches and cathedrals received generous endowments from noble women throughout their lives, often to ensure future commemoration of themselves and their family's reputation. However, an even more notable and pertinent aspect of the story is the relationship Guildeluec and Guilliadun forge, in which the latter joins the former in the abbey and looks towards her mentor for guidance in the aftermath of her own marriage to Eliduc.⁵⁷⁰

In this chapter, I explore the real-life example of Blanche de Navarre, who, in death, as can be gleaned from her testament, mirrored her life-long friend, Jeanne d'Évreux, beginning with how she arranged her funeral and burial site to the way in which she collected and later bequeathed her prized possessions. In doing so, Blanche participated in the same

⁵⁶⁸ Guildeluec asks that Eliduc "de sa terre li doint partie / u ele face une abeie." Marie de France, ed. Harf-Lancer and Warnke, *Eliduc* 324.

⁵⁶⁹ For details on the "Bele Doette," see the opening paragraph in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁵⁷⁰ Guildeluec receives Guilliadun "cum sa serur" and the two women "Deu preiouent" together. Marie de France, ed. Harf-Lancer and Warnke, *Eliduc* 326.

means of memorialization that noble women had been practicing for centuries. However, more poignantly, Blanche acquired a treasure trove of items throughout her long life, and her testament allowed her to use her material goods as a means for maintaining her previously forged relationships even after her death. Blanche also coincidentally followed in the footsteps of the aforementioned literary characters as well as royal women from previous generations, as she used her wealth, acquired art objects, and influence to endow religious institutions as one of her last acts. However, her bequeathals also extended to individuals, and throughout this chapter I explore the items from her testament, predominantly her books, to evince another facet of female patronage that relied on lineage as an assertion of cultural power and impact. Unlike the women explored in previous chapters, Blanche had no hand in commissioning her books, nor were they created with her in mind, but instead she relied on the importance of their provenance to speak to their relevance for those who would receive them.

On September 10, 1398, less than a month before her death, the dowager queen of France, Blanche de Navarre, completed the last version of her meticulously organized twenty-two-folio testament.⁵⁷¹ Even though such documents were ubiquitous among nobles, Blanche's method of constructing her testament demonstrated her ambition to find innovative means to remain relevant long after she stepped off the throne, and as I argue, even after she died. Among the hundreds of items outlined in the testament, Blanche bequeathed eighteen reliquaries to religious institutions and ten to individuals. To others she willed thirty-two

⁵⁷¹ Delisle, "Testament" 1-64. The testament is divided into three sections created on three separate occasions: on March 18, 1396 Blanche outlined her wishes for burial, her plans for repayment of debts, as well as her bequeathals to religious institutions; on March 20, 1396 she listed all of the individuals to whom she wished to leave her belongings; on September 10, 1398 she amended the previous section by either adding or deleting items from her original bequeathals for various individuals.

textiles comprised of tapestries, wall hangings, robes, dresses, and bed sheets; twenty-three jeweled items (either wearable pieces of jewelry, loose gems, or jewels encrusted in other small ornamental trinkets); and forty-two books.⁵⁷² Regardless of whether or not Blanche had originally commissioned any of the items in her testament, through their bequeathal she imbued them with a second life. Additionally, she superimposed the memory of herself onto these objects so that she might be remembered by those who would receive and use her bequests, as Brigitte Buettner has argued, in demonstrating that testaments like that of Blanche de Navarre were a form of patronage.⁵⁷³ I build on this argument to further add that testaments were also a form of funerary art. While the majority of items found in Blanche's testament were not directly tied to her death in that they were not created to adorn her tomb or burial place, by gifting them to others upon her death, Blanche essentially crafted an entire network of memorials, housed either within institutions or individual homes where others might remember her and even pray for her everlasting soul. With each item Blanche bequeathed, she made statements about her relationship to the person she was giving it to, and forged connections between previous and future owners of the object, placing herself squarely in the middle as the conduit of the transaction. Most prominently, she often positioned herself as a descendent of Saint Louis and, as we shall see, marked herself as the purveyor of his books and other related objects. Thus, even though a testament may only provide a snapshot of a person's possessions at death, an analysis of these possessions can also offer further insight into that person's life.

⁵⁷² I am making the distinction between these jeweled items and the reliquaries, which I have placed in their own separate category despite the fact that many reliquaries also contained or were ornamented with jewels.

⁵⁷³ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 2.

Much research has been conducted on Blanche de Navarre's testament by scholars who have all listed and catalogued her many possessions, such as Marguerite Keane and Brigitte Buettner, and so the complete list does not need to be duplicated once more.⁵⁷⁴ My research builds upon these contributions but specifically concentrates on the role of books throughout her testament, which has not been the primary focus of other scholarship. For example, here I explore books as relics, as I argue that relics are more than just part of a person's bodily remains, for the term can extend to items that had come into contact with a person, creating "secondary relics," such as one of the manuscripts I will discuss below, a Saint Louis Breviary, which had at one point been in the possession of Saint Louis himself. Further, in a broader context, I explore how Blanche de Navarre used her possessions to empower those who subsequently acquired them, such as her nephew, Charles III de Navarre.

In her in-depth scholarship on Blanche's testament, Marguerite Keane established that the French queen created an image of herself as mother and mediator.⁵⁷⁵ She also, earlier argued that the primary reason behind the meticulous attention Blanche gave to each item in her testament was as assurance of these items' authenticity since she had been previously accused of gifting fake relics.⁵⁷⁶ Although I do not disagree with either of these assessments, I would also add to this listing of justifications Blanche's desire to step into the role of

⁵⁷⁴ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre;" also her "Women and the Circulation of Books ;" Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*; Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux; Léopold Delisle, "Les Heures de Blanche de France, duchesse d'Orléans ;" Nolan, "The Queen's Choice."

⁵⁷⁵ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*.

⁵⁷⁶ Marguerite Keane, "Most Beautiful and Next Best: Value in the Collection of a Medieval Queen," *Journal of Medieval History* 34.4 (2008): 360-373.

memory-maker in a similar vein as Brigitte Buettner's argument about the dowager queen.⁵⁷⁷ However, I also add to Buettner's idea that it was not just the collective cultural memory through which Blanche wanted to be remembered, but also the personal recollection of select individuals to whom she gifted very important items that would nonetheless not enjoy a wide circulation. Blanche very carefully placed each item in her possession with specific people and institutions, using her vast collection of objects to compose a well-curated image of herself that she hoped would remain in the memory of those who would receive them. Notably, the majority of the most important items accompanied books that either referenced the item's history, or complemented it in other ways, as shall be seen. Whereas Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany explore the movement of such objects that reflected the itineraries of the women who possessed them,⁵⁷⁸ I am here concerned more with the very objects Blanche left behind and the posthumous self-portrait that she created through her bequests, which functioned not unlike a life-like gisant.

A. A Testament to Blanche's Legacy

Much as a gisant, Blanche's unusually long testament displayed a well-defined image of Blanche at the end of her life. However, I want to bring into evidence through a closer inspection of its different parts how it was also at one point a living document, reflective of Blanche's vitality. The testament is divided into three parts. The first part outlined her burial wishes from the clothes and jewelry she would wear, the route her royal procession would

⁵⁷⁷ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre."

⁵⁷⁸ Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Moving Women, Moving Objects (500-1500)*, eds. Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany (Leiden: Brill, 2020) 1-2.

take through the streets of Paris (or from her second residence, her chateau at Neaufles-Saint-Martin, should she die there), the funds provided for this procession, and the instructions for her final burial place at Saint-Denis. Throughout this section she also listed the various churches and hospitals that would be given donations on her behalf, so that those institutions would pray for the salvation of her soul and remember her. The extravagance of her burial ceremony speaks to her personality. Despite having been queen for only seven months after becoming Philip VI's second wife under strained circumstances and never having had a coronation, much less a grand entrance into the city,⁵⁷⁹ her lavish exit was befitting the majesty of a queen⁵⁸⁰ —insinuating that she never saw herself as anything less.

The second and third parts of Blanche de Navarre's testament bear the hints of her continued influence among people at court as she maintained her presence as dowager queen for over four decades following Philip VI's death in 1350. This second part provides a list of her possessions that she divided among over two hundred persons, such as the current king and queen (Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière), along with her family members in Navarre and Champagne, other friends at court, and even those who worked in her households. The third part is a revised version of the second part, where she removed and added objects to and from different people's initial bequeathals. This section evinces the dynamic nature of Blanche's testament as well as the ever-changing relationships she had with people and with

⁵⁷⁹ Blanche was originally betrothed to the dauphin, Philip VI's son, Jean, before Philip married her himself in secret. Few people at court were pleased by this turn of events, and it led to much familial strife. For the details of this incident, see page 217 below. Philip VI died unexpectedly on August 22, 1350, less than 7 months after he and Blanche were wed. Due to the circumstances of their marriage and the plague that had recently killed a large number of people across the land, including Philip VI's first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne, Blanche did not receive a coronation or grand entrance into Paris. Yet, despite never having been officially crowned, Blanche de Navarre remained a highly regarded widow and dowager queen for 48 years from 1350 until her death in 1398.

⁵⁸⁰ Delisle, "Testament," items 6-17.

her possessions. As she continued to give away items throughout her life, such as the prayer book discussed below, she amended the entries of previously mentioned items, since they no longer figured in her inventory at death. Other times, the dowager queen added objects to people's bequeathals – items that she had presumably acquired in the last two years of her life. Blanche did not rely solely on passing on those items she had come by in her earlier days, for acquiring and gifting her possessions were such an integral part of her personality that she continued to do so until the end of her life. In other words, even though Blanche was the French queen for only a handful of months, she spent a lifetime building an enviable social network along with the prestige that came from such activity, earning her the privilege of an equally enviable funerary procession, burial, and legacy.

Thus, testaments such as Blanche de Navarre's were not only a declaration of one's possessions, but also documents that continued the politicking of the deceased. Analyzing items within them, such as the books within a queen's library left to beneficiaries, can not only provide useful information about her interests and perhaps her personality, but also gauge her "cultural impact on others."⁵⁸¹ Moreover, as books moved between family members, especially female relations, they transmitted genealogy and inheritance in ways traditional lineage could not—through women.⁵⁸² Blanche understood the potency of such genealogically laden items, and so she also chose to bequeath some of her most prized books to men, who had the political and cultural power to honor the women through whose hands these manuscripts had passed, or at the very least be reminded of these women's cultural influence. Thus, as Blanche crafted her testament to solidify her memory after death, she was able to use her books, in conjunction with the other objects she bequeathed to the persons and

⁵⁸¹ Cynthia J. Brown, "Books for a Queen: The Literary Patronage of Claude de France" 257.

⁵⁸² Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre " 11.

institution that received them, in order to advance her own agenda and that of her loved ones and closest of kin. However, to fully comprehend what prompted these decisions, it is important to understand her position at court and her relationship with her family from her first days as Philip VI's second wife until her death nearly half a century later.

B. Blanche's Politicking and Insertion into Affairs of the Court

The circumstances surrounding Blanche's queenship, I argue, served not only as the impetus for her desire to remain relevant well after her husband died, but also to be posthumously remembered. Upon becoming queen, Blanche found herself in the same situation as her great grandmother, Marie de Brabant, a century earlier. Much like Marie's relationship to Philip III, Blanche was Philip VI's second wife, and he had already successfully produced heirs with his first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne (1293-1349), before she died from the plague. While more children could often be assets, Blanche, like Marie, was not under the same obligations as her predecessors to produce a child. When Philip died seven months into their marriage while Blanche was left pregnant, no regency was put into place, the sex of Blanche's child had little consequence regarding the French throne, and she was able to retire as a wealthy widow to raise her daughter, Jeanne. Blanche's brief time as queen left her not only well endowed by her late husband,⁵⁸³ but in a position to further gift or bequeath her husband's treasures to others as well, which she did throughout her testament.⁵⁸⁴ Additionally, during her lengthy widowhood, Blanche became an astute

⁵⁸³ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship* 44-45.

⁵⁸⁴ Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts c. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83.4 (2001): 598-625.

collector of sumptuous articles, which she had documented for redistribution in each version of her will,⁵⁸⁵ and in the process visibly demonstrated both her monetary and genealogical power.⁵⁸⁶

Philip VI's decision to marry Blanche de Navarre, who had been promised to his son, the future Jean II, was not regarded as an appropriate action. Philip was not in need of an heir,⁵⁸⁷ his longtime wife had just passed away, and Philip himself was aging. His son, his family, and the French nobles were not pleased.⁵⁸⁸ Consequently, Philip VI and Blanche were married in a very small and private ceremony outside of Paris, at Brie-Compte-Robert, at the residence of Blanche's aunt, Jeanne d'Évreux.⁵⁸⁹ Blanche would not practice the ostentatious entrance into Paris enjoyed by her great grandmother, Marie de Brabant, or benefit from the subsequent coronation ceremonies experienced by Marie's successors. In fact, Blanche would not be crowned at all, forever leaving her open to questions about her legitimacy as queen. Nevertheless, neither of these facts prevented her from practicing queenship briefly while on the throne, as well as during her long dowager years.

It is unknown whether Philip and his son sufficiently reconciled at Philip's death, but the fact that Philip left such a large number of precious jewels and family heirlooms to Blanche, whom he had only met a year earlier, including a prized royal belt worn into battle

⁵⁸⁵ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 4.

⁵⁸⁶ Riet van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1983) 223-242.

⁵⁸⁷ Jean did not "need" an heir to the throne either, since his first wife, Bonne de Luxembourg, provided him with eleven children, eight of which were still alive when Philip married Blanche, and four of the eight were male.

⁵⁸⁸ Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre* 67-72.

⁵⁸⁹ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship* 44.

that would have been better suited for his son,⁵⁹⁰ suggests that perhaps the relationship between father and son may not have recovered. Yet, shortly after Philip married Blanche, the future Jean II married Jeanne d’Auvergne, putting an end to what may have been a family feud. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that Jean and Blanche did not harbor ill feelings for one another, considering that Blanche not only remained in Paris and continued her presence at court, but was also an active participant in state affairs.

For example, Blanche de Navarre’s continued relationship with the current court is demonstrated through her actions involving her brother, Charles II de Navarre,⁵⁹¹ who was well connected at the French court, even though not always under the best circumstances.⁵⁹² The person most often sent to mediate between Jean II of France and Charles II de Navarre, was Charles’ sister, Blanche de Navarre.⁵⁹³ Noble women often enjoyed the role of mediator, looking upon it as a means of exerting influence, and in the case of dowager queens, it was

⁵⁹⁰ Delisle, “Testament,” item 192.

⁵⁹¹ Through his marriage to Jeanne de Valois, King Jean II of France’s daughter, Charles became Jean’s son-in-law, and consequently the brother-in-law of the future king of France, Charles V, who turn out to be one of his closest friends. See Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* 107-110.

⁵⁹² Charles was an on-going threat to the crown and a constant cause for multiple battles, fed into the Hundred Years’ War by rallying England against France, and on his best days, provided a nuisance for his father-in-law. See Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship* 52; Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* 199-200; André Lesort, “La reine Blanche dans le Vexin et le Pays de Bray (1359-1398),” *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de l’Arrondissement de Pontoise et du Vexin* 55 (1954): 9-11; John Carmi Parsons, “The Queen’s Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England,” in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth McLean (Urbana-Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 1995) 149-150. Yet, due to his relationships through blood, marriage, and simply friendship, Charles escaped severe punishment each time.

⁵⁹³ Lois Honeycutt, “Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos,” in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth McLean, eds. (Urbana-Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 1995) 126-146.

how they remained relevant.⁵⁹⁴ Thus it was not unusual for Blanche de Navarre to intervene between her own brother and Jean II. However, what was unusual at this time was Jean's faith in a woman who had been his step-mother for only a handful of months to act fairly between himself and her own family.⁵⁹⁵ Perhaps the many instances in which Charles was pardoned speak to Blanche's loyalties; nevertheless, she was seen as a fair arbiter and according to the *Grandes Chroniques*, was asked on numerous occasions to intercede.⁵⁹⁶ While Blanche may have had a vested interest in participating in her brother's cause while also forming alliances for herself and her daughter at court, through her involvement one can also find the beginning of her relationship with her aunt, Jeanne d'Évreux.⁵⁹⁷ Much as Guiliadun in *Eliduc* looked for guidance from Guildeluec, the woman who had previously held her position not only as wife to Eliduc, but also as queen of Brittany, and who had become a close friend, Blanche would follow the path Jeanne had forged to mold herself according to the model of her only living predecessor.

⁵⁹⁴ Anne-Hélène Alliot, *Filles de roy de France: Princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) 372-374. Eleanor of Aquitaine also participated in such practices as she negotiated the marriage between her granddaughter, Blanche de Castile, and Louis VIII of France, the grandson of her first husband, Louis VII. They would give birth to Saint Louis, essentially connecting Eleanor to the creation of one of the most important men in France; see Miriam Shadis and Constance Hoffman Berman, "A Taste of the Feast: Reconsidering Eleanor of Aquitaine's Female Descendants" in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: PalgraveMacMillan, 2002) 192-194.

⁵⁹⁵ During Jean II's lifetime, his aunt, Jeanne de Valois (1294-1342), in her capacity as sister to Philip VI and mother-in-law to Edward III of England, also successfully acted as a mediator between the two men as they fought for the French throne. See Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* 354-359. Blanche de Navarre's other brother, Philip de Longueville, was Charles II's lieutenant, and second in command, often leading the many skirmishes Charles brought about.

⁵⁹⁶ BnF, f.fr MS 2813, ff. 394v-396r. Until now the only version of the *Grandes Chroniques* described in this dissertation was the original version presented to Philip III. Here, this is a later copy of the *Grandes Chroniques*, completed in the mid-1370s and ascribed to Charles V.

⁵⁹⁷ Holladay, "Fourteenth-Century French Queens" 72, note 11.

Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Évreux had much in common. They were both widowed at an early age, nineteen and eighteen respectively, neither of their children would sit on the French throne, but both had daughters who depended on their mothers' abilities to maintain spheres of influence in order to orchestrate favorable marriages. Further, aside from said daughters, in their later years neither Blanche nor Jeanne had any immediate family members left at court. Thus, both would have been eager to construct a network of support with each other, and Blanche would probably have been especially grateful for an opportunity to learn from her older aunt, who had successfully maintained a favorable presence at court and would have been her connection to other illustrious female family members, such as Marie de Brabant and Jeanne II de Navarre.⁵⁹⁸

Long before Blanche's testament would display the intricate web of relationships she fostered throughout her life, the roots of her endeavors were illustrated in a single image in the *Grandes Chroniques* that positioned Blanche alongside her mentor, Jeanne d'Évreux.⁵⁹⁹ It was a joint political act that the artist portrayed here, with Jeanne helping Blanche in her role as mediator for Charles II de Navarre, seen kneeling for forgiveness before Jean II, in what would be the first of many such occurrences (fig. 29).⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ By the time of Blanche's arrival at the French court, Jeanne had already married her daughter off to Philip VI's son, Philip d'Orléans, Jean II's brother, in which case Blanche would be eager to find an equally suitable match for her own daughter.

⁵⁹⁹ MS 2813, f. 395r.

⁶⁰⁰ Denis-François Sécousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II, roi de Navarre et comte d'Évreux, surnommé le Mauvais* (Paris: Durand, 1785) 565, 569, 573-575.



**Figure 29. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France.*
BnF, f.fr. MS 2813, f. 395r**

The event illuminated on this folio took place in March 1354, as Charles II was tried before Parlement (possibly represented by the man standing behind Jean in the image) and the Cardinal of Bologna for the murder of Charles de la Cerda, Jean II's favorite at court (the second cardinal in the image is unidentified). Charles was also being tried for his conspiracy with Edward III of England's son for the throne of France.⁶⁰¹ Jeanne and Blanche are depicted intervening on behalf of Charles, who was later acquitted in part due to the queens' intervention. The miniature was created about twenty years after the event, given that this version of the *Grandes Chroniques* was produced circa 1375-1380,⁶⁰² and I believe the figures are most likely symbolic to signal the multiple times Blanche and Jeanne interceded on behalf of Charles. There is no commentary about the specifics of this image within the

⁶⁰¹ Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* 123-126; Roland Delachenal, ed. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France: Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V, Tome Premier (1350 – 1364)* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1910) 42-43.

⁶⁰² Hedeman, *The royal image. Illustrations of the Grandes chroniques de France 1274-1422* 75.

manuscript, and scholars do not comment on it beyond acknowledging the presence of the two kings and queens. In the miniature, Jean and Charles are identified by the coat of arms on their robes, the French fleurs-de-lys and the Navarre golden crosses, respectively, and Jeanne and Blanche by the crowns on their heads, as they are the only two queens who interceded continuously on behalf of Charles and were in constant communication with him for years.⁶⁰³ Additionally, both women were some of his closest relatives – his sister and his aunt -- which most likely served as their greatest motivation for continued support.

Furthermore, although Quentel-Touche believes Blanche is the individual in the image pointing towards Jean to bid him make a decision, while Jeanne stands behind Charles,⁶⁰⁴ the fact that it is difficult to distinguish between the two women, as opposed to the two kings, may speak to the extent to which Blanche fashioned herself in the image of Jeanne, or perhaps in broader terms, in the image of her female predecessors. This can also be seen throughout Blanche's life, most overtly in Blanche's will, especially in regard to her bequeathal of books, not only to her nephew, Charles III de Navarre, but also to important figures in the French court, such as Philip, the duke of Burgundy, and the current king and queen, Charles VI and Isabeau.

C. Books as Relics and Markers of Memory

Blanche de Navarre boasted a relatively large library. However, her books' utility extended beyond serving as leisure, educational or spiritual reading materials. Several of them contained messages surpassing those written within their pages, and often acted as

⁶⁰³ Sécousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II* 565, 569, 573-575.

⁶⁰⁴ Quentel-Touche, "Charles V's Visual Definition of the Queen's Virtues" 78.

footnotes or amendments to other bequeathed items, as shall be discussed. Of the forty-two books in her collection, she bequeathed most of them, twenty-nine in number, to women, twelve to men, and one to the Hôtel-Dieu in Vernon. Curiously, this last book, given to the hospital, is the only book Blanche left to an institution, and it is one of three books in her collection directly connected to a Saint Louis relic. Her testament reads:

Item nous laissons à l'ostel Dieu de Vernon un reliquiaire d'argent que deux anges tiennent, là où il y a une jointe de monseigneur saint Loys de France, et avecques ce un livre de la vie monseigneur saint Loys de France qui est en françoys, pour lire aux dames quant elles veilleront à l'ostel, pour avoir memoire de saint Loys de qui ilz sont fondez.⁶⁰⁵

[We leave to the Hôtel Dieu of Vernon a silver reliquary that is held by two angels in which there is a finger of my lord Saint Louis of France, and with this [item] a book of the life of Saint Louis of France which is in French, to read to women when they are on watch at the hospital, so they remember Saint Louis by whom they [the Hôtel Dieu] are [was] founded.]⁶⁰⁶

According to a later portion of her testament, Vernon was one of several territories that had been part of Blanche de Navarre's dowry.⁶⁰⁷ However, Denis-François Sécouse states that

⁶⁰⁵ Delisle, "Testament," item 35.

⁶⁰⁶ All translations are my own. Notably, the reliquary is held by angels, potentially alluding to the miracle of the breviary, discussed below, which was of cultural and personal importance to Blanche, and which resurfaced throughout the artwork of the period.

⁶⁰⁷ "Item, pour la singuliere et especial devocion que nous avons aux eglises de Nostre Dame de Evreux, de Nostre Dame de Vernon et de Nostre Dame de Meleun, que nous avons longuement tenuz

Vernon had actually been given to Blanche by Charles V in 1359 in exchange for another territory, Melun, which had originally been part of her dowry.⁶⁰⁸ While that transaction had much interesting royal drama attached to it, more germane to the present argument is that Vernon, at the time of Blanche's testament, had been under her care for nearly three decades, regardless of how or why she had obtained it. Consequently, three separate institutions in the region of Vernon received attention from Blanche in her testament – the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame, the Franciscan monastery, and the Hôtel-Dieu, all in Vernon.⁶⁰⁹ Each one received money and relics, but only the last received a relic of Saint Louis and a book about his life as well.

Since Louis IX had founded the Hôtel-Dieu in Vernon, endowing the establishment with his relic made perfect sense. Blanche de Navarre was gifting to the institution one of the saint's fingers, which he had used on multiple occasions to cure the sick, especially in Vernon.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, considering Blanche's propensity for giving more books to women than men, bequeathing a book to the institution for the instruction of women was equally in

en douaire" [Item, for the singular and special devotion we have for the churches of Notre Dame of Evreux, Notre Dame of Vernon and Notre Dame of Melun, which we have for a long time kept as our dowry.] Delisle, "Testament," item 529.

⁶⁰⁸ Sécousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II* 398. In 1359 during one of the many skirmishes between Charles II de Navarre and the king of France, Jean II, Charles disrupted the supply flow of goods to Paris from the chateau at Melun, which was owned by his sister, Blanche. She attempted to mediate the situation, but would not give up her brother. France eventually ousted Charles from the chateau and from the town of Melun, and shortly thereafter Blanche had to give Melun to the crown so that such an incident would not be repeated. However, she was compensated with other territories, including Vernon. See Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France: Depuis les origines jusq'à la révolution*, 4 Volumes (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911) Vol. 4, 151; Sécousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II* 89, 398.

⁶⁰⁹ Delisle, "Testament," items 34, 35, 36. Which churches these might be is not specified in the testament, but their location remains more important than their names.

⁶¹⁰ Guillaume de Saint Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H. François Delaborde (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899) 93–94, 98.

line with her bequest practices, despite the fact that the hospital also housed men.⁶¹¹ However, there is another facet of her gifting practices at play that is not immediately apparent, but that resurfaces throughout other legacies in her testament and will become evident through a discussion of her bequeathal of relics to other institutions. Of the eighteen relics Blanche left to establishments, in five instances she made her donations “pour faire nostre anniversaire chascun an,” to celebrate a mass for her every year.⁶¹² In another instance she gave away a relic to the Carmelites of Paris to keep for “amour de nous” [“love of us”] – a phrase she used almost a dozen times throughout her testament, adopting the royal “we.”⁶¹³ Not all of her requests to be remembered were as blatantly stated, but they were present in other forms – some more direct than others. For example, in three other instances she bequeathed reliquaries in the form of statues of the Virgin, with representations of Blanche herself kneeling before Mary. Such depictions directly and eternally associated Blanche with the reliquaries as well as with her piety before the Virgin.⁶¹⁴

Of the ten reliquaries she left to secular persons, devotional books accompanied six of them.⁶¹⁵ Unlike the Virgin statues, which Blanche had specifically commissioned for the purpose of linking herself with each reliquary and its memory, she is not known to have

⁶¹¹ The hospital was administered predominately by women, typically nuns, and the services catered to the needs of poor women; see Barbara S. Bowers, ed., *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice* (Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate, 2007).

⁶¹² Delisle, “Testament,” items 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. It is unclear from the language of the testament whether she wished her birthday or death to be remembered, but in the Catholic tradition it is typically the death that is remembered during mass.

⁶¹³ Delisle, “Testament,” item 395. See also items 188, 195, 199, 200, 201, 226, 397, 529, 592.

⁶¹⁴ Delisle, “Testament,” item 529 (all three are discussed in the same item).

⁶¹⁵ Delisle, “Testament,” items 194, 201, 215, 237 (two relics and a book), 260.

commissioned any of the books.⁶¹⁶ Therefore, the manuscripts she bequeathed were extant in the collection she had amassed throughout her life by other means, either those inherited, gifted to her, or bought. With each bequeathal, she gave away a part of her life, a piece of herself. With relics, Blanche quite literally gave away pieces of others. I argue that Blanche solidified the connection of the holy relics with herself by adding books to some of these bequests. As the relics would be called upon to remember the religious figures they represented, the books would serve as a reminder of Blanche, the last person to whom the relics had belonged. The books functioned in a parallel fashion to her earlier requests for remembrance,⁶¹⁷ whether they were directly stated or implied, through the pairings of artworks and other mnemonic devices.

While Blanche had forty-two books to give away, not all were suitable as accompaniments for relics. However, gifting devotional books alone to secular individuals would potentially enrich their lives, and they would remember her as the conduit for this enrichment, whereas religious institutions arguably already possessed a number of such texts, rendering hers less impactful.⁶¹⁸ However, the Hôtel-Dieu was not a traditional religious institution, as it was not a convent or monastery. Indeed, despite being an institution, the Hôtel-Dieu functioned within Blanche's testament more akin to a secular individual, making her placement of a book there in line with her other practices, which included not only her propensity for bequeathing books to individuals, especially women, rather than institutions,

⁶¹⁶ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre" 1.

⁶¹⁷ See note 610 above.

⁶¹⁸ While the number of books at any given institution varied, it is broadly accepted that monastic institutions had at least a modest holding of books, which is not necessarily true for hospitals or other small institutions; Herman A. Peterson, "The Genesis of Monastic Libraries," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 45, no. 3 (2010): 320, 330.

but also her desire to be remembered and to be associated with some of the most important objects and people in her time.

Arguably, one of the ways she achieved this was through the constant reminder throughout her testament of her descent from Saint Louis. For example, the *La Vie de Saint Loys de France (Life of Saint Louis of France)* that she bequeathed to the Hôtel-Dieu was likely read over and over again to the women running the hospital, and perhaps even to some of the numerous visitors to the establishment. The biography of Louis IX was also most likely used in conjunction with the Saint Louis relic, recounting the multiple times he had used his hands, and by extension the finger within the reliquary, to cure those in that same hospital. The combination of these two items created a continuous cycle of remembrance for Blanche, their benefactor, in the same way that a perpetual mass functioned.⁶¹⁹ Thus, by placing his relic within the establishment Louis had founded, coupled with one of her books about his life, Blanche reinforced her relationship to the saint, and consequently her own image.

Blanche was also in possession of two other Saint Louis relics, not in the form of his body parts, but rather “secondary relics,” books he had once owned that had come into contact with his person and of which he had made use throughout his life, such as the psalter from which he had learned to read, which will be discussed. I maintain that Blanche used these, along with other precious books depicting Saint Louis, such as her mother’s famous book of hours, *The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, in much the same way as the saint’s relic and biography she gifted to the Hôtel-Dieu to place herself at the center of an entire familial network, one that was notably crafted and perpetuated by women, including Blanche’s

⁶¹⁹ Even though it is improbable that the poor women who visited the house would have been able to read the book, and it was most likely kept in closed quarters, according to the wording of the bequest its intended use was for various women to be read to when they came to the hospital.

mother. Further, Jeanne d'Évreux's role as a link between Marie de Brabant and Blanche de Navarre is nowhere more evident than with the books Jeanne passed down to Blanche, who in turn documented them in her own testament, evincing the importance of books' genealogies in the formation of relationships, especially female alliances, even when the books were subsequently gifted to men, as shall be discussed.

D. Using Books to Forge Relationships

Blanche had numerous models for creating her testament, including her late husband, Philip VI, and her aunt Jeanne d'Évreux. In creating hers, Blanche appears to have built upon their examples of gifting items to people of personal and political importance, while adding her own organizational tactic in which she not only listed the individual to whom she wanted to impart an object, but also from whence it had come. The oldest objects were the most precious, entrenched in family history and genealogical elements, and consequently often made their way through Blanche's personalized bequests into the coffers of kings and queens who wished to benefit from their ancestral connections, such as Charles V, who notably collected books from previous queens like Jeanne d'Évreux. This had been a tactic in Blanche de Navarre's family for generations, which could be traced to her mother, Jeanne de Navarre, but even further back, most notably to her great grandmother, Marie de Brabant, who was known for her acts of patronage and establishment of female networks through which she imparted her knowledge and wealth, and forged life-long bonds. Blanche de Navarre never met her great grandmother, but, as mentioned earlier, Blanche's aunt, Jeanne d'Évreux, had been a beneficiary of Marie's patronage, spent time in Marie's court, and

would have most likely transmitted the culture of patronage to Blanche by example, consequently widening her network to subsequent female relatives.

Following is an example that is meant to elucidate the forethought Blanche placed into her bequests. In the second section of Blanche de Navarre's testament of 1396, the French queen bequeathed to Valentina Visconti "un livre d'oroisons et devociens qui fu à noz tres chieres dames la royne Marie et la ditte madame la royne Jehanne d'Evreux; et le nous donna la duchesse d'Orliens, sa fille"⁶²⁰ [a book of prayers and devotion that belonged to our very dear ladies Queen Marie and the previously mentioned lady⁶²¹ Queen Jeanne d'Évreux; and the duchess d'Orléans, her daughter, gave it to us].⁶²² There are two notable points in this bequeathal. Despite Blanche's tendency to outline the provenance of an item, she does not usually delve beyond mention of the person from whom she had received it, especially if that person is a notable royal, such as a king or queen. However, in this instance, despite stating that she received from Blanche d'Orléans the prayer book, which had earlier belonged to her mother, Jeanne d'Évreux, Blanche de Navarre traces it back to yet another queen, Marie. Charles IV's wife before Jeanne was Marie de Luxemburg, making it possible that Jeanne had obtained this book from Charles IV. However, there has been no evidence of Marie de Luxemburg's book-owning activities or any predilection for literature.⁶²³ A more

⁶²⁰ Delisle, "Testament," item 213.

⁶²¹ This is translated to "the *previously mentioned/named* lady" as opposed to "the said lady" in context with the actual testament in which Jeanne is mentioned several times in the immediately previous sections; "ditte" emphasizes that it is the same Jeanne who has been mentioned multiple times.

⁶²² Unfortunately, this is the only extant description of this prayer book. Its content beyond this brief description and its current whereabouts are unknown.

⁶²³ As mentioned in Chapter 4, Charles IV commissioned books of hours containing the Office of Saint Louis for both his first and third wives, while there is no mention of such a book having been made for his second wife, Marie de Luxembourg.

likely identification of “la royne Marie” would have been Jeanne d’Évreux’s grandmother, Marie de Brabant, who was known as a literary patron and collector of manuscripts. By mentioning Marie alongside Jeanne, Blanche de Navarre ascribes a dual importance to this prayer book, describing its descent through almost a hundred years of French queens and noble women to whom she was related: she confirms that the manuscript made its way from Marie de Brabant to Jeanne d’Évreux, then to Jeanne’s daughter Blanche d’Orléans, who was herself a duchess, and thereafter to herself, another French queen. The duchess Valentina Visconti was to be the next female recipient of the prayer book.⁶²⁴

Not even the current queen of France, Isabeau de Bavière, received a book from Blanche that had passed through the hands of three queens and a duchess; instead she was given a piece of jewelry and a didactic text that came to Blanche from her own predecessor, Jeanne de Bourgogne.⁶²⁵ Brigitte Buettner states that these gifts were a means for Blanche to extend a bridge of friendship from herself to Isabeau de Bavière, wife of Charles VI, who was four generations removed from Blanche,⁶²⁶ with the implication that there were perhaps few other means of reaching out to her. However, there was little reason for Blanche to wish to create such a bridge – she was the last of her immediate family, her own daughter having long before died in 1371 –, so it was perhaps an obligatory bequeathal at best – after all, she may have felt she had to leave something to the current queen of France. Yet, this comparison does not answer the question as to why Blanche would lavish Valentina Visconti

⁶²⁴ It is unknown whether there had been another intermediary between Marie and Jeanne, but if there was, it could have been either the dukes and duchesses of Évreux or the kings and queens of Navarre, since the two territories were politically related, and they all stemmed from the union between Marie de Brabant and Philip III of France.

⁶²⁵ Delisle, “Testament,” items 194, 195.

⁶²⁶ Buettner, “Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre ” 8.

with such a family heirloom that the prayer book represented, especially when she could have given the manuscript to her own sister or numerous cousins and nieces.

Moreover, there was no familial relationship between Valentina and Blanche, for Valentina had arrived in France from Milan less than a decade earlier in order to marry the king's younger brother, Louis, duke d'Orléans. However, since Blanche de Navarre had received the prayer book from the previous duchess of Orléans, Jeanne d'Évreux's daughter, she may have decided to bequeath it to the woman who currently held the same title. Perhaps Blanche d'Orléans and Valentina Visconti had formed a relationship in the short time between Valentina's arrival in 1389 and Blanche's death in 1393; or Blanche de Navarre herself may have befriended Valentina. However, there is nothing to support either of these claims outside of the fact that Blanche wished to gift to Valentina such a book, implying there may have been some friendship between the women. It may also have been Valentina's predilection for manuscripts, especially devotional ones, such as books of hours, that prompted Blanche to remember her with a prayer book; when Valentina arrived in France, she "was known to own three books of hours, three books in German and John Mandeville's *Itinerarius*."⁶²⁷ On the one hand, Blanche's testament encompasses hundreds of items, and she may not have had a clear plan for each one, leaving some to be less carefully distributed than others. On the other hand, the time she took to describe this prayer book along with its provenance, and the diligence Blanche practiced throughout the other parts of her testament make it unlikely that she would have just given away a book owned by three queens and a duchess based on a similarity of title, an acquaintanceship, or any other random reason. Thus, there may have been not just one, but several motivations behind such a bequeathal.

⁶²⁷ Diane Booton, *Manuscripts, Market, and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2010) 141.

In the second version of the second part of the testament constructed in 1398, Blanche amended numerous items from the previous version of 1396, and while the aforementioned prayer book was nowhere near the top of the list in the 1396 version, in the revised testament of 1398, it is the first item mentioned.⁶²⁸ The same questions and objections a modern reader might have as to why Valentina would receive such a valuable family treasure may have also occurred to Blanche, and tellingly, her first order of business when devising a last revision of her testament was to replace bequeathing the book of prayers to Valentina with the gift to her of a two-volume breviary instead. Blanche may have for whatever reason felt that the prayer book was not appropriate for Valentina, but its fate remains unknown, as it was not mentioned again in the testament as having been given to anyone else after it was rescinded from Valentina. However, it must be remembered that Blanche acquired and gave away many items that were originally listed in her testament while still alive, which was the main purpose for the revised version two years later.⁶²⁹ Thus, it is not impossible that she chose to give away the prayer book to another individual in the two years between the first and second versions of her testament.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁸ The testament reads “en lieu du livre d’oroisons et devoions que nous lessions en nostre dit premier codicille a nostre tres chiere fille la duchesse d’Orleans, lequel fu a noz tres chieres dames la royne Marie et la royne Jehanne, nous voulons et ordenons que notre ditte fille ait nostre breviaire a l’usage de Romme, quie est en deux volumes, qui fu ma ditte dame la royne Jehanne” [in lieu of the book of prayers and devotions that we left in our first stated codicil to our very dear lady the duchess of Orleans, which belonged to our very dear ladies Queen Marie and Queen Jeanne, we wish and order that our same said lady have our breviary for the use of Rome, which is in two volumes, which belonged to our said lady Queen Jeanne]. Delisle, “Testament,” item 405. Thus, the original book was substituted out, but it does not appear listed again, and there is no record of it in other instances.

⁶²⁹ Since certain items were listed in the original testament and were retracted later without mention of having been bequeathed to other people, I am drawing the conclusion that Blanche had given them away in the interim.

⁶³⁰ This might especially be the case since this particular manuscript, or anything resembling it, was not found in Valentina Visconti’s library, so it does not appear that Blanche gifted it to Valentina

Blanche clearly had the desire to impart meaningful acquisitions to those she mentioned in her testament, demonstrating great forethought in many of her actions. The aforementioned example demonstrates her attention to these details, even when there remain loose ends, such as the exact whereabouts of books that were moved from one section of the testament to another, and then altogether disappeared. Since Blanche outlived her own daughter, Jeanne de France, her mother's most important manuscript, *The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, would not follow a direct path of lineage. More interestingly, *The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, along with two other of Blanche's most important books, which will be discussed shortly, seemingly did not remain in line with her other bequeathing practices and consequently were not placed into the hands of women, but rather made their way into the collections of Jean de Berry, his brother, Philip de Bourgogne, and Blanche's own nephew, Charles III de Navarre. However, through these placements, I contend that Blanche maintained her role of memory-maker, bequeathing the books to those on whom they would make the greatest impact, as shall be evinced.

When bequeathing *The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* to Jean de Berry, Blanche de Navarre must have taken into consideration Jean de Berry's desire for certain aesthetic elements in his manuscripts that were also found in her mother's book of hours, as made evident by artistic similarities between Jeanne's book of hours and the Belleville Breviary discussed in Chapter 4. Blanche's testament reads: "Item nous laissons à nostre très chier filz le duc de Berry, noz plus belles heures, que nostre très chiere dame et mère, que Dieux pardoint, nous lessa à son trespassement" ["We leave to our very dear relative, the Duke of Berry, our most beautiful book of hours, that our very dear lady and mother, may God pardon

between 1396 and 1398. Booton, *Manuscripts, Market, and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* 141, 154 note 32.

her, left us at her death”].⁶³¹ Quite obviously, Blanche’s mother’s book of hours carried sentimental importance along with its genealogical weight,⁶³² but books that were kept solely for sentimental purposes, such as another book of hours Blanche had inherited from her mother, she gave to her younger sister, Jeanne, viscountess of Rohan. To Jeanne, Blanche left “noz heures de Nostre Dame, où nous disons touz les jours noz heures, qui furent madame nostre mère, que Dieux absoille, qui sont les meilleurs que nous aions, après celles que nous lessons à nostre dit filz de Berry” [“our Hours of the Virgin, which we use for our prayers every day, which belonged to Madame our mother, may God absolve her, that are the best [hours] that we possess after those that we are leaving to our relative from Berry”].⁶³³ The distinction between how the books were to be regarded by their recipients is made through their descriptions. While the second manuscript is listed as having been read daily by Blanche and having belonged to her mother, the first manuscript, given to Jean de Berry, is described as being her most beautiful book of hours. As is evident from the additional item given to the duke de Berry, a small diamond,⁶³⁴ it can be assumed that in addition to his reputation for collecting specific pieces of art, including exquisitely decorated manuscripts, he enjoyed beautiful things and would appreciate the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* for its illuminations, quality, and perhaps for its lineage, but probably not for its sentimental connection to a woman he had probably never known. Blanche’s sister, on the other hand, was also given a second devotional book, insinuating that Blanche believed Jeanne would

⁶³¹ Delisle, “Testament,” item 198.

⁶³² Blanche’s mother, Jeanne de Navarre, was a controversial figure in the French court. For the full account, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation, pp. 180-181.

⁶³³ Delisle, “Testament,” item 230.

⁶³⁴ Delisle, “Testament,” item 199.

make use of this item on a regular basis.⁶³⁵ Thus I assert Blanche often placed her books with those who would use them repeatedly, whether for daily prayers or for aesthetic enjoyment, with the added assurance that her memory would be revisited on numerous occasions, even if it meant displacing one of her most treasured books from her immediate family.⁶³⁶

E. Blanche's Testament to the History and Politics of the Saint Louis Psalter

The same impetus to be remembered was present in Blanche's bequeathal to the duke de Berry's brother, Philip de Bourgogne, to whom she left a Saint Louis Psalter, currently housed at the University of Leiden.⁶³⁷ Due to the genealogical potency and provenance of the book, it is comparable to the magnificent *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* that she gave to Jean de Berry. Both Jean and Philip were not only the king's uncles, but men who held significant

⁶³⁵ Blanche used the same practice for books that were of lesser value, such as the book of surgery she gave to a lady in her household, Symonnete, who presumably would have had regular use for such a text; see Delisle, "Testament," item 427.

⁶³⁶ It is unclear whether this tactic actually worked out as Blanche had planned. In Jean de Berry's inventory from 1402, he does not attribute any connection between the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* and Blanche de Navarre. However, he does later gift the manuscript to the Queen of England, Joan of Navarre, Henry IV of England's wife, who happened to be Jeanne de Navarre's granddaughter, perhaps inadvertently reverting the book back to its family line; see Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, Duc de Berry*, 134, item 1057. The last time the book was seen before it was lost for nearly 450 years was at the Convent of the Cordeliers in Paris, where several other notable queens were buried during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including the first Jeanne de Navarre, Blanche de Navarre's great grandmother. For the current whereabouts of the book, see Auguste Longnon, *Documents parisiens sur l'iconographie de S. Louis publiés par August Longnon d'après un manuscrit de Peiresc conservé à la Bibliothèque de Carpentras* (Paris: Champion, 1882) 7, 21–66. The book, through a series of events, was by coincidence found in a private collection in the 1960s and the Bibliothèque nationale de France along with the French government paid a large amount of money to recover the national treasure that has since 1973 been housed at the Bibliothèque; see de Hamel *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts* 424–425. The manuscript is fully digitized and available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10025448t/fl.item>.

⁶³⁷ Leiden, University Library, BPL 76 A. An image of Louis reading this very book is found in the *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre*, f. 85v.

political influence, especially in light of Charles VI's worsening mental condition in which he was experiencing moments of derangement and at times could no longer recognize those around him.⁶³⁸ This particular psalter, from which Saint Louis had learned to read, according to its entry in Blanche's testament, came to Blanche from her husband, Philip VI, who had acquired it from his deceased wife and Blanche's predecessor, Jeanne de Bourgogne; she had previously received it from her mother, Agnes de Bourgogne, Louis IX's daughter.⁶³⁹ This lineage essentially meant that this psalter stemmed directly from Saint Louis and his immediate family (fig. 30).

⁶³⁸ Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI* 173-176.

⁶³⁹ "Item nous laissons à nostre très chier fils le duc de Bourgogne le psaltier où monseigneur saint Loys aprint ; et fu à madame la grant duchesse Agnès, duchesse de Bourgogne, sa fille; et depuis la duchesse Agnès vint à nostre dicte dame la royne Jehanne de Bourgogne, sa fille; et en après à nostre dit seigneur et espoux, qui le nous donna..." [We leave to our very dear relative the Duke of Burgundy the psalter with which Saint Louis learned [to read]; and it belonged to the great duchess Agnes, duchess of Burgundy, his daughter, and from the Duchess Agnes it came to our dear lady the queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne, her daughter; and afterwards to our lord and spouse who gave it to us]; Delisle, "Testament," item 200.

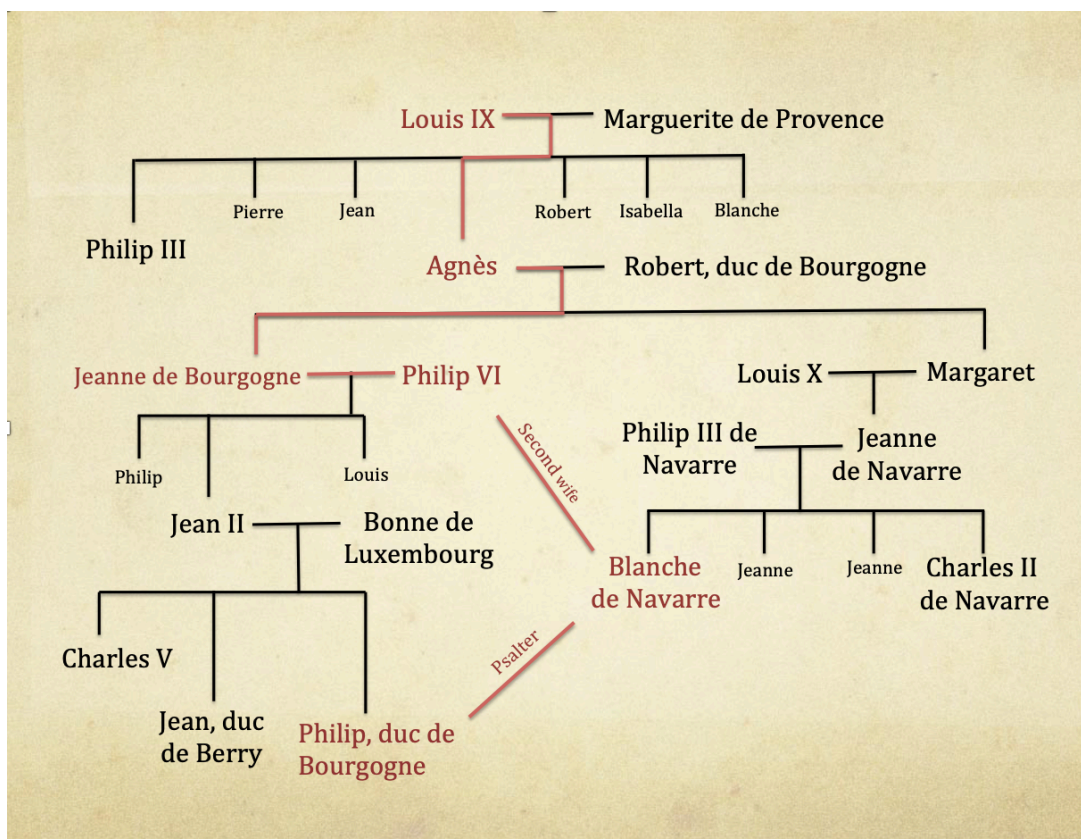


Figure 30. Family Tree Tracing the Psalter from Saint Louis to Blanche de Navarre and Then to Philip de Bourgogne

Brigitte Buettner notes “une dose d’ironie” [“a dose of irony”]⁶⁴⁰ on Blanche’s part for bequeathing the psalter to Philip de Bourgogne, since not only was Agnes de Bourgogne the greatest supporter of her granddaughter’s (Jeanne de Navarre’s) claim to the throne of France in lieu of Agnes’s daughter’s husband, Philip VI,⁶⁴¹ but it was Jeanne de Navarre’s son, Charles II de Navarre, who continued to contest the claim denied to his mother, Jeanne de Navarre, not only to France but to the duchy of Burgundy, in light of it being his ancestral home, an allegation Philip had to fight off. In fact, Philip would not even have held his position if Agnes, whose manuscript he had just inherited, had had her way. Through this

⁶⁴⁰ Buettner, “Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre ” 7.

⁶⁴¹ Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France* 81.

bequeathal, Blanche superimposed the memory of her own lineage upon that of the current ruling house. She was not only a queen of France by marriage, but also a descendant of the same line from which the current king of Navarre had acquired his power and remained an influential and formidable opponent to the crown. It was also from this position that Blanche bequeathed a second book connected to Saint Louis, a breviary, which likewise spoke to her familial history and her role in creating it.

G. Blanche's Testament Revises Royal Genealogy through Books

After the death of Blanche's brother, Charles II de Navarre, in 1387, his son, Charles III, took up his father's cause and continue the fight for the legitimacy of the king of Navarre's claim to the French throne. To Charles III, Blanche gifted a breviary that:

fu monseigneur le roy saint Loys de France, lequel l'ange lui apporta en la chartre quant il fu pris des ennemis de la foy, et fu monseigneur le roy Phelippe, son filz ainsné, qui mourust en Arragon, mary de madame la royne Marie, notre besaiole, et le lui donna en sa vie. Et depuis est venu de hoir en hoir de la ligniée monseigneur saint Loys. Et le nous donna nostre frère le roy de Navarre, son père. Et pour reverence et la sainteté de monseigneur saint Loys, et que par grace il est venu de la ligne de nous, et depuis que nous eusmes le dit breviaire promeismes à nostre dit frère que il retourneroit nostre ligne, nous voulons et ordonnons que à nostre dit neveu il demeure, et desormais ensuivament à ses successeurs, senz estre aucunement estrange, et

les requerons que ilz le facent tousjours garder comme precieux et noble jouel
venu de noz anccesseurs, et qu'il ne parte point de la lignie.⁶⁴²

[belonged to [our] lord King Saint Louis of France, which the angel had
brought to him when he was imprisoned by enemies of the Faith, and it
belonged to [our] lord King Philip, his eldest son, who died in Aragon,
husband of [our] lady Queen Marie, our grandmother, and he gave it to her
during his lifetime. And since then it has come from heir to heir down the line
of [our] lord Saint Louis. And our brother, the king of Navarre, his father
[father of the current legatee, Charles III], gave it to us. And because of the
reverence and the holiness of [our] lord Saint Louis, and because by grace he
has come from our lineage, and since we promised our said brother that the
said breviary would return to our family, we wish and command that it remain
with our said nephew [Charles III], and henceforth with his successors,
without in any way being removed [from the family], and we pray that they
always keep it as a precious and noble jewel [that has] come from our
ancestors, and that it not leave our lineage.]

This entry's actual placement in the testament is also of importance. At first glance, many of the items in the testament do not appear to be in any particular order other than being listed together for each person to whom they are gifted. However, upon closer inspection, the order appears to be in accordance with the person's importance and his or her degree of connection to Blanche. Thus, the first person in the testament is King Charles VI, followed by his wife,

⁶⁴² Delisle, "Testament," item 196.

Queen Isabeau. Yet, the next series of bequests does not then proceed to the Dauphin or the king's uncles, who were almost as politically important as the king (and who were named the executors of Blanche's testament).⁶⁴³ Instead, Blanche turns the bequests to her nephew, the king of Navarre. Through this placement of Item 185, she was asserting her nephew's importance on a similar level as that of the king of France – or at least the next order in ranking – and revising the perceived familial hierarchy within the land. Furthermore, the book Charles III de Navarre received was richer in appearance and genealogical references than any of the items given to the king and queen of France (a belt with relics, a ring, a locket with a relic of the cross, and a prayer book) –, for it was the breviary that initially set in motion the development of the legendary Saint Louis miracle. The book Charles III de Navarre inherited from Blanche de Navarre is the same one that Saint Louis had either misplaced or lost on Crusade but had miraculously returned to him while in prison, which over time became conceptualized as an event of divine intervention, for it was not a Saracen, but an angel, who was said to have delivered the book to the king as a sign of his piety and prominent place in the world.⁶⁴⁴

By delivering the book to her nephew, Blanche drew a parallel between Charles III and his ancestor, positioning him as a direct descendant of a rightful and much celebrated king of France. Even the language Blanche used to justify her bequeathal speaks of her motives. Typically she asks the recipient to cherish the willed item “pour amour de nous” [out of love for us], but with her nephew she requests that he cherish the breviary because Saint Louis “est venu de la ligne de nous” [came from our lineage], with “nous” not acting as

⁶⁴³ Delisle, “Testament,” item 185.

⁶⁴⁴ L. S. Crist, “The Breviary of Saint Louis: The Development of a Legendary Miracle,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 321.

a royal pronoun, but rather as “our,” encompassing her nephew and underscoring both of their descents from the familial saint.

Considering the numerous times Blanche interceded on behalf of Charles’s father, her brother, in the court of France, she must have felt that her nephew, whose family had to fight for its lands in Navarre, could benefit from books solidifying his connection to Saint Louis as well as the Capetian dynasty, especially since with her impending death she would no longer be around to intercede should Charles III find himself in any predicaments. In the second paragraph of the testament dedicated to Charles III, along with a brooch that had belonged to her brother and Charles’s uncle, Philip, Blanche also gave Charles a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques*, another genealogically potent book.⁶⁴⁵ While the breviary was the catalyst for the miraculous account concerning Saint Louis’s re-acquisition of the work, the *Chroniques* served as a narrative of the breviary’s importance, as it detailed the account of the book’s miraculous return to Louis, and consequently lent substance to the breviary’s history. Men in Charles’s position doubtless wanted to include in their collections as many references to their lineage as possible, at the same rate that the current ruling house of France was amassing similar items, such as the *Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux*, owned by Charles V, which also contained an illustration of the miracle of the Saint Louis breviary and served as a constant reminder of ancestry for those who were Louis’s descendants.⁶⁴⁶ As Blanche aided her nephew in this endeavor, using her double position as princess of Navarre and dowager queen of France, she served as the conduit for safeguarding her natal family’s position on the political chessboard. Her days of mediating between the two houses had come to a close, and there would be no more images of her alongside other royals in chronicles, such as the one

⁶⁴⁵ Delisle, “Testament,” item 197.

⁶⁴⁶ MMA Cloisters, MS 54.1.2, f. 154v.

described above, but through her bequeathals, I argue she created another image of herself in the cultural memory of those using her books – one of an influential, well affiliated and well respected dowager queen.

Whereas the list of entries presented here accounts for a small percentage of the items she bequeathed, it demonstrates the methodical care Blanche de Navarre frequently took in allocating to each person in her life items that would best serve them while at the same time preserving her own memory, not unlike the function of funerary art. Even though some objects or books were not as precious as others in her collection, through their proximity to their previous owners, such as books that doubled as relics or those that were cherished for their sentimental value, they held a symbolic worth on which Blanche capitalized as the conveyer of their memories. Just as those to whom the bequeathed objects had previously belonged would continue to be remembered, so would she. In short, as Blanche negotiated a death mass or other token of gratitude in return for a bequeathal of relics, monies, or other objects, I believe that items willed to secular individuals or entities operated in a similar way as the currency with which she negotiated for her everlasting memory. In this sense, these items, especially her books, functioned as funerary art, albeit in a more private sphere, and in anticipation of the actual tombs she had erected that would house her and her daughter's remains in a very public and central position at Saint-Denis.

F. Burying the Dead in Perpetuity

In much the same way that Blanche organized her worldly possessions in anticipation of death, so too she left detailed instructions for her funeral that would place her at Saint-

Denis in a tomb she had commissioned nearly three decades earlier for herself and her daughter. The year 1371 must have been tumultuous for Blanche. In March, her friend and mentor, Jeanne d'Évreux passed away.⁶⁴⁷ Shortly thereafter, in September of that same year, Blanche's only daughter left for Aragon to marry the Infante, Juan, but en route she too passed away.⁶⁴⁸ The short time period between these two deaths may have played an important part in Blanche's decision to erect a tomb for herself and her daughter at Saint-Denis. This was not unlike the tomb Jeanne d'Évreux had built in which her own daughter, Blanche, was eventually placed at the side of her parents, Jeanne and Charles IV, along with an assemblage of previous French kings. Similar to members of royal families who called upon the same poets, writers, and illuminators⁶⁴⁹ in likely attempts to create familial consistency among their commissions, Blanche de Navarre had commissioned her and her daughter's tombs from Jean de Liège, the same sculptor responsible for Jeanne d'Évreux's monument for her and her husband's entrails at Maubuisson, erected only two years earlier.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁷ Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France*, p. 145.

⁶⁴⁸ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th Century France*, p. 167.

⁶⁴⁹ Gee, Loveday Lewes, *Women, Art, and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216-1377* (New York: Boydell, 2002) 109-130 for the community aspect of commissioning monuments and sepulchers, pp. 116-117 specifically for Jean de Liège. This connection is also discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

⁶⁵⁰ Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England*, p. 211.

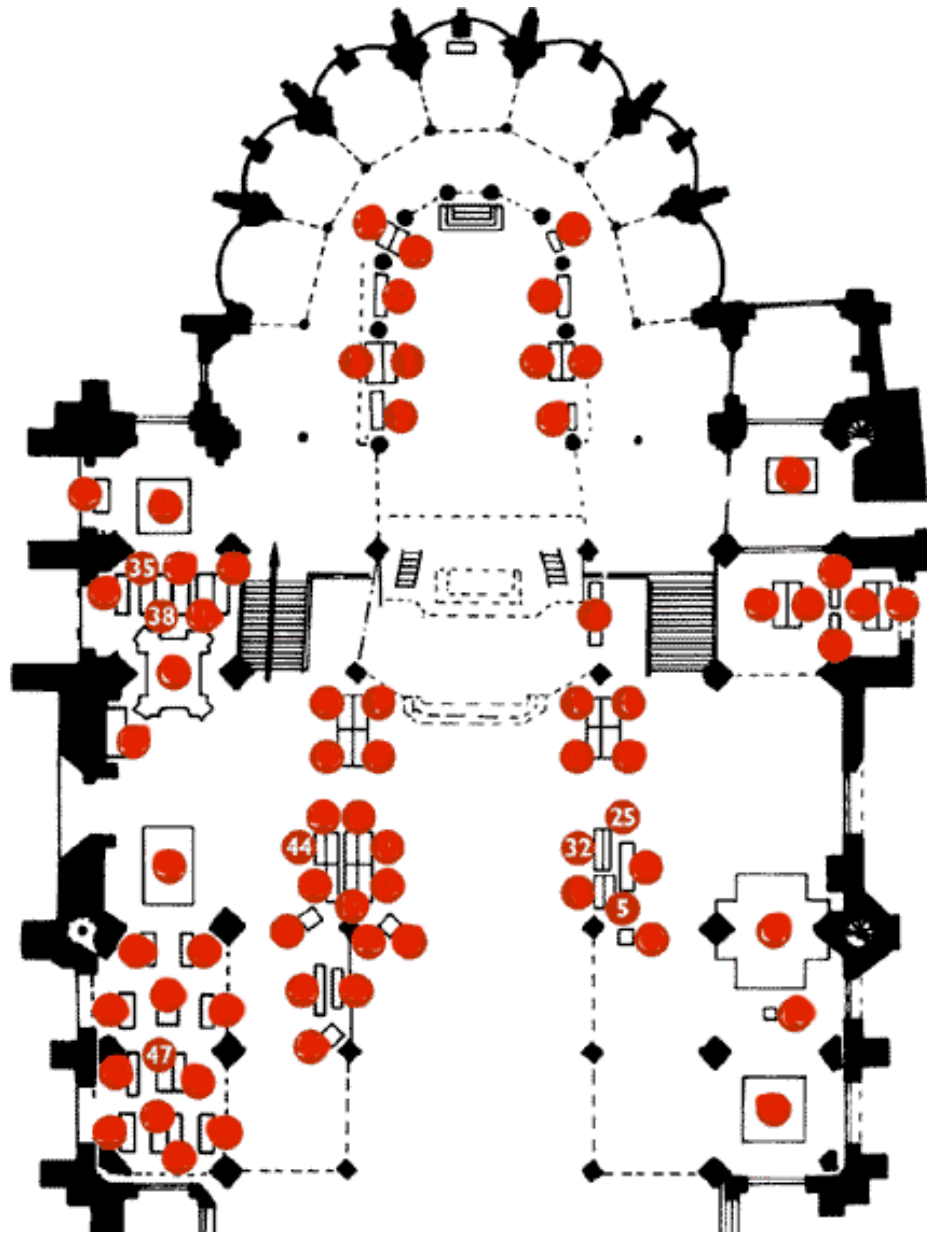


Figure 31. Floor Plan of Saint-Denis⁶⁵¹

When Blanche decided to commission her and her daughter's tombs, she was already privy to the arrangements Jeanne had made for herself and her daughter, and considering the

⁶⁵¹ This is both the current floor plan of Saint-Denis and the one contemporaneous with Blanche de Navarre's directives. The tombs have not been moved since Philip IV requested to move them in the late thirteenth century. See Damien Berné, "L'action mémorielle des princesses capétiennes à Saint-Denis au XIVe siècle," *Histoire de l'art* 63 (2008): 39. For the details on Philip IV's rearrangement of the tombs, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

similarities between the two women's choices, I believe Blanche emulated her aunt's decisions in this regard. At Saint-Denis (fig. 31), Jeanne d'Évreux (38) had herself buried next to her husband (Charles IV [35]), despite being his third wife, but Blanche de Navarre's husband (Philip VI [32]) was buried next to his first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne (32), in a central position next to previous significant Capetian and Carolingian kings, such as Philip III (25) and Clovis II (5), perhaps indicating Philip VI's longing to be considered in the same category as his more illustrious ancestral predecessors. Unlike Jeanne d'Évreux, Blanche de Navarre (47) did not have many close family members entombed at Saint-Denis: only her mother, Jeanne II de Navarre (44) and distant cousins and great grandparents. Additionally, despite the basilica's recent housing of females, its long history of kings and princes may have rendered it less welcoming to a queen who had only briefly sat on the throne and her unwed daughter, Jeanne. Nevertheless, Blanche clearly believed she and her daughter belonged at Saint-Denis, and upon her daughter's death she commissioned both tombs to be placed in the left corner of the church in front of Jeanne d'Évreux's (38). In a likely attempt to justify her decision, Blanche had the gisants reserved for herself and her daughter decorated with several genealogical references, in a fashion similar to that adopted by Marie de Brabant for her parents' tomb at Louvain. For example, above the gisants, a large painting featured Blanche and her daughter, Jeanne, next to Saint Louis (fig. 32).⁶⁵²

⁶⁵² The painting no longer exists, but Marguerite Keane has identified a replica of it in Paris, BnF, Est. Oa. 11, fol. 90. For her discussion of this painting, see *Material Culture and Queenship* 145.



**Figure 32. Paris, BnF, Est. Oa. 11, fol. 90.
Image of Blanche de Navarre, Her Daughter, Jeanne, and Saint Louis**

Artwork of this nature would have created a direct tie to the saintly king, in much the same way Blanche had bequeathed books connected to Saint Louis, or how, earlier in life, she had attached her name to her mother's tomb at Saint-Denis and at the Convent of the Jacobins in Paris through commemorative plates and acts of patronage.⁶⁵³ Then, in 1372, a year after ordering the tombs for her and her daughter's burial, Blanche commissioned two daily masses in perpetuity for the souls of her husband, her mother and father, her daughter and herself in the chapel of Saint Hippolyte, who happened to be the saint of the day on which Philip VI died, August 22. Notably the chapel was one that she had earlier embellished

⁶⁵³ Blanche's mother, Jeanne de Navarre, may not have been queen of France, but was nevertheless a noteworthy queen of Navarre, and genealogically well-connected enough to have rendered Blanche a suitable bride for a king. Thus, a connection to Jeanne de Navarre was very worthwhile. Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship* 47-50. As previously mentioned, Philip VI married Blanche de Navarre mostly for her beauty after seeing her; however, she had originally been intended for Philip VI's son, the future Jean II, and thus it was Blanche's familial connections that initially facilitated the arrangement.

at Saint-Denis,⁶⁵⁴ not unlike Jeanne d'Évreux's patronage of the abbey, which had begun decades before her actual death. In other words, Blanche's patronage at Saint-Denis presented her in death in the grandiose fashion that her possessions and testament would lead one to believe she had presented herself in life. Her funeral, which served as a bridge between life and death, reinforced this notion.

Blanche de Navarre's life, patronage, and testament in many ways mirrored Jeanne d'Évreux's similar choices in life. Blanche's funeral was no exception.⁶⁵⁵ In the detailed instructions for her funeral found in her testament, she even twice asserted that she wished the plans to proceed "en ensivant quant à ce ce qui en fu fait pour nostre très chiere dame et tante madame la royne Jehanne"⁶⁵⁶ [by following what was done for our very beloved lady and aunt Madame Queen Jeanne], and "ainsi comme nostre ditte dame et tante madame la royne Jehanne le fist faire pour soy"⁶⁵⁷ [just as our said lady and aunt Madame Queen Jeanne had had done for herself]. These wishes were honored. Blanche de Navarre may not have had a lavish coronation or extravagant entry into the capital, but her exit from this world on October 5, 1398 in a gold cloth-covered litter drawn across Paris,⁶⁵⁸ with dozens of candles burning at every religious institution within sight,⁶⁵⁹ was befitting the majesty of a queen, especially one directly descended from both Saint Louis and Charlemagne.

⁶⁵⁴ Buettner, "Le Système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre " 3-4.

⁶⁵⁵ Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960) 26.

⁶⁵⁶ Delisle, "Testament," item 8.

⁶⁵⁷ Delisle, "Testament," item 9.

⁶⁵⁸ *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. Jules Viard, ed. Vol. 2, p. 658.

⁶⁵⁹ Delisle, "Testament," items 6-17.

Blanche de Navarre spent a lifetime constructing an impressive collection of valuable objects in much the same way that she forged a formidable network of social and political allies. Further, she cast the former in service of the latter, as she was keenly aware of the genealogical potency with which her items were imbued as she acted as an intermediary between those who once owned her possessions and those to whom she would gift them. In the process, she arguably created one of the largest memorials to herself. If books from Saint Louis were considered “secondary relics” for once having been in his possession, so too, would her memory be disseminated across the wide net of bequeathals, which would serve as a constant reminder that Blanche had been one of the individuals who had once owned these objects. Thus, Blanche de Navarre’s testament, which underscored her proclivities in life, demonstrated, in combination with her tomb at Saint-Denis, the variety of options women possessed for creating funerary art that would allow them to perpetually remain in France’s cultural memory.

VI: Conclusion

In order to demonstrate the significance of funerary arts associated with women in the Middle Ages, it was first important to evaluate the shift that occurred in the twelfth century, in which women began erecting grandiose monuments for themselves and their families with the same opulence as their male counterparts, who had been participating in such commemorative practices for centuries. I argued that these acts of patronage functioned in a similar fashion as genealogies that highlighted a person's importance in terms of their familial lineage. I maintain that the success of such endeavors is demonstrated through the involvement of royal men in the creation and subsequent collection of these women's artifacts. Moreover, for these women, their acts of patronage doubled as funerary art, even when they were not directly related to burial spaces, as I believe these objects were created, and subsequently gifted as a means for remembrance by those who would further diffuse their previous owner's memory.

I explored tombs in conjunction with the other forms of patronage conducted by women, such as manuscripts, or other artistic objects, and traced their presence over several hundred years, beginning with the tombs erected by Eleanor of Aquitaine for her husband, Henry II, her son Richard I, and herself, along with several other family members she buried. From her earliest days Eleanor was politically motivated. Even when circumstances were out of her control, such as during her imprisonment by her husband or his unforeseen death in an undesirable location, she demonstrated her calculating nature and her sharp acumen, choosing to make the best of a situation, and in the process managed to redefine the ways in which women inserted themselves into royal burial decisions. While scholars such as Jean

Flori, or the contributors to *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, focus on her literary patronage, or her relationship with Fontevraud, I emphasized these aspects while also exploring her involvement with artistic patronage, and regard Fontevraud not just as a burial space, but a site for politicking beyond the grave. I also explored the proclivities of her daughters, Marie de Champagne and Matilda of Saxony, both of whom, I believe, inspired Eleanor's actions, while simultaneously participating in early patronage practices deserving of scholarly attention.

Marie, unlike her mother, predominantly focused her patronage on literature, commissioning texts, such as the *Eructavit* and a translation of Genesis, as a means of inserting herself and her family into cultural memory. Her half-sister, Matilda, was far less direct in her commissions, with the majority of them occurring in conjunction with her husband, Henry the Lion of Saxony. Yet I was able to infer her influence in instances such as *The Gospel Book of Henry the Lion* or her tomb at Brunswick Cathedral through her depictions in the manuscript and within the memorial space, which were directly related to her familial ties to one of the most powerful rulers in Europe at the time – Henry II of England. In other words, Matilda was a valuable asset to Henry the Lion, who continuously relied on her lineage as a means of strengthening his own position within his land and throughout Europe.

The collective contribution of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Marie de Champagne, and Matilda of Saxony, in the form of endowments to religious institutions and the commission of various artworks, manuscripts, and poems, speaks to their ability to increase their relevance along with their political allies for their own sakes, as well as for that of members of their families. Nevertheless, these women's sumptuous works lacked the meticulous

documentation of later medieval acts of patronage enacted by women, such as Marie de Brabant, Queen of France, who, nearly a hundred years later practiced patronage on an even greater level as a means for remaining relevant. As I turned my research towards Marie and how she adopted the same tactics, I underscored the shift that had indeed occurred in how women were inserting themselves into politics, court, and popular memory.

Marie de Brabant understood her genealogical place within the illustrious Carolingian bloodline as a tool for carefully crafting an image of herself as an important figure in the court of France. To accomplish this, she relied on a variety of media, such as stained glass windows, reliquaries, and manuscripts, culminating with a necropolis for women at the Convent of the Cordeliers in Paris. I contended that much as Eleanor of Aquitaine altered the perception of familial tombs in general by having a large part of her family buried at Fontevraud, Marie de Brabant changed the significance of women's tombs specifically, as noble females directly and indirectly related to her chose to be buried alongside her tomb at the Cordeliers. I also took the erudite scholarship of Tracy Chapman Hamilton further, and built upon her analysis of Arsenal MS 3142, arguing that it was meant as a coronation gift for her step-daughter-in-law, Jeanne de Navarre, as a means of remaining culturally relevant after Marie stepped off the throne while still residing in Jeanne's court. As a testament to Marie's innovation, I explored the ways in which other French queens, her granddaughter, Jeanne d'Évreux, and her great granddaughter, Blanche de Navarre, followed suit not only in burial practices, but also through their propensities for commissioning or collecting genealogically important objects and imparting them to others in attempts at prolonging their presence postmortem.

Jeanne d'Évreux visibly inserted herself into the genealogical branches of her family through the commission of statues, tombs, and manuscripts. However, I argued that her greatest contribution to patronage stemmed from her ability to act as a point of departure for newly commissioned objects and monuments, providing those such as her daughter and niece with additional cultural potency. Jeanne simultaneously extended the relevance of these artifacts backwards in time, drawing attention to their physical or perceived connection to important historical figures such as Louis IX, Hugh Capet, Charlemagne, and even Pepin le Bref. She was additionally able to directly associate herself with previous queens, such as Marie de Brabant, and indirectly to women such as Jeanne II de Navarre. In other words, for Jeanne d'Évreux, lineage did not move solely in a single direction. Her niece, and closest friend, Blanche de Navarre, followed in Jeanne's footsteps and furthered this new way of maintaining social and cultural relevance.

Whereas medievalists from a multitude of fields have focused either on each of these women individually or on the cultural contribution of men from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, such as Henry II or Charles V, I have shown the complex connection among all of these figures as they borrowed ideas, learned from, and mirrored each other. Further, by exploring the collective contributions of these women, I was able to highlight the similarities in their techniques, as well as their chosen media for their acts of patronage, especially in regard to the funerary arts, underscoring the methodology that developed over time. Thus, while Eleanor of Aquitaine and her daughters were left to find unique ways of participating in political and cultural power, I have demonstrated how, due to the increased number of comparable commissions in later periods, such practices of patronage became well-

established, culminating my study with Blanche de Navarre's engagement with patronage and the funerary arts, following the same path of her predecessors.

Blanche's twenty-two folio testament in which she methodically distributed her queenly possessions among hundreds of persons with whom she had come into contact throughout her long life was a form of funerary art that demonstrated patronage on a par with Jeanne d'Évreux's practices. The testament has predominantly been discussed at length by art historians, such as Marguerite Keane and Brigitte Buettner, who have focused on the importance of the objects' physical presentation. I expanded on their work through my discussion of the items' genealogical potency, especially in regard to the books, where, from a comparative literature approach, through a literary analysis of their contents, I explored their cultural relevance writ large, as well as their respective recipients. Without having commissioned the majority of the books and articles she bequeathed, Blanche made use of these objects' reputations as having come to her from an array of important figures, such as her late husband, Philip VI, and more prominently her direct ancestor, Louis IX. In other words, she enlisted her collection of books, relics, jewelry, and other objects, to craft an image of herself as a well-established royal figure and attached the memory of herself to each bequest. To strengthen this image, Blanche also commissioned a burial site for herself and her daughter at Saint-Denis in a parallel fashion to the tomb previously erected by Jeanne d'Évreux, who had looked to Marie de Brabant's Convent of the Cordeliers for inspiration. Marie in turn participated in the cultural shift enacted during the time of Eleanor of Aquitaine, thus further contributing to the expansion of women's assertive role in the creation of funerary arts over two hundred years – a role that would shape women's relationship to patronage and their position in society into modern times, as can be seen in endeavors of

French presidents' wives, who despite having no governing power, nevertheless make their presence known through charitable contributions, and other philanthropic acts that parallel medieval patronage. In conclusion, throughout this dissertation, I have not only explored the shift in women's artistic endeavors from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, but also its evolution, evincing how each generation built upon the previous one, and ultimately demonstrated that medieval mausoleums, monuments, and manuscripts helped pave the path of women's cultural power and legacy through patronage.

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