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Spiritual And Sexual Simultaneity: The Fourteenth-Century Psalter Of Bonne Of Luxembourg

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Spiritual and Sexual Simultaneity:
The Fourteenth-Century Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg

By

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Abstract

The following independent study is an art historical analysis on the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg,* a fourteenth-century manuscript and personal prayer book of the Duchess of Normandy, ascendant queen to the French Valois throne. The following research pursues how this book illuminates both medieval systems and the patron herself through historical anchoring, primary sources, and formal analysis. Utilizing a feminist lens and attention to spiritual identity-building, the following study will illuminate gendered medieval systems that greatly influenced the life of the book's patron and are demonstrated in the contents of this personal object. Turning attention to the unity of word and image, this book is a microcosm of medieval systems. The book is an invaluable resource into the life and society of a duchess preparing for queenship amid the tumultuous French Valois dynasty. Using theories of semiotics from Michael Camille, feminist groundings from Madeline Caviness, and Gérard Genette's theories on paratext, this study will also explore the nuanced relationships of both central and marginal images of this manuscript, investigating how these images reinforce medieval agendas of spiritual and gendered purpose. The following research will elucidate the patron through her scarcely studied medieval manuscript, seizing upon how a devotional object also speaks to gender, theology, social class, dynasty, and secular systems of medieval Europe.

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Introduction

"Just as an actual pilgrimage led the pilgrim towards contact with the holy in the form of relics, the meditations in devotional books led the reader on a spiritual journey towards anagogical contact with the holy."[1]

Guiding its patron through a calendar, prayers, and meditations, the medieval prayer book was a framework through which to guide contemplative focus on the divine. Bonne of Luxembourg's fourteenth-century Psalter vibrantly demonstrates the inherent multifaceted nature of medieval religious books. Bonne's manuscript is a particularly charged object in its gendered construction with its miniatures and contemporary context. This manuscript illuminates theories of gender and sexuality in the medieval period, especially the patriarchal expectations that weighed on medieval royal women. In this thesis, I argue that the medieval prayer book served as a spiritual, social, and sexual regulator, which perpetuated the hierarchical medieval system. The personal manuscript serves as a critical window into Bonne's experience as the singular witness to her life.

Little is known about Bonne's life, and her manuscript offers a precious glimpse into Bonne's duties and experiences as an ascendant almost-queen. Located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's permanent Cloisters Collection, Bonne's manuscript has been on public view for decades, yet her book has received limited scholarly attention.[2] Through the examination of the book's typical and exceptional figures, notably the final Wound miniature in its vaginal

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1. Annette Lermack, "Spiritual Pilgrimage in the 'Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg,'" in *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel,* ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 96.
2. The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy," Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed March 1, 2022. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

rendering, I propose to approach the manuscript as a witness of both dynastic ambition and vibrant new contexts of book production. Because so little is known about the patron's life, Bonne's manuscript has the invaluable potential to reframe our understanding of this French medieval woman who lived in a pivotal moment of dynastic disaster and vibrant French book production right before the devastating Black Death, which would take the life of the Duchess. In the following study, I strive to bring this woman to light through her book, considering medieval French courts, Christianity, gendered hierarchies, and the manuscript's manufacture. I seek to expose the book as a product and respondent of gendered hierarchies of medieval spaces, bringing additional dynastic and spiritual purpose into focus.

Contents of the Book

The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy is a small but luxurious volume, produced in Paris around the beginning of the fourteenth century. Bonne's ownership of this book is indicated in the thirteen appearances of the house of Luxembourg coat of arms. Created in French manuscript spaces, Bonne's Bohemian heraldry dates the book to between 1332, the year of Bonne's marriage to John II of Valois, and 1349, the year of her death. The book's exceptional miniatures and high level of individualization have produced the suggestion that Bonne was not only the book's reader, but also its patron, which would have given her the ability to direct aspects of its design.

The location of the book was unknown for centuries after inventories in her sons' collections, and it did not reemerge until 1882 in a Parisian sale catalogue.[3] The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired it in 1969, and it remains on permanent display in Cloisters Gallery 13.

3. Annette Ingebretson Lermack, "Fit for A Queen, The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg at the Cloisters" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1999), 8.

Bonne's book has 334 folios, and measures 5 15/16 inches high and 3 ½ inches wide. Some images have now been cut off, and it is bound in a seventeenth-century leather cover. The Psalter is not only distinguished by its central, exceptional miniatures, but also in its additional decoration. Affiliated with the prestigious book manuscript workshops of Jean Pucelle and Jean le Noir, the book is a remarkable courtly example of tradition and singular exceptionality. The figures of the miniatures are rendered in grisaille with tinted faces and hair. Added crowns or haloes of gold leaf are added to kingly figures. The backgrounds are richly colored patterns of red or blue, with added gold leaf on some with black and white. The marginal coats of arms have traces of silver, which may have been part of the original stamping. The *bas-de-page* figures are also rendered in grisaille with subtle color additions. The borders are delicate and include gold leaf, intertwining branches and leaves with resting birds and animals. The overall care, consistency, and detail reflects that this manuscript was of the highest caliber and quality.

Following the typical formation and organization of a medieval Book of Hours, Bonne's psalter comprises a calendar, psalms and prayers in Latin, and vernacular French devotional readings and prayers. The manuscript begins with a decorated and illustrated calendar followed by fourteen miniatures, *bas-de-page* scenes, line fillers, and illuminated initials. The calendar includes a monthly Labor scene on the left page with the appropriate zodiac sign on the right, often completed by an additional scene. The first seven miniatures are part of the Psalms and the "David cycle," followed by the Canticles, the Creed, the Litany, and prayers in Latin. These texts do not have miniatures, but all are illuminated. The Betrayal and Arrest Miniature are accompanied by the beginning of the vernacular French portion, which starts with the text of the Passion of Christ. The Discourse of the Virgin follows with an Abbot-Saint miniature who prays before a crucifix atop an altar. The Six Degrees of Charity meditation immediately follows,

including a miniature of the Throne of Charity as an allegory. This text tracks the perfect love of God. Between the end of the Degrees of Charity and the final major text is a version of "The Three Living and the Three Dead" poem, preceded by a two-page visual spread of the Three Living and the Three Dead on facing pages. The final text contemplates the Crucifixion and the five wounds of Christ, featuring a miniature of Christ on the cross with a man and woman—probably John and Bonne—kneeling at his feet. Christ points at his wound in his side while the accompanying verses remind the man and the woman what he suffered to save them. The last miniature, the pivotal Wound of Christ, appears in the middle of this meditative text series, followed by the verses dedicated to his wound. The manuscript combines both Latin and French vernacular passages, guiding Bonne through her daily meditations in a combination of text, image, and illuminated initials that signposted important lines.

Historical Context: Bonne of Luxembourg and the Valois

Born "Jutta" to John the Blind of Bohemia, Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349) entered a tumultuous political state in her 1349 marriage to the second heir to the French Valois throne, John II. Few personal details about her life survive, but she occupies an important part of French and Bohemian medieval royal lineage. Born in Prague, Bonne was of the highest status as the daughter of King John of Bohemia and the sister of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. In an arranged, political marriage, she became John II of France's first wife in a new French dynasty. She would become a mother to ten children, including King Charles V of France and Jean Duke de Berry. She would die one year before her husband ascended the throne of the Black Death. Contemporary references to her life are not only few and far between, but mainly characterize her as a typical, quintessential aristocratic woman, mother, and wife.[4] The following study is not

4. Lermack, "Fit for a Queen," 30.

to perpetuate Bonne's life only in terms of her adjacent male relatives, but to illuminate the ambitious dynasties and traditions she was embedded in to understand the purpose of her book and Bonne herself.

Bonne's Psalter was produced in an intense moment of extensive book production after dynastic disaster, with immediate gendered implications. The Valois had risen from a royal climate of upheaval and failure of lineage in the reigning Capetian dynasty. First, a fierce adultery scandal emerged around 1314 involving Capetian princesses accused of affairs with Norman knights. All three women accused were married to men in line to the throne, including Charles IV, the last Capetian king.[5] The Tour de Nesle affair resulted in dissolutions of marriage, imprisonments, executions, and speculation about legitimate births. This royal scandal produced a distrust towards the royal women, who had committed treason in their adultery.[6] Then, Charles IV produced no male heir, and a secondary male relative was needed to take up the throne, resulting in the Valois dynasty.[7] King Charles IV left behind daughters, but women were not considered proper rulers, and a male heir was essential in continuing royal lineage.[8] Philip of Valois, nephew of the king and father of Bonne's husband, took up the throne in 1328.[9] The new heir shouldered enormous responsibility in establishing a competitive and enduring legacy after

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5. Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 2nd edition (Essex: England, Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 363.
6. Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 159.
7. Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 421.
8. Ernest F. Henderson, "The Salic Law," *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/salic.asp
The ascension of women to the throne was actually forbidden under Salic Law. This ruling forbade women from inheriting their father's assets and thus could not become heirs to the throne. The refusal to consider female rule legitimate attests to medieval systems of male superiority and elevation.
9. Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 368.

the failure of the Capetians. This was a major shift in power as a new dynasty took over, and sparked intense disagreement about royal lineage and legitimacy, for the new heir was not from the direct line of the king as a secondary relative. Legitimacy crises and dissent about who should ascend to the throne did not end with the Valois dynasty, for political conflicts would escalate between the English and the French in the Hundred Years' War. John II, Bonne's husband, was the second generation in this enormous royal shift as the Valois wrestled with dynastic legitimacy as Bonne's Psalter was produced. The Valois were not only a new dynasty, but one of indirect succession competing against English claim to the throne, making the royal establishment of legitimacy even more important. The Valois pursued cultural capital to cement these concerns, using objects like manuscripts to elevate their prestige. Bonne's manuscript is a product of this explosive moment, a sumptuous object of Valois rule for the ascendant queen.

Literature Review and Methods

Although there is a wealth of literature on medieval manuscript production and iconography, study of Bonne's manuscript is scant. Annette Lermack is the only exception; her 1999 Ph.D. dissertation represents the only sustained examination of the manuscript and its contexts. Lermack's work constitutes a catalogue of this manuscript, and pursues its iconography and the dynastic, royal environment of this personal object. As the only exhaustive grounding of the manuscript, Lermack's analysis on the royal, historical weight of this manuscript was particularly valuable to my study. Lermack's also introduced the idea of the psalter as a personal pilgrimage guide, a central idea to the following study that gives Bonne's manuscript esteemed status.[10] Lermack also elevates the exceptional nature of the Two Fools miniature, providing

10. Lermack, "Spiritual Pilgrimage in the 'Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg.'"

essential information about the iconographic tradition alongside medieval ideas of Psalm 52.[11] Although Lermack's research is integral to understanding Bonne's book at all, she does not pursue the iconography with explicit regard to gender, a major focus of my own study and expansion of these arguments. I pursue Lermack's ideas further in my own research, especially the ways in which Bonne's manuscript responds to and is a product of gendered systems.

Michael Camille's critical framework regarding marginalia and Gérard Genette's definitions of paratext informed my own reading of the miniatures and marginalia of Bonne's Psalter. Camille's *Image on the Edge* argues that each marginal symbol is imbued with nuanced, multifaceted meanings. Each animal or related symbol cannot be considered in one, fixed manner. In addition, Camille's argument for the unity of marginalia throughout a manuscript inspired my own argument that the backgrounds and marginal forms of Bonne's book belong to a thesis of good and evil opposition. Genette defines "paratext" as visual additions to a book that cannot exist without the text but adamantly elevate or inform it.[12] I apply Genette's paratext definition to the miniatures of Bonne's book, which are linked to but separate from their adjacent prayers. Genette allowed the miniatures to be situated according to the interplay of word and image through his paratext definition. Genette's and Camille's theories gave definitions for the layered roles of manuscript illustration throughout the following study, from the central miniature to the *bas-de-page* marginalia.

The lenses deployed by Madeline Caviness form a springboard for my own feminist reading of Bonne's book and medieval gendered systems. Her reading of Jeanne d'Evreux's

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11. Annette Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature in the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg." *Gesta* 47, no. 2 (2008) https://doi.org/10.2307/20648965.
12. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, by Gérard Genette, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

Book of Hours as both a spiritual and sexual regulator was integral to my research in situating the weight of Bonne's personal prayer book.[13] Caviness' reading of Jeanne's book was a map to understanding Bonne's manuscript, Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* a paradigm for these ideas with its layers of sexual innuendo. Bonne's Psalter was contemporary to Jeanne's and produced in the same workshop tradition, making Caviness' investigation and the medieval artifact invaluable. Caviness also outlined the fierce medieval binaries of "good" and "bad" women. She explores the equation of virginity and chastity to medieval female value. The theoretical foundations of Caviness are at the core of the following study of Bonne's book.[14] Caviness provided the definitions to the social systems of medieval women and an adamant investigation of Jeanne's book as sexual regulator. I expose the gendered hierarchies visually embedded in the pages of Bonne's book through Caviness' theoretical feminist grounding.

The theoretical and historical contexts these scholars contribute inform the trajectory and conclusions of the following study. I build upon the ideas of these and other art historical scholars in order to define Bonne's manuscript in new ways, especially regarding gender and sexuality. I hope to add to manuscript study discourse through the investigation of the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy, employing art historical, social, gendered, and dynastic considerations.

Overview of Chapters

The first chapter is a broad review of the Valois royal family, medieval French manuscript production, and the theoretical weighted nature of Bonne's book in gender and the

13. Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68, no. 2 (1993). doi:10.2307/2864556.
14. Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy (*Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

body. This chapter delves into the wider historical grounding of this manuscript and contemporary issues of dynasty and manuscript production, shedding light on the systems this book was produced out of. Medieval gendered expectations are grounded in two medieval prayer books also belonging to female elite patrons, the *Queen Mary Psalter* and Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours.* The first chapter begins by considering the role of books under the Valois dynasty as tools for royal legitimacy and prestige. Then, the nuanced object identity of the book and the legacy of French book production are situated, as well as how these systems made books objects of control for medieval women like Bonne. The chapter also seizes upon the physical nature of the book as comprised of flesh. Then, medieval Christian considerations of the woman's role in society are addressed, demonstrating the implications for medieval women to pursue the ideals of the Virgin as the "ideal" woman. The combination of historical context and contemporary examples are essential to framing Bonne's Psalter, grounding her manuscript in real histories and illuminating the weight of her book's membership in medieval discourse.

The second chapter evaluates Bonne's spiritual identity displayed and prioritized across the book's primary miniatures, extending from the Calendar, the David cycle, The Two Fools, and the Three Living and the Three Dead. I begin by establishing class issues in the calendar and divine justification for feudalism before shifting to the gendered iconography of Bonne's calendar. I consider the David cycle as both a spiritual and a royal exemplar for Bonne's spiritual attention. The Two Fools presents a powerful commentary of Bonne's intended spiritual behavior through a reminder of the wicked. I argue that this miniature reflects a priority in schooling Bonne in proper spiritual behavior and pursuit. I finally shift to the Three Living and the Three Dead, examining intersections of spiritual and secular with the spiritual in issues of death and the afterlife. These miniatures scaffold the climax of the Crucifixion and Wound

miniatures by bringing human death to mind right before Christ's climatic death. Examining the main figures, the marginalia, and medieval literature, these miniatures contribute a thesis of Bonne's spiritual identity, using iconographic and secular visual to themes to reinforce the spiritual text. The analysis investigates the catalogue of exemplary and typical iconography that presents a nuanced, adamant testament to Bonne's spiritual identity.

The final chapter investigates the two final miniatures of Bonne's Psalter, the Crucifixion and the Wound miniatures. I argue that the Crucifixion and Wound miniatures speak to gendered theses of Bonne and her marriage in the midst of the spiritual. I delve into the iconography of the miniatures from the appearance of Bonne and her husband John at the feet of Christ to the tradition of the *arma Christi.* Using formal analysis, historical grounding, and medieval theological ideas, I pursue the simultaneity of the spiritual and the sexual in these two miniatures. The vaginal appearance of the wound, remarkable in iconography, demands a gendered reading in images of human and spiritual penetration. I also examine the marginalia and *bas-de-page* features of these two miniatures, especially how marginalia subvert and reinforce the main images. This chapter is an explicit investigation of the two miniatures that are an explicit commentary on the simultaneity of the spiritual and sexual.

Scholars like Caviness have made enormous contributions in understanding gendered hierarchies of medieval women and their books, but there is much more to be said. Bonne's life has been understudied and under documented, providing even greater reasons for filling in the gaps of her history and women like her. In the following study, I seek to bring to light this woman of public, cross-cultural, royal status through the material record of her book. I argue for the potent, multifaceted identity of Bonne's book, a primary invaluable document and attestation of medieval gender, dynasty, and French book production.

Chapter 1: Thick Histories of the Book

Bonne of Luxembourg's fourteenth-century Psalter, dated before her death in 1349, is a microcosmic example of royal patronage and public prestige as the Valois came to rule. Dated around the time of her marriage to John le Bon of France (1332), Bonne of Luxembourg's small Psalter is as much a witness to emergent systems of royal patronage as it is a document of gendered experience in fourteenth-century elite contexts. Its miniatures are characterized by a remarkable juxtaposition of religious devotion and emphatic eroticism, reflecting the simultaneity of expectations for Bonne as the wife of the French heir. This medieval manuscript is a richly multivalent object, belonging to new histories in French book production and the experiences of medieval women. Spanning issues of religion, personal devotion, gender, and dynasty, Bonne's Psalter demands interrogation in its multifaceted nature, for it cannot be placed in one identity, occupying a liminal space in its response to various cultural systems. Bonne's medieval Psalter presents both Old and New Testament miniatures and texts alongside related medieval allegorical scenes of morality. Through the reconsideration of these miniatures, and the interplay between text and image, I propose to approach the small manuscript not only as a prayer book, but as an experiential artifact, whose contents reinforced ideas about her gender and the genealogy of the nascent Valois dynasty.

Bonne's medieval Psalter is an experiential artifact, an active creation produced from the living medieval society. Medieval books, a kind of experiential artifact, are not just words and images on a page. Instead, the object both shapes and is defined by established hierarchies brought to bear on its use as both text and images participate in gender roles. An experiential artifact both defines and is defined by these infrastructures, part of a multitude of histories and traditions. It is a spiritual object of personal devotion to God while also a creation of court-

sponsored manuscript production. Medieval manuscripts like this one were witnesses to the transaction of marriage—an economic and political exchange—as well as to the issues of gender, lineage preservation, religious pursuit, and personal devotion. Fourteenth-century books were cultural symbols, active players in the perpetuation of ideas about the body and an elite woman's role in society. Bonne's medieval prayer book was a physical proponent of medieval notions of her identity and role in the Valois court. Bonne's Psalter reinforced cultural and hierarchical systems Bonne married into, as well as a product of the book manufacture tradition. Books regulated female behaviors, and it is useful to survey material and theoretical implications of books as objects, grounding Bonne's Psalter in wide historical and cultural contexts.

Books Under the Valois

The Valois seized upon books as ideological metaphors for their new dynasties, serving intense political legitimacy and purpose. The rising dynasty needed to legitimize its place in the French courts after a tumultuous beginning, and manuscript production during this period soared beyond any previous period in opulence and production.[15] From the beginning of the fourteenth century, Paris was the principal center of European book production, especially manuscript painting.[16] The production of Books of Hours, similar to Psalters in their personal devotional purpose, soared during this period and were produced in immense numbers.[17] Bonne's son, the famous Duc de Berry, would go on to own about three hundred manuscripts, including fifteen

15. Julien Chapuis,"Patronage at the Early Valois Courts (1328–1461)," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2002) http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/valo_1/hd_valo_1.htm
16. François Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France*, trans. Ursule Molinaro and Bruce Benderson (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1978), 9.
17. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc., 1986), 159.

Books of Hours and sixteen Psalters.[18] Known for their virtuoso craftsmanship—like Jean Pucelle, whose student Jean le Noir likely illustrated Bonne's manuscript—French courtly book production was full of artistic innovation and trained artists.[19] Parisian book production and painting would be considered the best in the world in their rich illustrations and codified production systems.[20] Paris became a center dependent on commissioned books for wealthy patrons, creating a new widespread, affluent book market.[21] Under Bonne's husband, John II or "John the Good," book collecting was a major focus and practice in the Valois court. John II collected a variety of manuscripts even before he became king and launched multiple literary campaigns, from grand translations of literature to manuscripts like Bonne's Psalter. With the attention of the king and French courts, French royal book production became a formalized system during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Highly centralized and established, many painters and illuminators worked specifically for the French courts.[22] Books were tremendously expensive and prestigious, and the extent and the quality of manuscripts under the French throne attests to the prioritization of luxury object creation. Books were tools for their patrons, flaunting the wealth of the French court while also setting these elite books and patrons apart. The Valois sought to legitimize their power to the French throne, and their books served them as opulent public testaments to the wealth and prestige of the Valois, legitimizing power to the French

18. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts Christopher de Hamel* 159.
19. Chapuis, "Patronage at the Early Valois Courts (1328-1461)."
20. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 3.
21. R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth Century Paris," *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. John D'Agata (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), 103.
22. Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France*, 10.

throne. The Valois dynasty used books to serve as indirect objects of power and legitimacy as their secondary legitimacy teetered.

Under Charles V, one of Bonne's sons, the French library became the richest royal library of the period with over nine hundred volumes by the end of his reign.[23] His brother, Jean, Duke of Berry, was also a potent bibliophile and player in royal French books. His early fifteenth-century Books of Hours, the *Belles Heures* and *Très Riches Heures*, are two of the most famous extant medieval religious manuscripts.[24] Ornate, complex, and richly illustrated, these later books speak to the foundation set by John II through books like Bonne's Psalter. Drawing upon Italian Sienese considerations of space and figural painting, these medieval books were monumental and syncretistic in their production, objects of prestige as well as courtly and artistic exchange.[25] Books were significant cross-cultural objects in their syncretism, and were not only ways to legitimize rule, but also an opulent venue for new artistic styles and identities.

Royal courtly manuscripts continue to serve as living objects beyond personal religious vessels for devotion. Although the gendered social structures varied between the male royals and female Bonne as wife of the French heir, books operated under a hierarchy of power, funded by the richest for the richest and most prestigious patrons. These French manuscripts were predicated on privilege, created in the most sophisticated settings. Bonne's Psalter was a result of this nuanced and politically charged system of manuscript production. The shift in French courtly power brought new ways to legitimize rule, and this Psalter was an active participant in these new power structures. Bonne's book came out of shifting power systems and bookmaking,

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23. Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France*, 24.
24. Timothy B. Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 3.
25. Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France*, 12.

going far beyond a personal prayer guide of piety and devotion. Belonging to new royal engines of power, this book participates in queenly identity through its materials, facture, and intended readership.

Medieval books were not just private prayer books, but also essential staples of diplomatic gift exchange, cementing political relations in this emergent historical moment. The illuminators and artists of these kingly manuscripts were often specifically selected by the French crown, manuscripts prestigious objects of wealth and grandeur. Book were courtly gifts between royalty or political weapons that maintained the peace between family members, as well as kingdoms. These royal objects were economic justifications of public as well as private exchanges of wealth. The *étrennes,* or French practice of New Year's gifts, gave nobles a context to expand their riches and to justify, through object exchange, relational bonds.[26] For example, an illuminated comedies collection of Roman playwright Terence was given to Jean de Berry, one of Bonne's sons, in 1408 by his treasurer Martin Gouge on New Year's Day.[27] Gouge would later become an important public figure, bishop of Chartres and chancellor of France. Jean, Duke of Berry, would become one of the most famous and influential bibliophiles of medieval France. A miniature from this manuscript includes a moment that Terence presented his book to a senator, connecting the medieval French practices of *étrennes* to ancient Roman moments of aristocratic gift exchange (Fig. 1). This was not only a medieval practice of reestablishing legitimacy, but an ancient Roman tradition continued by the French courts. Medieval books were fundamentally multifaceted—like Bonne's Psalter—occupying economic public and spiritual private identities.

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26. Brigitte Buettner, "New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *The Art Bulletin* 83 no. 4 (December 2001): 600. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3177225

Psalter as Schoolbook

Books serve as perpetuators and perpetrators of these religious, gendered, and cultural systems because they were created out of them. I maintain that Bonne's Psalter was a metonym for medieval control of her body, inextricably tied to the fleshly. In both its material facture and its symbolism, Bonne's Psalter is predicated on the role of *flesh*, spanning issues of materials, religion, and gender. Bonne's elite Psalter was the avenue through which she prayed, reflected, and directed her spiritual engagement, a Church and political-sponsored agent to ensure her royal position. The Psalter directed and fundamentally regulated Bonne's attention, coming out of systems and considerations of her gendered body. Bonne's Psalter was not only parallel to her gendered body in its construction, but also in its regulation of her spiritual behavior.

Bonne's Psalter is not only a participant in royal hierarchy and medieval book lineage but was also a regulator of female behavior. As a Bohemian princess married to the heir of the French Valois throne, Bonne was expected to be the mother of the new French king and to support her husband and uphold his "sacred" right to rule through submission and support.[28] Marriage involved the subordination of a wife to her husband but was even more weighted in royal contexts. These ideas are described in full in the twelfth-century treatise by Dominican author James de Cessolis, *Game and Playe of Chess,* describing the ideal order of the medieval world through the game of chess. Translated into French and then English, this allegorical treatise tracks various social classes and occupations with regard to their "proper" moral characteristics and expectations. The only female example Cessolic mentions is the role of the queen.[29] The chronicler describes a variety of characteristics a queen must possess, most

28. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 36.
29. Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Small Sound of the Trumpet* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 45.

especially perfect wisdom and chastity. The queen must not only produce a male heir, but be diligent in the education of her children, be discreet, and be able to keep secrets.[30] She must support her husband, sit on the left side of his throne, be a "fair lady," and be dressed in gold and ermine. Cessolis presents the paradigm of a medieval queen, situating the various characteristics Bonne was expected to embody. Furthermore, Bonne was an "intercessor" in her nuanced role as wife of the king, mentor and mother of her children, and the model for medieval women.[31] Intercessors intervened on behalf of another to help, serving as spiritual mediators, proverbial "go-betweens." Medieval queens navigated a variety of roles that seem unrelated to one another yet are all encompassed under the position of queen.

Bonne of Luxembourg's book was not merely an intercessor for spiritual cultivation, but a "schoolbook" of sorts, educating Bonne on what it meant to be a medieval woman, a medieval Christian, and a medieval wife and queen. Bonne's Psalter was a "didactic aid," serving personal spiritual purpose while reinforcing cultural and social expectations through images and organization.[32] Her Psalter was also a charged object about the bodily and the gendered. Bonne's body was concerned and connected to her role as royal mother and bearer of the next French king. Medieval considerations of her body were predicated on her gender and sexuality, the flesh of this Psalter like the focus on Bonne's physical and body. Every time she made the spiritual

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30. William Caxton, "The seconde chapiture of the seconde book treteth of the forme and maners of the Quene," *Game and Playe of Chess: A Verbatim Reprint of the First Edition, 1474* (The Project Gutenberg, 2004). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/10672/10672-h/10672-h.htm#bk2ch2 The citation is William Caxton's original Old English version, which was the first English translation of Cessolis' original. It was reprinted from a verbatim 1883 version, and then created as an eBook by the Project Gutenberg, which is cited here.
31. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 38.
32. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Revelation and Concealment: Apophatic Imagery in the Trinitarian Miniatures of the 'Rothschild Canticles," in *The Yale University Library Gazette* 66 (1991): 134–58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40859045.

pilgrimage of engagement with this book, she progressed in her spiritual path of humility and suffering, thus solidifying her family's right to rule through her spiritual maturity, pursuing perfect union and love of God.[33] Her body was at the forefront of her role as wife to the French heir.

A Book of Flesh: Medieval Considerations of Flesh and the Body

The medieval book was made of vellum, or calfskin: quite literally, its pages made of another's flesh. Parchment was both durable and highly expensive, requiring multiple calves to produce the prepared animal skins. For a medium-sized prayer book consisting of 160 folios, or pages, 20 skins of newborn calves were needed.[34] Bonne's book has 334. Parchment required an enormous number of natural resources and skilled preparation for production of the skins, making medieval manuscripts enormously expensive and available only to the elite. The creation of these pages from animal skin immerses manuscripts in fleshly issues, their very existence predicated on another's body. The body and the physical were at the forefront of medieval ideologies, and the body created a means for "social classification," organizing and restricting society according to categories like age and sex.[35] Medieval prayer books were heavily structured according to medieval ideas about gender. As the human body was dissected and stigmatized, it was also heavily regulated, "…the site of intense visual scrutiny and surveillance

33. Annette Lermack, "Spiritual Pilgrimage in the 'Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg,'" 111.
34. Abigail B. Quandt and William G. Noel, "From Calf to Codex," in *Leaves of Gold, Manuscript Illuminations from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James R. Tanis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 14.
35. Roberta Gilchrist, "Medieval bodies in the material world: gender, stigma, and the body," *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay, and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 44.

by the Church…caught in a cosmic network that controlled both its internal and external movements."[36] Bonne's fleshly Psalter is embedded in the medieval bodily.

The material of Bonne's manuscript also parallels Christ's body as the ultimate spiritual sacrifice in Eucharistic sacrament. Christ's wounds were given focused attention in their simultaneous physicality and sacred identity.[37] The Book of John in the New Testament speaks of Christ as the "Word made flesh," his earthly descent from heaven fulfilling the prophecy of the text. Christ's time on earth was the textual made physical.[38] Christ's body was the most important physical "self" in medieval considerations of the body as Savior of the world, and the fleshiness of Christ tied him to the earth as fully man and fully God. Christ's Crucifixion was the thesis of Christian belief, the physical sacrifice of his body bringing salvation to humanity. According to Catholic dogma, the physical, bodily death of his human form brought spiritual cleansing. Notably, this emphasis on the sacrifice of flesh also characterizes the small manuscript: the Crucifixion scene in Bonne's Psalter, which concludes the book, solidifying the Crucifixion and Christ's physical sacrifice as the climax to this Psalter and Bonne's engagement. As Christ was the Word made flesh, Bonne's Psalter was flesh and spoke of Christ. Bonne's Psalter—in its material as well as content—reminded Bonne of Christ's physical sacrifice. Bonne's prayer book was a participant in the "Word made flesh" and an avenue for her spiritual devotion.

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36. Michael Camille, "The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies," *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay, and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994): 62.
37. Camille, "The image and the self," 74.
38. John 1:14 Douay-Rheims Bible (DRB)

Personal Pilgrimage: Psalter as Relic

Bonne's Psalter was also a relic in its embodiment of the Word. The meditations and miniatures led Bonne as the reader on a spiritual journey towards engagement with the divine.[39] She journeyed through the Psalter as she thumbed through the pages, a virtual pilgrimage. Relics were sacred avenues for medieval Christians to access the divine, and Bonne's Psalter also functions as a medieval relic. Often bodily remains or clothes of a saint, these objects had special religious significance. Relics were the physical intercessor between the sacred and the secular, medieval Christians to interacting and praying with to achieve greater spiritual progress. In the same way, Bonne's Psalter participates in the relic identity of spiritual devotion and attention. As Bonne "traveled" through the calendar, prayers, and miniatures, she journeyed through the process of Christ's sacrifice. Every time Bonne used this Psalter, she was prompted to grow closer to God and greater unity with the divine. Bonne's Psalter demanded personal, individual spiritual attention like a medieval relic, the book an avenue for her own pilgrimage. As a medieval relic provided the physical connection between the divine and the human, Bonne's Psalter was an intercessor between herself and God.

The opening and the closing of Bonne's little book was physical as well, the opening and closing of flesh a physical parallel to her body as it opened and closed to conceive and then give birth to a son. Jeanne de Navarre's *Book of Hours*, created in the same Jean Pucelle workshop, presents the connection of the physical body to the spiritual, as the Latin caption "Domine mea labia aperies"—"Oh Lord, open my lips!" below many of her miniatures presents a double entendre (Fig. 2).[40] The prayer was common for medieval Christians, but presents an additional

39. Lermack, "Spiritual Pilgrimage in the 'Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg,'" 97.
40. Avril, *Manuscript Painting in the Court of France*, 16.

meaning in female sexuality contexts, referring to Christian verbal prayers as well as fertility.[41] The caption encourages spoken prayer and repentance as well as sexual obligation and virtue of Jeanne of Navarre, the daughter of King Louis X of France. The same prayer is also included in the Annunciation and Betrayal pages of Jeanne d'Evreux's book, an implicit connection to sexuality considering Jeanne's role as the last hope for the Capetian line.[42] These contemporary prayer book examples for other women in similar elite contexts are not isolated from Bonne's manuscript, female sexuality embedded within spiritual themes. Bonne's spiritual duties operated within her sexual duties, and the physicality of the book provides a metaphorical parallel. The materials, production, and result of this book were inextricably tied to bodily and gendered implications for Bonne.

Notions of Good and Bad Women

Bonne's Psalter must be situated within medieval theoretical frameworks of a woman's societal role to understand Bonne's place and Psalter. Her book, as an experiential artifact, was a vessel through which to communicate medieval ideas. Women were simultaneously regarded as sexual aggressors and expected to be passive wives. The woman was blamed for tempting men to sin in her identity as a woman, believed to have an exceptional power to destroy or to save.[43] The Creation story in the Bible's book of Genesis created this narrative for a woman's role in society through the example of Eve. Adam and Eve, the first humans, were pivotal in understanding humanity and "Original Sin," coined by St. Augustine in the late fourth century. Augustine

41. Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 338.
42. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 339.
43. Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages,* 2.

considered sin an incessant generational inheritance because of the Fall.[44] The pursuit of salvation and redemption from sin was the purpose of Jesus Christ's Crucifixion, and the actions of Adam and Eve began sin's cycle that created the need for Christ's salvation through his death. Eve, the first woman, was deemed responsible for the Fall of Man because she tempted Adam to eat the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. Eve as first woman and first to sin created the foundation for regard of the woman as temptress. This characterization of Eve is illustrated from the Romanesque period, notably in the bronze Bernward Doors of Hildesheim Cathedral in Germany (Fig. 3).[45] In the third panel of the Temptation and the Fall, Eve contrasts with Adam in her dynamic pose. Eve walks towards the serpent with her upper body turned back to Adam offering an apple. Her body evokes the pose of the serpent behind her in its coiled posture with an apple offering. Adam is a static figure while Eve is an aggressive figure of movement and sexuality, and her right hip thrusts back towards Adam.[46] Eve is compared to the serpent, who was the Devil in animal form. Eve's sexuality is also highlighted in the curvature and exposure of her body. Eve is both an erotic figure and a temptress offering Adam the forbidden fruit, human Eve considered closer to the serpent in likeness than the human man beside her. This eleventh century example illustrates theoretical considerations of Eve's identity. All women were considered capable of Eve's actions in tempting others—especially men—to sin.

However, like Bonne's Psalter, Eve's identity as the first woman and temptress is heavily nuanced. Although she was largely considered to be negative in her first "stain" of sin, she also

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44. Ernesto Bonaiuti and Giorgio La Piana. "The Genesis of St. Augustine's Idea of Original Sin." *The Harvard Theological Review* 10, no. 2 (1917): 164. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1507550.
45. Adam S. Cohen, and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," *Gesta* 40.1 (2001): 22.
46. Cohen and Derbes, "Berward and Eve," 24.

occupies the pivotal matriarchal position as the first woman and first mother. Biblical considerations of Eve and the generations of women that followed shaped medieval ideas about women, as women occupied a position rife with subliminal and matriarchal status. The dichotomy of Eve's identity also provides a metaphorical parallel to Bonne's Psalter, which does not belong to a single understanding. The book is informed by theoretical frameworks involving Eve as well as it is a vessel of nuanced meaning. Layered ideas of gender are essential to understanding the weight of Bonne's prayer book; properly situating her place as wife to the French heir and the ways in which her prayer book solidifies and conforms to these dichotomies.

The Ideal of the Virgin

With this blame came the simultaneous fixation on the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ, revered above all other women. The Virgin Mary was even celebrated as the "New Eve," Eve a prefigure of the Virgin as Adam prefigured Christ.[47] The pinnacle of the ideal woman, the Virgin exemplified virtue and purity, especially in her conception of Christ without the stain of sexual reproduction. The saintly status of the Virgin is vibrantly demonstrated at Chartres Cathedral in the *Vierge de la Belle Verrière*, dating from the middle twelfth century (Fig. 4).[48] Chartres Cathedral housed a precious relic of the Virgin, which was considered as sacred as a relic of Christ. Jeweled tones illustrate the crowned, enthroned Virgin with Christ on her lap as the *Sedes sapientiae* (Throne of Wisdom), her body a literal throne and Christ's placement between her legs a reference to his human birth.[49] The *Sedes sapientiae* was a popular medieval type from the

47. Maureen Fries. "The Evolution of Eve in Medieval French and English Religious Drama." *Studies in Philology* 99, no. 1 (2002): 1. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174716.
48. Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of the Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 45, no. 4 (1963): 301. https://doi.org/10.2307/3048112.
49. Margot E. Fassler, "The Virgin and the Tabernacle," *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 207. Yale University Press, 2010. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1nq8h0.14.

twelfth century, a visual metaphor for the Virgin's timeless, sacred status as mother of the Savior. This vibrant window reflects the importance of the Virgin in medieval understanding, a vehicle for medieval Christians at this pilgrimage church to ponder both her place as mother of Christ and Christ as Savior of the World, evoked by the *Sedes sapientiae*. The Virgin was essential to the salvation of all mankind through her motherhood, "She is the womb that bore God and the bride of her son, the moon and the star of the sea, the throne of wisdom and the portal of the temple, the institution and the fabric of the church."[50] Situating the status of the Virgin in medieval theological understanding illuminates the role of medieval women as medieval Christians considered the Virgin the greatest of all women. Notions of female identity were fundamentally nuanced, operating simultaneously in these fierce binaries of Biblical women, foregrounded by the tempting, matriarchal Eve alongside the sacred Virgin Mary.

Ideas about Eve and the Virgin Mary created the dichotomy between the "good" and the "bad" woman, blame on Eve simultaneous with the Cult of the Virgin and her virtue. Mary's virgin purity was the antithesis and the antidote to Eve's introduction of death into Eden.[51] Women were included in Eve's blame, a proponent of Eve's legacy. Bonne's place as a woman wrestled with these dichotomies: to have the power to tempt and destroy like Eve while expected to emulate the Virgin's esteemed womanly virtue. The Tour de Nesle scandal contributed a contemporary connection of the woman as "temptress," fueling considerations of the "bad" woman. Bonne was also the important mother of the Valois heir as Eve was the matriarch of all humanity. Like the Virgin, Bonne was a matriarch of the "chosen" next French heir to the throne

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50. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages*, 14.
51. Katherine L. Lynch, "Diana's 'Bowe Ybroke': Impotence, Deisre and Virginity in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls" Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark: Univesristy of Delaware Press, 1999), 88.

under the Valois. Bonne was in an incredibly important position in lineage, birthright, and the throne. Bonne was supposed to evoke the role of the Virgin as chaste and pure, but also to carry on the royal lineage through the birth of a son to continue the Valois dynasty. Women were embedded within the identity of sexual aggressor, but simultaneously expected to uphold the impossible ideal of the Virgin.

Medieval virginity was foundationally multifaceted, not limited to sexual purity or abstinence but extended to moral and spiritual purity. Even though Bonne was expected to conceive a male heir—no longer a virgin—she was not exempt or separate from purity or chastity:

> The virginity of a virgin is not simply technical intactness, and devotional and prescriptive texts for women are careful not to exclude the wedded and the widowed (often the most economically powerful) from their audiences. Such texts prescribe virginity, but address chastity, frequently reinscribing marriage and maternity in the spiritual life of all women even as they offer virgins as role models to mothers and widows.[52]

Bonne's Psalter responds to this notion of virginity in its highlighting of spiritual fervor and personal devotion in text and image and in its production context. Moreover, it provides a righteous example that steers her on a path different from the one trodden by the Capetian women that came before her as a spiritual regulator of her behavior. Virginity was not just associated with the mother of Christ, but also in spiritual, gendered expectations of womanhood. Guillaume Machaut's 1365 poem *La Prise d'Alexandrie* includes the only known extant descriptions of Bonne by a contemporary.[53] He uses word play of Bonne's name, "De bien: ce fu

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52. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Chaste bodies, frames and experiences," *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay, and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 26.
53. D. G. Lanoue, "'La Prise d'Alexandrie': Guillaume de Machaut's Epic," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 29 (1985), 99. https://wooster.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/la-prise-dalexandrie-guillaume-de-machauts-epic/docview/1299579830/se-2?accountid=15131

ma dame Bonne," to describe her goodness.[54] No other descriptions of Bonne's character or personality are known, only dates of when she lived and died in chronicles of the time. This brief textual mention comes during eulogies for the most renowned European rulers according to Machaut, calling Bonne *pure* and *monde* in a previous line, or "pure" and "clean," or "elegant."[55] Machaut regards Bonne as humble, chaste, and virtuous. Motherhood for Bonne was even considered to be "spotless and clean," for reproduction and conception existed within the context of marriage, remaining pure according to medieval society.[56] Bonne, upon her marriage as a Bohemian princess to the French heir to the throne, married into these systems of gender and royalty, of virginity wrapped up in chastity and the maternal in reproduction only with the purpose of conceiving a son. Medieval sex was not permitted in pursuit of pleasure, only for the purpose of conception between a married couple.[57] Even though Bonne was no longer a virgin through her motherhood and birth of a French heir, Bonne maintained virginity through her practice of appropriate sex with her husband along with pursuit of her faith. Medieval virginity was not only considered through the example of the Virgin and sexual abstinence, but also through spiritual chastity and "proper" sexual reproduction.

The Queen Mary Psalter: Woman as Mother and Woman as Temptress

The *Queen Mary Psalter*, an English Psalter from the early fourteenth century, illustrates medieval notions of Eve and the Virgin alongside themes of genealogy, lineage, and divine right to rule. Like Bonne's manuscript, this medieval Psalter was a spiritual regulator of its female patron's behavior, a visual catalogue of biblical women accompanied by prayers and guided

54. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 29.
55. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 34.
56. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 35.
57. Caviness "Patron or Matron," 340.

meditations for the patron's engagement. The manuscript is a poignant reflection of gendered medieval ideas, providing a parallel example to Bonne's Psalter in its regulation of female behavior. The *Queen Mary Psalter* is an extraordinary manuscript with over 400 images, most including women, illustrating over 150 separate biblical narratives.[58] Although Bonne's Psalter does not include the breadth of female representation that the *Queen Mary Psalter* does, both serve as medieval spiritual guides for their elite female patrons. Like Bonne's Psalter, the *Queen Mary Psalter* cannot be separated from cultural contexts of gender, religion, and spiritual devotion. The manuscript's opulence attests to a female, royal, and possibly French woman comparable to Bonne. Although the manuscript's patron is unknown, it is suggested that the book once belonged to Isabella of France, Queen of England.[59] Extensive motherhood images alongside themes of genealogy and inheritance make up much of this manuscript. Alongside the elevation of the mother, however, there is also blame of Original Sin through Eve, a dichotomy of the elevation of women and their capacity to tempt. The woman had the power to be the perfect mother, but she simultaneously had the power to bring down humanity—this manuscript includes both representations. This "pictorial universe" is an extraordinary contemporary example to Bonne's Psalter, grounding medieval notions of women through biblical evidence.[60]

58. Anne Rudloff Stanton. "La Genealogye Comence: Kinship and Difference in the 'Queen Mary Psalter" *Studies in Iconography,* vol. 17 (1996): 188. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23923643
59. Anne Rudloff Stanton, "From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond: Motherhood in the Queen Mary Psalter," in *Women and the Book Assessing the Visual Evidence,* ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library, 1997), 186.
60. Stanton, "La Genealogye Comence," 177.

The *Queen Mary Psalter* is also extraordinary in its extensive female representation—women are just as crucial to the narrative as men, whether as positive or negative characters.[61]

The consideration of Eve as temptress is reflected in the Fall miniature of the *Queen Mary Psalter*. The caption of this miniature reads, "Here Eve makes Adam sin" (Fig. 5).[62] There is no question of Eve's sole responsibility, it is definite. Her arm intertwines with Adam's, leading him away from the angel and the Fall as though her action was insignificant. The figure of Eve echoes a blasé attitude in this miniature as she moves away from Adam and an angel as though she has moved on from the weight of her sin.[63] She has a disinterested and unrepentant air in contrast to Adam, who leans and looks back towards the angel with regret. Here, Eve evokes the "bad" woman, the woman as temptress and responsible for human sin. Eve functions as an obvious warning against the weakness and temptation of women easily influenced by the devil, creating the foundation for Original Sin.[64]

The *Queen Mary Psalter* also features an enormous number of female models in elevated and esteemed contexts, many of them mothers. The Virgin is a major component of this exhaustively illustrated manuscript, an important figure in her son's life.[65] Intimate scenes of motherhood abound, a major focus on the personal dynamic between mother and child. The birthing mother image and type itself happens seven different times in this manuscript's miniatures, a rich reflection of motherhood prioritization. An early image of Christ's life, preaching in the temple, shows a proportionally enlarged Mary right next to a child Christ,

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61. Anne Rudloff Stanton, "The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 91, no. 6 (2001): 90. https://doi.org/10.2307/3655114.
62. Stanton, "From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond," 172.
63. Stanton, "The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience," 90.
64 Stanton, "The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience," 90.
65. Stanton, "From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond," 178.

accompanied by a shrunken Joseph (Fig. 6). The Virgin and Christ are the only crowned figures, and hierarchical scale orders the important figures. Joseph is dwarfed by the larger, brighter, grander figure of the Virgin, who is dressed in rich reds and blues and central to the left arched space of the image. The Virgin is the main character here, richly dressed and central as mother of the Savior. Motherhood is demonstrated in the Virgin, the most esteemed woman in Christian contexts, illustrating the ideal woman of virtue and chastity in motherhood scenes. One of the marginal cycles of the Virgin includes thirty-five Miracles of the Virgin, the most numerous marginal sequence of this manuscript.[66] The cycle of the Virgin represents "the Virgin as a primary contemporary and earthly intercessor between humanity and her son, in a relevant parallel to one of the most important roles of queens in the later Middle Ages, whose intercessory actions provided much-needed access to kings."[67] The Virgin's continuous crowned representations speak to her sacred status and represent an important parallel to Bonne's role as a royal matriarch herself.

General motherhood scenes are heavily populated throughout the *Queen Mary Psalter*. The births of figures like Moses, Samson, and Samuel are featured in the stories of the Old Testament alongside multiple images of key women like Sarah, Hagar, Naomi, and Ruth. In Samson's birth, like so many other birth images in this example, the nursing mother holds her child in her arms (Fig. 7).[68] The mothers do not only appear but nourish and care for their male children. The repetition of this type demonstrates the priority of a mother, elevating her with multiple Old Testament women. These images also contribute to the prototypical mother, running parallel to the Virgin. These nursing images are evocative of the *Madonna Lactans* type,

66. Stanton, "The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience," 49.
67. Stanton, "The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience," 51.
68. Stanton, "From Eve to Bathsheba and Beyond," 175.

the recurrent medieval image of the Virgin nursing the Christ Child.[69] Illustrating female sexuality through breastfeeding was a highly gendered image, and this recurrence seizes upon the consideration of women according to their sexuality. In addition, the Virgin was highly esteemed in Christian contexts, and the continuation of this type reflects a medieval elevation of the nursing mother. Images of mothers nursing their children—especially male children—represent a plethora of images that highlight the role of mothers as givers of life and nutrition. These miniatures build on the essential nature of motherhood, creating a catalogue of maternal expectation and fulfillment. Women were expected to be mothers in the medieval world, and the repetition of these types alongside the revered Virgin attest to the gendered pressures placed on women according to their sexuality.

The contrast of "good" and "bad" women in this single manuscript speaks to the constant multivalent nature of medieval ideas about women. As Eve was a "bad" woman, she was also a matriarch as the first woman and mother, put on a pedestal while blamed for Original Sin. The tension of Eve's identity runs parallel to medieval notions of women as temptress and essential matriarch and life giver. The polarities but also the nuanced ideas are deeply embedded within the manuscripts of these elite women as products of religious traditions. Bonne's manuscript is a product of these multifaceted ideas of women as simultaneously "good" and "bad." While Bonne and other elite women engaged in prayer, they were faced with these "different" women—those who wreaked havoc and those who epitomized virtue and goodness. A medieval woman engaged with these images alongside her prayers, which informed her understanding of a medieval

69. Eamonn McEneaney, "The Waterford Lactans," in *Irish Arts Review (2002)* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 144. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20493298144

woman's place. There is an abundance of elevated female representation in the *Queen Mary Psalter*, but there is also the presence of the first woman as sole perpetrator of sin.

As the *Queen Mary Psalter* shows, maintaining lineage, family lines, and inheritance through birth of a male heir was of utmost importance. The Virgin and infant Christ are not the only mother and son dynamics, speaking to a thorough consideration of blood lineage, family, and genealogy. Christ's birth came out of the line of David, and the manuscript illustrates the ancestors of Jesus in the births of figures like Moses and Samson. The mothers of these male leaders are presented as active members in their sons' lives through their repeated presence. The male leaders are not only key players, but their mothers also. These biblical women serve as parallels and reminders to the medieval woman engaging with these pages, reminding her of her imposed duty to continue the family line through images of esteemed biblical women. For the elite female patron, maintaining genealogy was central to the fulfillment of her role. The theme of genealogy throughout the *Queen Mary Psalter* reflects the priority of continuing the wealthy medieval family.

Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* and Gendered Expectations

Nearly contemporary with Bonne's, Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* (1324-1328) sets the theoretical stage for Bonne's book and royal position. The two French courtly manuscripts are separated by only a few years, and both come at pivotal moments in French royal history. As the last Capetian queen before the Valois dynasty, Jeanne d'Evreux was under enormous pressure to produce a son as the third wife of King Charles IV, as his previous wives did not have any surviving sons, putting the entire dynasty at stake for legitimate rule.[70] The gift of this book happened in the event of Jeanne's marriage to the king, and her marriage immediately

70. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 338.

brought in the responsibility of having a son. Bonne's position and life would follow only a few years later in the Valois context, implicitly linking Jeanne's history and book to Bonne's. A medieval Book of Hours held the same status as a Psalter in its personal devotional purpose but contained the prayers that should be said at the canonical hours of the day.[71] Books of Hours were strictly regimented texts that informed their female patron exactly what, when, and how they should pray, a book of spiritual pursuit but also control. Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* is essential for understanding Bonne's Psalter in the same French throne and expectations of dynasty and female sexuality.

The very beginning of this queen's manuscript seizes upon the birth of a male heir with the Annunciation page of the Virgin, the biblical announcement to Mary that she would give birth to Christ. The beginning of the book headlining the Virgin as a mother about to give birth to a son presents a clear parallel to Jeanne's expectation to produce a Capetian son (Fig. 8).[72] Within the historiated capital below is the queen herself, who also holds a prayer book as she kneels. Piety, the promise of a male child, and female devotion are represented in the opening page.

The marginalia of the Annunciation continue to solidify iconographic reminders of female sexuality and "proper" procreation. As the virtuous Virgin is represented alongside a kneeling Jeanne, an ape climbs up the foliage below Jeanne in the margins. The ape represented themes of uncleanliness, sensuality, and excess in medieval spaces.[73] There is a tension in these marginalia between images of "proper" sex and motherhood with reminders of abhorrent sexual behavior. The virtuous is modeled, but the evil of temptation and excess of sexuality haunt these

71. Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, (London: The British Library, 1985), 3.
72. Wogan-Browne, "Chaste bodies, frames and experiences," 24.
73. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 339.

images of the sacred.[74] The ape is an iconographic reminder of what *not* to do, especially as royal female example in the French court. Jeanne's expectations as French queen were the same as Bonne's—she must be good, chaste, an exemplary woman. Above all, she must give birth to a male heir. This tension exposes Jeanne d'Evreux's book as a spiritual schedule and guide for Jeanne's devotion, and an object of sexual control that models proper sexuality and procreation. It is important to situate Jeanne's manuscript with Bonne's in its dynastic focus and religious purpose, a testament of medieval control of female sexuality. Jeanne's manuscript is an essential book in understanding Bonne's manuscript, both books implicitly shaped by gender as material regulators.

As Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* and the *Queen Mary Psalter* demonstrate, the personal prayer books of elite medieval women were far more than personal spiritual guides for prayer and contemplation. The investigation of these two books is a frame for Bonne's book in its employment of contemporary examples, demonstrating political and gendered agendas as well as the theories that informed them. These medieval manuscripts constructed ideas about female flesh in manufacture and decoration. Personal prayer books reflect the multifaceted medieval regard for women as evil temptress, sacred mother, and virtuous mentor. These manuscripts also seize upon medieval roles of elite women, reflecting the prioritization of a male heir as well as the emblematic Virgin and spiritual virginity. Contemporary political agendas are also embedded within the pages as tools to solidify the right to rule and dynastic power. Through the context of the spiritual, the content of these books further medieval patriarchal ideas about women, intertwining personal prayers with social and sexual expectations. These manuscripts were witnesses to and participants in these medieval systems, experiential artifacts charged with

74. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 345.

political, cultural, sexual, and spiritual meanings. Personal medieval prayer books are not neutral objects of medieval devotion, but implicitly charged with layered significance.

Chapter 2: Microcosmic Miniatures

Bonne of Luxembourg's manuscript is the single most eloquent witness and artifact of her lived experience. Little else is known about Bonne's life, and her manuscript serves as the unique window into her biography, especially that of her spiritual life. It is sometimes thought that Bonne participated in the manuscript's production, providing greater biographical implications to this book, raising further questions of her spiritual identity, faith, and status in the emergent Valois court. This chapter will illustrate the spiritual identity of the patron and the singularity of the manuscript, striving to understand Bonne's position as intended royal consort, especially how the expression of her faith played a role in the formation of her royal identity.

The form of Bonne's book is a combination of typical and unusual forms, a document of deeply personal and spiritual nuance. It is important to note that the book was not unmediated in production, intersecting with issues of dynasty, legitimacy, and gender. In the following analysis, the manuscript's broad visual landscape will be examined from calendar to miniatures in order to situate it as an important witness to Bonne's active spiritual life. A survey of the manuscript and its unique contents situates the personal, political, and gendered stakes of her lifetime, a completely individual testament to Bonne's life that demands recognition.

Medieval Calendar

The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg follows a generally predictable paradigm for medieval prayer books, beginning with her calendar. The calendar tradition is first observed in the ninth century and was fully established by the twelfth, maintaining an overwhelmingly

predictable form in its visual organization and content.[75] Although the calendar of Bonne's book is overwhelmingly standard in its form and inclusion, the decorations establish wider considerations of medieval class, spirituality, time, and personal gendered obligations.

The calendar scenes always came before any Holy Scripture narrative at the beginning of a prayer book.[76] Prefacing the prayers, biblical texts, and meditations, the calendar was an important timeline for Bonne's year. The prayer book's medieval calendar highlighted important religious days, including feasts of the liturgical year like the Annunciation and the Assumption holidays, as well as anniversaries of important saints.[77] Bonne's book provides a remarkable example of calendar illumination, the miniatures filling each *bas-de-page*.[78] The calendar and zodiac imagery personified time as well as providing a window into medieval peasant life and class difference.[79]

The medieval calendar always featured the "Occupations," or the "Labors" of the months. First located in the private calendars of the Church and legible only to the literate elite, the Occupations cycle appeared long before Books of Hours and Psalters.[80] The Labors cycle depicts medieval peasant life, each month corresponding to the agricultural or related acts dependent on the seasons. Bonne's psalter, for example, features a group of peasants warming themselves by a fire for the month of February, an indication of the cold winter months that limited medieval

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75. Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1999), 5.
76. Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse:* Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," 438.
77. Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, 11.
78. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 70.
79. Introduction to *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac,* Index of Christian Art, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), xlviii.
80. Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse:* Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," 437.

communities to indoor activities (Fig. 9). In contrast, a peasant tends a lush, green field for the month of June, dressed in light clothes and surrounded by indications of warm summer (Fig. 10). These peasant scenes are usually smaller in size compared to the adjacent text, familiar visual markers for each month and accompanied by each corresponding zodiac sign. In this way, peasant scenes complement seasonal themes and anchor the elite ideologies of the feudal system. This pictorial tradition was widespread in both public and private contexts of Romanesque and Gothic periods, especially in liturgical books like Bonne's.

The calendar images also function as a familiar system of the passing of time, serving ornamental purpose as well as a reminder for the expectations of each solstice. In other words, the calendar was an important means for tracking the appropriate exercise of one's spiritual obligation. The calendar of Bonne's psalter maintains this pictorial tradition, reflecting the formulaic nature of the medieval calendar based on the seasons and the zodiac signs. These peasant scenes are usually smaller in size compared to the adjacent text, familiar visual markers for each month and accompanied by each corresponding zodiac sign.

The consistency of each year's never-ending cycle of work is traced back to the Fall as a metaphor for endless human toil. Adam and Eve's disobedience to God in the Garden of Eden led to a labored human existence in atonement for their sins. Adam, as God's first gardener, swayed from God's intentions and began the human existence of toil at the mercy of Nature and its incessant weeds, drought, and failure.[81] Bonne was reminded of the origins of sin and the recurring, incessant passage of time as she traced the calendar for important feast and religious days, especially with regard to sin, toil, and the Fall of mankind. The theoretical grounding of the Fall in the calendar tradition scaffolds the climax of the Psalter with Christ's wound and

81. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 8.

Crucifixion as final miniatures at the end of Bonne's book. As Bonne opened her book to view the calendar, she was reminded of human toil and labor as a human condition. The progression of her Psalter continued to build on confession, spiritual progress, and human sin, culminating in Christ's ultimate sacrifice because of the Fall.

A Classist Calendar

Amid the bleak biblical grounding of peasant toil comes a peace and prosperity in medieval calendar images. Bonne's psalter calendar, like its contemporaries, is full of prosperous green fields and well-equipped peasants. The tools are not broken, and everyone appears to have what they need as they work.[82] Emotional calm is consistent in this image system, absent of sin or reminders of eternal suffering. According to these images, peasant life is tidy and idyllic, viewed by Bonne's elite eye. The calm, pastoral nature of these scenes reflects the separation of the elite from the peasants, as well as the purpose that peasants served in medieval feudal systems. This organization was appropriate to a young woman of royal and imperial means, locating her duties within the royal class system. It is important to consider feudal systems of Bonne's time, as class affected representation both in and out of manuscript spaces.

Issues of class and feudal relationships are unequivocally explored in her son's famous prayer book, Duke Jean de Berry's *Très Riches Heures,* an early fifteenth-century Book of Hours.[83] As the son of Bonne and likely the inheritor—if at least the viewer—Jean of Berry's patronage and image choice is relevant to Bonne's manuscript discussion. In Jean's prayer book, which follows the same basic structure of Bonne's, peasant scenes are included not only as a

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82. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 10.
83. Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse:* Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," 440. Jean of Berry was known for his impressive art and book patronage as well as his ridiculously high taxes. He was also called "the most avaricious man in the world" by a contemporary.

continuation of the Occupations tradition, but also as a method of control and surveillance. Perpetuating class distinctions through peasant imagery as in Bonne's book, Jean's *Très Riches Heures* takes issues of class to a new extreme. The notion of the "chivalric landscape" is illustrated in the September calendar miniature as a lavish castle looms in the background while peasants are busy working on the wine harvest (Fig. 11).[84] Courtly figures like Jean and Bonne did not take part in any of these peasant activities, rather, they viewed them from afar in their elite spaces from their authoritative position. There is a literal separation between the two classes in this fifteenth-century image, elevating the duke as the inhabitant of the castle. As he engaged with his book, he noted the peasants in contrast to his own elite space. The lower status of the peasants is amplified in the crude posture of one peasant as he leans over with his backside to the viewer. Not only was the same representation of elite figures unheard of, but the Duke of Berry could view this peasant, like the rest of the peasants, unfettered and unsupervised.[85] The unchecked gaze of Jean was further permitted with the medieval regard for peasants, who were considered a kind of "necessary evil." The peasant was essential to the workings of medieval society but viewed as a lesser, uncivilized, and base population by the aristocracy. The Calendar scenes depicted the peasants in their "natural" function. The justification of their intended purpose was defended by many texts of the time, further writing that it was intended by God.[86] The Labors scenes of Bonne's manuscript calendar also respond to class difference in their peasant images. The scenes are simple, limited to often one or two figures in each, representing

84. Oliver Creighton, "Constructing Chivalric Landscapes: Aristocratic Spaces Between Image and Reality," *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 194. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvb937g7.15.
85. Michael Camille, "'For Our Devotion and Pleasure': The Sexual Objects of Jean, Duc de Berry." *Art History* 24 (2001): 169. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.00259.
86. Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse:* Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," 444.

both a pastoral nature and a tidiness of peasant life. The idyllic images of the peasants reflect the romanticization of the peasant class, as well as their subordinate position endlessly toiling in the fields in these calendar moments. The *Très Riches Heures* solidifies class difference in explicit visual separation between the peasant class and the aristocratic patron in its calendar images, illuminating the ways the peasant class was taken advantage of as well as controlled under surveillance. The *Très Riches Heures* is also the personal prayer book of Bonne's son, and the inheritance of Bonne's book is implicit in the calendar function, form, and organization. The situating of the *Très Riches Heures* illuminates class differences in medieval peasant life, personal prayer books testaments to medieval feudal hierarchy, supervision, and the lavish lifestyles and budgets of their elite patrons. As previously stated, Jean's book responds to Bonne's in its perpetuation and expansion of Bonne's calendar, elevating issues of class, aristocracy, and feudalism of the same system that Bonne was a part of.

As Bonne engaged with her book, she was faced with both a calendar tradition and a reminder of class difference. The images for every month, in their traditional cycle, are consistent, dependable, and unchanging.[87] The seasons will always pass as the wheat will always need tended and the hog always slaughtered for Christmas. In turn, the peasant will always meet these needs of harvest and slaughter in their "natural" position. The cyclical nature of the year was a reminder of each solstice and a perpetuation of class in incessant peasant toil that appears to have no end. The peasants could even be seen as "schematic repetitive machines" in their unchanging work of medieval calendar as token images, workers of labor in a hierarchical

87. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 16.

medieval system.[88] The peasant images in the calendar perpetuate the histories and systems established by medieval social order.

The passage of time is further indicated by the zodiac of medieval calendars, contributing to the cyclical nature of the peasant scenes. The zodiac marked the path that the sun, moon, and planets moved through every year, and each month had a zodiac sign named for a constellation within each monthly path of the sun.[89] The Occupations were sometimes connected to each month's zodiac. In Bonne's psalter, for example, a man fishes in a pond with two large fish representing Pisces, the zodiac sign for February. Ancient sources were also turned to for inspiration in these cycles, like Janus, the ancient Roman god of beginnings and transitions. Janus, also the namesake for January, is shown in Bonne's January calendar feasting at a table (Fig. 12). Janus is recognized for his two bearded faces, representing the old and new year.[90] The medieval calendar combined both medieval peasant motifs and ancient Roman influence in their pages, an amalgamation of iconography. Each calendar example in medieval prayer books falls back on these formulaic systems of the fixed zodiac and classical mythology. Bonne's psalter presents a predictable, formulaic calendar and zodiac system, reflecting a French manuscript deeply tied to tradition. Every calendar page is filled with lines of dates in blue and red ink, framed by a border of leaves and birds on every page. Each Labors image fills the bottom of each calendar scene, following a set paradigm of form. Furthermore, the consistency of Bonne's calendar confirms a status quo of book illumination at the height of French courtly manuscript production under the Valois. Like the peasant scenes, the zodiac repetition continues a validation

88. Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998): 220.
89. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 2.
90. Olga Koseleff Gordon, "Two Unusual Calendar Cycles of the Fourteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 45, no. 3 (1963): 247. https://doi.org/10.2307/3048096.

of set structures. As the peasants endlessly toil "naturally," the zodiac images bring the heavenly element to these earthly systems. The zodiac signs connect the cosmic to the earthly, an additional justification of these class scenes. Calendars like this ratified the royal ambitions of their readers by tying the operations of the feudal estate to cosmic and divine events. The predictability of these forms also reflects the deeply ingrained medieval systems, as these cycles were repeated in countless medieval examples, especially books. The calendar continues the predictability of the calendar tradition, cementing issues of class for Bonne's elite viewing. As a Bohemian elite woman marrying into the Valois family, Bonne was expected to fall into preestablished systems of class and feudalism. Bonne's Psalter provides an unblinking formula for time, feudalism, and cosmic order, giving Bonne a visual catalogue of the intended royal order.

Gendered Spring Cycles

Bonne's manuscript reflects issues of class and social order in its calendar cycles, and it cannot be separated from her gendered position as royal patron. Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* provides the backdrop for gendered constructions of medieval women, especially Bonne as contemporary. As previously mentioned, Jeanne was the last queen of the Capetian line, making Bonne her successor and in direct conversation. Jeanne's book was also produced in the same workshop tradition as Bonne's, and the illustrator of Jeanne's *Book of Hours* heavily influenced the illustrator of Bonne's book.[91] The medieval calendars of these two personal prayer books speak to the typical labors and zodiac cycles, but the imagery is not void of sexuality and

91. "The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy," Metropolitan Museum of Art.

gender. Furthermore, the imagery shaped and informed their dictated duties as royal consorts and virtuous mothers whose chief responsibility was to furnish a viable and legitimate line.

Jeanne d'Evreux's manuscript is highlighted by sexual innuendo in the *bas-de-page* of the spring calendar months. The tiny book—about 4 inches tall—includes 209 folios and follows the standard contents of a medieval prayer book, including a Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Life of Christ, the Passion, and the Infancy, accompanied by prayers and devotions for Jeanne's recitation and engagement. Marriage in late medieval Europe was one of the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, embedding the union in religious contexts, and the manuscript elucidates these themes of marriage in its decoration and contents.[92] Secular issues of sex and marriage are not separate from religious spaces, and these books and their calendars adamantly followed suit. Jeanne's book calendar includes multiple innuendos, steeped in sexuality and Jeanne's expectation to produce an heir. This foundational connection is reflected in the month of April, where a young man pulls aside his mantle with his hand on his groin (Fig. 13). In the other hand, he holds a budding sapling, evoking the phallus.[93] Even as this manuscript served as a spiritual guidebook, it constantly reminded Jeanne of sexual expectation to her husband and her duty to have a son through this union. In the September calendar, a woman stuffs herself with grapes in the vine harvest, evoking fertility, perhaps a play between "uva" ("grape") and "ova" ("eggs," hence womb) (Fig. 14).[94] The illustration of the wine harvest in September was typical in the calendar cycles, but the inclusion of the woman stuffing herself with lush fruit evokes an additional meaning.[95] Women were not central to these scenes as often

92. Shannon McSheffrey, "Introduction," in *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006): 4. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fj1mn.3.
93. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 346.
94. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 347.
95. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 19.

as men were, more often depicted in the background or part of a group, which makes the woman's presence in this September month even more significant.[96] As the woman is featured, she is depicted in terms of her sexuality and fertility, reminding Jeanne once again of a woman's role in society. In the May calendar, two lovers are obscured by a shield, illustrating the Gemini zodiac (Fig. 15). Gemini is based on the ancient twins, brothers Castor and Pollux, but gradually shifted to a young man and a girl. The Gemini sign becomes a sign of intertwined lovers, once again evoking coitus and sexuality. Jeanne's *Book of Hours* is an important and informative lens for understanding Bonne's manuscript and its role in crafting her identity as a royal mother. The explicit gendered imagery presents a frame for a medieval woman's role, informing Bonne and her book. Both women were elite, royal women in the French court, and Jeanne's book foregrounds these issues, presenting a vital testament to understanding Bonne's calendar and book. Jeanne's manuscript also presents how a medieval prayer book for a female reader was a tool for affirming and constructing gendered obligations, contextualizing the role of Bonne's manuscript beyond the spiritual.

As Bonne progressed through the calendar of her Psalter, she was met with corresponding signs of spring's verdancy and fecundity that affirmed ideas of fertility as the solstice shifted to a season of growth. Bonne's book cannot be divorced from gender according to medieval systems, and her calendar, although traditional in form, responds to these constructions. Stemming from the Classical textual tradition, medieval audiences considered spring a time of revitalized sexual activity.[97] In Bonne's April calendar pages, three robed figures carry full, leafed branches as indications of spring and fertility (Fig. 16). Signs of spring's

96. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 184.
97. Alexander, "*Labeur* and *Paresse:* Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," 439.

greenery are repeated further on the opposite page of Bonne's manuscript with a tree and what appears to be a wheat crop. The bare branches of early spring, like March, contrast with the later fertile, lush plants of April and May. Fecundity—both human and agricultural—is alluded to.

The May calendar pages of Bonne's Psalter are most significant in demonstrating gendered connotations. Like Jeanne's manuscript, Gemini is illustrated through the union of two lovers for the month of May. However, unlike Jeanne's Gemini image, which has an unadorned shield, Bonne's own family coat of arms fills the shield in her calendar. The two lovers stand embracing behind the shield reflecting Bonne's own personal identity. The coat of arms connects Bonne, through her family crest, to the union of two lovers, all in the verdant spring month. Although Bonne's family crest appears throughout the psalter below other miniatures, May is the only month of the calendar to include the Luxembourg coat of arms. Themes of fertility are pushed further on the opposite calendar page, where a man on horseback has a falcon on his outstretched arm. The horse he rides and the attendant behind him walk towards the intertwined Gemini couple on the facing page, pushing the images in conversation with one another. The hawk prepares to take off from the man's arm towards the couple, its wings poised for flight. A deviation from peasant labor scenes, as well as a typical calendar motif, falconry or "hawking" largely belonged to the nobility as a leisure activity, a practice used in medieval hunting.[98] The iconography of hawking is most important to this image, for hawking was heavily used as a metaphor for medieval love and courtship.[99] Falcon-bearers in medieval art were representative

98. Thomas S. Henricks, "Sport and Social Hierarchy in Medieval England." *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 2 (1982): 28. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43609079.
99. E. Michael Gerli, "Calisto's Hawk and the Images of a Medieval Tradition," *Romania,* no. 413 (1983), 85. https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1983.2139

of a variety of meanings, most notably courtly love and sexual desire.[100] The connection of falconry to medieval love and courtship is further reflected in other medieval calendar examples, where May calendars show lovers riding horseback instead of a lone man with a falcon.[101] Spring was considered a time of renewed love and sexual activity, and images for the month of May always included motifs and visual symbols for courtship, love, and union. The May calendar personally connects to Bonne through the Luxembourg coat of arms, visually associating her with the man and falcon on the opposite page who move towards the Gemini couple and the crest on the other. The courtship iconography frames Bonne's identity with the presence of her own family Luxembourg crest. The May calendar images, in its simultaneity of traditional courtship theme and Bonne's own patronage, bring motherly obligations of Bonne to the foreground. The man and woman who embrace behind her family coat of arms link Bonne's marriage and her own identity to this visual moment of fertility and spring's rebirth. As she looked to the month of May's important dates, she was met with the familiar image of her family crest alongside a copulating couple and related iconography, including a garden of lush, flowering plants that surround the embracing couple.

Situating the Psalms Cycle

The "David cycle" in Bonne's Psalter is the most extensive miniature cycle. Accompanying the Psalms, these miniatures depict biographic segments of David. This set of miniatures is the only one in the manuscript to follow a narrative or chronological sequence of more than two images. The selection of images, illustrating climactic points of this Old Testament figure's life, invite the viewer to consider the significance of their inclusion. King

100. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England,* 58.
101. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac,* lvii.

David as an Old Testament figure is vital in understanding Christianity, as David's identity as one of Christ's ancestors was a prophesy of the Savior.[102] The psalmist David and Christ were considered to fight parallel battles, and the psalter form furnishes a stage for this paradigm.[103] The David cycle affirms the presence of David as Old Testament king, author, and spiritual model, but it also presents a fundamental priority on secular royal themes of Bonne through dynastic iconography.

The David images are important to highlight in their prefiguration of Christ and their connection to royal lineage. The cycle follows a pseudo-narrative sequence, beginning with a representation of the adult king with his harp above a separate image of a young David slaying Goliath. This miniature is the only one of the two-register organization in this Psalter. [104] In the top register David is an adult, crowned in gold leaf and holding a harp as he gestures to two youths with instruments. In the bottom register, a young David is poised with a stone, mid-throw about to kill the armored Goliath. In contrast, Goliath appears unfazed in his casual stance with one hand resting on his shield (Fig. 17). The miniatures progress with his anointing by the prophet Samuel, David kneeling before God, and David in the water engaging directly with God in heaven. A few of the Psalm miniatures are void of David's personal presence, instead focusing on illustrating a moralizing message directly from the accompanying Psalm. These other miniatures will be discussed later in this chapter.

Royal iconography and royal focus are fundamental from the beginning of the David cycle. A pair of lions fills the bottom margin, holding flags that echo the colors and pattern of

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102. Kathleen M. Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 1 (1993): 21. https://doi.org/10.2307/3045930.
103. Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle," 25.
104. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 80.

Bonne's family crest in the earlier calendar below the first and only two-register David miniature. The lion is particularly relevant to Bonne's family, as her brother, Charles IV—later Holy Roman Emperor—was enamored with the lion motif.[105] The lion was also the heraldic device of Luxembourg and can be seen crudely rendered in the *bas-de-page* coat of arms throughout the margins of Bonne's manuscript.[106] Generally, lions were symbolic of power, royalty, and dignity, universally recognized as a positive symbol of good triumphing over evil.[107] The lion was also indicative of the Lion of Judah, an emblem of King David.[108] Royal status is continued in the miniature of Psalm 27, where Samuel anoints David king. The royal lion appears again in the arms of the chair or bench David sits upon, lionheads framing his figure. The image's royal figure is substantiated with additional gold leaf, a sign of prestige and royalty. Additional royal images of David accompany some of the Psalms, including Psalm 38 and 69. David is consistently depicted in these miniatures as a humble, royal figure through his subordinate kneeling postures as he looks up to heaven, always crowned in gold. These miniatures are linked not only by their subject but also in their theme of royal patronage.

Bonne read her manuscript "typologically." That is, rulers were taught to see themselves in previous rulers and to actively learn from them.[109] Bonne, as royal reader, was connected to

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105. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jirí Fajt, ed., *Prague: Crown of Bohemia 1347-1437*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 6.
106. Boehm and Fajt, *Prague: Crown of Bohemia,* 183. A sandstone example of the Luxembourg coat of arms, originally linked as one piece with the Bohemian coat of arms, survives in the Prague Castle Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This piece was originally housed in Saint Vitus Cathedral, the most important cathedral in Prague. The cathedral was elevated to coronation church by Bonne's brother, Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, and became family crypt and later location of his burial.
107. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 21.
108. Boehm and Fait, *Prague: Crown of Bohemia,* 6.
109. Gerald B. Guest, "The People Demand a King: Visualizing Monarchy in the 'Psalter of Louis IX,'" *Studies in Iconography* 23 (2002): 8. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23925017.

these themes of royalty and lineage. Although the David images respond to traditional iconographic themes and figural representation, they cannot be separated from their patron. David was the paradigm for royalty, an ancestor of Christ and shown in Bonne's manuscript as a pious leader. He is a natural and obvious choice for a Psalter, but the specific images have a level of individualization that make them significant. The repetition of the lion, with its implicit family connection, argues for a further personal connection of royal identity. The lion points to royal preference, as it was of particular interest to Bonne's brother, who was only two years younger than Bonne. Charles IV, like Bonne, also spent an enormous amount of time in French courts from an early age and went on to emulate French styles in his own courtly arts after Bonne's death.[110] As Bonne progressed through her psalter, she was met with images of a pious David in subordinate posture, kneeling before Christ even as a crowned king, creating a paradigm for exemplary royal behavior. As this analysis has previously established, Bonne's royal role was grounded in continuing the Valois dynasty through the birth of a male heir, and David's visual significance as ancestor of Christ is also imbued with genealogical relevance.

The Two Fools

The miniature of Psalm 52 is absolutely exceptional in its rendering, with no contemporary parallels. Situated between two miniatures of King David, this miniature represents an integral part of medieval Christian understanding of unbelief and foolishness as well as an unusual example of a Psalm 52 miniature. This miniature is widely cited in other scholarly literature specifically for its explicit antisemitic imagery, but its iconic status is also because of its place in Bonne's manuscript. Annette Lermack has identified the formal important features of this miniature, but this study seeks to push her research further, regarding the ways

110. Boehm and Fait, *Prague: Crown of Bohemia,* 4.

that this miniature builds Bonne's spiritual identity in its moralizing scene. This study also aspires to illuminate the ways that the miniature, even in its exceptional identity, is also unexceptional in its background and iconography that persists throughout the rest of the manuscript, an additional attestation to the manuscript's enduring continuity and united thesis.

The image disrupts the narrative David cycle, providing instead a literal representation of the accompanying Psalm that distinguishes it from the rest of the cycle. Other miniatures of Bonne's Psalter are typical for fourteenth-century French prayer books, like Samuel anointing David in the David cycle, but the detailed specificity and representation of Psalm 52 is unique, notably in the inclusion of two fools, not just one.[111] The image of the two fools punctuates the accompanying text in a way that the biographical David images do not, for it literally illustrates its psalm using a variety of familiar medieval iconography of the fool. In this way, it stands out from the David miniatures in its unique emphasis, elevating the importance of this Psalm in ways that the other psalm miniatures do not. The text of Psalm 52 moves through the characteristics of the fool, saying that all are bad, and that God will destroy them in their refusal to accept him.[112] Psalm 52 names the fool as denying the existence of God, turning away from the faith, "The fool said in his heart: There is no God. They are corrupted, and become abominable in iniquities,

111. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 81.
112. Psalm 52: "Unto the end, for Maeleth, understandings to David. The fool said in his heart: There is no God. They are corrupted and become abominable in iniquities: there is none that doth good. God look down from heaven on the children of men: to see if there were any that did understand or did see God. All have gone aside, there are become unprofitable together, there is none that doth good, no not one. Shall not all the workers of iniquity know, who eat up my people as they eat bread? They have not called upon God: there have they trembled for fear, where there was no fear. For God hath scattered the bones of them that please men: they have been confounded, because God hath despised them. Who will give out of Sion the salvation of Israel? When God shall bring back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad." DRB

there is none that doth good."[113] Fools were wicked in their unbelief, destroying progress of believers and only causing harm. Foolishness, in this context, was not connected to stupidity or lack of common sense, but rather a denial and adamant refusal to accept God in willful rejection of faith.[114]

The individualized figures of the Two Fools miniature further amplify the singularity of the miniature relative to Bonne's manuscript and others. This miniature features two men, the man on the left drinking from a green chalice with a thin rod in his other hand (Fig. 18). The bearded man on the left is deliberately antisemitic. Jews were considered abnormal and evil in their belief systems compared to medieval Christianity, included in themes of deviancy and "fool" imagery because they did not believe in Christ the same way.[115] The medieval world had a complicated and nuanced visual language to indicate unbelief, signified by a variety of exaggerated or misshapen features. The medieval world also considered vice and evil tendencies observable through physical characteristics. For example, images of Christ or the Virgin were rendered in graceful, well-proportioned, elegant ways, while figures considered "evil" were rendered with "grotesque" features, the appearance of these abhorrent characters connected to their indecency and lack of morality.[116] Antisemitic images were part of the medieval visual catalogue of the fool, but antisemitic imagery in the context of Psalm 52 is rare, making this miniature even more noteworthy. The bearded man on the left, a balding figure with a large nose, is a clear indication of these adamant pejorative representations. The man behind him, who wears a hood, pulls on the other man's hood. The hooded man holds a club in his other hand, which is

113. Psalm 52:1-2 DRB
114. Lermack, "Fit for a Queen," 89.
115. Debra Hassig, "The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races," *Image and Belief,* ed. Column Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 25.
116. Debra Hassig, "The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races," 29.

raised to strike the bearded man behind his back. The bearded man seems unfazed by the pulling of the man behind him, focused instead on his chalice, the most brightly colored part of this miniature. Both are rendered in grisaille with a blue acanthus leaf background that contrasts against the lighter gray tones of the figures. Other prayer books of the period usually featured only one fool, like a French Psalter from the thirteenth century with a single fool next to a king, which has no antisemitic iconography (Fig. 19). Like one of the figures in Bonne's Psalter miniature, this thirteenth-century fool holds a club and is dressed in a short, awkward tunic. The club signified the fool's greater tendency for violence in their deviation, and some fools held a loaf of bread, symbolizing the "devouring" of God's people mentioned in the psalm.[117] The standard image of the fool in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century psalters was marked by these iconographic indices, denoted with additional atypical physical features.

The bearded man is not only individualized but appears three different times in this manuscript, provoking reflection in his repetition. His profile appears in the two-headed Janus figure in the January calendar, the left head the same aging balding man and the right head perhaps evoking a younger version of himself. The same man shows up again from the same side as a hybrid figure in the top margin of the October calendar. Lermack considers the repetition of these antisemitic images to be additional affirmations of the fool.[118] The Janus head, for example, could be associated with the pagan Feast of Fools that was often held in the month of January. The hybrid being in the October calendar is considered indicative of animalistic behavior associated with a fool's behavior. Lermack asserts that the repetition of the man presents various iconography of the fool through the antisemitic type. Lermack's arguments are

117. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 83.
118. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 89.

powerful and likely true, but the literal replication of the man's profile is also worth noting. In all three examples, the man is shown in profile from the left side. He is so consistent and individualized in his profile that it seems as though the images were traced. The man would still be recognizable from a different angle or even in right profile. Instead, the literal replica of his face from the left side suggests a concern on repetition and continuity. Throughout the manuscript, there is a wealth of repetition in other ways, from recurring manuscript backgrounds to the nearly identical birds and vines that surround every page after the calendar. Like the blue acanthus leaf backgrounds, the man reappears throughout the manuscript in different spaces. The man becomes a type, not an individualized exception. Each page of the manuscript informs one another, and there is clear attention to the ways that the pages interact or resemble each other in their recurring forms. The recurrence of the man further adds to this thesis. His inclusion gestures to fool iconography as Lermack asserts, but his mere replication asserts the rigorous attention to union and continuity of Bonne's manuscript and its form.

The background of this miniature reflects the struggle between good and evil with the multitude of animals that blend into the blue background. The role of the "fool" and refusal of good, Christian behavior and pursuit is solidified in the animals' presence, as each had layered iconographic meanings influenced by bestiaries and the *Physiologus.* The *Physiologus,* or "bestiary" referred to the various encyclopedic volume adaptations of animals and moralizing tales—originally dated to ancient Greece—that provided a variety of meanings to medieval animals. The foxes and the apes are notable moralizing indications of hypocrisy and heresy here.[119] The ape's persistent inclusion reflects a further focus on themes of deviancy and evil

119. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 87. Lermack also includes a "unicorn" in the list of animals that provide a positive moralizing message. However, the animal one of the apes rides, the image right next to the raised club of the fool on the right, is a ram, not

behavior that build upon the central, foregrounded two fools. The ape was considered an evil animal from ancient times, symbolic of the Devil in his human likeness but evil in the ways he was not.[120] Two apes joust in the background right above the heads of the two fools, one riding a ram and the other a lion. One of the apes rides a lion, which, as previously mentioned, was a symbol of royalty and goodness. As one deviant ape rides a ram and the other a lion, there is tension between goodness and sin. The ram was often associated with aggression, and two butting rams in psalters and Books of Hours was a common motif to demonstrate violence and aggression.[121] Although there is only one ram here, it also faces the lion head-on in a jousting moment as two butting rams. The goodness of the lion contrasts with the aggression of the ram, a struggle between positive and negative themes. The moralizing tension of good and evil was the thesis of the Book of Psalms, and this textual tension is manifested in the miniature. The hounds in the background expand upon especially positive meanings, noteworthy for their loyalty and watchfulness.[122] These animals further solidify a commitment to reinforcing the text and its condemnation of the fool as well as the struggle of good and evil. The psalm is not only illustrated in the main scene but expanded upon through an extensive visual catalogue in the background, providing Bonne extensive reinforcements of the text.

The commitment to the accompanying text is expanded in the bottom margin, where two additional lions gnaw on bones. Like the two fools and the rest of the iconography, this unique miniature directly draws from the accompanying text, for Psalm 52 insists that "God hath

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a unicorn. The ape carries a long rod that lines up with the forehead of the ram, possibly the source of the unicorn association, but the curved horns and curly wool coat of the ram are clear.
120. Beryl Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973), 12.
121. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 135.
122. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, 9.

scattered the bones of the wicked."[123] The lions, as powerful creatures of royalty and goodness, devour the remains of those who have disregarded and forsaken God. Between the two lions is an additional reference to Bonne as patron, her coat of arms framed by the two lions. The miniature and its iconography adamantly illustrate the text in a thorough, literal way that set it apart from the miniatures of the David cycle. The focused attention to this psalm seizes upon the focus on Bonne's spiritual identity. The psalm is not only featured but visually reinforced in the variety of medieval foolishness motifs and denial of Christ. The uniqueness of this miniature, the attention to iconography, and the struggle between good and evil prioritize Bonne's spiritual self. The thorough and singular nature of this psalm's miniature provokes a greater focused attention. In addition, the text's abomination of lack of Christian belief prioritizes Bonne's focus on turning away from "foolish" behavior extensively alluded to in this psalm's miniature. As the lions gnaw on the bones of the wicked, Bonne was reminded of herself and her own family, once again linking the royal patron directly to the manuscript. The miniature of the two fools epitomizes Bonne's spiritual identity, a microcosm of Bonne's required attention to her faith and refusal of any semblance of foolishness.

The Three Living and the Three Dead

The images of the Three Living and the Three Dead are the last miniatures before the crescendo of the manuscript in the Crucifixion and the Wound. The remarkable location of the miniatures immediately preceding the final images establishes a commentary and focus on death, mortality, and spiritual wealth in heaven (Fig. 20). Although the miniatures illustrate a secular poem, they powerfully ground Bonne's focus on her spiritual progress and status in heaven. The inclusion of these miniatures also reflects a focus and foregrounding of death, as this manuscript

123. Ps. 52:6 DRB

was created on the cusp of the devastating Black Plague, which would later claim Bonne's life. As Bonne recited the prayers and scriptures of her manuscript, she was met with a visual reminder of death and the afterlife. These two miniatures provide an additional piece of Bonne's spiritual identity, seizing upon not only her faith in life, but the results of her piety after death. As the earlier calendar solidified medieval feudal and class systems, the Three Living and the Three Dead cement the Christian theological grounding of life and death, contributing an additional moralizing element to the pious and righteous dynasty Bonne was expected to build through the birth of new Valois heirs.

By the fifteenth century, the Three Living and the Three Dead became one of the most standard images used to introduce the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours, prayers that commemorated the lives and souls of the patron's dead ancestors.[124] However, the Three Living and the Three Dead is not used in Bonne's book to indicate the Office of the Dead, but rather to illustrate a popular moralizing tale about worldly wealth and the afterlife, which had multiple versions in various languages. The version in Bonne's book is a dialogue between three living, wealthy, successful men and three decaying dead men. Bonne's book features twenty-six lines of Baudoin de Condé's adaptation—the most popular of the time—while the rest is a revised anonymous version.[125] A textual *memento mori*, this moralizing tale warns against the vanity of

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124. Ashby Kinch, "Image, Ideology, and Form: The Middle English 'Three Dead Kings' in Its Iconographic Context." *The Chaucer Review* 43, no. 1 (2008): 60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25094419. Kinch also remarks a little later in this essay, on page 56, that Jean de Berry also commissioned a sculpture of the Three Living and the Three Dead at the site of his planned tomb at Cimetière des Saints-Innocents in Paris. Appropriately perhaps for the presumptuous duke, the only surviving indication of this commission is in a poem that boasts Jean's status and cultural capital while also mentioning the sculptures. Although the Three Living and the Three Dead were a part of popular culture, perhaps something can be said here of tradition and possible influence of Bonne on her son, which are already alluded to in other features of Bonne's manuscript.
125. Lermack "Fit for a Queen," 111.

the world as the three dead men plead with the three living men to examine their souls while they still have time on earth. The three dead also remind the living of the Christian Last Judgment, that all human souls will pay for their sins after death.[126] It has even been argued that death was more important than life in medieval contexts, as so much scholarship, commemorative spaces, and rituals centered around it.[127] The list of medieval art that is void of references to death and the afterlife is much shorter—if not nonexistent—than the list that includes death. Dante Aligheri's *Divine Comedy,* completed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the vibrant textual fulfillment of this medieval focus, progressing in valiant epic the areas of Christian Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, the in-between space before a mortal soul was condemned to Heaven or to eternal damnation. There was a primary focus, even obsession of one's fate after death, and the Church provided an intense, devout method of reckoning with it through the biblical contexts of heavenly reward.[128] The attention to death would continue to escalate when the Black Death took the lives of millions, making death a constant and everyday occurrence.

The Three Living and the Three Dead tradition gives visual proof of the importance of death in medieval consciousness. The Book of Luke advises, "Sell what you possess and give alms. Make to yourselves bags which grow not old, a treasure in heaven which faileth not: where no thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[129] These two verses illuminate the priority of heavenly pursuits through humility, piety,

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126. Lermack, "Fit for a Queen," 112.
127. Albrecht Classen, "Death and the Culture of Death: Universal Cultural-Historial Observations, with an emphasis on the Middle Ages," *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 19.
128. Classen, "Death and the Culture of Death," 21.
129. Luke 12:33-34 DRB. The Last Judgment, happening for each human being after death in Christian contexts, is mentioned in the Book of John (John 5:27-30 DRB). During the Last Judgment, each human will come before God in divine trial to determine whether a human

and donation of secular finances. For the medieval Christian, focusing on one's life after death was of major importance, elevated above trying to build worldly wealth. The theological foundation of these miniatures positions them as Bonne would have read them, moralizing reminders of both a contemporary, familiar tale and spiritual diligence. In addition, the inclusion of the Three Living and the Three Dead exemplifies the medieval preoccupation with death and the afterlife.

Although the miniatures are not unique in subject, they are remarkable in their scale and presence in the manuscript. The subject of the Three Living and the Three Dead was common throughout various kinds of media, but the scale of Bonne's miniatures in comparison to the rest of the text is significant, attesting to their importance for their intended reader. The *De Lisle Psalter*, an Anglo-Norman psalter from the early fourteenth century, also features the Three Living and the Three Dead, but these only fill the *bas-de-page* as a smaller image to accompany the text (Fig. 21).[130] This slightly earlier example does not fill the page as Bonne's two facing miniatures do. The miniatures of Bonne's manuscript are central with only a few lines of text below them. The scale of the three men brings Bonne's life, death, and spiritual identity into the foreground. The Three Living on horseback represent various social classes, one crowned as royalty, one with a hat, and a hatless young man on the far left, illustrating various social classes and ages. The individualization of the three men contributes to the nuance of this piece, seizing upon the mortality of the young and the old as well as the royal and the common.

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should go to heaven or be eternally condemned to hell. These words were spoken directly by Jesus during his time on earth, making them even more potent for medieval Christians as Jesus was Savior of the world.

130. Candace A. Reilly,"Bonne de Luxembourg's Three Living and Three Dead: Abnormal Decomposition," *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse* 3 (07), 2011. http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=555

The nuance of this moralizing image is furthered in the background iconography of the Three Dead. Like other backgrounds of this book's miniatures, including the Two Fools, the animals push the themes and aims of the main image in the Three Dead. The Three Dead are represented in various stages of decay, one figure's guts filled with worms as the poem recalls the grisly details of human decomposition.[131] A peacock is clearly seen above the middle skeletal figure's head, a symbol for immortality in Christian art.[132] This idea came from the legend that the peacock's flesh did not decay. Clearly, there is intentionality between the background peacock and the Three Dead. The peacock reminded Bonne that eternal life through Christ was possible for her in heaven if she heeded the warnings of this illustrated moralizing tale and put her faith before worldly things. A bird is also seen in the background. The species is unknown, but birds of all kinds generally referred to spiritual things rather than material, a visual indication for the human soul.[133] Birds are seen throughout Bonne's manuscript in the marginalia, but the choice of a bird here links themes of immortality, death, and the spiritual, pointing Bonne's attention to the heavenly. An unidentifiable animal is seen between the last two dead figures. Likely a fox, this animal was indicative of cunning and artifice.[134] The juxtaposition of a peacock and the fox would create an iconographic struggle between good and evil, demonstrated in previous backgrounds of this spiritual book.[135] These animals present further reinforcement to

131. Lermack, "Fit for a Queen," 114.
132. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* 22.
133. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 13.
134. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* 16.
135. Lermack, "Fit for a Queen," 115. As Annette Lermack notes, the animal here is not totally confirmable as a fox, for it resembles other animals, possibly a cat. The ambiguity is important to note, but the identity as a fox would be consistent with previous "good vs. evil" themes earlier in the manuscript. Continuity is especially part of this manuscript in form and in decoration, so a fox or related iconographic animal makes the most sense.

the spiritual weight, death, and eternal life themes at play here, confirming the thesis of the Three Dead miniature and the Three Living on the opposite page.

The scale, the familiar background, the subject, and the theological significance present a potency of Bonne's spiritual identity. The location of the miniatures before the most important part of Christianity, Christ's Crucifixion, elevates them in their proximity. Bonne's mortality is narrated, warned, and illustrated in both miniatures and in the famous accompanying text. As she progressed through her manuscript to the climax of the final miniatures, her own death and spiritual judgment are described in thorough detail in the dialogue of word and image. The familiar type of these miniatures for Bonne's reading created a bridge between popular forms and her own spiritual identity, taking a different tact to reinforce her piety an example from popular culture. However, these images are deeply grounded in Christian theology and belief, especially with regard to the Crucifixion and Wound miniatures that immediately follow. The Three Living and the Three Dead present a potent conclusion before the zenith of the manuscript, positioning Bonne's earthly life and death before Christ's death—which gave Bonne the possibility of eternal life—in the final moments of the manuscript.

Chapter 3: Marriage and Spiritual Penetration

Two miniatures in Bonne of Luxembourg's Psalter manifest a thesis on Christ's body as a symbol dually of salvation and gendered hierarchies. Mutually evocative, their inclusion suggests themes of spiritual penetration, sexual transverberation, and bridal virtue. Christ's wound and Crucifixion are implicitly linked to the thesis of Bonne's psalter in their layered meaning, presenting a multifaceted identity between the sexual and gendered with the spiritual and divine, as well as the navigation of royal duty and public position. These miniatures, along with their marginalia, are visual and textual artifacts of the cultural, royal, and sexual issues that Bonne confronted in her role as France's intended consort. The miniatures of the Crucifixion and Christ's wound illuminate mediated virtues and pressures placed on royal Bonne, highlighting intersectional medieval systems of gender and spiritual devotion. The Crucifixion miniature features Bonne and her husband John at the feet of Christ as Christ penetrates his wound in the moment of spiritual climax of his death (Fig. 22). The Wound of Christ, resembling a vagina, follows a few folios after the Crucifixion (Fig. 23). The rendering of the Wound, along with Christ's self-penetration, immediately involves the sexual and gendered with the spiritual. Through a close examination of the miniatures, marginalia, and cultural context, the following analysis argues that Bonne's devotional book demonstrates a remarkable simultaneity of devotional and gendered identity.

Word and Image

The miniatures of the Crucifixion and Christ's wound in Bonne's psalter are tacit meditative images because of their placement and scale on the page. The adjacent text driving these images is integral to the miniatures, but the scale of the miniatures prioritizes image over text and attests to their meditative function. Bonne's psalter is predicated on textual prayers and

devotions, but the centrality and scale of the miniatures compared to the text demands interrogation in the hierarchy of their scale. The miniatures of the Crucifixion and Christ's wound are paratextual examples that mediate the book to the reader.[136] Paratexts are liminal devices of a book that further engage and contribute to the reader's understanding of the book, but they cannot exist separate from the text. These images exist in the fringe, in a zone beyond but adjacent to the text.[137] The role of the miniatures as paratextual elements does not undermine their importance, but rather illuminates the synergy between word and image, situating the status and purpose of the miniatures. The miniatures created a visual immediacy for Bonne's sensual experience, the devotional function of the book heightened because of these visual markers. The interrogation of these medieval miniatures within this psalter is integral to understanding medieval personal devotional practice, these paratextual images providing a visual language that both transcends and relies on the accompanying text.

Sponsus and the *Sponsa*

Conjugal imagery and themes in the Crucifixion and the following side wound of Christ reflect the idea of the *sponsus* and the *sponsa,* or "groom" and "bride," a key enduring biblical analogy when understanding the relationship between both spiritual and sexual unions. The role of the *sponsus* and the *sponsa* employed the metaphorical union of "bride" and "groom" to represent unions like that of Christ and the Church. Christ was constantly referred to in conjugal language from the twelfth century, the metaphor of marriage applied to the betrothal possible

136. Richard Macksey, foreword to *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, by Gérard Genette, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xviii.
137. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 2.

between the soul and Christ through the Passion.[138] The *sponsa* was not only the "Church" (*ecclesia*) but the "soul" (*anima*) as well, bound in a sacred and intimate union with Christ as the *sponsus*.[139] The Church was considered the bride of Christ, as the New Testament Book of Ephesians states, "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her…"[140] Christ's love, sacrifice, and devotion to the Church is compared to the relationship between husband and wife, a conjugal union. The origin of this metaphor of union was grounded in Biblical foundations, linking both Christ and the Church as well as the literal human bridegroom and bride.

The role of the *sponsa* as the individual soul longing for personal union with Christ was also a part of medieval considerations, usually gendered as female.[141] The medieval soul ached to be with Christ, desiring intimacy with him, and the union and sacrament of marriage was used to describe this longing. St. Augustine considered Christ's earthly life a marriage to humanity, the Church like an immaculate virgin and Christ the bridegroom eager to be joined with his spouse. He was explicit in the metaphor of union, calling the Cross a "marriage couch" that he consummated with his wife, the Church, through his physical sacrifice of the Crucifixion.[142] The metaphor of marriage union was foregrounded in medieval spiritual understanding, a metaphor that Bonne's manuscript responds to with the appearance of John and Bonne at Christ's feet, as well as the vaginal appearance of Christ's wound which references female sexuality.

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138. Robert Baldwin, "Marriage as a Sacramental Reflection of the Passion: The Mirror in Jan van Eyck's 'Amolfini Wedding.'" *Oud Holland* 98, no. 2 (1984): 60-61. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42711152.
139. Lorenzo Perrone, "'The Bride at the Crossroads,' Origen's Dramatic Interpretation of the *Song of Songs*," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 82/1 (2006): 86.
140. Ephesians 5:25 DRB
141. Smith, Susan L. "The Bride Stripped Bare: A Rare Type of the Disrobing of Christ." *Gesta* 34, no. 2 (1995): 139. https://doi.org/10.2307/767284.
142. Baldwin, "Marriage as a Sacramental Reflection of the Passion," 59.

The Old Testament's affirmation of the *sponsus* and *sponsa* is most famously reflected in the miniatures of the *Rothschild Canticles,* another fourteenth-century devotional manuscript for a female patron. This miniature illustrates the Song of Songs verse, "Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse."[143] The Song of Songs takes the form of a literal dialogue between a lover and his beloved including both sensual and sexual imagery. Christ's Crucifixion is simultaneously acknowledged in this illustrated moment of romantic, earthly angst, as the human *Sponsa* thrusts a lance at a wounded Christ, who gestures at his side wound on the facing page. The featured *sponsa* in this miniature is representative of the human bride, the soul, and the Church, indicative of the metaphor for Christ as bridegroom and Church as chaste bride. The wielding of the penetrating spear cements this metaphor of conjugal union between the *sponsus* and the *sponsa,* as the text speaks of a wound and the *sponsa* illustrates the text. Christ's gesture at his wound echoes the crucified Christ in Bonne's psalter, and the penetration refers to the image of the spear employed by the Sponsa (Fig. 25). There is an interplay of lovers in the context of Song of Songs with the image of the haloed, wounded Christ after the Passion. The writer of this text refers to the emotional and romantic wound his lover has caused him, but the miniature depicts a post-Crucifixion Christ, reflected through a halo, bleeding nail holes in hands and feet, and a wounded side (Fig. 26). The simultaneity of secular, romantic love with spiritual union was consistent with medieval metaphorical considerations of Christ as groom, sexual metaphors used to describe his intense union with the Church as his bride. A connection between the Old and New Testament, this piece juxtaposes the union of two lovers with the climax of Crucifixion. The *Rothschild Canticles* shaped the reader's experience in its organization of

143. Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland Circa 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 72.

imagery and text, for as the reader opened and closed this manuscript, they activated the Sponsa's penetration of Christ through the touching of the pages to one another. The physical contact of the pages, along with the penetration evoked in the images, continued this thesis and focus on penetration. The *Rothschild Canticles* provides a theoretical model for Bonne's manuscript with its *sponsus* and *sponsa* imagery and shaping of the reader's experience, an important reinforcement of simultaneous sexual and spiritual themes.[144] Like Bonne's psalter, images of Christ and his Crucifixion are not divorced from themes of married union.

Indicative of both the divine and the human, the visual rendering of the *sponsus* and the *sponsa* provides the foundation for the understanding of Bonne's psalter. Personal devotional books like Bonne's book were popular marital gifts, making the union between *sponsus* and *sponsa* of primary importance to Bonne's book, as this psalter is was possibly commissioned by her husband, John II.[145] Themes of conjugal union were at the forefront of Bonne's marriage and medieval cultural consciousness, and the Biblical grounding and material record of the *sponsus* and *sponsa* metaphor further solidify its importance. This metaphor is not limited to the human union referenced in the accompanying Old Testament text but connects the theology of Christ as divine *sponsus.*

The Crucifixion Miniature

In Bonne's psalter, the Crucifixion miniature reflects the climax of the Christological narrative through Christ's sacrifice and suffering. As Christ points to his side wound, a kneeling man and woman, believed to be John and Bonne, gaze up at his body with clasped hands (Fig.

144. Flora Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion: Gendered Experience and Response," *Women and the Book Assessing the Visual Evidence,* ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library, 1997), 213.
145. Annette Ingebretson Lermack, "Fit for A Queen: The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg at the Cloister." PhD diss (University of Iowa, 1999), 239.

22). As the reader looks from left to right, the kneeling John and Bonne—human *sponsus* and *sponsa*—are followed by Christ on the cross. A haloed Christ hangs upon the cross with a small cloth around his waist. Christ's hands, feet, and side wound are bloody. One hand is nailed into the cross, the other hand pulls apart his wound with a pointer finger as he returns Bonne and John's eye contact from above. Christ does not merely gesture at his injury inflicted by a spear, but seems to pull it apart, nearly fingering his own wound in a second act of penetration, the wound by the spear the first act. Two angels, rendered in monochromatic white, fly towards Christ above John and Bonne with hands outstretched towards the dying Christ. The Crucifixion miniature is flanked by a series of meditations dedicated to the wounds Christ endured during the Passion and Crucifixion. A prayer follows spoken in Christ's voice, urging the reader to turn her attention to his wounds and pain, reminding that their continuation of sin extends his suffering.[146] Christ goes on to ask what his followers can give in return for his suffering and ends the prayer asking the reader to give their heart to him after describing his pain once more. This prayer yearns for the union of Christ with the sinner, a spiritual union evocative of the *sponsus* and *sponsa*. The accompanying meditations reflect the intensity of this devotional image and Christian narrative, pleading with the reader to ask forgiveness for their sins and to seek Christ. Christ's suffering is amplified, further emphasized by his hand gesture and touching of his wound.

External pressures of Bonne's sexual expectations inform this image. Bonne and John pictured in this moment of spiritual penetration is also sexual, as Bonne's role as royal woman was predicated on her duty to produce a male heir, especially amid Valois reign. As her psalter led her spiritual devotion, it also created the model for appropriate sexual behavior. Bonne was

146. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 118.

expected to pursue devotional intimacy with Christ through this book while remaining within medieval ideas about coitus, and the image of her with her husband in this spiritual climax bring the spiritual and the sexual into direct dialogue. Bonne's spiritual devotion was indistinguishable from her intended virtues as a dutiful wife. These spiritual images of Christ and his wound are simultaneously equated with the penetration of sexual reproduction in the vaginal rendering of the wound as a young and married John and Bonne gaze upon Christ on the cross.

As Christ was the bridegroom to the Church, so Bonne and John's conjugal union is alluded to here in their visual juxtaposition. Bonne's own expectations as royal wife are framed within a culture of "appropriate" sex, as the Church had put extensive limits on intercourse around important holidays like Lent and Christmas, as well as female cycles like menstruation.[147] Although the *sponsus* and *sponsa* serve as a metaphor for spiritual penetration and climax, Bonne's role as wife and hopeful mother is also inferred with her presence alongside her husband at the feet of Christ's penetration.

Christ's Wound and Penetration

The Wound of Christ follows as a crescendo on 331r, the Crucifixion miniature on folio 328r. The life-sized image of Christ's wound is illustrated vertically in a mandorla shape in bright red and white tones with a black center. The image is strongly evocative of the female vagina. The proximity demonstrates that these miniatures were meant to be read together, and the wound follows up on Christ's own penetration in the Crucifixion miniature as a space that can be entered. Expanding upon the previous miniature, the wound becomes the central player to the final miniature of this manuscript in life-sized scale, extreme theological significance, and

147. Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68, no. 2 (1993): 345. doi:10.2307/2864556. 345

allusion to female reproductive anatomy. The wound instantly insinuates spiritual climax with the sexual in its rendering. The wound was understood to be the "wellspring of grace," the source of the sacrament—that is, Christ's blood—that redeemed mankind through the sacrifice of his life.[148] The vaginal appearance of the wound could be seen as female and explored by men, a place of physical union between the *sponsus* and the *sponsa*.[149] The *sponsus* and *sponsa* idea is also considered in the act of spiritual penetration, as Christ's wound was understood to be an opening to Christ's heart. The believer had the ability to enter this opening through intense reflection on Christ's sacrifice and through participation of the Eucharist sacrament.[150] The wound served as the physical manifestation of this spiritual penetration, its reflection of the Crucifixion the climax of Christian belief and devotion.

As the miniatures link the spiritual with the sexual, engagement with the book was also equated with penetration. Devotional books were objects to guide devotion, like relics, meant to be touched and opened. The intimacy with the book itself amplified spiritual themes through direct, personal contact. The Crucifixion and Wound miniatures are the final miniatures of this book, the apogee of Christian theology as well as Bonne's chronological engagement. As Bonne advanced through the psalter's calendar, meditations, and miniatures, she was met with an image of her and her husband, intense meditations on Christ's suffering during the Passion, and the final vaginal wound of Christ.

As the wound presents the dichotomy of Christ's side and vaginal penetration, the wound was also a place of birth. Christ's wound served as a metaphor and the location for the birth of

148. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles,* 77.
149. Flora Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion," 204.
150. Annette Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature in the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg." *Gesta* 47, no. 2 (2008): 93. https://doi.org/10.2307/20648965.93 94

the saved soul, a new beginning through forgiveness of sins and salvation.[151] St. Augustine, one of the early Christian Doctors of the Church, called the wound the location for the Church's birth. Augustine compared this birth of the Church, the Lord's bride, to the creation of Eve, just as Genesis tells that the first woman was created from the rib and side of the first man.[152] Christ's wound was not only a place of entry, but a place of holy exit and passage for birth. Christ's life-sized wound served both spiritual and sexual purpose in its vaginal rendering, its connection to female reproductive anatomy creating freedom to connect to female issues of childbirth. The fluidity of this image created a context for the wound to become talismanic for medieval women.[153] The talismanic power of the wound is further substantiated by its appearance on birth girdles, long pieces of parchment placed over a pregnant woman during delivery, serving as spiritual protection and full of religious texts and drawings.[154] Childbirth was a part of nearly every medieval woman's life, female purpose and responsibility embedded within procreation and expansion of family lineage. This wound served personal, spiritual purpose, but it also gave Bonne a protective image. Created within the context of Christ's Crucifixion, the life-sized wound was both a reminder of Christ's sacrifice and a protection against the danger, fear, and pain of childbirth.

The *Arma Christi*

The Objects of Christ's suffering, or the *arma Christi,* are laden with devotional and iconic significance that elevate the purpose of the Wound miniature. The *arma Christi* frame the

151. Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion," 215.
152. Vladimir Gurewich, "Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's Side, with Special Reference to Its Position." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20, no. 3/4 (1957): 359. https://doi.org/10.2307/750787.
153. Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion," 217.
154. Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion," 217.

central Wound miniature in Bonne's manuscript, and include a lance, a crown of thorns, a pole with a sponge, a hammer, and a tomb. The appearance of these relics is intentional alongside the manuscript's prayers, amplifying the suffering of Christ and his personal, physical sacrifice to save mankind.

The visual tradition of the *arma Christi* dates to the sixth century, and their spiritual significance and role continued to expand and shift as centuries passed. By the twelfth century, these objects became reminders of Christ's human, physical pain and sacrifice.[155] Bonne's manuscript, in including these weapons, responds to this passionate intensity given to the *arma Christi.* Some of the weapons around the wound are the same size as the wound itself, a realistic rendering in scale. Platonic ideas were the foundation for medieval notions of icons and images, considering a likeness of a real model as sacred and evocative as the original example.[156] Even depictions of the weapons gave a physical, living presence, as holy and laden with meaning as the original objects of the Passion. These weapons of the Passion were not mere two-dimensional simulacra of Christ's sacrifice, but indices of the original Passion relics demanding reverence and devotion. The medieval presence of the *arma Christi* is reflected in the *Omne Bonum* ("All Good Things"), an expansive illuminated encyclopedia from later fourteenth-century England (Fig. 27). Thirty-eight boxes frame thirty-eight objects of Christ's Passion, from the crown of thorns to the cock who declared Peter's betrayal of Christ described in all four Gospels. The appearance of the *arma Christi* in a medieval encyclopedia reflects a "worth knowing" status in

155. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny Brown, "Introduction: Arma Christi: The Material Culture of the Passion," in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 5.
156. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 153.

medieval, even secular consciousness. [157] If the Passion relics were included in an encyclopedia, they were important to define.

The Passion relics were icons of personal salvation in their weighted identity, both protective and meditative in function. The medieval fixation on Christ's body and instruments of the Passion was established with the Franciscan text *Meditationes vitae Christi,* composed in the middle of the fourteenth century within decades—even years—of Bonne's manuscript.[158] The text was a step-by-step account of Christ's life and the Virgin's, noteworthy for its violent, graphic depiction of the Passion. The Franciscan volume encouraged the reader to enter the scenes described therein to increase piety and meditation.[159] Considered the single most influential devotional text of the Middle Ages, this Franciscan volume codified the fixation on the Passion and the *arma Christi.* Prayers on Christ's wounds and the *arma Christi* gave the devoted a narrative organization to follow Christ through the steps of the Passion, ultimately intensifying their empathy for his suffering and inspiring greater penitence through personal repentance of sins, amplifying that their sins made his death inevitable.[160] The *arma Christi* were objects of hope for the faithful as Christ triumphed over the harm and suffering they inflicted, and their likeness was as important and laden with meaning as the original objects.

The Wound image is charged with the thesis of penetration with the surrounding *arma Christi*, a reminder of what entered Christ's body during the Passion. The *arma Christi* also seize upon the medieval focus on the body. The proximity of the *arma Christi* to the Wound puts the Wound's meditative function in direct dialogue with the instruments of the Passion. The

157. Cooper and Brown, "Introduction: Arma Christi: The Material Culture of the Passion," 3.
158. Sarah McMamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," *Speculum* 84, no. 4 (2009): 905. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40593681.
159. McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," 906.
160. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 93.

instruments of the Passion recall the harm done with them as the reader reflected on the suffering of Christ. Bonne's psalter was engaged with the ritual of the body not only in its rendering of flesh but also with consideration to the holy body with Christ's physical sacrifice in the Crucifixion. These weapons of the Passion served as visual reminders of harm done to Christ's physical body, the *arma Christi* a mediator between his spiritual body and his harmed human body.[161]

The relationship of word and image is also of primary importance, as the accompanying text to this miniature calls Christ a "spotless mirror" that presents the ultimate example for the pious to abhor sin and worldly elements when faced with Christ's perfection.[162] The text describes Christ as the ultimate ideal and epitome of perfection, illuminating the significance of his sacrifice and self without blemish or stain. The *arma Christi* continue to substantiate this emphasis on Christ's victory over death to save the world, reminding the reader that these objects of suffering had become objects indicative of the ultimate triumph.

Relics and Royal Legitimacy

The function of the *arma Christi* is also embedded within royal themes of French legitimacy. The relics of the Passion, including relics like the True Cross fragment, the crown of thorns, and a nail—all depicted in Bonne's Psalter in the wound miniature—were acquired by King Louis IX of Capetian France during his first Crusade. These specific relics were the holiest and most elite relics, for they had direct contact with Christ and his body. The relics were housed in the sumptuous Sainte-Chapelle by Louis IX in Paris.[163] Considering the medieval Christian

161. Camille, "The image and the self," 74.
162. Lermack, "Fit for A Queen," 122.
163. Daniel H. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (1995): 308. https://doi.org/10.2307/3046103.

significance of these holy relics, these objects were essential in furthering the sanctity, legitimacy, and rule of Louis IX. The acquisition of these relics allowed Louis IX to establish Paris as a new kind of Holy Land after his first Crusade. The chapel was a shrine, its dazzling windows and decadent architecture reflective of both the prestige of the relics it housed and the wealth and status of the French king. The iconography of the stained glass and architecture depicted Louis IX as a theological model, both a good king and a good Christian, reflecting an agenda of political and spiritual purpose.[164] The *arma Christi* had the utmost sacred identity, substantiated in the decadent Sainte-Chapelle.

The relics of the Passion were not merely devotional, sacred objects, but created a political platform through which Louis IX established his dynastic legitimacy. Louis IX was part of the Capetian dynasty, the precursor to the Valois dynasty that Bonne married into. King Louis IX went on to be canonized in 1297, a few decades after his death in 1270. This early canonization speaks to his enormous spiritual influence beyond that of a secular ruler.[165] His legacy was notably commemorated in Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours*, for he was both a saint and her paternal great-grandfather.[166] Jeanne's personal prayer book includes scenes of both Christ's life and Louis', notably an image of the procession of the relics complete with a

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164. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," 317. The stained glass includes a variety of King Louis IX images, illustrating his acquiring and elevation of the Passion relics and highlighting his sanctity as ruler and Christian. The stained glass and architectural iconography of this chapel also unifies Biblical motifs of King Solomon with Capetian Louis IX, the Biblical Throne of Solomon appropriated to elevate this secular ruler. One pair of stained-glass windows even elevates the French King over the Old Testament King Solomon, where Solomon worships idols while the adjacent King Louis IX watches over the adoration of the relics at Sainte-Chapelle.
165. Ellen Louise Delmore, "Biography of Saint Louis IX, King of France (1214-1270)," Church of Saint Louis King of France, accessed December 15, 2021, https://www.stlouiskingoffrance.org/our-church/saint-louis-ix/
166. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 334.

miniature Sainte-Chapelle carried by the faithful (Fig. 28). Bonne's manuscript must be put in conversation with the Capetian France of Louis IX and the Passion relics, as the relics were passed on to each new monarch. Although the decadent space of Sainte-Chapelle and the relics themselves were acquired nearly a century before Bonne's psalter was created, the legacy of the Passion relics continued, commemorated in Bonne's manuscript in the Wound miniature. The *arma Christi* of Bonne's psalter respond to these French royal legacies of Passion relic ownership. The fact that these relics are represented solidifies their prestige in sanctifying the role of the French monarch. At the time that Bonne's psalter was manufactured, the Valois dynasty was in the midst of establishing their own royal legitimacy to the throne, expanding upon the foundations of kingship and authority of Louis IX. The *arma Christi* in Bonne's manuscript were both sacred, devotional objects and reminders of French royal legitimacy, linking the secular ruler to the divine and echoing Capetian royal, dynastic agenda in the time of the Valois. The inclusion of these images in Bonne's manuscript are not only devotional, but sacred symbols of her ideological role as ascendant queen, suggesting a continuity and inheritance between dynasties.

Backgrounds as Narrative Form

Featured in other miniatures of Bonne's psalter, the acanthus leaf background of the Crucifixion miniature attests to the unity and continuous narrative form of the manuscript. This continuity is not a mere stylistic, workshop choice, but points to a larger purpose of unified narrative and thesis of this manuscript. The acanthus leaf background is repeated in the miniatures of the Three Dead, the Two Fools, David in the Water, and the Throne of Charity. The continuity of manuscript page organization also contributes to the narrative form in consistency of formatting, as large rectangular or square miniatures are all centrally framed by a

vined border with birds or animals throughout and accompanied by small sections of text. The consistency eliminated the unknown as Bonne progressed through her psalter, but also linked the miniatures to one another in their page form. As Bonne turned the pages, the prayers and the similar marginalia, backgrounds, and page organization built and related to one another predictably, climaxing at the final Crucifixion and Wound images. Thematic continuity is also present here, as the themes of physical and spiritual death of the Two Fools and the Three Living and Three Dead miniatures are further connected by their same backgrounds.[167] This contemplation of one's death and mortality in the Three Living and the Three Dead relates to the dying Christ in the later Crucifixion miniature, and the same acanthus-patterned background confirms that thematic connection of death, although the Three Dead background is blue unlike the red Crucifixion background. The images are not isolated from each other.[168] The connections of these images, beyond just their backgrounds, affirm the notion that Bonne's psalter is a unified object in its form, function, and contents. The unity of the manuscript's pages affirms a progressive method of engagement with her psalter. Bonne's book should not be considered as a sum of many, separate parts, but rather as a unified vessel that built upon itself through predictability and continuity. Bonne progressed through it as she meditated, a reflection of medieval Christian devotional practice. The relationship and continuity of the miniature backgrounds reflect the narrative, progressive purpose of Bonne's psalter.

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167. Candace A. Reilly, "Bonne de Luxembourg's Three Living and Three Dead: Abnormal Decomposition," in *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse* vol. 3, no. 7 (2011), http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=555

168. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 42.

Marginalia

Medieval marginalia as a medieval type are parergonal. Relative to the primary miniature and text, marginalia function as secondary ornaments empowered to comment on the central content to the book. Understanding the role of the marginalia in Bonne's manuscript demands first some discussion of marginalia and their theoretical function. A parergon cannot exist by itself but exists only in relation to the main work, ultimately serving as a frame to the central content.[169] Marginalia must be situated within this theoretical framework to disentangle their secondary relationship to the primary text and miniatures. Although medieval marginalia occupy a liminal space, they are not insignificant in their presence or placement, serving as intentional visual metaphors and reminders to the primary text that inform, contrast, or subvert. Michael Camille writes extensively of manuscript marginalia, especially that they serve as ambivalent signs.[170] It is important to note that marginalia are ambiguous in nature and meaning, inviting the viewer to independently reflect upon the page through creative, visual symbols.[171] Marginalia can even control the reader, as in Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours*, where marginalia is rife with phallic imagery.[172] As King Louis feeds a leprous monk in the central miniature, a husband is prevented from having sex with his wife in the bottom margin (Fig. 29). Multiple sticks are held erect by the marginal figures adjacent to the esteemed patriarch of Louis IX taking care of the terminally ill. The secular, phallic inferences in the sticks seem contrary to the central miniature

169. Paul Duro, "What Is a Parergon?" *in The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 77, issue 1, February 2019, 26. https://doi.org/10.1111/jaac.12619
170. Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 36.
171. Betsy Chunko-Dominguez, "'Playing on Timbrels': the margins of the Rutland Psalter," in *Word and Image,* vol. 32 (2016), 139. 10.1080/02666286.2016.1146540
172. Caviness, "Patron or Matron," 348.

of a pious example, reflecting the inherent ambivalence and complicated nature of marginalia. Medieval marginalia are open to nuance, void of transparent definitions of identity.

Both Caviness and Camille present compelling theoretical frameworks for investigating these marginalia and their themes, asserting that marginalia is a product of these complicated medieval systems, serving as sometimes humorous and operating within an ambiguous—albeit gendered—system unable to be given singular definition. Madeline Caviness considers medieval marginalia through a feminist lens, phallic imagery considered humorous by male audiences who were in control of Jeanne's manuscript, while the young, female patron Jeanne d'Evreux was likely frightened by constant reminders of sex and her duty as young queen to produce a male heir.[173] Humor, therefore, is used as a method of control, as humor is not universal nor without hierarchy. As the example from Jeanne's prayer book demonstrates, medieval margins often simultaneously undermined and reinforced the miniatures they surrounded, a less serious image or icon serving as a juxtaposition. Michael Camille writes, "The medieval image-world was, like medieval life itself, rigidly structured and hierarchical. For this reason, resisting, ridiculing, overturning and inverting it was not only possible, it was limitless."[174] Medieval marginalia are void of transparent definitions of identity. The marginalia in Bonne's psalter substantiate ideas of biblical morality through visual metaphors while also reflecting the genre's inherent nuance. Certain animals or symbols infer certain meanings, but these meanings are not static nor singular.

The Monk

The wound miniature's half-monk, half-animal figure holding a ladder in the upper left corner of the page exemplifies marginalia's subversion and parody of central miniatures. The

173. Caviness, "Patron or Matron" 355.
174. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 26.

ladder the monk carries is a possible reference to the one often depicted in images of the Deposition, the moment Christ was taken down from the cross after he died. The monk peeks down at the wound shouldering his ladder, separate from but also part of this devotional miniature—his head is quite literally between the rungs of the ladder. Framing Christ's Crucifixion, the figure first resembles a pious Christian in simple, unadorned tunic, but defies and even ridicules piety with feathers and feet that poke out from under the robe. Animals in medieval understanding were considered lower than humans according to natural order, for they were exploited for resources like meat and skin.[175] The monk brings in the liminal animal amid the Christian spiritual climax of the Crucifixion, subverting the central miniature as it frames it. The monk contradicts the central, serious image of human suffering through a parodied monk with reference to the subverted animal. This monk not only occupies the margin but is fundamentally reduced to a marginal figure in his part animal identity. He is playful in his rendering as his head slips between the rungs of the ladder, ironic to the serious, disciplined status of medieval monastics. The monk epitomizes the nature of medieval marginalia, not occupying a singular meaning or purpose in ambiguity. The secular invades the sacred as the committed Christian monk figure transforms into part beast.

The hybrid figure is inherently isolated from the same standards and purpose of the central miniature, but medieval marginalia was also not coincidental, these liminal spaces serving as additional commentaries and platforms for creative license. The monk is a visual pun transcending the serious, devotional purpose of the wound of Christ, with the ladder as an intentional reference to the Deposition ladder. The joke parodies the serious spirituality and piety of figures like monks as his playful posture evokes. The monk also serves as a foil to the

175. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 47.

climactic spiritual image, an antithesis to Christ's ultimate sacrifice in its bestial rendering. The monk is humorous in one sense and a reinforcement of strict devotional practice in another. Through the monk's seeming subversion of devotional themes, it reinforces them. The marginal monk of Bonne's psalter attests to the inherent nuance and multifaceted nature of medieval marginalia, members of a liminal space but not insignificant in their presence or placement, serving as intentional visual metaphors.

The Metonymical Pelican

The pelican, one of the many birds in the Crucifixion margins, is an iconographic reminder of Christ. The bird is also a testament to marginalia's possibility to further substantiate the main miniature. The pelican, perched on a branch to the right of Christ, had an esteemed place in medieval legend because it was said to pierce its own breast for blood with which to feed its offspring, a parallel to Christ. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), in his influential seventh-century *Etymologies,* wrote of the pelican, "…this bird kills its offspring, mourns them for three days, and finally wounds itself and revives its children by sprinkling them with its own blood."[176] The pelican was connected to Christ in both its self-sacrificing blood sacrifice as well as the connection to three days, the same length of time Jesus was dead before he rose from the dead. This expansive compilation of the etymology of hundreds of topics was enormously influential on medieval European culture, and the enormous number of manuscript copies, nearly one thousand, survive.[177] The *Omne Bonum*, in its *arma Christi* gridded miniature mentioned earlier, further attests to the pelican's metonymical purpose amid additional objects and relics of Christ's Passion as it cares for four offspring with a chest wound. An additional pelican perches

176. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 265.
177. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 24.

in the red acanthus background between the kneeling John and Christ on the cross. Symbolically connected to Christ, the pelican was indicative of Christ's own blood sacrifice on the cross because of his great love as divine Father.[178] The parergonal location of this bird in the margins and background renders it supplemental, or additional, but the pelican is also an informant to the main event of the image, in direct conversation with Christ's sacrifice.

Ambiguous Animals

The *bas-de-page* animals of the Crucifixion miniature, notably the hedgehog and the owl, reflect the multifaceted meanings of medieval marginalia. The birds perch on gilded branches, which intertwine and frame the sharp linearity of the Crucifixion miniature. An owl perches in the branches in the bottom right corner and signifies several possible meanings. The nocturnal owl was associated with Christ who sacrificed himself to bring salvation to mankind, as Christ gave light through salvation to those in darkness.[179] Christ's role as "light" made the owl an iconographic symbol of darkness, and owls were pictured in many Crucifixion scenes, like Bonne's psalter. The owl, because it only came out at night, also symbolized lack of salvation through its association with darkness, as well as Satan, for Satan deceived Christians as owls caught their prey in the night through deception.[180] A hedgehog also inhabits the acanthus leaf background of the Crucifixion, an additional nuanced iconographic animal. The *Physiologus* provided a variety of meanings to the hedgehog. These included positive connections to virtue, the need for Christ as the Law, and the need for men to adhere to Word over Flesh.[181] The

178. George Ferguson. *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 9.
179. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* 21.
180. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* 8
181. Sarah Kay, "'The English Bestiary,' The Continental 'Physiologus,' and the Intersections Between Them," *Medium Ævum* 85, no. 1 (2016): 118. https://doi.org/10.2307/26396473.131.

hedgehog also denoted negative meanings, like the corruption of the Word and the Devil, who sabotaged positive spiritual progress. According to the bestiary texts, hedgehogs climbed grapevines and pierced the fruit with their spines, carrying away the fruit for themselves. Included in a metaphor for spiritual fruit, the hedgehog was like the devil, who carried away the spiritual fruit and progress of Christians.[182] The hedgehog could serve as an adjacent visual reminder to the pious, kneeling Bonne to adhere to the Word and reflection of Christ's great personal sacrifice. The hedgehog could also serve as a warning to Bonne of what she was capable of in straying from the spiritual path. The hedgehog provides an additional example of the nuance and complicated nature of medieval marginalia, occupying a simultaneity of meanings and purpose while also inhibiting an "in-between" space void of reason and static definition. The animals, like the owl and the hedgehog, provide additional moral commentaries while also occupying a liminal space separate from the concrete narrative of the medieval images. Medieval marginalia served as visual markers for Bonne's engagement, confirming theses of Christ's sacrifice while also reminding of sin and unbelief.

The Hare

The rabbit serves as a warning and reminder to Bonne to stay on the proper spiritual and sexual path. In the bottom left corner, a hare rests on one of the framing branches. Like the owl and the hedgehog, it is an animal tied to both moral and immoral iconographic meaning. The only non-bird in the surrounding branches, the hare is set apart in its species and in its placement, separate from the rest of the birds in the corner and specifically framed by a curved branch. Hares also populate the background of the image amid the red acanthus pattern, two even directly above Bonne's head. Hares signified the timid Christian in their natural tendencies for

182. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 93.

cowering, but they could also represent lust because of their frequent reproductive habits.[183] The hare was considered defenseless, symbolic of Christians who put all desire of salvation in Christ and his Passion.[184] All meanings of these little hares are relevant when considering the context of Bonne's manuscript. A brown hare sits on a branch just below a kneeling Bonne and John, creating a visual parallel between them, perhaps a visual reminder to Bonne to turn her attention to Christ and his sacrifice to seek courageous union with God and advance her faith. As themes of penetration, sexual and spiritual union, and the *sponsus* and the *sponsa* are at the forefront of this manuscript, the hare could also be tied to sexual themes, reminding Bonne to stay loyal to her husband and to remain within medieval notions of appropriate sex. The multiple appearances of the hare make them particularly relevant, interspersed between Bonne and John II as married man and wife. Implicit sexual iconographic meaning of the hare also affirms the simultaneity of the sexual and the spiritual throughout this manuscript, serving both gendered and devotional purpose.

The hare could also be seen as a status symbol, as the hunting hound pursues a few hares amid the red acanthus leaf background of the Crucifixion miniature. Hunting was a privileged pursuit and pastime, permissible only for the medieval elite.[185] The subtle hound chasing the hares was only a dynamic for the wealthy, the community to which Bonne belonged to. Bonne's family crest, held by two half-human, half-monster figures, also reminds the viewer of elite status and family lineage. The ownership of these manuscripts was limited to the elite because of their enormous expenditure to make, and all marginalia and miniatures were screened through

183. Lermack, "The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature," 88.
184. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* 7.
185. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 118.

and intended for those of medieval means.[186] The elite practice of hunting, eluded through the hound and the hares in the background, once again brings Bonne's status, privilege, and royal connection into view as a manuscript by, for, and of the medieval elite.

These two miniatures of Bonne's manuscript reflect the extraordinarily nuanced nature of this medieval devotional book. Illustrating the *sponsus* and the *sponsa,* this psalter responds to a long tradition of Christ as the bridegroom while also speaking to Bonne's sexual expectations as royal wife. The miniatures illuminate gendered ideas about conjugal union, using the vaginal wound as both a sexual and a spiritual indicator of penetration and climax. These miniatures also reflect the absolute sacred weight of medieval icons even as two-dimensional paintings, a microcosm of medieval considerations of religious image. The extensive marginalia of these miniatures communicate the various meanings of these little images, notably that their meanings cannot be reduced to one. This psalter is a fundamentally elite object, immersed in cultures of royal agenda and legitimacy. The physicality of this manuscript also demands understanding of the medieval bodily and the physicality of Christ's bodily sacrifice. These miniatures illustrate the implicit gendered pressures of medieval spirituality and culture—Bonne's psalter does not just serve as a devotional book of prayer. The repeating backgrounds speak to a united purpose of meaning, giving the book a thesis of continuity that puts all of its contents in relation to one another. A microcosm of multiple medieval systems, this elite woman's psalter cannot be separated from external pressures of producing a male heir and political dynastic legitimacy of the Valois. From the sexual language of medieval Christian mysticism to expectations of conjugal duties, Bonne's psalter serves as a fundamental reflection and product of medieval, French considerations—both spiritual and secular.

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186. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 120.

Conclusion

The Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg has only received scant attention in the academic literature, leaving a valuable primary document untouched. The dynastic, gendered, and political contexts of the book and its time present an inherently charged identity of this personal spiritual object. Bonne's book was integral in shaping her own identity as Christian and consort. In my own research, I seize upon the gendered elements of this manuscript, notably the Crucifixion and Wound miniatures and the prevalence of the *sponsus* and the *sponsa.* While Annette Lermack has contributed the invaluable foundation for the study of Bonne's Psalter and the ways in which it should be understood, no one has yet applied the feminist lens of gender and penetration to Bonne's book. Bonne's manuscript is also an invaluable influence for understanding various books that followed, like her son Jean Duke of Berry's infamous personal prayer books and the impressive collection of her son Charles V of France. Bonne's book not only provides insight into her own life, external pressures, and historical and spiritual priorities of her time, but is also a key participant in the inheritance and tradition of French royal personal prayer books. Other prayer books, like Jeanne d'Evreux's *Book of Hours* have been extensively studied for their explicit sexual imagery and historical significance. Jeanne d'Evreux's manuscript has an implicit connection to Bonne's manuscript, a powerful informant to the iconography of Bonne's. Bonne's book demands attention for the same reasons, exhibiting a catalogue of gendered systems and spiritual expression.

Although this study expanded upon previous ideas of Lermack and Caviness, there were limitations in this investigation. This research was not able to explore wider political connections beyond Bonne's political marriage, especially her brother Charles IV, who also spent his formative years in French spaces. Further study could pursue Bohemian royalty in the French

court generally, or the heavy levels of exchange in culture and art between these cultural systems that may have influence Bonne's book and its iconography, especially if she had some control over its contents. This study also did not get to Cunigunde, a pivotal saint in Prague and the owner of a prayer book with an equally striking vaginal Wound of Christ. All miniatures of Bonne's manuscript were not explored in this scholarship, and the role of the Abbot in Prayer as a possible local figure or the Throne of Charity present additional spaces to expand. This independent study sought to look at Bonne's manuscript as a gendered object, richly spiritual and richly linked to sexual expectation.

Bonne's manuscript's embedded identity in the focus on the female body and sexuality continues to be relevant in the twenty-first century. The tender visual memoir of Erin Williams, *Commute,* aptly documents these persistent features. In her graphic novel, the woman author makes her way to work, forced to reckon with her body and its sexualization, addiction, trauma, and her own sexuality. Williams' raw grappling with her own body is most poignant in considering the ways women continue to be viewed for their sexual ability and body. External pressures, because of Williams' body and the societal structures create a narrative of constant agony in trying to make sense of this complicated system imposed on her. Like Bonne's medieval systems and book that was produced out of it, Williams continues to be forced to navigate society and public spaces because of her sexuality.

This deeply personal, autobiographical graphic narrative is simultaneously relevant beyond Williams' experience in its retelling of the ways that women still must approach interactions in terms of their bodies. Williams includes a drawing of the same man in a suit four times, representing each time she is unabashedly ogled by him (Fig. 29). He stares unblinkingly in a casual stance, one hand in a pocket and the other holding a cell phone. Below the four

drawings Williams scrawls in capital letters below it: "(It's important that I keep you here, on this commute. I want you to understand what it's like to be constantly reminded of what you are: desirable + visible or undesirable + invisible. With the first comes a constant and vague sense of threat. With that comes loneliness. This is what is means to be a woman in public."[187]There is a deeply ingrained awareness of one's body that violates and consumes one's awareness. Williams spends her morning commute navigating the external attention and value placed on her through the imposed external gaze. This forced self-awareness of a woman's body hinges upon the conversations started and reflected in Bonne's book, which speak to medieval regard of the female body as an object of control and sexual penetration, a result of social dichotomies that place so much worth on a woman's body and her sexual worth. Williams explores the emotional psychological toll of these systems, demonstrating that these considerations of women as sexual, viewed, controlled bodies continue to permeate modern contexts.

These two deeply personal books were produced in entirely different centuries, countries, and contexts. However, connections are clear between them. Women continue to be controlled and pursued for and because of their bodies as sexual entities. Bonne's purpose as a medieval woman was to give birth to a son to continue the royal family of her husband in an arranged marriage of her father, and the imagery of her manuscript confirms these systems in their sexual imagery and fierce instructive examples of what is "good" and "not good" as a royal woman. Bonne was under constant surveillance, her book speaking to the ways she had to navigate public life as a royal wife. The people of these two objects are extraordinarily different as well as their books, Williams' commentary that the discourse enforced by Bonne's book continues to persist.

187. Erin Williams, *Commute: An Illustrate Memoir of Female Shame* (New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2019), 47.

This manuscript, previously largely understudied, continues to be relevant in modern discourse. I hope that this project has made a gesture to name, highlight, and detail these systems in order that they hopefully will one day not be continued in experiences like Williams. The Psalter of Jutta “Bonne” of Luxembourg is the single most eloquent witness of a real woman and her life, and a feminist lens on the spiritual, physical, and historical systems brings this woman to the foreground, an important individual largely forgotten and overlooked in medieval history.

Figures

Figure 1. *Terence Presents His Book to Senator Terentius Lucanus while a Play is Performed,* from Terence, *Comedies,* before 1408. Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France, Paris. ms lat. 7907A, fol. 2v. From: Brigitte Buettner, "New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, pg. 601.

Figure 2. Jean le Noir. “Miniature from Hours of Jeanne de Navarre.” 1336-40, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2_Jean_Le_Noir._Miniature_from_Hours_of_Jeanne_de_Navarre._1336-40_Paris,_Bibliotheque_nationale_de_France..jpg (accessed 20 November 2021).

Figure 3. “Temptation and Fall.” Hildesheim, Bronze doors, panel three, c. 1015, bronze. Hildesheim, Germany.

Figure 4. *De la Belle Verrière*, Notre-Dame, stained glass window from the south ambulatory, Chartres Cathedral. Original 12th century; reworked with additions 13th century. https://library.artstor.org/asset/AIC_1030003.

Figure 5. “The Fall.” *Queen Mary Psalter,* 1310-1320. Royal MS 2 B VII. British Library, London. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-queen-mary-psalter

Figure 6. “Christ in the Temple.” *Queen Mary Psalter,* 1310-1320. Royal MS 2 B. vii, f. 151r, British Library, London.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_b_vii

Figure 7. “Birth of Samson.” *Queen Mary Psalter.* 1310-1320, Royal MS 2 B. vii, f. 43r, British Library, London. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_b_vii

Figure 8. Jean Pucelle. “The Annunciation and Forbidden Kiss.” *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,* fol. 15v-16r, ca. 1324-28, The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

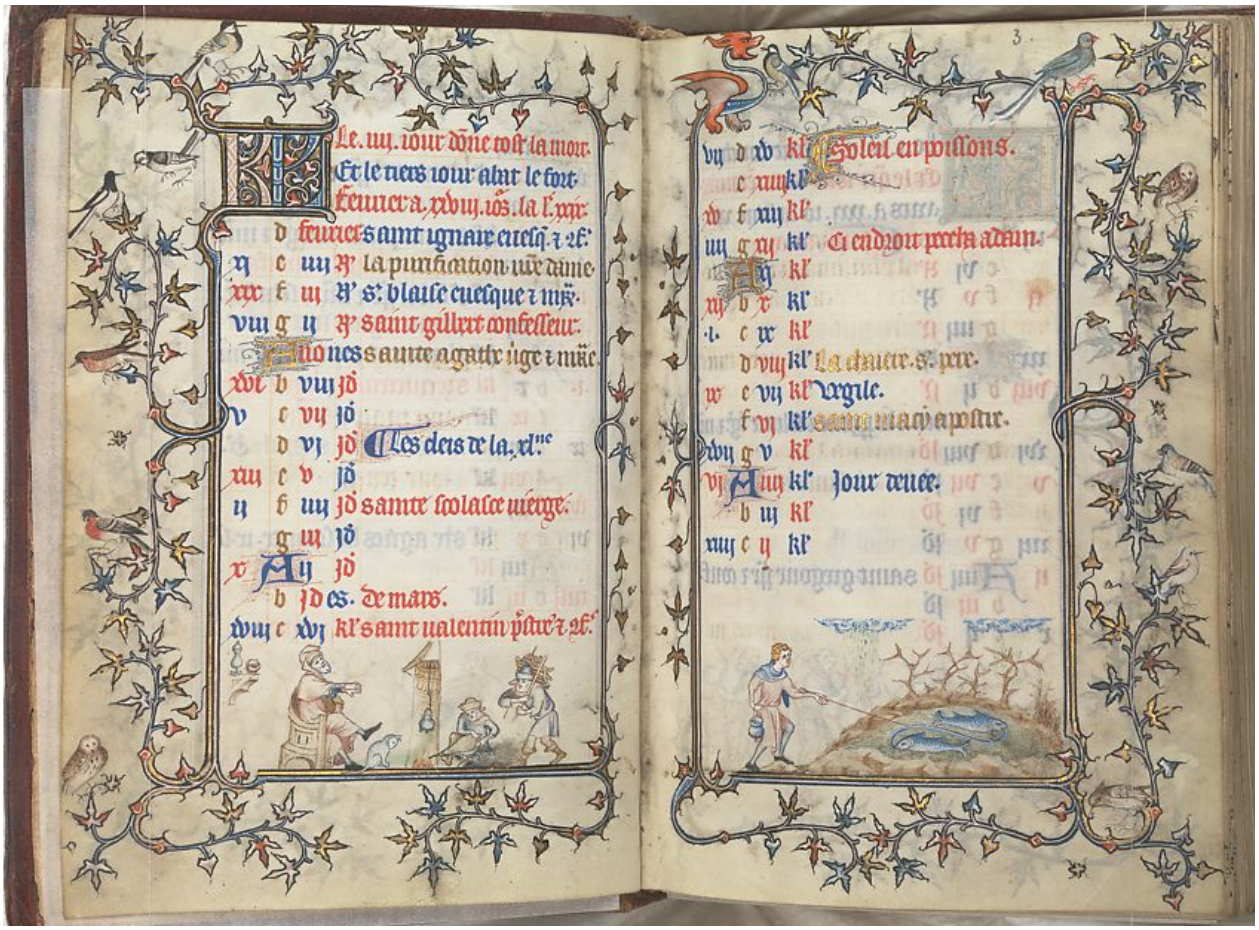

Figure 9. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, "February calendar." *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,*" fols. 2v-3r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

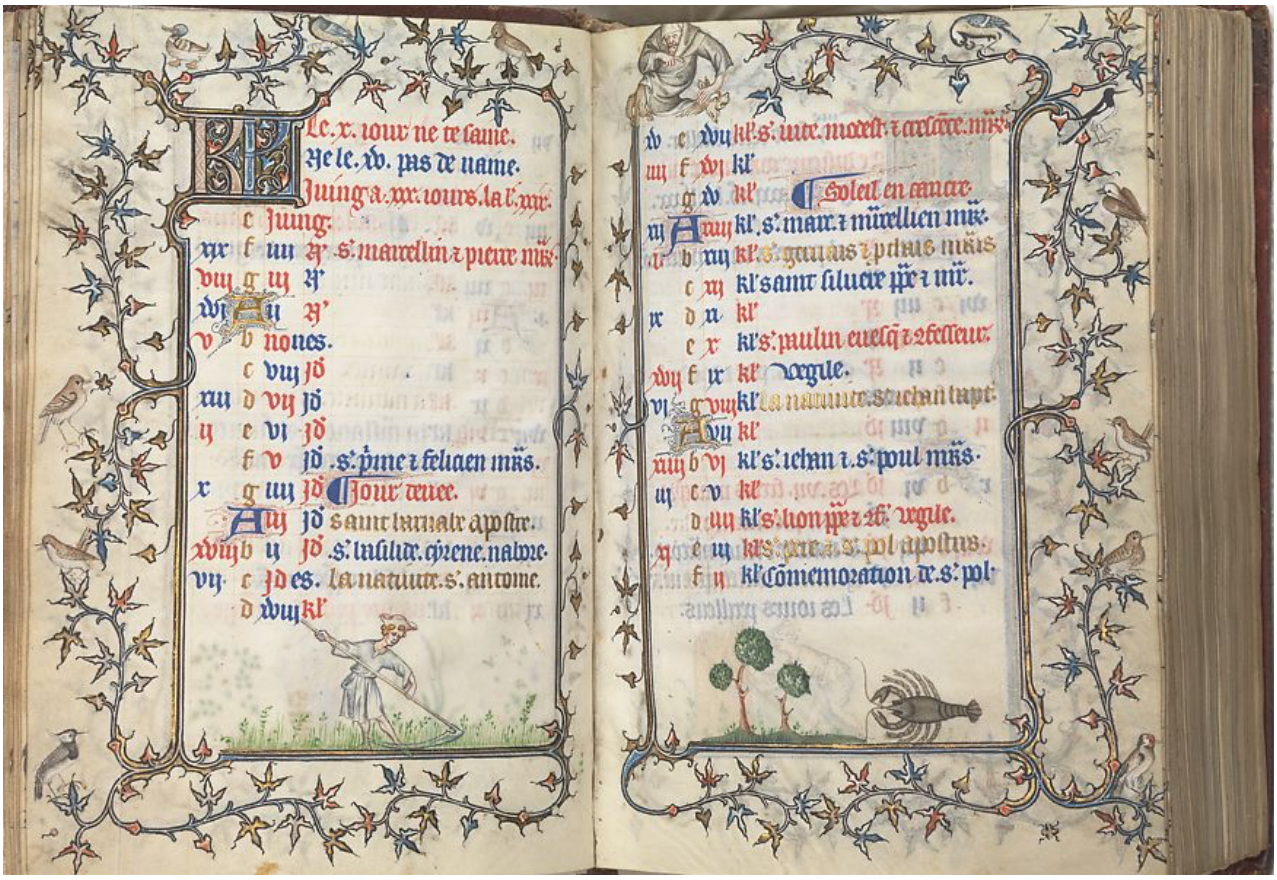

Figure 10. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, "June calendar." *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 6v-7r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

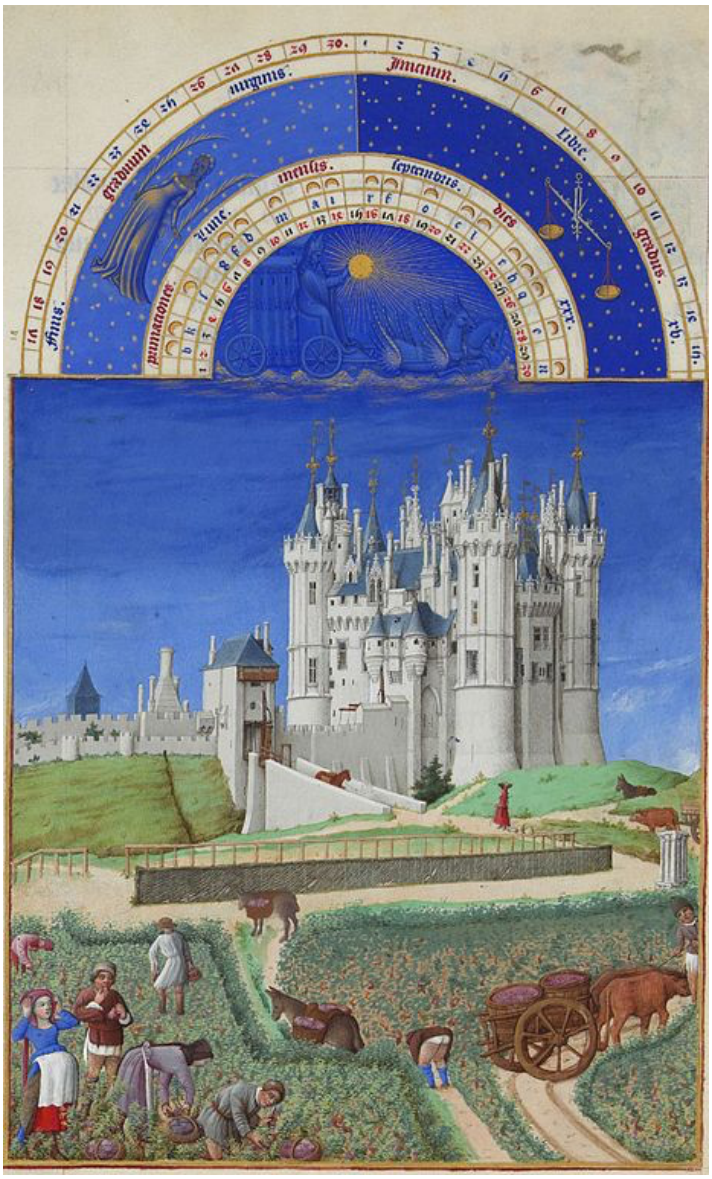

Figure 11. “September calendar.” *Très Riches Heures,* fols. 9v, 1412-16. Musée Condé, France.

Figure 12. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, “January calendar.” *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 1v-2r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 13. Jean Pucelle. "April calendar." *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux,* fol. 4v-5r, ca. 1324-28. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

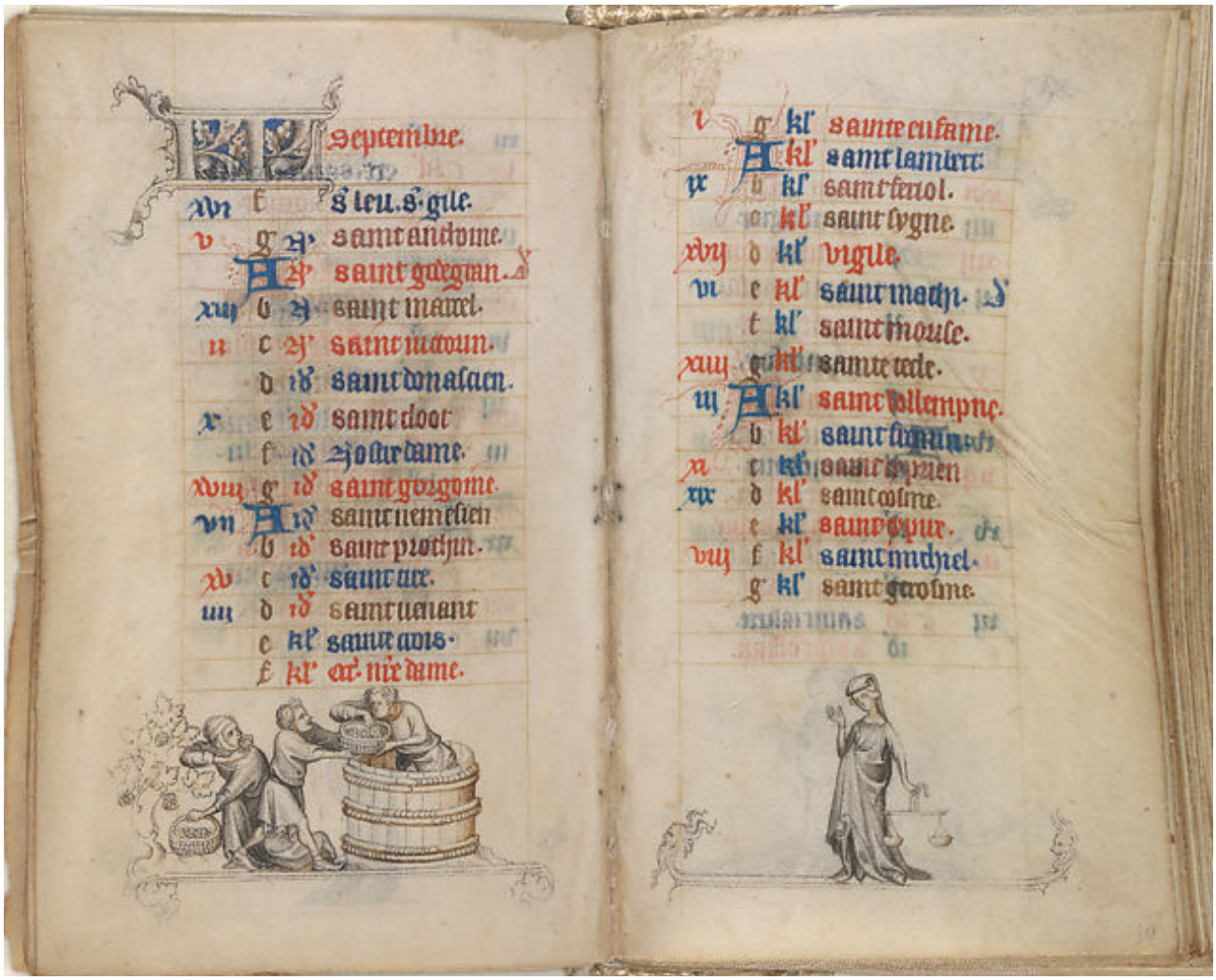

Figure 14. Jean Pucelle. “September calendar.” *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,* fol. 9v-10r, ca. 1324- 28. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

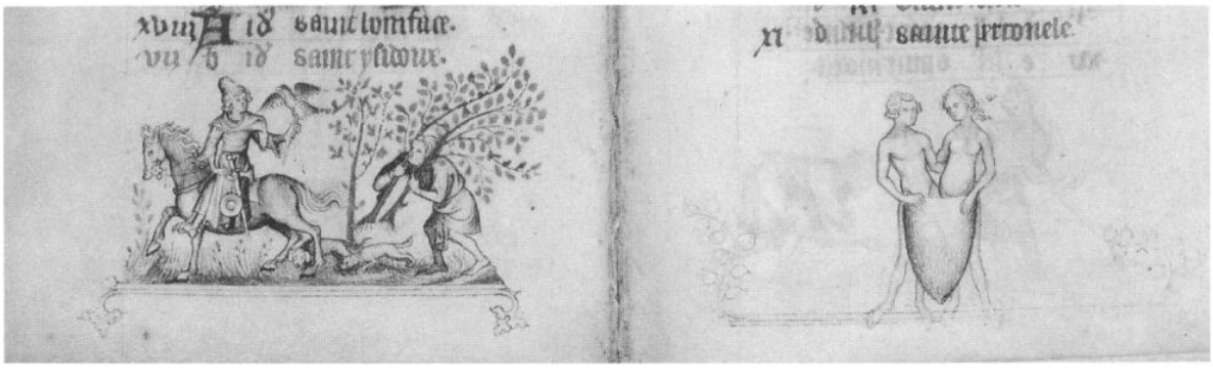

Figure 15. Jean Pucelle. “May calendar.” *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,* fol. 5v-6r, ca. 1324- 28. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

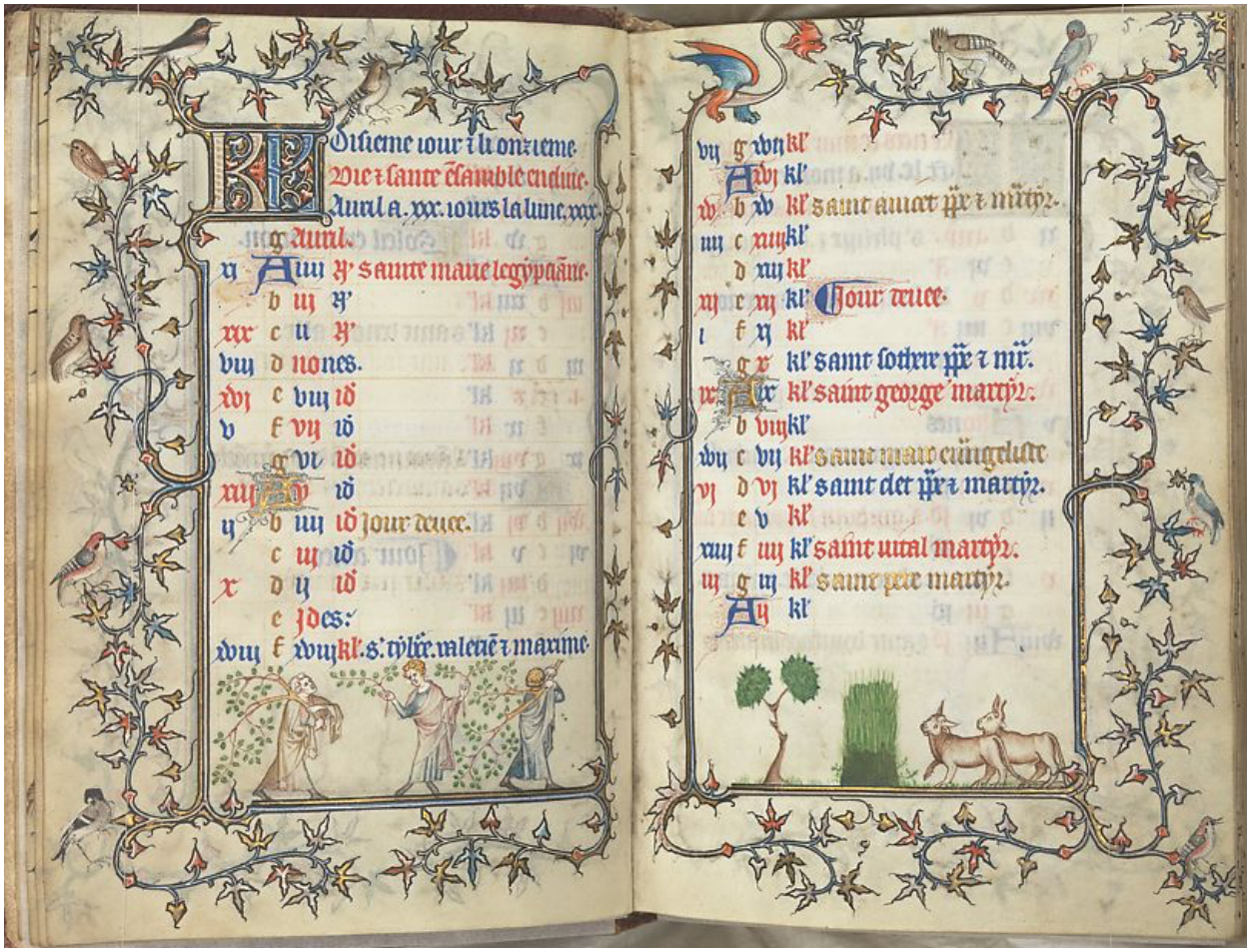

Figure 16. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, “April calendar.” *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 4v-5r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 17. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, “Psalm 1: David Holds a Harp; David and Goliath.” *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 15r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 18. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, “The Two Fools.” *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 83v, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 19. "Psalm 52." *De Lisle Psalter-Hours.* MS M.153 fol. 91r, 1228-1234. Morgan Library and Museum, New York.
http://ica.themorgan.org/icaimages/1/m153.091ra.jpg

Figure 20. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, "The Three Living and the Three Dead" *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 321v-322r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 21. "The Three Living and Three Dead," *De Lisle Psalter.* fols. 127r, c. 1308-1340. British Library, London.
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=arundel_ms_83_f117r

Figure 22. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, "The Crucifixion," *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 328r, before 1349. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 23. Attributed to Jean Le Noir, "The Wound of Christ," *The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg,* fols. 331r, before 1349. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471883

Figure 24. “Christ embracing the Sponsa in the garden; Christ and the Sponsa entering the garden; the Sponsa as Caritas,” *The Rothschild Canticles,* fols. 18v. ca. 1300. Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, New Haven.
https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2002755

Figure 25. “Man of Sorrows,” *The Rothschild Canticles,* fols. 19r, ca. 1300. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, New Haven.
https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2002755

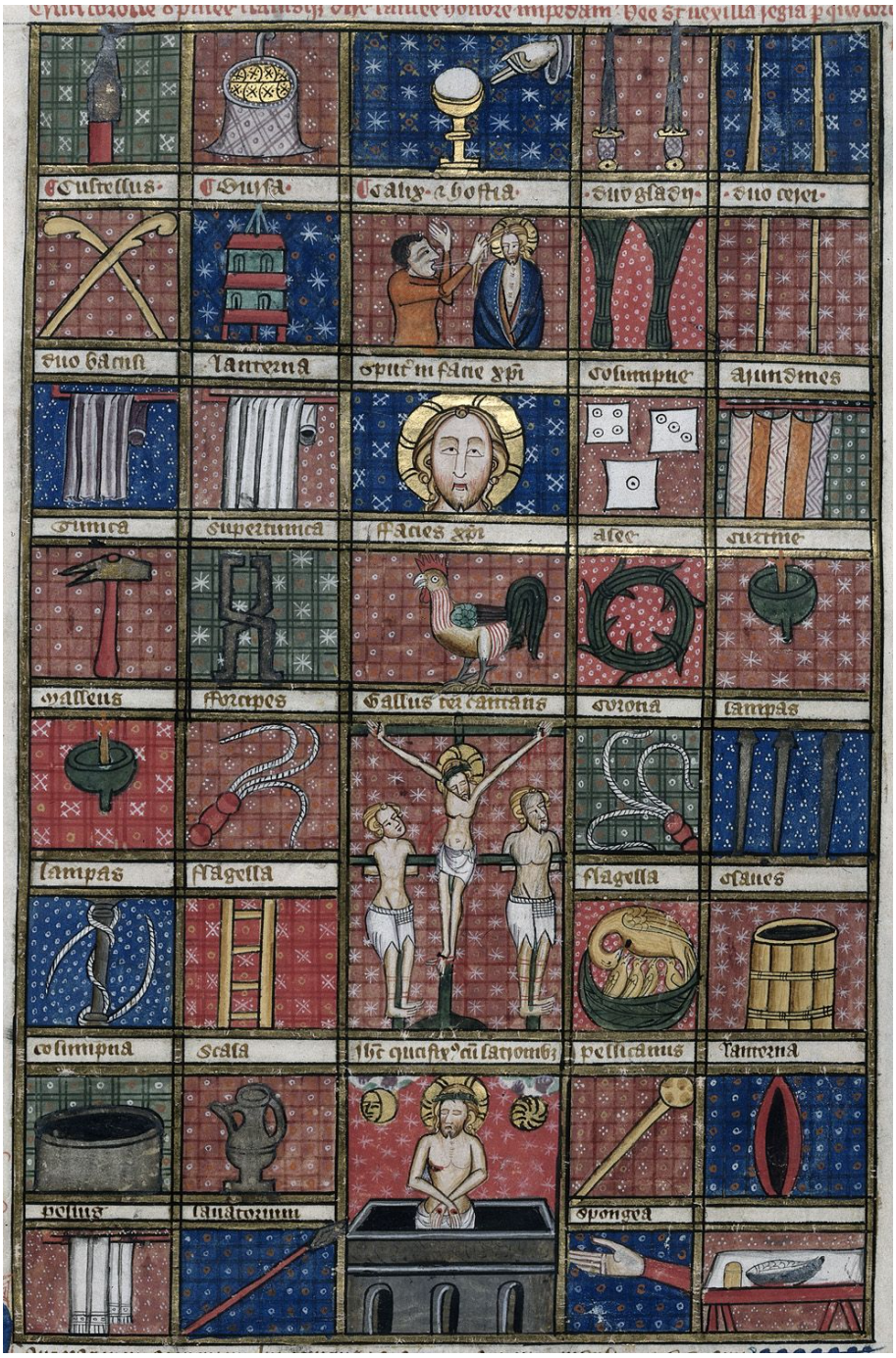

Figure 26. James le Palmer, “Arma Christi,” fols. 15. *Omne Bonum,* ca. 1360-1375. The British Library, London.
https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7788&CollID=16&NStart=60506

Figure 27. Jean Pucelle. “The Procession of the Relics,” *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,* fol. 173v, ca. 1324-28. The Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

Figure 28. Jean Pucelle. “Feeding of the Leprous Monk,” *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,* fol. 123v, ca. 1324-28. Cloisters Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309

Figure 29. Erin Williams, *Commute: An Illustrated Memoir of Female Shame*. New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2019, 47.

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