VISUALISING THE MIDDLE AGES

Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture

EDITED BY

Therese Martin

BRILL

Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture

Visualising the Middle Ages

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Volume One

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This volume owes its existence to the generous help and enthusiastic encouragement of so many people over the past four years. It began to germinate in 2008 in preparation for a graduate seminar I taught that fall at the University of Arizona. Over the previous summer, I had begun to read widely in order to choose for my students the most thought-provoking articles on medieval women as artists and patrons. It was an eye-opening experience. Once I began to look outside my own area of research—Spanish architecture in the central Middle Ages—I discovered a wealth of scholarship addressing the multiple ways women were involved with medieval art and architecture. In fact, I was surprised to learn how much work was being done on the topic until I recognized that most publications seemed to follow a similar pattern to my own: each is well known by specialists in her/his areas, but few make a deep impact on the field of art history as a whole.

This realization led me to organize two sessions at the 44th International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo in 2009, at which I brought together six scholars from four countries working in different chronologies and geographies: Tricia Amato, Marisa Costa, Elena Díez, Alexandra Gajewski, Eileen McKiernan González, and Loretta Vandi. Sponsored by the International Center for Medieval Art and with travel subventions from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, these sessions were fortunate enough to have Madeline Caviness as respondent. At the same time, I was contacted by Brill's Julian Deahl, who suggested the possibility of editing a book on art and female monasticism. While the offer was enticing, I proposed instead that we open up the picture so that the studies would look not just at convents, but also at secular art, investigating not just Christian women, but also Muslims, Jews, and others.

And so this volume started to grow. Writing to many of the scholars whose work I had been reading over the past year, I invited them to participate in a cross-cultural, transdisciplinary collection that would bring together all the conceivable roles played by women in the making of medieval art and architecture. To my delight, the response was overwhelmingly positive. With the participants identified and their research and writing of the articles already underway, I then organized a conference in Madrid for May 2010 so that we could meet and interchange ideas, offer suggestions

and critiques, and learn more about each others' work. I was convinced that the sum of our knowledge would contribute to drawing more significant conclusions for the question as a whole than each individual could produce on her own. Such a meeting would also help to assure that all the contributors in the volume were considering inter-related questions and working toward a unified goal.

As I immersed myself in this material while preparing the introductory chapter, I came to the conclusion that the questions being raised merited more than a single volume, and so, from my new position at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid), I applied for funding from the European Research Council in order to pursue these matters with the collaboration of a team of scholars. In 2010, I was fortunate to receive an ERC Starting Grant (no. 263036) that will allow my team to carry out research on women as makers for a four-year period.

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CONTRIBUTORS' BIOGRAPHIES

MICKEY ABEL (Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin, 2001) is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of North Texas. She has published in *Gesta, Avista, Hispanic Research Journal*, and *Peregrinations* on issues of geography, space, ritual, and liturgical procession in relation to the Romanesque architecture of western France and northern Spain. Her book entitled *Open Access: Contextualizing the Archivolted Portals of Northern Spain and Western France within the Theology and Politics of Entry* is in press with Cambridge Scholars Press. Future projects include an electronic mapping of the ancient canal system surrounding Maillezais Abbey in conjunction with an analysis of Claude Masse's 17th-c. cartography.

GLAIRE D. ANDERSON (Ph.D., Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005) is Assistant Professor of Islamic Art History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She specializes in the art and architecture of the caliphal period (ca. 650–1250 CE), with a focus on the Mediterranean. Her research has been supported by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Barakat and Kress Foundations, among others. She is the author of "Islamic Spaces and Diplomacy in Constantinople (10th–13th c.)," *Medieval Encounters* (2009), and the editor, with Mariam Rosser-Owen, of *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (2007).

JANE CARROLL (Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987) is Senior Lecturer in Art History and Assistant Dean at Dartmouth College. She is the co-editor of *Saints, Sinners and Sisters. Gender and the Visual Arts in Medieval and Early Modern Northern Europe* (2003), and contributed an article to that volume. She has received fellowships from the Kress Foundation, American Philosophical Society, and DAAD for work on late medieval art produced by and for German Dominican nuns during the fifteenth-century reform of the Order. Currently she is writing a collection of essays entitled *Reforming Spirits* concerning that topic.

NICOLA COLDSTREAM (Ph.D., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1973) is an independent scholar specializing in late medieval architecture and decoration. Her interests include the relationship of the

material and spiritual in medieval life, and its artistic expression. A graduate of Cambridge University, and currently Chairman of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, she was a Deputy Editor of the Grove Dictionary of Art (1996). She has published numerous articles and her books include *The Decorated Style* (1994) and *Medieval Architecture* (Oxford, 2002), which was awarded the Alice Davis Hitchcock medallion for outstanding architectural writing.

MARÍA ELENA DÍEZ JORGE (Ph.D., Universidad de Granada, 1998) is Profesora Titular de Historia del Arte at the Universidad de Granada. Her research centers on multiculturalism in art, especially Mudejar, and women in urban and architectual history. On these topics, she has participated in diverse research projects, taught post-graduate courses, and published widely. She is currently the director of the project "La arquitectura en Andalucía desde una perspectiva de género" (Proyecto de Excelencia, HUM 5709). Her most recent publication on women's spaces and the active participation of women in architectural practice is *Mujeres y arquitectura: mudéjares y cristianas en la construcción* (2011).

JAROSLAV FOLDA (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1968) joined the Department of Art at the University of North Carolina in 1968, and rose to the rank of N. Ferebee Taylor Professor of the History of Art. His recent publications include *Crusader Art, The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (2008) and *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre: 1187–1291* (2005). His 1995 book, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, was awarded the Haskins Medal in 1999 by the Medieval Academy. He became professor *emeritus* in 2008.

ALEXANDRA GAJEWSKI (Ph.D., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1996) is a Senior Researcher at the CSIC, Madrid, and part of the ERC project *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* managed by Therese Martin. Previously, she taught at the Courtauld Institute of Art, at the Victoria & Albert Museum, and as Visiting Assistant Professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London. Her recent publications include studies on the cult of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay (2011), the historiography of Cistercian architecture (2010), and Gothic architecture in Burgundy (2009).

LOVEDAY LEWES GEE (Ph.D., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1998), was previously the Curator of the Slide and Photograph Libraries, History of Art Department, University of Warwick. Her particular research interests include tomb design and artistic patronage by women in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Among her publications are an award-winning article, "Ciborium Tombs in England 1290–1330," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1979), 29–41, and *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Boydell Press, 2002). She is now based in Dyfed, Wales.

MELISSA R. KATZ (Ph.D., Brown University, 2010) specializes in the art and visual culture of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages. Her work has been published in *Gesta*, *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics, InterFaces*, and the *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*. She has been a visiting professor of art history at Wesleyan University and is currently a Leverhulme post-doctoral fellow at the University of Exeter Centre for Medieval Studies. She also holds an M.Sc. in art conservation and, prior to pursuing her doctorate, worked as a conservator of paintings and polychromed sculpture in the U.S. and Europe.

KATRIN KOGMAN-APPEL (Ph.D., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994) holds the Evelyn Metz Memorial Research Chair at the Department of the Arts, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva. She is the author of *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity* (Brill, 2004), and of *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), which won the *Premio del Rey Prize* of the American Historical Association. She also contributed to a recently published new facsimile edition of the Washington Haggadah for Harvard University Press; *A Mahzor from Worms: Art and Religion in a Medieval Jewish Community* is forthcoming at Harvard University Press in Spring 2012.

PIERRE ALAIN MARIAUX (Ph.D., Université de Lausanne, 1997) is Professor of Medieval Art History and Museum Studies at the Université de Neuchâtel (Switzerland). He has spent extensive periods researching in Paris, Chicago, and Rome. After working on figures of mediation from the tenth through the twelfth centuries, especially bishops (*Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images. Politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil*, Bern, 2002) and publishing widely on the artist in the Romanesque period, he is now investigating the history of treasuries, collectors, and collections

in the Middle Ages (*Le trésor au Moyen Âge. Pratiques, discours et objets*, Florence, 2010).

THERESE MARTIN (Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 2000), joined the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid as Científica Titular in the Instituto de Historia in 2009. She has held Fulbright, Mellon, de Montêquin, Kress, and Getty fellowships in support of her research on women's patronage, Romanesque sculpture, and royal architecture in medieval Iberia. Among her publications are an award-winning article, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum* (2005), and *Queen as King* (Leiden, 2006). Currently she is pursuing research based on the questions raised in this volume, funded 2010–2014 by a European Research Council Starting Grant (no. 263036).

EILEEN MCKIERNAN GONZÁLEZ (Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin, 2005), Associate Professor of Art History at Berea College in Kentucky, has held an International Center of Medieval Art—Kress Research Award, a Fulbright-Hayes Research Fellowship, and Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and U.S. Universities Grants. Her publications on women's patronage and monastic architecture in medieval Iberia include "Local and Imported: Conjunctions of Mediterranean Forms in Romanesque Aragón," *Peregrinations* (2009) and "The Persistence of the Romanesque in the Kingdom of Aragón," in *Church, State, Vellum and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams* (Leiden, 2005).

RACHEL MOSS (Ph.D., University of Dublin, 2001) is a Research Fellow at the Royal Irish Academy and Department of History of Art, Trinity College, Dublin. Her research interests include Irish medieval architecture and sculpture and the application of digital technologies in the Humanities. She has published numerous articles on medieval art and architecture and edited/co-edited *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) and *Making and Meaning in Insular Art* (Dublin, 2007). She is editor and principal author of the medieval volume of *Art and Architecture of Ireland*, a major government-funded reference text to be published by the Royal Irish Academy and Yale University Press in 2014.

JENIFER NÍ GHRÁDAIGH (Ph.D., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2004) is a Senior Researcher at the CSIC, Madrid, and part of the ERC project *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and*

Architecture led by Therese Martin. Prior to this, she lectured at University College Cork, where she was Associate Investigator of the IRCHSS-funded Christ on the Cross Project. Her recent publications include a study on the historiography of female antiquarians (2008), and on the iconography of the Romanesque high cross in Ireland (2011). She is joint editor of *The March in the Islands of the Medieval West* (Brill, forthcoming).

FELIPE PEREDA (Ph.D., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1996) is the Nancy H. and Robert E. Hall Professor of Art History, Johns Hopkins University. His current interests are in the relationships among religion, art, and image theory, focused on late medieval and Early Modern Spanish visual culture. He co-authored, with María Cruz de Carlos and Begoña Alonso, *Patronazgo y coleccionismo: los Condestables de Castilla y el arte* (Valladolid, 2005), and authored *Las imágenes de la discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400* (Madrid, 2007). His recent articles have been published in *Medieval Encounters, Annali di Architettura*, and *The Art Bulletin* (2010).

ANNIE RENOUX (Ph.D./HDR, Université de Paris I-Sorbonne, 1987) began teaching medieval history and archaeology at the Université de Reims; she has been a professor at the Université du Maine (Le Mans) since 1988. Her doctoral dissertation was published under the title *Fécamp. Du palais de Dieu au palais ducal* (CNRS, 1991). The author of many articles on palaces, she also edited two volumes, *Palais et séjours royaux et princiers au Moyen Age* (Le Mans, 1996) and *Aux marches du palais. Qu'est-ce qu'un palais médiéval. Données historiques et archéologiques* (Le Mans, 1999). Her current work focuses on two major princely castles, Mayenne in Maine and Montfélix in Champagne.

ANA MARIA S.A. RODRIGUES (M.A., Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1981; Ph.D. Universidade do Minho, 1992) is Associate Professor of History, Universidade de Lisboa; previously, she lectured at the Universidade do Minho. As Deputy Co-ordinator of the National Commission for the Commemoration of Portuguese Discoveries (1999–2002), she was responsible for exhibitions and catalogues such as *Outro Mundo Novo Vimos* (Lisbon, CNCDP, 2001) and *A Construção do Brasil 1500–1825* (Lisbon, CNCDP, 2000). She has recently edited with Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *A Sé de Braga. Arte, Liturgia e Música* (*sécs. XI–XVIII*) (Lisbon, Arte das Musas/CESEM, 2009) and is currently writing the biography of Leonor of Aragon, Queen of Portugal.

JANE TIBBETTS SCHULENBURG (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1969) is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the Departments of Liberal Studies and the Arts, Medieval Studies, and Gender and Women's Studies. Her research and publications focus on medieval women and religion, female sanctity and society, sacred space, monasticism, pilgrimage, relics, and embroidery. Her major work is *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago, 1998/2000). She is currently working on a book on gender and proscriptions of sacred space, 500–1200. She is also an embroiderer and has had several exhibits of her medieval embroideries.

STEFANIE SEEBERG (Ph.D., Universität München, 1998) is a Senior Researcher at the CSIC, Madrid in Therese Martin's ERC project *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Previously she has been a researcher at the Institute of Art History, Universität Köln, and held several teaching positions. Her scholarship on women and art, Romanesque manuscript illumination, church decoration, and textiles in medieval Germany has been supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Ministry of Science Nordrhein-Westfalen, and Villigst. Among her publications are *Die Illustrationen im Admonter Nonnenbrevier von 1180* (2002); "Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Admont Nuns," in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture* (2007); *Textile Bildwerke in der Kirchenausstattung des Mittelalters* (forthcoming).

MIRIAM SHADIS (Ph.D., Duke University, 1994) is Assistant Professor of History at Ohio University, in Athens, Ohio. Her research focuses on French and Iberian women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with particular interest in motherhood, patronage, historiography, and rulership. She is the author of *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), and several essays on the queens Berenguela of Castile, Leonor of England, and Blanche of Castile. Her current research focuses on the nature and function of queenship in the first centuries of the realm of Portugal.

ELLEN M. SHORTELL (Ph.D., Columbia University, 2000) is Professor of the History of Art at Massachusetts College of Art and Design. Focusing on Gothic architecture and stained glass, her research examines the creation of historical narratives, the visual experience of architecture, and the social contexts of art. Publications include studies on the portrayal of women, "Premonstratensian Holy Women in 17th-century Stained Glass

from Parc Abbey" (Centre d'Études et de Recherches Prémontrés, 1992), and on women's patronage, "The Widows' Money and Artistic Integration in the Axial Chapel of St-Quentin," *The Four Modes of Seeing: Essays on Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Ashgate, 2009), a collection she co-edited.

LORETTA VANDI (Ph.D., Université de Lausanne, 1998) is Professor of Art History at the Istituto Statale d'Arte—Scuola del Libro in Urbino. Among her interests are women's patronage, the reception of Antiquity (in the medieval and Early Modern periods), theories of ornament, and contemporary art and architecture. She has held two Kress fellowships for research on medieval women artists and theories of ornament. Her publications include *La trasformazione del motivo dell'acanto dall'antichità al XV secolo. Ricerche di teoria e storia dell'ornamento* (Bern, 2002); *Il Manoscritto Oliveriano 1. Storia di un codice boemo del XV secolo* (Pesaro, 2004); and *Four Essays* (Umeå, 2007).

NANCY L. WICKER (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1990) is Professor of Art History at The University of Mississippi. Her research has been supported by fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities and by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the Getty Foundation, the International Research and Exchanges Board, and the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Besides co-editing three volumes on gender and archaeology, she has published on Scandinavian jewelry, animal-style art, female infanticide, and runic literacy. She is a Councillor of The Medieval Academy of America and President of the Society of Historians of Scandinavia.

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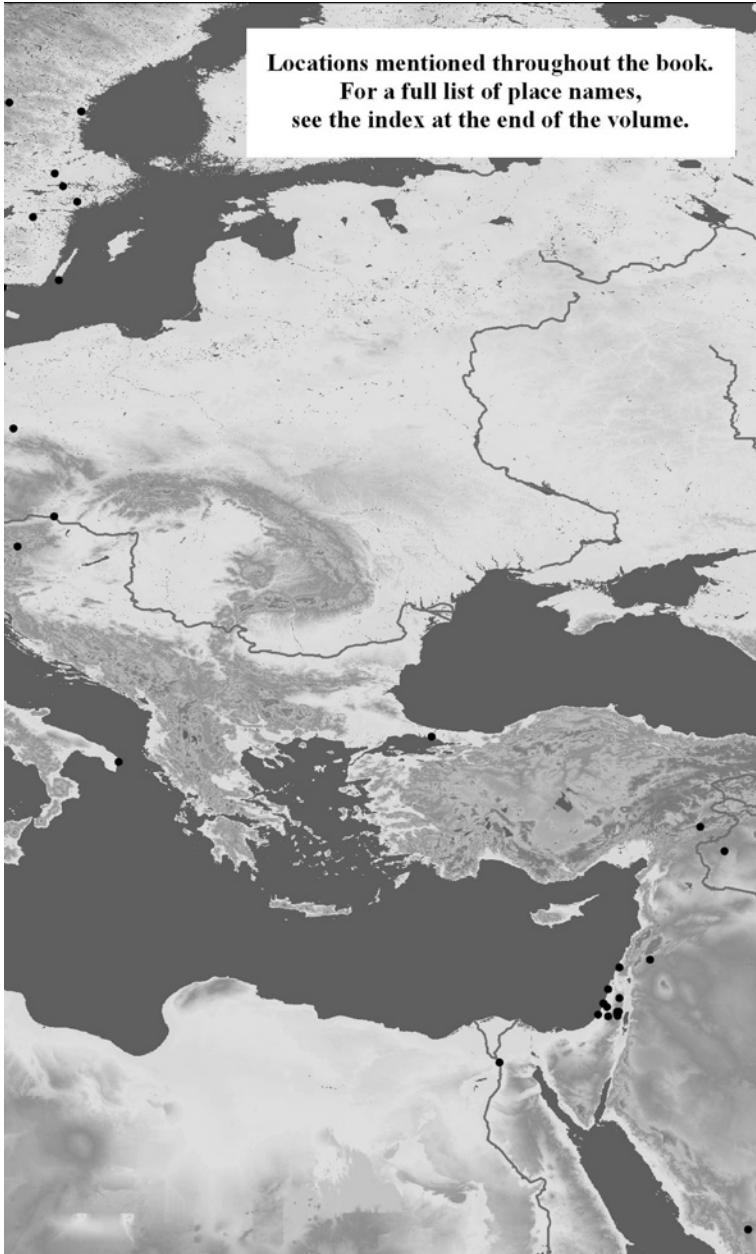
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For a full list of place names,
see the index at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER ONE

EXCEPTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS: WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL ART HISTORY[1]

Therese Martin

This volume is a direct response to the dearth of women in the history of medieval art. Despite the advances of recent decades, the field continues to be, for the most part, a history of men. There is an unspoken underlying assumption that works of art and architecture in the Middle Ages were made by and for men, save for the rare cases where it can be demonstrated otherwise. That is, medieval art is not approached from a position of neutrality but rather presumed to be masculine in origin and intent. Scholars routinely christen anonymous artists with the title "Master of . . ." followed by some outstanding characteristic by which we recognize "his" work. By contrast, artists and patrons are identified as women only when their names are recorded on a work of art or in documentation.[2] These noteworthy cases have been fruitfully studied, often within a framework of the exception that proves the rule. But how many so-called exceptions must there be before we decide that a new rule is in order? At what point to do these perceived aberrations from the norm become rather a new pattern waiting to be recognized? I believe that we have reached such a

[1] I am grateful to Jessica A. Boon, Alexandra Gajewski, and Judith K. Golden for their insightful comments on this introduction.

[2] And sometimes not even then. The late tenth-century manuscript illuminator Ende has recently been put down to scribal error, despite signing herself "painter and helper of the Lord/God" (*ENDE PINTRIX ET DI AIUTRIX*). Her name appears before that of her collaborator, the priest Brother Emeterius, while the scribe Senior was named before either of the painters. Ende's gender, however, has been explained away as a mistake: "En el beato de Gerona, del año 975, participan Emeterio y Senior—los mismos que en el códice de Tábara—y un tercero llamado Ende ["a third man named Ende"], nombre insólito en la antroponimia del gran reino de León, al que se hace mujer por ir calificado de pintrix (*Ende pintrix*), que es el responsable de la iluminación. Sin negar esta posibilidad de encontrarnos ante una monja pintora, hay que tener presente que en muchas ocasiones los escribas no saben que las terminaciones en -trix son exclusivamente femeninas," José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, "Escribas y bibliotecas altomedievales hispanos," in *La enseñanza en la Edad Media* [*X Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera 1999*] (Logroño, 2000), pp. 151–73, esp. 158. For the surprisingly brief bibliography on Ende, see the study by Pierre Alain Mariaux in the present volume.

point, as this collection of studies illustrates. While recognizing the very real limits to which medieval women were subject, the present volume seeks to demonstrate that their importance within the history of art has been undervalued. A fresh approach to women's roles in the creation of art and architecture can lead, therefore, to a renewed understanding of both the possibilities that were open to women and the multiple ways in which they turned objects and buildings to the realization of their needs.

Reframing the Questions of Woman or Man, Patron or Artist

One point of departure taken in this volume is to refocus on the terminology used in the Middle Ages, particularly the verb "to make." For artist/patron is a false dichotomy, or, at the least, a modern one.[3] Such a division is not made in the terminology of medieval inscriptions—from paintings to metalwork to embroideries to buildings—where the verb most often used is "made" (*fecit*). This word denotes at times the individual whose hands produced the work, but it can equally refer to the person whose donation made the undertaking possible.[4] A most concise example of this dual meaning can be found in one of the inscriptions on the late eleventh-century Spanish church of San Salvador de Nogal de las Huertas (Fig. 1):

> In the name of
> our Lord Jesus Christ
> in honor of the Holy Savior,
> Elvira Sánchez made this.
> Jimeno made and sculpted this portal. Pray for him.
>
> + IN NOMINE DO
> MINI N(O)ST(R)I IH(ES)V XPI
> OB ONORE S(AN)C(T)I SALVA

[3] Christine Havice pointed to this problem in 1995 when she addressed the "nexus of relationships and interactions that do not readily suggest themselves in our current usage of 'artists' and 'patrons'," in her "Women and the Production of Art in the Middle Ages: The Significance of Context," in *Double Vision*, ed. Natalie Harris Bluestone (Cranbury, NJ, 1995), pp. 67–94, esp. 67.

[4] As Hanns Swarzenski pointed out half a century ago, for the central Middle Ages "the distinction between patron and artist, between intellectual concept and manual execution, is not yet strictly drawn." There is very little difference between *fieri fecit* (to have made; lit., to make to be made) and *fecit*. Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe* (London, 1957, first ed. 1954), p. 18.

Figure 1 Inscription (now lost), San Salvador de Nogal de las Huertas, 11th–12th c. (Photo: Manuel Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico español: esquema de un libro*, Madrid, 1934).

> TORIS IELVIRA SANSES HOC FECIT:
> (added in a later hand) XEMENUS: FECIT: ET: SCULPSIT
> ISTAM: PORTICUM: ORATE: P(RO): EO[5]

Here we have a noblewoman, Elvira Sánchez, whose first name and patronymic are both given; her contribution to the making of the church was an offering that facilitated its construction. She is followed in importance by the

[5] Transcription by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, *El arte románico en Palencia* (Palencia, 1961), pp. 84–90, plates 35–38. This inscription has been stolen in recent decades; a second plaque recording only Elvira's name remains *in situ*. For an updated entry on the site, see José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, "Nogal de las Huertas, Iglesia del monasterio de San Salvador," in *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León. Palencia*, eds. Miguel Angel García Guinea and José María Pérez González (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 1099–107.

sculptor, Jimeno, whose responsibility is clarified by the addition of a second verb, so that we understand his physical involvement in its construction: he both “made and sculpted this doorway.” For their participation, Elvira and Jimeno would have expected to reap the benefit of prayers from those who attended the church and read the inscriptions (or heard them read aloud), although only Jimeno made that expectation explicit.[6] Whereas today’s eye sees these two as a patron and an artist, the medieval view recognized both as *makers* of the building. The flexibility of the word “fecit” indicates the need for a more nuanced way of interpreting the connections among the various roles played by medieval patrons and artists. Indeed, this idea was stated categorically in the late thirteenth century, when the chronicler of the *General Estoria* explained how it can be said that King Alfonso X the Learned of Castile (r. 1252–1284) made books and palaces.

> The king makes a book, not because he writes it with his hands, but because he sets forth the reasons for it, and he amends and corrects and improves them and shows how they ought to be done; and although the one whom he commands may write them, we say nevertheless that the king makes the book. And again when we say that the king makes a palace or any other work, it is not said because he makes it with his hands, but because he ordered that it be made and gave the things that were necessary for it.[7]

With this medieval *topos* of making in mind, it is to be expected that we will find new answers to the question of women’s participation in art and architecture from the juxtaposition of all aspects of the creative process, rather than isolating each element within modern constructs.

One of the problems today’s scholars must overcome is the culturally conditioned assumption that the protagonist must have been male, given that women generally held an inferior position in medieval society.[8] This

[6] Among the many superb studies by Robert Favreau on the place of public inscriptions and reading aloud, with the implications for literacy and memory, see recently his *Epigraphie médiévale*, L’atelier du médiéviste, 5 (Turnhout, 1997).

[7] “El rey faze un libro non porquel él escriva con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones d’él e yegua e enderça, e muestra la manera de cómo se deven fazer, e desí escrívelas qui él manda; peró dezimos por esta razón que el rey faze el libro. Otrosí cuando dezimos el rey faze un palacio o alguna obra non es dicho porque lo él fiziesse con sus manos, mas porquel mandó fazer e dio las cosas que fueron mester pora ello,” *General Estoria de Alfonso X el Sabio*, ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja (Madrid, 2001), II: 393; cit. Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden, 1998), p. 6 (ref. ed. 1930).

[8] As Steven H. Rigby, *English Society in the Late Middle Ages: Class, Society, and Gender* (London, 1995), pp. 270–80, puts it, “all women were inferior . . . to men of their own class.”

volume addresses the topic of medieval women's involvement with art and architecture at a surprising range of levels, despite the obstacles of their historical reality. As patrons and facilitators, producers and artists, owners and recipients, women's overall participation in the process is investigated within specific social and political settings, as are their interactions and collaborations (or confrontations) with men. Just as a history of medieval art without women is incomplete, so scholars must not exclude men even though the spotlight of their research is shone on women. What is proposed here is a renewed way of framing the debate around the history of art and architecture from the Middle Ages in such a way that we do not automatically assume works were made by men, but rather recognize the contributions of women while situating all the players firmly within their historical contexts. Too often work on women's history is ghettoized (sometimes even by the individual researcher herself), a trend the present volume seeks to avoid, despite the singling out of one gender in the title.

In order to pursue new avenues of research for medieval art history, it may be useful to take a cue from other current fields of study. Valerie Garver, for example, in her historical analysis of women in the ninth century, employs "a disciplined imagination," by which she advocates "an approach to texts that takes careful account of the strictures of convention, earlier models, and contemporary circumstances in order to suggest highly probable female actions and behavior."[9] Literary historians such as Anne Klinck have addressed the possibility of determining the author's gender for anonymous medieval poems,[10] while archaeologists including Leslie Van Gelder and Kevin Sharpe have developed a methodology for identifying both gender and relative age of Paleolithic artists.[11] This volume challenges art historians to take up the gauntlet thrown down by specialists in other disciplines: whether or not we finally conclude that a particular piece of medieval art was made by a man or a woman, it is

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[9] Valerie L. Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca and London, 2009), p. 12.

[10] Anne L. Klinck, "Poetic Markers of Gender in Medieval 'Woman's Song': Was Anonymous a Woman?" *Neophilologus*, 87 (2003), pp. 339–59. See also Anne Bagnall Yardley, "Was Anonymous a Woman? The Composition of Music in English Nunneries," in *Women Composers: Music through the Ages*, eds. Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 69–72.

[11] Leslie Van Gelder and Kevin Sharpe, "Women and Girls as Upper Palaeolithic Cave 'Artists': Deciphering the Sexes of Finger Fluters in Rouffignac Cave," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 28 (2009), pp. 323–33.

important that we hold both possibilities in mind during the course of our research. To that end, historian Peter Biller's discussion of absences and lacunae in the written record offers an incisive reminder on how to look at what the documents leave out.[12] Art historians, in fact, should recognize that we have a decided advantage when it comes to answering questions about apparently anonymous makers of buildings and objects in the Middle Ages, given that we are able to draw on two complementary types of evidence, both written and visual.

Studying the reception history of an object or structure can also bring us a more in-depth understanding of the work and help to complete the circle that began with its conception and manufacture. Thus, we should ask whether the role of "maker" can be extended to the *recipient* of a work of art or architecture: without the woman for whom it was made, such a piece would not exist. The giver may have sought to ingratiate, taking into account the receiver's needs and interests.[13] Conversely, the gift may have been intended to dominate or to limit the recipient's actions, as Madeline Caviness has argued.[14] In either case, the donor's mindfulness of the receiver was a determining factor in the final character of the object or edifice. The owner's subsequent engagement with the gift was, of course, a matter less in the hands of the giver than in the individual circumstances of the receiver. We must delve more deeply into the meanings behind ownership, use, and function, whether the setting be seen as public, private, or both at once.

Traditionally, art history has paid greater attention to representations of women than to their engagement with works of art or architecture—that is, woman as passive object rather than active agent.[15] Fortunately,

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[12] Peter Biller, "The Abundance and Scarcity of Food in the Inquisition Records of Languedoc," in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, eds. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden, 2008), pp. 262–76.

[13] See, for example, Jane Geddes, *The St. Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London, 2005), esp. pp. 89–105.

[14] Madeline Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), pp. 333–62 (rprt. in *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 31–60, with annotated bibliography pp. 175–81). For a different interpretation, see Joan Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (Dec. 1994), pp. 585–611, and her "Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and her Contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), pp. 69–100.

[15] On this matter, see the studies by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, from their groundbreaking 1982 publication through the recent volume centering on agency: Norma

this tendency is lessening in the face of growing interest in investigating the active ways in which women in the Middle Ages demonstrated authority through artistic culture. In recent decades, scholarship centered especially on Christian devotion has demonstrated that patronage of art and architecture was one way medieval women accessed and exercised agency.[16] We now readily accept that one avenue of power for medieval women was their sponsorship of works ranging from devotional material, meant for use in the convent or home, to monumental structures that acted as public declarations of dynastic concerns. To some scholars, the matter seems so well-studied as to no longer require our attention (although this appears not to apply equally to studies centering on men).[17] Such lassitude suggests that we have reached a turning point in this fertile vein of inquiry, forcing us to shift the questions being asked.[18]

Broude and Mary G. Garrard, eds., *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (New York, 1982); eds., *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* (New York, 1992); "Feminist Art History and the Academy: Where Are We Now?" *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 25 (Spring-Summer 1997), pp. 212–22; eds., *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History after Postmodernism* (Berkeley, 2005). See also Rachel Dressler, "Continuing the Discourse: Feminist Scholarship and the Study of Medieval Visual Culture," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 43/1 (2007), pp. 15–34.

[16] *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996); Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1997), pp. 263–300; Alexandra Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches sur l'architecture cistercienne et le pouvoir royal: Blanche de Castille et la construction de l'abbaye du Lys," in *Art et Architecture à Melun au Moyen Age*, ed. Yves Gallet (Paris, 2000), pp. 223–54; Felipe Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza (+1500), Mujer del I Condestable de Castilla: El significado del patronazgo femenino en la Castilla del siglo XV," in *Patronos y coleccionistas. Los condestables de Castilla y el arte* (*siglos XV–XVII*) (Valladolid, 2005), pp. 11–119; Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany, 2005); June L. Mecham, "Breaking Old Habits: Recent Research on Women, Spirituality, and the Arts in the Middle Ages," *History Compass* 4/3 (2006), pp. 448–80; Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells, eds., *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom* (Leiden, 2009).

[17] See, for example, Christopher Wilson, "Calling the Tune? The Involvement of King Henry III in the Design of the Abbey Church at Westminster," *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 161 (2008), pp. 59–93, or Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown. Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (New Haven and London, 2004). The latter was the winner of the 2005 Ace-Mercers International Book Prize and the 2006 Historians of British Art Prize. As the judges recognized, patronage (whether by men or women) continues to be an important lens through which medieval art can profitably be analyzed.

[18] Similar scholarly concerns, sparked especially by the work of Madeline Caviness, have led in recent years to a search for new approaches to the art of the Middle Ages and to the founding of the on-line journal *Different Visions*: *A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art*, http://differentvisions.org/index.html. See especially the questions raised in the various articles of the 2008 inaugural issue.

Patrons

The urgent need for further critical studies on the matter of patronage can be summed up in one object, known as the Eleanor Vase (Fig. 2), which will serve to demonstrate the complexity of the issues involved in medieval commissions and donations. A chronology of this object, as George Beech has shown,[19] would be the following: a rock crystal vase from the early Islamic or Sassanian east (6th–8th c.?) made its way to the Iberian Peninsula, where it was owned by the Muslim ruler of Zaragoza, ʿImād al-Dawla (Mitadolus to the Christians, d. 1130). He gave it to his ally, William IX of Aquitaine (d. 1126), and it was inherited by the latter's illustrious granddaughter, Eleanor (d. 1204). She gave it to her first husband, Louis VII of France (d. 1180), as a wedding gift, and the king presented it to Abbot Suger (d. 1151), who, having added the bejeweled metalwork frame, offered the vase to the Abbey of Saint-Denis. As noted, that would be a chronological history of the vase. However, the inscription centers rather on the patronage and reception history, giving pride of place to Eleanor of Aquitaine in order to highlight her key role in its genealogy:

> As a bride, Eleanor gave this vase to King Louis,
> Mitadolus to her grandfather,
> the King to me,
> and Suger to the Saints.
>
> HOC VAS SPONSA DEDIT AANOR REGI LUDOVICO
> MITADOLUS AVO
> MIHI REX
> SANCTISQUE SUGERUS

As the hierarchy of naming indicates, the fact that *she* had owned it was perceived as having greatest significance when the inscription was written in the twelfth century. This work of art thus acts as a document to demonstrate why the question of patronage continues to be ripe for investigation: Eleanor "made" neither the original vase nor its metalwork additions, but her prestige was such that the object was considered to have proceeded more from her than from any of the men through whose hands it also passed.

To advance our understanding of the roles played by women in medieval art and architecture, it is not enough simply to produce more names,

[19] George Beech, "The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase, William IX of Aquitaine, and Muslim Spain," *Gesta* 32/1 (1993), pp. 3–10.

Figure 2 Eleanor Vase, 6th–8th- c. rock crystal vase, 12th-c. armature (Photo: Daniel Arnaudet, RMN/Musée du Louvre).

although they must continue to be recorded to demonstrate the power in numbers and to reduce the idea of female exceptionalism. We must also investigate how women's strategies, patronage among them, served their greater goals in the contexts in which they lived. Were their actions subversive, or did they follow the paths mandated for them? Was their patronage markedly "female," or did it reflect their status within the social structures, identifying them more as an aristocrat, for example, than a woman? Let us take a pair of examples: a villager who donates her dress or a sheet to cover the altar in her local parish church, as has been brilliantly studied by Katherine French,[20] and the sister of a king who makes the offering of extensive goods and property to a powerful but distant religious order.[21] Their actions are related not just because women undertook them—perhaps not at all for that reason—but because neither was done disinterestedly. In the first case, the donor sought to manifest herself metaphorically before the eyes of her neighbors on the altar, where the female presence was forbidden. As such, a simple sheet would have much in common with a gilded and bejeweled sardonyx chalice bearing the donor's name (Fig. 3; Color Plate 1), such as the one given to the palatine church of San Isidoro in León after 1063 by the infanta Urraca (d. 1101).[22] In the case of the long-distance donation, however, geopolitical issues were involved that would have been much the same had the donor been a man. In a society in which the act of accepting a gift carried with it an indebtedness, patronage was always multi-faceted, even when done out of piety. As with the instances of our married villager and our single (but not a professed religious) princess,

[20] Katherine L. French, "'I Leave My Best Gown as a Vestment:' Women's Spiritual Interests in the Late Medieval English Parish," *Magistra: A Journal of Women's Spirituality in History,* 4/1 (1998), pp. 57–77. See also Nicola A. Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, ca. 1350–1550," *Gender & History*, 22/2 (August 2010), pp. 407–29.

[21] Such was the donation to the Hospitallers in 1148 by the infanta Sancha of León-Castile (d. 1159), sister to King Alfonso VII (d. 1157). She gave them the church of Santa María de Olmedo "together with its treasury, that is, with books, vestments, chalices, and everything that pertains to the church" (*cum suo thesauro, videlicet, cum libris, vestimentis, calicibus et omnibus ad ecclesiam pertinentibus*), along with the surrounding lands. Document published in María Encarnación Martín López, "Colección documental de la infanta doña Sancha (1118–1159). Estudio crítico," in *León y su historia*, vol. VIII. Colección Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, n. 99, ed. J.M. Fernández Catón (León, 2003), pp. 139–345, esp. 280–81.

[22] "Chalice of the Infanta Urraca," *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500–1200*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1993), pp. 254–55; "Cáliz de la infanta Urraca," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2001), p. 335.

Figure 3 Chalice of Infanta Urraca, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, after 1063 (Photo: T. Martin). See color plate 1.

marital status and stages in life are also fruitful avenues for research, as studies of brides, widows, and nuns have demonstrated,[23] but today's

[23] Particularly for the Renaissance, Catherine King, "Women as Patrons: Nuns, Widows, and Rulers," in *Siena, Florence, and Padua: Art, Society, and Religion 1280–1400*, ed. Diana Norman, Volume II: Case Studies (New Haven, 1995), pp. 242–66, 277–78, and her *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300–c. 1550* (Manchester, 1998).

scholarship tends to examine these as static rather than fluid categories. An investigation into a woman's shifting patronage over the course of her changing circumstances would undoubtedly enrich the discussion.

We should be alert as well to the underlying meanings inherent not only in the medieval terminology, but also in the wording employed by today's historians, as both have ramifications for the study of medieval women: the very term "patronage" implies, of course, a male donor. As Madeline Caviness has noted, the word "matronage" does not exist in art historical terms, and to be a patron is very different from being a matron.[24] That being said, I applaud Leslie Brubaker's use of "matronage" in the title of her 1997 article;[25] perhaps it is time that we follow her lead in reappropriating the use of this word rather than continuing to refer to female "patronage." Artistic sponsorship, whether by men or women, was used for legitimation, to demonstrate authority, establish connections with other kingdoms or with the past, reward existing allies, or create new alliances. It could be done with the intention of impressing a large viewing public, in the case of a major building, or for a private showing to an elite audience, if the object in question is an illuminated manuscript or an ivory figurine. In whatever circumstance, the promotion of art or architecture in the Middle Ages required a meaningful commitment of funds and thus was always a deliberate choice. Art historians must investigate the reasons behind such choices and the ways in which these decisions contributed to an individual's or a group's social and political goals. Art provides concrete, material evidence for understanding medieval women's interests and desires, both spiritual and mundane.

Artists

Female artists also have come in for some scholarly attention of late, if decidedly less than that dedicated to matters of patronage.[26] In fact, in

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[24] Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" pp. 333–62, and her "Anchoress, Abbess and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 105–53.

[25] Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London and New York, 1997), pp. 52–75.

[26] Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages: 'The Dark is Light Enough'," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London, 1997), pp. 3–21; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and London, 1997); Madeline Caviness, "Artist: To See, Hear, and Know, All at Once," in *Voice of*

the eyes of some, apparently enough work has been done on women as both patrons and artists that this pairing of categories has begun to seem a trifle tired, with seemingly little left to tell us about the production and consumption of medieval art and architecture. In fact, the issues have only begun to be explored, but their perceived exhaustion calls for a shift in the way our questions are framed. Let us take, for example, the well-known inscription "Gislebertus hoc fecit" (Gislebertus made this), which appears just under the feet of Christ on the west façade of Autun cathedral. As often happens with inscriptions crediting men as makers, this phrase has been interpreted as referring either to the sculptor or the patron of this marvelous Romanesque building.[27] However, references to women have not been ascribed the same flexibility of meaning, as the tituli on two Spanish works will serve to demonstrate. The frescoes of the Convent of Santa Clara in Toro (ca. 1320, Figs. 4a, b) include a painted attribution that reads "Teresa Díez made me" (*TERESA DIEÇ ME FECIT*),[28] while the four arms of the Crucifix of San Salvador de Fuentes (Oviedo?, ca. 1150–75, Figs. 5a, b) bear an inscription on the reverse that, proceeding counterclockwise from the base, claims "In honor of the Holy Savior, Sancha González made me" (*IN HONORE SANCTI SALVATORIS SANCCIA GVIDISALVI ME FECIT*).[29] So, were Sancha and Teresa patrons? Or were they artists? We don't know, and because this traditional patron-or-artist question cannot be definitively answered, research into two such magnificent works has come unjustifiably to a dead end.

Perhaps the most we can say is that the inclusion of patronymics for Sancha and Teresa may identify them both as members of the elite. While scholars like Melissa Katz have singled out Teresa Díez as the

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the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 110–24, and her "Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to Her Works," in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London, 1998), pp. 29–63; Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Holy Women and the Needle Arts: Piety, Devotion, and Stitching the Sacred, ca. 500–1150," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, eds. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells (Leiden, 2009), pp. 95–125.

[27] Traditionally, Gislebertus was understood to be the artist, but Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago, 1999), advanced the possibility that he might rather be a patron.

[28] Gloria Fernández Somoza, *Las pinturas murales del convento de Santa Clara de Toro, Zamora* (Zamora, 2001). I am grateful to the author for allowing me to publish her photos.

[29] Charles Little, "Reliquary Crucifix," *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500–1200*, exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1993), pp. 271–72.

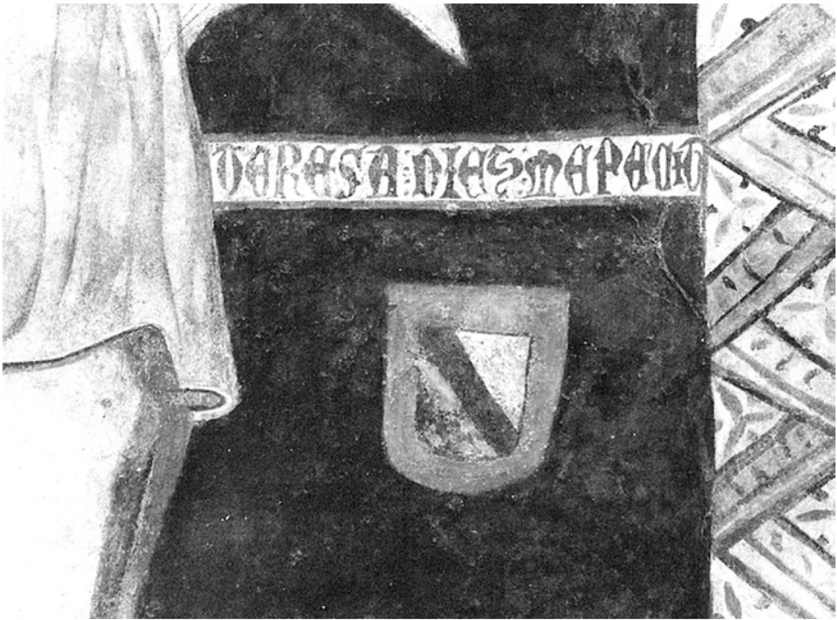

Figure 4a Detail with inscription TERESA DIEZ ME FECIT, Convent of Santa Clara, Toro, ca. 1320 (Photo: Gloria Fernández Somoza).

Figure 4b Adoration of the Magi, Convent of Santa Clara, Toro, ca. 1320 (Photo: Gloria Fernández Somoza).

Figure 5a Crucifix of San Salvador de Fuentes, Oviedo?, ca. 1150–1175 (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1406), © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

only known female fresco painter from the Middle Ages whose signed work survives,[30] no study has pursued the possibility that Sancha

[30] Melissa R. Katz, "Architectural Polychromy and the Painters' Trade in Medieval Spain," *Gesta*, 41 (2002), pp. 3–13. However, Fernández Somoza, *Las pinturas murales del convento de Santa Clara*, p. 84, comes down in favor of identifying Teresa Díez as a patron.

Figure 5b (IN HON)ORE STI SALVATORIS SANCCIA GUIDISALVI ME FECIT, Crucifix of San Salvador de Fuentes, Oviedo (?), ca. 1150–1175 (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 [17.190.1406], © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

González might have been a metalworker.[31] Rather, the inscribed name of a woman on an item like a bejeweled cross automatically elicits the assumption of patronage, regardless of the phrasing. And this despite the fact that, by contrast with Sancha González's crucifix, inscriptions on crosses are frequently explicit when the name belongs to a donor, as on the Crucifix of Queen Gisela of Hungary (before 1065, Figs. 6a, b), which, on the front just below the representation of a mother and daughter who kneel at the feet of Christ, reads "Queen Gisela ordered this cross to be made" (*HANC REGINA CRVCEM FABRICARI GISILA IVSSIT*) and on the back "The devout queen Gisela provided the donation of this cross for the tomb of her mother Gisela" (*HANC CRVCE[M] GISILA DEVOTA REGINA AD TVMVLV[M] SVE MATRIS GISILE DONARE CVRAVIT*).[32] In short, that the Sancha González who "made" the Crucifix of San Salvador de Fuentes may have been a metalworker rather than a donor seems unthinkable in the absence of studies pursuing such lines of inquiry today. However, in order to advance scholarship we must begin to ask ourselves just this sort of question so that our assumptions are brought to the fore. Perhaps the conclusion may eventually rule out the possibility of female metalworkers in twelfth-century León-Castile,[33] but let us first ask the question!

Although the profile of medieval women artists has recently been raised as a result of Jeffrey Hamburger's influential studies,[34] scholarship seems generally disposed to raise its figurative hands in a gesture of impotence that asks, "what more can we really know?" So few named artists for the entire Middle Ages, and such a small percentage of them women: we appear to have reached a scholarly impasse. But this supposed impasse

[31] As is true for so much on this topic, Annemarie Weyl Carr was the first to bring this question to scholarly attention in "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages," pp. 13–14. On the all but untouched subject of women in the medieval building trades, see two recent studies: Shelley E. Roff, " 'Appropriate to Her Sex'? Women's Participation on the Construction Site in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 109–34; María Elena Díez Jorge, *Mujeres y arquitectura: mudéjares y cristianas en la construcción* (Granada, 2011).

[32] For a summary study with extensive prior bibliography, see S. Heym, "Cruz de la reina Gisela, Regensburg," in *Signum Salvtis*: *Cruces de orfebrería de los siglos V al XII*, ed. C. García de Castro Valdés (Oviedo, 2008), pp. 218–23.

[33] It should be noted, however, that Emilie Amt points to their existence during the same period in London, as evidenced by the writings of Alexander Neckham. See her *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (New York and London, 1993), pp. 197–98.

[34] Especially Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*. See also Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds. *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008).

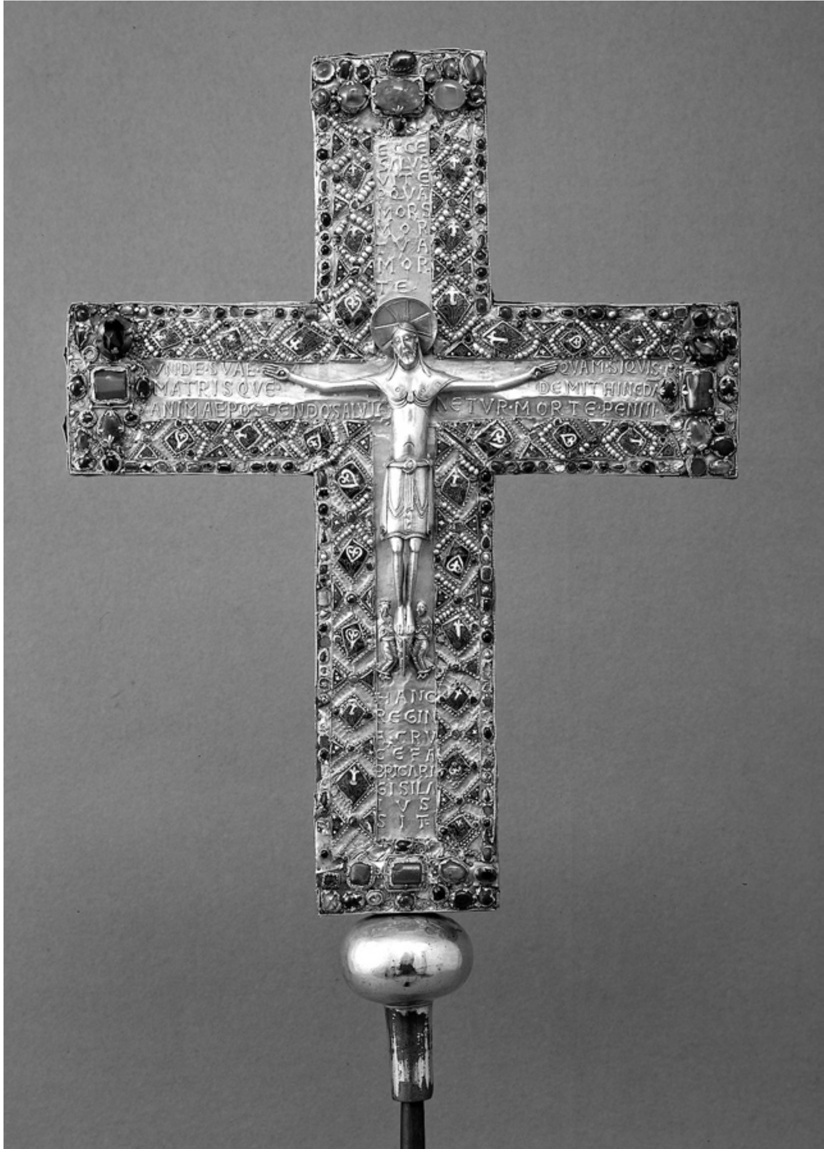

Figure 6a Crucifix of Queen Gisela of Hungary, before 1065 (Photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen).

Figure 6b Detail, Crucifix of Queen Gisela of Hungary, before 1065 (Photo: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen).

reveals the problematic assumption to which I have already referred: the tendency to think of art as made by a man, unless it can be proven otherwise. We extrapolate from the named examples and take for granted that the same small percentage applies to the unnamed,[35] but could not the reality have been just the opposite? Given that a woman generally occupied a lower position than her male counterpart, would she not, therefore, have been *even less* likely to record her name? Richard and Mary Rouse have shown this to be the case, for example, among married couples who both worked as manuscript illuminators.[36] The case of Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston, a couple active in Paris' flourishing book trade in the mid-fourteenth century, provides an ideal model for the study of medieval women's involvement in the artistic process. Despite the visual evidence provided by the representation of a male and female scribe/illuminator (Fig. 7), a dual self-portrait in the opinion of the Rouses, Jeanne did not appear in the written record before the death of her husband, after which she became head of their workshop.[37] No doubt other women worked alongside their husbands or fathers without ever figuring formally as members of the atelier.[38] We must consider the possibility that a higher percentage of unattributed works of art from the Middle Ages were made by women than is generally (and unquestioningly) assumed.

Here again, it is clear that we are looking at the issue through the distortions of our contemporary lens. We want biographies of great artists, even as we recognize that any name at all, male or female, is an anomaly in the Middle Ages. What is more, modern categories such as "minor" or "decorative" arts, for a medium like textiles that was often associated with women, condition us to think of even the great works that once decorated

[35] See the inspiring study by Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge, 2004).

[36] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "A 'Rose' by Any Other Name: Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston as Illuminators of Vernacular Texts," in *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout, 2000), vol. I, pp. 235–60.

[37] Rouse and Rouse, "A 'Rose' by Any Other Name," p. 237: "If Jeanne, not Richard, had died first, we should probably not know of her existence."

[38] On the question of workshops in homes, see Sara Rees Jones, "Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca and London, 2003), pp. 190–211, esp. 193, 211. Rather than looking at the ways in which "social conduct and mores affected the design of the buildings," she examines the evidence offered by the buildings themselves to "provide a fresh perspective on the debate as to how far gender norms were reproduced in women's and men's daily lives." She concludes, "Class was more important than gender in the design of the later medieval urban home."

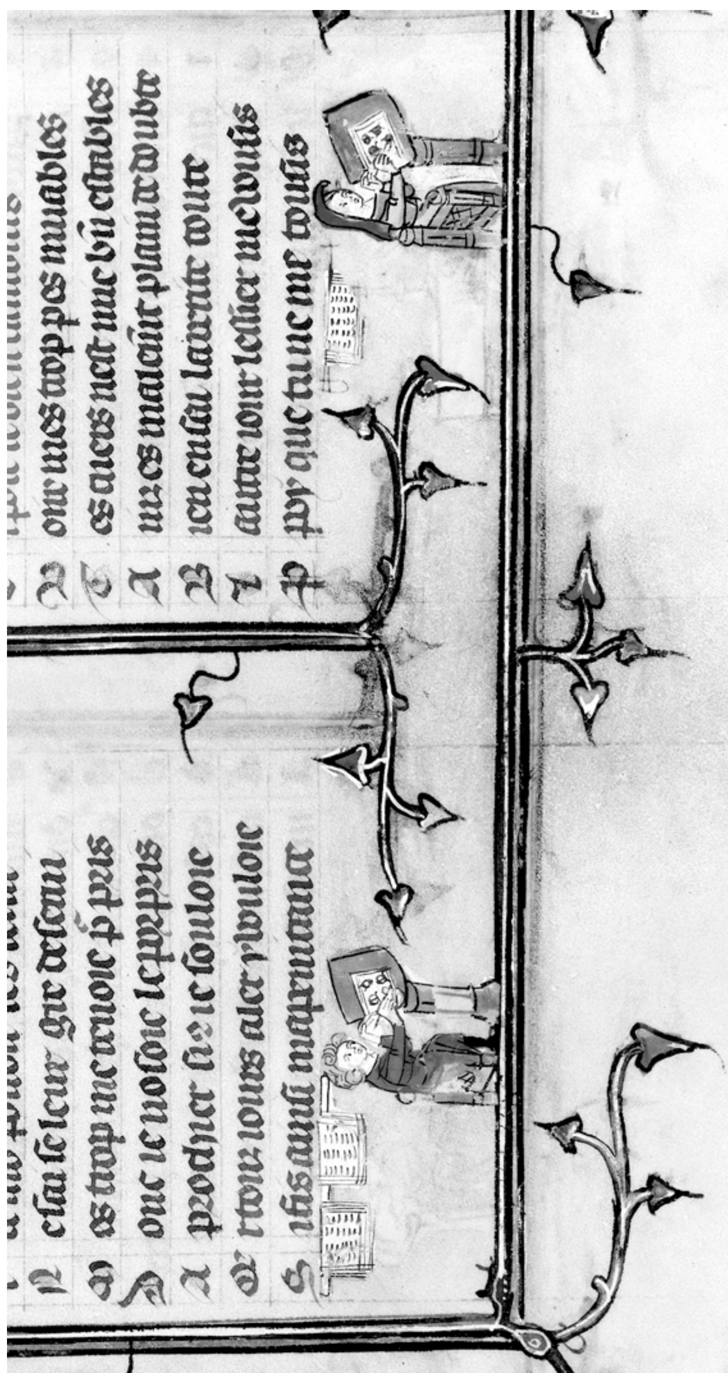

Figure 7 Illuminators at work (Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston?), *Roman de la Rose*, ca. 1350, BNF MS 25526, fol. 77r (Photo: Bibliothèque Nacional de France).

major public spaces as somehow secondary in significance, when in fact they were monumental.[39]

The Aims of the Present Volume

When I invited twenty-three scholars from ten countries to participate in a published volume and a work-in-progress conference in Madrid in 2010, I asked them all to address a series of questions that have not yet been generally considered in the history of medieval art and architecture. Many of my questions had been inspired by the research these scholars were already undertaking on an individual basis, and I wanted to see how the results would play out together by juxtaposing studies covering a wide chronological and geographical extension of the Middles Ages from specialists who range from a newly minted PhD to scholars of renown.[40] All contributors were charged with examining these interrelated issues through the lenses of their individual material. While not every essay necessarily answers each question, the participants were asked to keep them in mind in order to contribute to the cohesiveness of the volume, highlighting the common threads that carry through. They include the following:

* Is there anything "female" about works made by or for women?
* How can we approach the figure of the medieval woman as painter, sculptor, needle- or metalworker when we have archival evidence for her existence but no surviving work of art?
* Beyond documentary sources, what other evidence can be brought to bear in order to identify the active roles of women in the production of art and architecture?
* What do comparisons between objects or institutions that are characteristically male vs. female reveal?
* How can we address issues of collaborations between the sexes?
* Now that there is a large body of patronage studies, what questions are still left unanswered? What does a historiographical analysis reveal, and where is the field headed?

[39] The so-called Creation "Tapestry" at the Cathedral of Girona, an embroidery that originally measured approximately 4.8 × 5.4 m. (15.75 × 17.72 ft.), is now a still-impressive 3.58 × 4.5 m. (11.75 × 14.76 ft.). Its production ca. 1100 has recently been attributed to the female monastery of Sant Daniel de Girona by Manuel Castiñeiras, *El tapiz de la Creación* (Girona, 2011), pp. 85–91.

[40] They include twelve European scholars (from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom), ten from the United States (Kentucky, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, Wisconsin), and one from Israel. See the contributors' biographies for details about each.

* Did men's patronage differ from women's? Did secular women's patronage differ from that of nuns and abbesses?
* Do patterns of making shift over time?

The pursuit of these queries contributes to a series of research goals that include demonstrating the significance of women in the development of art and architecture during the Middle Ages; analyzing the diversity of roles women played at different levels of society, along with the influence of society on their artistic choices; and offering examples from across cultures, religions, chronologies, and geographies to shine a light on patterns of similarities while revealing significant divergences. The intention of this volume is to recognize, even embrace, ambiguities and contradictions rather than attempting to iron out differences. Here women's roles are the topics of case studies from which larger theoretical, methodological, and historiographical conclusions are drawn. We seek to analyze sources, explain approaches, and demonstrate how particular examples fit into broader issues, examining the questions that arise and how they have been treated, while indicating the room for disagreement. Given the relatively poor survival rate of written evidence regarding medieval art and architecture, the works themselves are treated here as a source of documentation. Such details as iconographic anomalies and stylistic similarities can help us "read" a work of art and theorize about the reasons behind its creation.[41] For each work of art or architecture that forms part of this volume, a thorough investigation of the discrete historical context has been carried out in order to assess how the piece or building fit into the greater goals of the "maker." Every work had a primary purpose, be it religious or secular, but it also functioned as part of an individual's overall strategic planning. In sum, our intent is not simply to insert women into all unattributed works of art from the Middle Ages, but to demonstrate how often women's involvement was integral to the process, whether together with or despite the participation of men.

With this volume, we have chosen to diverge from a traditional art historical investigation of just one region, religion, or moment in time. A long-established effect of our training, in which the hyper-specialization on ever more reduced questions seems to be required, the more customary narrow scholarly focus rejected here is also the logical result of the multiple languages needed to pursue historical inquiry across different

[41] Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas, eds., *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object* (Ann Arbor, 2002).

cultures. We hold that the study of women's roles in the production and consumption of medieval art and architecture can only be understood by fully appreciating its multiple facets and, therefore, a single field of investigation cannot provide a complete picture of this complex question. While this volume does not pretend to be a comprehensive examination of the matter for the entire Middle Ages, it does offer studies across a range of western traditions from Spain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Scandinavia, England, and Ireland, as well as the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The chronological spread moves from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, while the works studied are architecture, both permanent and ephemeral, textiles, sculpture, manuscripts, and panel painting. As such, the combination of scholars' expertise from different backgrounds is one of this volume's greatest strengths. Our intention is to fill a significant lacuna in today's state of the art by combining a range of capabilities in pursuance of a common goal.

To that end, the present volume seeks to break down the barriers that have led to secular and religious arts, and the works of different faiths, being studied separately, when their medieval uses were so often intertwined. Just as the aforementioned Eleanor Vase demonstrates, so a case of textiles from Iberia will confirm. The lid of a silver-gilt reliquary, made in the second half of the eleventh century to hold the bones of St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636), was lined with a gold and silk embroidery of Islamic manufacture (Figs. 8, 9).[42] Whether the cloth's association was as booty or as the most prestigious of materials, the fact that it was produced by Muslim (women's?) hands did not make it inappropriate for honoring this Christian scholar-saint.[43] Crossing from Islam to Judaism, rugs originally made for the performance of Muslim prayers were used to decorate

[42] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 7 (1932), pp. 205–12; *Art of Medieval Spain*, pp. 239–44; *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, vol. 1, pp. 228–29.

[43] Very little work has been done on the production of textiles by medieval Muslim women. For an overview, see Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1994), esp. Chpt. 7, "Women's Labour," pp. 347–68, and her "Women and Wage Labour in the Medieval Islamic West: Legal Issues in an Economic Context," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 39/4 (1997), pp. 1–33. Miriam Ali-de-Unzaga is currently pursuing research on this topic, and I am grateful to her for discussing her unpublished material with me. While medieval textiles were rarely signed, surviving documents, both written and material, indicate that this work was frequently associated with women across various cultures. For the Christian context, in addition to the many publications on Anglo-Saxon textiles by Gale Owen-Crocker, see, in the present volume, the various signed textiles studied by Stefanie Seeberg, and the documentary evidence provided in Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh's and Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg's chapters.

Figure 8 Reliquary of St. Isidore, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, ca. 1063 (Photo: Bruce White, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ permission: Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León).

Figure 9 Silk and gold embroidery, 11th c.?, lid of the Reliquary of St. Isidore, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (Photo: Bruce White, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art). See color plate 2.

medieval Iberian synagogues, as we learn from a fourteenth-century decree in which a rabbi forbad within Jewish places of worship the presence of rugs showing images of the Ka'ba, the most holy Islamic shrine in Mecca.[44] Eleazar Gutwirth has pointed to another rabbi's responsum that tells of one role Jewish women played in the decoration of synagogues: they had been donating their veils and jewels to honor the scrolls of the Torah, but the rabbi put a stop to their patronage.[45] This transgressive practice caused discomfort, particularly among the authorities who had emigrated from French lands to the Iberian Peninsula. They prohibited this type of offering because the precious items, now possibly sacralized, might go back to use by women:

> They are embellished with women's jewelry. What is more, they are embellished with the jewels that women may have used to adorn themselves during their ritual impurity. It is not correct to place this [bejeweled veil] on the Torah. It is shameful for it to be placed later on women, because in questions of sanctity we ascend and we do not descend . . . . Praised be the Lord, I have succeeded in abolishing this custom where I was during the Festival of Tabernacles in the year 1204.[46]

Backed up by such documentation that informs us of the changing trends of patronage, this volume brings together scholarship on the works of various cultures, addressing the study of medieval art by exploring different interrelated research areas. It involves a range of approaches and methodologies, including feminist, social- and cultural-historical, archaeological, iconographic, hagiographic, and historiographic, in order to explore the multiple ramifications of women's participation in the artistic/architectural process throughout the course of the Middle Ages. Although most of the chapters address art or buildings created within a Christian framework, as this accounts for the majority of the surviving visual culture from medieval Europe, this volume includes as well studies of secular pieces, Islamic art and architecture, pre-Christian Scandinavian rune stones, and Jewish manuscripts.[47] Just as these various elements of society were

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[44] Vivian B. Mann, Jerrilyn D. Dodds, and Thomas F. Glick, *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, The Jewish Museum exh. cat. (New York, 1992), p. 247; Vivian B. Mann, *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 46–51.

[45] Eleazar Gutwirth, "*Quilusin*: el mecenazgo femenino medieval," in *La mujer judía*, ed. Yolanda Moreno Koch (Córdoba, 2007), pp. 107–28.

[46] Gutwirth, "*Quilusin*: el mecenazgo femenino medieval," pp. 116–17.

[47] What it does not include, however, is Byzantium, in part because excellent work has recently been done on the topic of patronage in Byzantine lands (see, for example, the forthcoming issue of the *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, guest-edited by Margaret

inextricably interrelated in the Middle Ages, whether through trade, warfare, or works of art, in order to understand them today we must examine them as part of a greater overall milieu.

With the present volume, therefore, our goal is to demonstrate that a range of cohesive studies is of interest not just for scholars investigating a particular time and place but because, from this range, synthetic conclusions can be drawn for the question as a whole. For this reason, instead of hewing to a more traditional organization by chronology or region, the twenty-three studies are here organized within six thematic groupings. In this way, we hope that the structure of this volume will encourage readers to recognize the parallels among seemingly disparate topics and to follow the threads running throughout the writings.

Thematic Divisions

In conceiving the themes within which to group the studies in this volume, I sought an evocative expression of the ideas inherent in the various contributions, often in apparent contradiction, until, that is, we see them played out together. The fact that the articles could be included within several of the divisions is an indication of the commonalities that bind them all together. Thus, the opening section dedicated to *Display and Concealment* ties together four studies centering on the contrasting concepts of the hidden and the spectacle, often both in the same piece. It begins with a study by Melissa Katz, in which she debunks the idea that Gothic shrines of the Virgin Mary, whose bodies open to reveal narrative imagery within, were made exclusively for women. Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh draws on law tracts to argue that early medieval Irish embroidery had equivalent high status for women as manuscript-making did for men. Ellen Shortell reveals how modern restorations and assumptions have occluded the significant place of women in the creation of the French Gothic church of Saint-Quentin. Nicola Coldstream takes on the ambitious task of analyzing

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Mullett, Michael Grünbart, and Lioba Theis, in which the papers presented at the 2008 conference, "Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond," will be published) and in part because the issues do not always overlap with those of the West. One telling difference was noted by Liz James in her superb "Introduction: Women's Studies, Gender Studies, Byzantine Studies," to the volume she edited, *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* (London, 1997), p. xvii: "There is no evidence for any female artist in Byzantium; there is no evidence for any named male artist until the tenth century." James does an excellent job of tracing the historiography of feminist art history while pointing out avenues for further research in Byzantine issues.

women's participation, from actors to honorands, in English pageants, offering an innovative assessment of the significance of ephemeral architecture built for the occasion.

Following the first group is *Ownership and Community*, in which the individual is juxtaposed with her social group so that each provides meaning for the other. Alexandra Gajewski reconsiders the historiography of patronage itself as she re-examines the architectural significance of three French Gothic churches and their sponsorship by Blanche of Castile. For the early and central Middle Ages, Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg uses hagiographic sources to reveal the historical reality of women's involvement with church building. Rachel Moss makes the case for the consequential nature of noble women's patronage, especially secular, in late medieval Ireland. Centering on one individual, Eileen McKiernan González analyzes a singular, fourteenth-century tomb at a Catalán monastery in order to explicate the dowager queen's intentions for two distinct viewing publics.

Under the rubric of *Collaboration and Authorship*, the underlying issues within the concept of "authority" play out in the context of multiple authors. Stefanie Seeberg examines elaborate embroidered altarcloths made by and for German nuns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pierre Alain Mariaux extracts the deeper meanings inherent within the portraits and signatures of artists of both genders across the central Middle Ages. Jaroslav Folda investigates the practices of patronage by Melisende of Jerusalem, a Crusader queen who reigned in her own right in the twelfth century, along with the art produced for her. In an in-depth historiographic approach, María Elena Díez Jorge examines seven centuries of writings on Andalusi architecture in order to demonstrate the overlooked participation of women at all levels.

The next group, *Family and Audience*, breaks down the perception that public and private were mutually exclusive. It begins with Katrin Kogman-Appel's analysis of prayer books and their implications for the literacy of Jewish women in the later Middle Ages throughout the realms of Europe. Loveday Lewes Gee tracks the pattern of English women's patronage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to discern their particular priorities, noting the significant changes especially in representations on seals. For the art and architecture of early Islamic Córdoba, Glaire Anderson draws attention to the unexpected power of concubines and eunuchs. Miriam Shadis examines the multi-faceted patronage of the first queens of Portugal, where rulership and nation-building overlap with church-building.

The volume continues with *Piety and Power*, in which creations of a spiritual or religious nature contribute to the earthly power of the owner. Jane Carroll reflects on the meanings of a fifteenth-century German illuminated manuscript made by, for, and about women within the Dominican reform movement. Annie Renoux pulls together the scant surviving documentary and archaeological evidence to discuss elite women and their architecture in early medieval northern France. The unusual imagery in a group of Italian manuscripts provides evidence for Loretta Vandi's conclusion that they were made in a twelfth-century women's monastery. Mickey Abel draws on the retrospective emotional depiction of a French countess to discuss her dual role as patron and peace-weaver in the central Middle Ages.

Finally, we conclude with a section dedicated to *Memory and Motherhood*, two areas traditionally associated with women, yet here the contributions highlight aspects of the topics that have received little attention until now. Nancy Wicker's study of early medieval Scandinavian women opens up new perspectives for both patrons and artists. Ana Maria Rodrigues traces the little-known commissions, collections, and donations of four related medieval queens across the Iberian Peninsula from Portugal to Cataluña in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Closing the book, Felipe Pereda reveals the interweaving of liturgy with artistic settings for the funerary rituals that were minutely designed by two late medieval Spanish noblewomen.

Preliminary Conclusions

The studies in this volume allow us to draw some preliminary conclusions about the central position of art and architecture within the strategies of medieval women, particularly as they interacted with men. Both artist and patron should be understood as performing acts of creation. As such, conceiving, founding, paying for, and fabricating a work of art or architecture were all recognized in the Middle Ages as something that today we would equate with creativity.[48] This act, therefore, conferred authority in two

[48] The idea of creativity for Christian artists in the Middle Ages, as made explicit by the German monk Theophilus (ca. 1125), reflected God's creation of humanity and thus its recreation by skilled workers: "In the account of the creation of the world, we read that man was created in the image and likeness of God and was animated by the Divine breath, breathed into him. By the eminence of such distinction, he was placed above the other living creatures . . . whoever will contribute both care and concern is able to attain

senses: first, it was a clear exercise of power, such as has been noted in the historiography. But beyond this, a second meaning that has not yet been thoroughly explored is also inherent in the word "authority:" that is, the maker, in all senses addressed here, as "author" of the work.

Who, then, should be credited with the responsibility for a medieval construction or object, the person who got it underway or the one who carried it out? And for a Christian work, where do we place the probable cleric or councilor who would have designed the iconography appropriate to its ornamentation? This volume seeks to demonstrate that the very intent to separate these participants is wrongheaded; in fact, it has kept the study of medieval women's involvement in art from advancing. Rather, it must be recognized that the collaboration itself was an essential aspect of the medieval artistic process. Perhaps such a vital degree of integration has always been part of art production, but it is especially present in contemporary conceptual art, in which, to give but one example, Jeff Koons' "*Puppy*" (1992, now poised before the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao) could not exist without the patron who commissioned it, the artist who conceived it, and the laborers who built the framework and maintain the flowers (Fig. 10). When Koons was asked during an interview in June 2009 about the role of the 120 women and men who make up his workshop and produce his art, he answered, "I'm the artist, absolutely, but the collaborative aspect, the sense of community, is important to me. But these are my visions."[49] As we observe the deep-rooted contradiction in the words of a contemporary artist—the only one who signs the work and thus the only one whose name will be remembered, despite the essential participation of his collaborators—this should spur us to distinguish a similar, if slightly less exclusionary, pattern for the art and architecture of the Middle Ages, when patron and artist could declare her/himself the maker of the piece, leaving other participants unrecorded. Embodied in Koons' statement is the concept of the great artist that arose during the Renaissance: he alone is the maker. During the Middles Ages, although the laborers were also overlooked, the indispensable input of the patron was not.

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a capacity for all arts and skills, as if by hereditary right . . . Wherefore, dearest son, . . . be eager and anxious to look at this little work on the various arts, read it through with a retentive memory, and cherish it with a warm affection." Theophilus: *De Diversis Artibus*, ed. and trans. C.R. Dodwell (New York, 1961), pp. 14–16.

[49] Tim Teeman, "From Popeye to Puppies: Jeff Koons Explains His Love of Outrageous Art," *Times Online*, 13 June 2009 (accessed 8 Nov. 2009).

Figure 10 *Puppy*, Jeff Koons, 1992 and 1997 (Photo: Guggenheim Bilbao).

This example points to a fundamental aim of the present volume, which is to deepen our understanding of the functions and meanings of medieval art and architecture in order to contribute to the broader social and political history of the period and to underline its relevance to the present. An appreciation of women's active roles even within the constrained circumstances of the medieval past can contribute to dispelling the passive acceptance of women's secondary status in the present. When one takes for granted that "things have always been this way," it is hard to see that anything else is even possible. The realization, however, that our view of women's participation in the artistic process during the Middle Ages has been formed by post-Renaissance attitudes may make it easier to visualize a new tack for the future. In this way, what may seem to be an abstruse scholarly exercise can contribute to the goal of reducing current gender inequalities, and thus a study based on medieval art history can have a surprising degree of social relevance in the modern world.

This collection of essays aspires to be a tool in the labor of laying to rest the idea that medieval women who made, commissioned, or owned art were exceptional because of their gender. In fact, they may have been exceptions in terms of wealth or class, but not just as women. It should become obvious that so many recorded women's names demonstrate their involvement at all levels, with the further implication that many unnamed artworks can also be associated with women. If the gender of the maker (artist/patron/owner) of certain works of art cannot always be definitively demonstrated, our objective here is to change the mindset that currently assigns agency nearly exclusively to men. The roles played by both women and men ought to be automatically considered by all scholars studying the Middle Ages, rather than "women's issues" being studied separately, and overwhelmingly by women. What the participants in this volume seek, therefore, is nothing less than a paradigm shift in the very way we approach medieval art and architecture: it must no longer be assumed that Anonymous was a man.

PART ONE

DISPLAY AND CONCEALMENT

CHAPTER TWO

THE NON-GENDERED APPEAL OF *VIERGE OUVRANTE* SCULPTURE: AUDIENCE, PATRONAGE, AND PURPOSE IN MEDIEVAL IBERIA

Melissa R. Katz

Introduction

Mark Twain, a self-professed innocent abroad, fumed at the perceived perversities of the German language when asking how it was that in German a young lady had no sex, while a turnip had.[1] Many native speakers of languages that do not employ gendered structures have shared his exasperation when confronted with languages that do. They find themselves challenged not only by the need to master new grammatical forms, but also by the seemingly illogical assignment of gender norms. Never do the categories *male* and *female* seem so perplexing as when applied to raw nouns and verbs. Syntax, they find, seems indifferent to the strategies used to distinguish between masculine and feminine elements in other facets of life. This holds true whether gender distinctions are applied instinctively by people who simply "know" the difference (they assure us) without knowing why, or by scholars who train themselves to look beyond the culturally inflected elements that cloud our innate understanding of gender.

It is thanks to these impassioned scholars and their dispassionate research that gender studies thrives as a discipline, able to rise above the limits of ingrained behavior and social inculcation.[2] When applied

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[1] Mark Twain, "The Awful German Language," *A Tramp Abroad*, appendix D (1880, rprt. New York, 1997), p. 394.

[2] A brief outline of the academic discourse includes Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory," *Signs*, 7/3 (1982), pp. 515–44; Luce Irigaray, *Ethique de la différence sexuelle* (Paris, 1984); bell hooks, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (Boston, 1984); Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review*, 91/5 (1986), pp. 1053–75; E.M. Denise Riley, *"Am I that Name?": Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (Minneapolis, 1988); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990); Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory* (New York, 1997).

Medieval contributions to gender studies include Susan Mosher Stuard, ed., *Women in Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1976); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies*

historically and art historically, the field has brought awareness to the activities of both sexes that defy narrow definitions of male and female behavior, and has taught us to look beyond formal categories in making meaning of historic events.[3] Women's agency, whether exercised traditionally or indirectly, via identifiable positions of power or non-compliant evasions of authority, is no longer dismissed or taken for granted, resulting in a more nuanced understanding of the power, patronage, and authority exercised by medieval women and men.[4] From the collective work of these founding foremothers and -fathers, we have gained a nuanced and expanded sense of the role of gender and audience in determining the

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in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley, 1982); Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston, 1985); Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA, 1988); Judith M. Bennett, "Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide," in *Culture and History, 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities, and Writing*, ed. David Aers (London/Detroit, 1992), pp. 147–75; David Herlihy, *Women, Family, and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays 1978–1991*, ed. Anthony Molho (Providence, RI, 1995); Jacqueline Murray, "Thinking About Gender: The Diversity of Medieval Perspectives," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. Jennifer Carpenter, Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana, IL, 1995), pp. 1–26; *Gendering the Middle Ages*, eds. Pauline Stafford, Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Oxford, 2001); *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality, and Sight in Medieval Text and Image*, eds. Emma Campbell, Robert Mills (New York, 2004); Madeline H. Caviness, "Feminism, Gender Studies, and Medieval Studies," *Diogenes*, 225 (February 2010), pp. 30–45.

[3] Authors who brought gender studies to art history include Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," *Art News* 69 (January 1971), pp. 22–39, 67–71, rprt. in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*, ed. Linda Nochlin (New York, 1988), pp. 145–78; Lucy Lippard, *From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art* (New York, 1976); Naomi Schor, *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine* (New York, 1987); Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London, 1988); Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London/New York, 1986); Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (London, 1981). The discourse has happily entered the realm of the introductory survey course via texts such as Marilyn Stokstad, *Art History* (London/New York, 1st ed. 1995).

[4] See, for example, Claire Richter Sherman, "Taking a Second Look: Observations on the Iconography of a French Queen, Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–1378)," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude, Mary D. Garrard (New York, 1982), pp. 101–17; Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, GA, 1983); Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 105–54; Janet L. Nelson, "Medieval Queenship," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. Linda E. Mitchell (New York, 1999), pp. 179–207; Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, "A New Economy of Power Relations: Female Agency in the Middle Ages," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), pp. 1–16; Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006); Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York, 2009).

nature and use of devotional images in western Christendom.[5] As such, my essay and the others in the present volume respond to a timely call to rethink these gender-based approaches to medieval art, to assess what has been learned over the past decades, and to retool our methodologies for the next stage of informed analysis.

Our attention to gender as a lens through which to view the production of medieval art has had the consequence of causing certain works of art to be regarded as inherently gendered. Devotional objects frequently fall into this category, for example, thanks to the rich scholarship on female monastic devotion. Jeffrey Hamburger's skillful mining of the abundant archival record left by cloistered women (compared to the slim testimony handed down by their secular compatriots) contributes to this impression, as does Caroline Walker Bynum's compelling exegesis of the evocative writings of women mystics, making monastic affiliation a natural corollary of gender when considering audiences.[6] Visual evidence reinforces discerning scholarship, as gender, devotion, and the cloister converge in medieval images of contemporary women such as Hedwig of Silesia (1174–1243), herself a foundress and architectural patron, whose saintly attribute is a devotional sculpture of the Virgin and Child clutched

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[5] Notable works include Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance H. Buchanan, and Margaret R. Miles, eds., *Immaculate & Powerful: The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality* (Boston, 1985); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 161–82, rprt. in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998), pp. 111–48; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (New York, 1989); and Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, 2001). The state of the field is summarized in Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Gender and Medieval Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, 2006), pp. 128–50, with the Iberian Peninsula omitted from her otherwise laudable survey.

[6] For Hamburger, see "The Visual and the Visionary;" *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997); " 'To make women weep': Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res*, 31 (1997), pp. 9–33. For Bynum, see *Jesus as Mother*; *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987); *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991). Subsequent scholars to make extensive use of such sources include Ulrike Wiethaus, ed., *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics* (Syracuse, 1993); Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995); Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, c. 500–1100* (Chicago, 1998); Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein, eds., *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little* (Ithaca, 2000); Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, Sarah Salih, eds., *Medieval Virginities* (Toronto, 2003); Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power*; Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz, eds., *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 2008).

to her chest (Fig. 1).[7] Yet, is it helpful or limiting to approach devotional art as a specifically gendered category?

I argue against such an approach in this paper, through a discussion of *Vierge ouvrante* sculptures, a genre of devotional art whose appearance, audience, and spirituality *seem* intended for women viewers, and whose meaning scholars have approached through the lens of female devotional and emotional experience. Using case studies of four thirteenth-century works from the Iberian Peninsula, counterbalanced by a consideration of trans-Pyrenean examples from Maubuisson and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I weigh such attitudes against the historical record, noting instances in which the current consensus on women's roles in shaping devotional art is sustained by the evidence, and ways in which it is counteracted. What emerges is a picture of a sculptural genre suited not to any particular gender, audience, or devotional setting, but rather to none in particular and all simultaneously, an outcome that is, I argue, of greater complexity and broader cultural significance than previously acknowledged.

Defining Genres

Let us begin with a reappraisal of *Vierge ouvrante* sculptures, revising the picture formed in earlier literature of limited accuracy, as a prelude to analyzing these sculptures as examples of gendered devotional art.[8] *Vierges*

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[7] On St. Hedwig, see Daria Barow-Vassilevitch, *Die heilige Herzogin: das Leben der Hedwig von Schlesien* (Würzburg, 2007). The devotional statue which functions as Hedwig's attribute may be seen in a Silesian *Vita beatae Hedwigis* of 1353, now housed in the Getty Museum as from the court workshop of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, *Saint Hedwig of Silesia with Duke Ludwig of Legnica and Brieg and Duchess Agnés*, 1353, tempera colors, colored washes, and ink on parchment, 34.1 × 24.8 cm (13 7/16 in. × 9 ¾ in.), The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms Ludwig XI, 7, fol. 12v. See Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., *Der Hedwigs-Codex von 1353: Sammlung Ludwig* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1972); Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art & History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2010), pp. 203–40.

[8] The scholarly literature on Triptych Virgins/*Vierges ouvrantes*, or *Schreinmadonnen* as they are known in the German literature that predominates in this field, is summarized in Gudrun Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna "Vierge ouvrante": von den bernhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschordensland: mit beschreibendem Katalog* (Frankfurt, 1990). Radler summarizes the work of her predecessors: Jean Sarrète, *Vierges ouvertes, Vierges ouvrantes et la Vierge ouvrante de Palau-del-Vidre: Iconographie mariale* (Lézignan [Aude], 1912); Walter Fries, "Die Schreinmadonna," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1928–29), pp. 5–69; Manuel Trens i Ribas, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*

Figure 1 Court workshop of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, detail of *Saint Hedwig of Silesia with Duke Ludwig of Legnica and Brieg and Duchess Agnés*, 1353 (Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig XI 7, fol. 12v).

ouvrantes or Triptych Virgins, as I prefer to call them in English, are carved statues of the Virgin Mary designed on the exterior to resemble familiar cult figures, yet fabricated with a frontal division and hinged flanks that allow the sculpture to be opened, in order to display additional religious imagery incorporated within the body cavity.[9] The interior scenes can take a variety of formats, which can be broken down into two primary groups, interiors with Narrative motifs (Figs. 2a, b; Color Plate 3), and interiors with Trinity motifs (Figs. 3a, b). Trinity motifs predominate numerically, but the narrative interiors were the more popular form for the *Vierges ouvrantes* or *Vírgenes abrideras* produced on the Iberian Peninsula.[10]

The difference between interior motifs led many early scholars to neglect narrative interiors in their studies, and the Iberian corpus in general, casting it as an aberrant branch of an otherwise coherent art form.[11] As we shall

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(Madrid, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 481–524; Alfred A. Schmid, "Die Schreinmadonna von Cheyres," in *Lebendiges Mittelalter: Festgabe für Wolfgang Stammler* (Freiburg, 1958), pp. 130–62.

[9] Literature published since Radler's dissertation includes Marius Rimmele, "Die Schreinmadonna: Bild–Körper–Matrix," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek (Munich, 2006), pp. 41–59; Elina Gertsman, "Performing Birth, Enacting Death: Unstable Bodies in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Aldershot/Burlington, 2008), pp. 83–104; Irene González Hernando, "Estudio de las vírgenes abrideras tríptico: Desarrollo en la Baja Edad Media y proyección en los siglos posteriores," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008. By Melissa R. Katz, see "Behind Closed Doors: Distributed Bodies, Hidden Interiors, and Corporeal Erasure in *Vierge ouvrante* Sculpture," *Res: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009), pp. 194–221; "Interior Motives: The *Vierge ouvrante*/Triptych Virgin in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia," Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 2010; "Marian Motion: Opening the Body of the *Vierge ouvrante*," in *Meaning in Motion: The Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art*, eds. Nino Zchomelidse, Giovanni Freni (Princeton, 2011), pp. 63–91. My new coinage, Triptych Virgins, derives from the Spanish term, *Virgen tríptica*, introduced by Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen*, p. 497.

[10] Of the 78 sculptures surveyed in my dissertation, 47 have Trinity interiors and 31 have narrative interiors, but 11 of the narrative interiors are found in works that date from the 19th-century revival of the genre. Nearly two-thirds of the Trinitarian interiors have been modified, one-quarter by having the *Gnadenstuhl*/Throne of Mercy completely removed, and the rest by altering the corpus and/or crucifix. For medieval and early modern (authentic) *Vierges ouvrantes*, 45 have Trinity motifs in their interiors and 21 have narratives. The revival's preference for narrative motifs has influenced public attitudes to the extent that when the sculpture formerly in the parish church of Marly, Switzerland was transferred at mid 20th century to the Musée d'art et d'histoire in nearby Fribourg, a replica was made for the church, but at the parishioners' request, the *Gnadenstuhl* found in the original interior was replaced with an invented program of 6 painted narrative scenes.

[11] Save for Sarrète, "Vierges ouverts, vierges ouvrantes," and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, previous authors give only minimal attention to the Iberian corpus. In fairness, it must be noted that the early Hispanists largely ignore non-narrative sculptures produced outside the Iberian Peninsula: José Villaamil y Castro, "Virgen abridera de marfil conservada por las Clarisas de Allariz," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 7 (1899), parts 1–3, pp. 83–86, 108–11, rprt. in *Mobiliario Litúrgico de las Iglesias Gallegas en la Edad*

Figure 2a *Virxe abrideira* of Allariz, 1260s–1270s, Real Monasterio de Santa Clara, Allariz (Ourense), Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz).

Figure 2b *Virxe abrideira* of Allariz, 1260s–1270s, Real Monasterio de Santa Clara, Allariz (Ourense), Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz). See color plate 3.

Figure 3a *Madonna Scrigno* of Antagnod (Valle d'Aosta), mid-14th c., Parish Church of San Martino, Antagnod (Ayas), Italy (Photo: P. Robino, Archivi dell' Assessorato Istruzione e Cultura della Regione autonoma Valle d'Aosta – fondo Servizio catalogo e beni architettonici. Courtesy of the Autonomous Region of Valle d'Aosta).

see, however, diversity rather than conformity is a hallmark of *Vierge ouvrante* sculpture throughout Europe, and efforts to subdivide them by national schools, material properties, and iconographical types are counterproductive to the goal of accurately assessing the genre. Returning the Iberian corpus to the broader discussion of these sculptures is critical if meaningful conclusions are to be derived from their study, for rather than

Media (Madrid, 1907), pp. 135–46; Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen*. Corine Schleif, "Die Schreinmadonna im Diözesanmuseum zu Limburg: Ein verfemtes Bildwerk des Mittelalters," *Naussische Annalen*, 95 (1984), pp. 39–54, was the first to question the utility of the "evolutionary" emphasis of the formalist methodology and note its consequential neglect of the narrative corpus, although she did not pursue this fruitful line of inquiry.

Figure 3b *Madonna Scrigno* of Antagnod (Valle d'Aosta), mid-14th c., Parish Church of San Martino, Antagnod (Ayas), Italy (Photo: P. Robino, Archivi dell' Assessorato Istruzione e Cultura della Regione autonoma Valle d'Aosta – fondo Servizio catalogo e beni architettonici. Courtesy of the Autonomous Region of Valle d'Aosta).

constituting an aberration, the *Vírgenes trípticas* of medieval Castile-León represent the starting point of a dynamic devotional form that arose in the mid-thirteenth century and whose influences continue to be strongly felt.[12]

[12] Points concerning their origins are outlined below. As for the contemporary view, Triptych Virgins are enjoying a revival of interest not only among art historians but also

Vierges ouvrantes are uncommon today, and perhaps were in the Middle Ages as well, although their appeal seems extensive. At present, I know of seventy-eight such sculptures, of which forty-four were catalogued and published in the last monograph on the genre in 1990.[13] Although few in number, these sculptures are widely dispersed across Europe, from Scandinavia north of the Arctic Circle to southern Portugal, and western Brittany east to the Polish-Lithuanian border; examples have recently come to light in the Americas as well.[14] Carved primarily in French, German, and Spanish workshops, they range in date from the thirteenth through seventeenth centuries, with a revival in the nineteenth century (some made in homage to an earlier art form, some as deliberate forgeries).[15] This indicates that while the sculptural type never gained widespread popularity, neither was it confined to a narrow region or period, as once thought. Although considered a medieval art form, their lifespan transcends this category, and many Triptych Virgins remain in devotional use today, often in remote areas where the wider art public has yet to come across them, as attested

among literary historians and scholars of women's studies: Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (Princeton, 1963); Julia Bolton Holloway, "Julian of Norwich, Her *Showings of Love* and its Contexts," in *Equally in God's Image: Women and the Middle Ages*, eds. Julia Bolton Holloway, Constance S. Wright, Joan Bechtold (New York/Bern, 1990), pp. 58–87; Denise L. Despres, "Cultic Anti-Judaism and Chaucer's Litel Clergeon," *Modern Philology,* 91/4 (May 1994), pp. 413–27; Jérôme Baschet, "Inventivité et sérialité des images médiévales: Pour une approche iconographique élargie," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 51/1 (1996), pp. 99–133; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 297, 345. Artists have also found them a fruitful avenue of expression: Pam Day, "Vierge Ouvrante," solo exhibition at London's Tram Depot Gallery, 1995; Katherine Wells, *La Guadalupana* (1996) and *Our Lady of the Millennium* (1996), in Kay Turner, *Beautiful Necessity: The Art and Meaning of Women's Altars* (New York, 1999) p. 163; Léa Sham, "Trois Vierges," exhibition at the Musée de l'Évêché in Limoges, November 2007; and Eilean Ní Chuilleanáin, "Vierge Ouvrante," *The Brazen Serpent* (Winston-Salem, NC, 1995), pp. 36–37, rprt. in *The Wake Forest Book of Irish Women's Poetry: 1967–2000*, ed. Peggy O'Brien (Winston-Salem, NC, 1999).

[13] Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, provides the most comprehensive study currently in print. Her chronology is questionable, but her catalogue and bibliography are thorough.

[14] My expanded corpus of *Vierges ouvrantes* includes previously unrecorded works I have traced in France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Finland, Austria, Germany, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, and the United States. See Katz, "Interior Motives."

[15] Curators acknowledge as forgeries works currently in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, Paris; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons; Musée des Antiquités, Rouen; Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indiana. The Walters Art Museum of Baltimore maintains that its *Vierge ouvrante*, which closely resembles the French forgeries and probably was the prototype on which the other three were based, is authentic, despite stylistic and iconographic problems, based on dating of one of the four ivory pieces that compose the work. While the analysis dates the tusk, it does not resolve the question of when the piece was carved, probably in one of the many late 18th- and 19th-century Paris and Dieppe workshops that produced ivory replicas and curios for eager collectors and less than scrupulous dealers. Opening figurines recently offered for sale in Mexico City, Cologne, and London are accepted as neo-medieval products of such workshops.

by recent discoveries of previously unknown works preserved in Alsace-Lorraine, the Belgian Ardennes, northern Italy, and the Peruvian Andes (Figs 3a,b; 7a,b).[16]

These are not large figures—they range in height from ten inches to five feet tall (25 to 150 cm), with the majority being a modest twenty-five inches (65 cm) or so high—and they are made primarily of polychromed wood, save for the earliest examples, which are ivory.[17] Curiously, ivory was also the material of choice for the neo-medieval forgeries introduced onto the market after the French Revolution.[18] As noted, interior motifs take one of two forms, either Narrative or Trinitarian. Two-thirds of all Triptych Virgins part at the center to reveal a single statue of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit inserted into the hollowed shell of the Virgin's body in the vertical format known as a Throne of Grace or Mercy-seat Trinity (Fig. 3b).[19] Frequently, these interiors have been "sanitized," with the corpus or entire crucifix and the dove intentionally removed to appease critics who, interpreting the statues literally, complained that Mary had no right to enclose the entire Trinity, as only its second member, Jesus, had ever inhabited her body (Figs. 4a, b; 7a, b). Occasionally these

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[16] See Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, add. pp. 365–66; Raúl Hernán Mancilla Mantilla and Rigoberto López, "La encarnación del amor y el dolor mariano," *Caribdis: Revista de Cultura y Literatura*, 1/1 (1998), pp. 12–17; Rosella Obert and Alina Piazza, "Notre-Dame d'Antagnod, une *Vierge Ouvrante*," *Lo Flambò*, 195 (2005), pp. 64–88; Viviana Maria Vallet, *Antologia di restauri. Arte in Valle d'Aosta tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Elena Rossetti Brezzi (Quart, 2007), no. 1, pp. 20–23. The Belgian work, in the Musée ducal of Bouillon, is unpublished. In "Interior Motives," I discuss 20 works of Iberian origin, only 7 of which were known at the time of Radler's publication.

[17] The earliest authentic works were produced on the Iberian Peninsula and date from the 1260s to 1300. These are the ivory Virgins now in the convent of Santa Clara de Allariz (Ourense), Spain and the cathedral of Évora, Portugal, and the ivory and wood Virgin of Salamanca Cathedral, Spain—the only authentic *Vierge ouvrante* to be made of mixed media. I do not accept as authentic the highly problematic work said to come from the convent of Boubon, France, which the Walters Art Museum dates to the 12th century, but which most experts date to the late 18th century. No *Vierges ouvrantes* were produced prior to the mid-13th century, but early art historians including Didron, "Les images ouvrantes," p. 414 (misinterpreting Hugh of Poitier's report of the fire at Vézelay as referring to a *Vierge ouvrante*) erroneously believed the genre arose a century earlier, which explains why the maker of the Walters/Boubon piece chose to fashion it in an anachronistic style.

[18] On the flourishing trade in ivory forgeries, see Jaap Leeuwenberg, "Early Nineteenth-Century Gothic Ivories," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 39 (1969), pp. 111–48; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Faux ivoires des collections publiques," *Revue de l'Art*, 21 (1973), pp. 94–101; Louis Grodecki, "Introduction," *Le "Gothique" retrouvé: avant Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris, 1979), pp. 12–15; Margarita Estella Marcos, "Los historicismos y sus consecuencias para el arte del siglo XX en el campo de la escultura: 'copias, réplicas y falsos'," in *El arte español del siglo XX: su perspectiva al final del milenio*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo (Madrid, 2001), pp. 125–44. On specific ivory forgeries, see n. 47 below.

[19] See n. 10 above. The German word *Gnadenstuhl* (pl. *Gnadenstühle*) is also used to describe these representations of the Trinity.

Figure 4a *Schreinmadonna*, ca. 1330, SMB, Berlin, Germany (Photo: © bpk/Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Antje Voigt).

Figure 4b *Schreinmadonna*, ca. 1330, SMB, Berlin, Germany (Photo: © bpk/ Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Antje Voigt).

altered interior figures have been described as statues of Jesus, but this is not correct. Their flattened upturned hands, slotted to support the now-absent crucifixes, confirm that only free-standing *Gnadenstühle* Trinities were enclosed within the hollowed body of the Virgin, and never figures of Jesus alone or of other saints.[20]

A common misconception is that Triptych Virgins were actively suppressed by the medieval church after Jean Gerson—the Parisian university chancellor notably hostile to innovative imagery—called attention to this potential confusion in a 1402 sermon that denounced, "images like this one that have the Trinity in their abdomen, as if the entire Trinity assumed flesh in the Virgin."[21] Yet *Vierges ouvrantes* were neither deemed heretical in the fifteenth century nor banned after the Council of Trent.[22]

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[20] The interior motif has been incorrectly interpreted as Jesus by Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976), fig. 6; Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, p. 394; Simon Coleman, "Mary: Images and Objects," in *Mary: The Complete Resource*, ed. Sarah Jane Boss (Oxford, 2007), p. 397. A distinct genre of sculptures that depicts *Maria Gravida* with the infant Jesus in her womb is not to be confused with *Vierges ouvrantes*, for reasons that I outline in "Behind Closed Doors," pp. 212–15; on these intriguing sculptures, see Gregor Martin Lechner, *Maria Gravida. Zum Schwangerschaftsmotiv in der bildenden Kunst* (Zurich, 1981); Jacqueline E. Jung, "Crystalline Wombs and Pregnant Hearts: The Exuberant Bodies of the Katharinenthal Visitation Group," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, eds. Rachel Fulton, Bruce W. Holsinger (New York, 2007), pp. 223–37.

[21] *Haec dico partim propter quamdam Imaginem, quae est in Carmelitis, & similes, quae in ventribus earum unam habent Trinitatem, veluti si tota Trinitas in Virgine Maria carnem assumpsisset humanam.* Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429), "Sermo de Nativitate Domini," 25 December 1402, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Louis Ellies Du Pin (Hildesheim, 1987), vol. 3, col. 947. The oft-repeated tale can be found in Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton, Ulrich Mammitzsch (Amsterdam, 1921; rprt. Chicago, 1996), pp. 179, 417; Renate Kroos, " 'Gotes tabernackel': Zu Funktion und Interpretation von Schreinmadonnen," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 43/1 (1986), p. 60; Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, p. 232. The censure of Molanus, rather than Gerson, had greater influence on post-Tridentine thought: Johannes Molanus (Jan Vermeulen, 1533–1585), *Traité des saintes images: De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, ed. and trans. François Bœspflug, Olivier Christin, Benoît Tasse (Paris, 1996), bk. 2, chap. 4, p. 55; Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, 1956), vol. 1, p. 195.

[22] This spurious claim is deeply embedded in the literature. A selection of citations includes José Augusto Sánchez Pérez, *El culto mariano en España: Tradiciones, leyendas y noticias relativas a algunas imágenes de la santísima Virgen* (Madrid, 1943), p. 17; Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen*, pp. 484–86; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955–59), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 92–93; Wolfgang Braunfels, "Maria, Marienbild," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Rome, 1971), vol. 3, cols. 193–94; Michael Nitz, "Marienleben," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels (Freiburg, 1971), vol. 3, cols. 228–29; Gregor Martin Lechner, "Schreinmadonna," in *Marienlexikon*, ed. Remigius Bäumer, Leo Scheffczyk (St. Ottilien, 1994), vol. 6, pp. 72–77; "Schreinmadonna," in *Lexikon der Kunst: Architektur, bildende Kunst, angewandte Kunst,*

Indeed, the post-Tridentine pope Pius V (r. 1566–72) kept a Triptych Virgin in his personal oratory, which he later presented as a gift to Philip II of Spain in honor of the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto in October 1571, and which remained in the Escorial palace-monastery until the Spanish Civil War (Fig. 5).[23] In truth, the century following Gerson's sermon saw an expansion in the popularity of Triptych Virgins, and the church ban against sculptures that opened to reveal Trinitarian motifs only came in 1745, long after their popularity had waned.[24]

Their interim decline can more accurately be attributed to general hostility towards imaged-based devotion in Protestant lands, and the strategic replacement of earlier cult figures by sanctioned post-Tridentine images in Catholic territories, with no special animosity reserved for *Vierges ouvrantes*. Where evidence survives, in fact, animosity towards these figures seems stronger in the nineteenth century than in preceding times. Contrast the fate of the medieval sculpture of Santa Maria de Gaià in Cataluña—one of the few Iberian *Vírgenes abrideras* to enclose a

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Industrieformgestaltung, Kunsttheorie, ed. Gerhard Strauss (Leipzig, 1994), vol. 6, p. 527; Corine Schleif, "Iconography, Innovative: Schreinmadonna," in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York, 2001), pp. 392–93; François Boespflug and Christian Heck, "Image, Religious," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez, trans. Adrian Walford (London and Chicago, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 716–17, regrettably using a *Vierge ouvrante* to illustrate the discussion of heretical imagery.

[23] The papal origins are recorded in the inventory of goods transferred by Philip II to the Escorial in 1584, and in the 1579 probate inventory of the Conde de Priego, Juan de Austria's emissary to inform Pius V of the victory at Lepanto, who returned to Madrid with a wide assortment of papal gifts for the monarch. "Ynventario que la Ill.ma senora dona Jhoana carrillo, condesa depliego hace de los bienes queda.ro al tiempo de su fin y muerte El Ill.mo snor don Hernando Carrillo y Mendoça. mayor.mo de su mag.d conde depliego su marido, ya difunto queste En Gloria," Madrid: Archivos de Protocolos de Madrid, Inventario del 6º Conde de Priego, leg. 759, fol. 419v; *Entrega Quarta*, Palacio Real, Archivo General, Patronato de Corona, fondo San Lorenzo, caja 83, no. 1, fols. 69–70; incompletely transcribed in Julián Zarco Cuevas, *Inventorio de las alhajas, pinturas y objectos de valor y curiosidad donados por Felipe II al Monasterio de Él Escorial (1571–1598)*, Madrid, 1930, entry 1606, p. 212. On the sculpture, see Gregorio de Andrés Martínez, "Historia y vicisitudes de la Virgen de S. Pío V sustraída de Él Escorial durante nuestra guerra civil," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 37 (1997), pp. 595–604.

[24] *Sollicitudini Nostrae* ("Sanctissimi Domini nostri Benedicti Papae XIV Bullarium, I.345, Romae," October 1, 1745), §27; in François Bœspflug, *Dieu dans l'art. "Sollicitudini Nostrae" de Benoît XIV (1745) et l'affaire Crescence de Kaufbeuren* (Paris, 1984), pp. 42–43, 279–85; Jan Hallebeek, "Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity. On the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity," in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclash: Struggle for Religious Identity*, ed. Willem van Asselt (Leiden, 2007), pp. 353–83. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, pp. 42–43, cites the 1745 bull of Benedict XIV and discounts the influence of Gerson's sermon on *Vierge ouvrante* production. Pope Urban VIII's prohibition of tricephalitic Trinities, issued 11 August 1628, did not reference Triptych Virgins.

Figure 5 Holy card of the lost *Virgen de San Pío V* of El Escorial. Sculpture: mid-16th c. Holy card: early 20th c. Archivo Mariano, Centro de Investigación del Patrimonio Etnológico, Museo del Traje, Madrid, Spain (Photo: Juan Carlos Rico, Museo del Traje, Ministerio de Cultura de España).

Trinity rather than a narrative interior—which was burned at the orders of the bishop of Vic in 1856,[25] vs. the *Vierge ouvrante* of Anost-en-Morvan in Burgundy, which had its Mercy-seat sculpture removed and its doors cinched with an iron belt following a seventeenth-century episcopal visitation, but which was allowed to remain in cult use in sanitized form in the local parish church.[26] The anatomical enclosure at Anost came full circle via the girding of the figure of the Virgin Mary, but its empty yet inaccessible interior remained, as much a memory as when the Triptych Virgin would be displayed closed during the better part of the liturgical year.

Significantly, Gerson's censure, whether heeded or not by his contemporaries, applied only to sculptures enclosing Trinities, and never to those with Narrative motifs, the form that prevailed south of the Pyrenees.[27] Gerson objected not to opening sculptures as a class, but only to those that opened to depict Mary together with the Trinity. The non-heterodox Narrative interiors consist of a series of bas-relief panels arranged in tiers and sculpted out of the ivory or wooden mass of the sculptures. Like their Trinitarian cousins, they also respond to the doctrine of the Incarnation, but in a less literal manner.[28] Rather, they take as their starting point the exaltation of the Virgin Mary, initially featuring scenes of her Seven Joys,

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[25] Item 4.31 August 1856, episcopal ledger AEV 1242/4, Arxiu i Bilbioteca Episcopal de Vic, fol. 93r. My discovery of archbishop Antonio Palau i Térmens' decree is the first confirmation of the sculpture's existence. Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen*, p. 502, had heard rumors of a Trinitarian *virgen abridera* in Gaià, but had not known the piece himself.

[26] Denis Grivot, "Les sculptures en bois du Musée Rolin: Légendes et iconographie," in *La statuaire en bois dans les collections du Musée Rolin* (Autun, 1982) p. 18. The Anost sculpture, now in the Musée Rolin in Autun, initially had its crucifix and dove removed, and later was sealed at the request of Monsignor de Roquette, who served during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715); Gabriel Bulliot, *La mission et le culte de Saint-Martin d'après les légendes et les monuments populaires dans le pays éduen* (Autun/Paris, 1892), p. 353, cit. J.-Henri Pignot, *Un Évêque Réformateur sous Louis XIV. Gabriel de Roquette, Évêque d'Autun, sa vie, son temps et le Tartuffe de Molière* (Paris, 1876), vol. 1, p. 244.

[27] Sixteen of the 13th- to 17th-century sculptures from Iberia and the Americas feature narrative interiors, while 4 contain Mercy-seat Trinities. North of the Pyrenees the balance is reversed, with 4 sculptures (not counting later forgeries and replicas) enclosing narrative interiors, 37 containing *Gnadenstühle*, and 3 combining both narrative and Trinitarian motifs. My reckoning includes sculptures that have survived as well as documented but non-extant works. The emphasis of formal analysis and chronology by previous authors led them to ignore lost works, thus giving a skewed and inaccurate picture of the historical genre.

[28] Kroos, "Gotes tabernackel," and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, review the Eucharistic and Incarnation theology behind the Trinity sculptures; Rimmele, "Die Schreinmadonna," gives an imaginative, at times effusive, analysis of the incarnation themes. For an analysis of the application of these themes to the Narrative Virgins, see my "Behind Closed Doors."

neatly inserted within her body's cavities, then scenes of her sorrows, and finally, in the sixteenth century, solely Passion narratives. Strangely, this exaltation of the Virgin and the casting of salvation within her sculpted frame attracted no comment from Gerson or his fellow ecclesiastics; neither did the church ever address the assault on her bodily integrity undertaken by human devotees whose hands split open her image to access this sacred geography. Hence, most of the Iberian *Vírgenes trípticas* were fully exempted from any clerical condemnation, and the Passion-*Inmaculada* passed by Pope Pius V to Philip II was never considered heretical (see Fig. 5).

Within the Trinity and Narrative interiors, there are three notable *Vierge ouvrante* subgroups: ten sculptures that combine Trinity motifs with the iconography of Our Lady of Mercy;[29] ten others that feature exterior sculptures of Mary Immaculate and interior scenes of the Passion within an area of aperture restricted to the breast area;[30] and three sculptures that combined both Narrative and Trinitarian motifs, of which two survive (Figs. 6a, b).[31] The first subgroup, the *Schutzmantel-Schreinmadonnen*, are

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[29] On the Teutonic *Schutzmantel-Schreinmadonnen*, see Karl-Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Bildhauerkunst im Deutschordensland Preußen: Die Bildwerke bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1939), vol. 2, pp. 118–31; Gudrun Radler, "Der Beitrag des Deutschordenslandes zur Entwicklung der Schreinmadonna (1390–1420)," in *Die Kunst um den Deutschen Orden in Preußen und Livland*, eds. Agnieszka Bojarska, Michał Woźniak (Toruń, 1995), pp. 241–74.

[30] The Passion *Inmaculadas* of 16th-century Castile are addressed as a group in Melissa R. Katz, "Vírgenes abrideras," *Herencias Recibidas 07* (Toledo, 2007), pp. 140–41; "Behind Closed Doors;" "Interior Motives;" "Marian Motion." Individual examples are discussed in Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, no. 10, pp. 66–67, 242–44; Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Conventos de Toledo: Toledo, Castilla interior* (Madrid, 1990), p. 377; Palma Martínez-Burgos, "Virgen abridera," in *Carolus*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Madrid, 2000), p. 467, no. 260.

[31] These are an early 14th-century Rhenish sculpture now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; an early 15th-century sculpture in the parish church of Morlaix, Brittany; and a work no longer extant formerly in an Austrian private collection. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, nos. 18–19, pp. 83–84, 284–89, mistakenly places the sculpture from the Benedictine abbey at Schönau im Taunus (now in Limburg-an-der-Lahn) in this category, assuming that because its exterior madonna resembles the Wilczek figure, its interior wings were also identical, which does not hold true. The Schönau figure, twice the size of the lost Wilczek figure (destroyed in a *schloß*-fire of 1915), was more likely the model on which the smaller sculpture was based, although Radler inverts them chronologically.

On the Metropolitan's sculpture, see Schmid, "Die Schreinmadonna," p. 152; Christoph Baumer, "Die Schreinmadonna," *Marian Library Studies*, 9 (1977), p. 250; Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, no. 16, pp. 77–80, 271–76; Hendrik Willem van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (London, 1994), pp. 50–51, 55–56; William D. Wixom, "Medieval Sculpture at the Metropolitan, 800–1400," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 62/4 (2005), pp. 46, 48. On Morlaix, see Clément, *La représentation de la Madone*; Fabre, "Les Vierges ouvrantes;" Sarrète, "Vierges ouvertes;" Fries, "Die

Figure 6a Shrine of the Virgin, ca. 1300, German, from the Rhine Valley, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.185, gift of J. P. Morgan, 1917 (Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Figure 6b Shrine of the Virgin, ca. 1300, German, from the Rhine Valley, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.185, gift of J. P. Morgan, 1917 (Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art).

found in areas once under the influence of the Teutonic States (including Scandinavia); the well-known example in the Musée de Cluny is Prussian, not French, in origin.[32] The second subgroup, the Passion *Inmaculadas*, by contrast, were produced exclusively in Castile in the sixteenth century (Figs. 5; 10a, b). No works opening only in the breast region are known to have originated north of the Pyrenees, although four fourteenth-century works (Eguisheim, Pozzolo Formigaro, Trier, and Marsal—Figs. 7a, b) open from the shoulder to the knees, in the chest-thorax region, while the ca. 1600 *Vierge* of Bannalec, in France, opens only from the waist down.[33] Finally, Our Lady of Buiñondo, an exceptional sculpture housed in the same Basque hermitage since the mid-fifteenth century, is the lone example known today of a *Vierge ouvrante* that opens at mid-figure not by forming two wings but rather by entirely removing a wooden cover (Figs. 8a, b). More exceptional still, the shape of the removable panel echoes that of the belly of a very pregnant Incarnate Virgin.[34]

Schreinmadonna;" Schmid, "Die Schreinmadonna;" Maurice Vloberg, "Vierges ouvrantes: Caractères et classification," *Sanctuaires et pèlerinages*, 30 (1963), pp. 25–34; Baumer, "Die Schreinmadonna;" Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, no. 17, pp. 80–83, 277–83; Charles Sterling, "La Vierge ouvrante de Morlaix," *Les monuments historiques de la France*, new series 12 (1966), pp. 139–48; Yves-Pascal Castel, *Notre-Dame du Mur retrouvée à Morlaix* (Morlaix, 1988), pp. 69–74; Gertsman, "Performing Birth." Visually the Metropolitan and Morlaix pieces are quite distinct; the New York sculpture measures a petite 14 ½ inches (36.8 cm) high, while the Bretagne example is significantly larger at 44 inches (114 cm).

[32] The military order's patronage of and affinity for these unusual sculptures is analyzed in Irene González Hernando, "La reinterpretación de la herencia artística bajomedieval: el caso de las Vírgenes abrideras trinitarias impulsadas por la Orden Teutónica," *Anales de Historia del Arte*, vol. extr. (2010), pp. 211–28.

[33] The sculptures from Eguisheim (France), Trier (Germany), and Bannalec (France) appear in Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, and prior surveys (see n. 8). The Pozzolo Formigaro (Italy) sculpture appears in *Il Gotico nelle Alpi, 1350–1450*, eds. Enrico Castelnuevo, Francesca de Gramatica (Trent, 2002), p. 159; the Marsal *Vierge* is unpublished, and entered the collection of the local Musée du Sel in 2006. The Breton figure (originally from Marzan, 80 miles south of Bannalec), spawned a host of imitations in the 19th century; although the original is polychromed wood and life-sized, the *homage*-replicas are made of ivory and considerably smaller.

[34] On *Nuestra Señora de Buiñondo*, also known not surprisingly as *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*, see Irene González Hernando, "La Virgen de San Blas de Buriñondo en Bergara: ejemplo y excepción de Virgen abridera trinitaria," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 16 (2006), pp. 59–78; Irene González Hernando, "Andra Mari de Burinondo o Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación," in *Canciller López de Ayala*, ed. Félix López López [sic] de Ullibarri (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2007), pp. 248–49. She uses the Spanish spelling of the town's name whereas I opt for its current Basque spelling; the exhibition catalogue uses a third, historical spelling. A comparative study of sculpted Virgins and visible wombs is found in Jung, "Crystalline Wombs and Pregnant Hearts."

Figure 7a *Nôtre-Dame-de-Bon-Renome* of Marsal, mid-14th c., Marsal, France (Photo: Musée départemental du Sel-Marsal, Jean-Claude Kanny, CDT Moselle).

Figure 7b *Nôtre-Dame-de-Bon-Renome* of Marsal, mid-14th c., Marsal, France (Photo: Musée départemental du Sel-Marsal, Jean-Claude Kanny, CDT Moselle).

Figure 8a *Virgen abridera trinitaria* of Buiñondo, second third of the 15th c., Hermitage of San Blas, Bergara (Gipuzkoa), Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz, courtesy Confraternidad de Nuestra Señora de Buiñondo).

Figure 8b *Virgen abridera trinitaria* of Buiñondo, second third of the 15th c., Hermitage of San Blas, Bergara (Gipuzkoa), Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz, courtesy Confraternidad de Nuestra Señora de Buiñondo).

Nevertheless, some shared attributes can be identified as common to all Triptych Virgins, regardless of their form of opening or interior motif. Each sculpture encompasses a capacity for motion, and each requires the viewer to touch the sculpture in order to observe both its interior and exterior states, making the devotional experience haptic as well as optic. Each sculpture consists of two states, one revealed and one concealed, resulting in an image that is always half visible, half hidden. To perceive the entire object, the viewer must move between the two states, adding elements of time, action, and memory to the visual comprehension of the figure. And finally, save for the Buiñondo exception, opening the sculpture always compromises its viability as a body, frustrating our attempts to read these as simple illustrations of Incarnation theology by revealing instead voided interiors whose organs of procreation have been displaced by scenes of salvation.[35]

This parting of the Virgin's body results not just in a parted body, but also a partial body, or more aptly a body in parts, which to my mind indicates a desire to transcend mere physicality rather than celebrate it. Through this disembodiment, the Holy Virgin is distanced from all that is carnal, and her body is aligned with the sacred. This view is contrary to interpretations currently in the scholarly literature, but more in keeping with the theology of the times.[36] The desire to distance the Virgin's body from base anatomical aspects of doctrine and thus elevate the spiritual, I argue, is a tendency well in keeping with anti-corporeal elements of medieval Christianity, though modern viewers will inherently respond to these images as depictions of women *qua* woman.

[35] These themes are dealt with at length in my dissertation and publications (see n. 9). Recent scholarship by literary historians on sexed and sexless virgins points to fruitful avenues for future investigation. See, for example, Wogan-Browne, Kelly, Salih, and Bernau, expanding upon work by Kristeva, Irigaray, Newman, and above all Bynum. These issues of female spirituality and somatism are nicely summarized in Dyan Elliott, "Flesh and Spirit: The Female Body," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c. 1100–c. 1500*, eds. A.J. Minnis, Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 13–46.

[36] While I admire the arguments they make, Rimmele, "Die Schreinmadonna;" Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'image ouverte. Motifs de l'incarnation dans les arts visuals* (Paris, 2007); and Gertsman, "Performing Birth," neglect this aspect of corporeal distancing and read the sculptures as dynamic equivalents of the female body. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002), reinforces his biological interpretation by placing the Cluny *Vierge ouvrante* on the cover.

Divining Genders

As the above discussion demonstrates, Triptych Virgins form a complex and varied devotional genre and defy attempts to reduce them to pre-defined categories—although this did not prevent early twentieth-century scholars from formulating reductive arguments that ignored those works that failed to conform to their desired patterns. Such methodology was misleading, as it created artificial unity at the expense of full understanding of a rich and complex art form. Similarly, it is easy to understand why scholars were inclined to read these sculptures biologically, but more productive to understand them, as Elina Gertsman has argued, as vessels that perform life and death from a Christological rather than a gynecological perspective.[37]

This returns us to the question of whether or not these sculptures facilitate specifically gendered forms of devotion, appeal to specifically gendered audiences, or lend themselves to specifically gendered interpretations. Again, meaning emerges through a careful examination of the historical record and critical appraisal of actual vs. anticipated findings. I will evaluate these assumptions through an exploration of gender assessed on three levels: the gender of the patron, who often is, but just as frequently is not, a woman; that of audience, which is decidedly mixed in gender; and that of the sculpture itself, which has been emphatically gendered as female, with telling repercussions of its own. Let us begin with this latter category.

Vierges ouvrantes have attracted a variety of gender-based responses, having been interpreted by Gudrun Radler and Henk van Os, for example, as works produced for the devotional needs of women in monastic communities imbued with the sensibilities of female mysticism.[38] For many, including Marina Warner, Erich Neumann, and Marius Rimmele, they exalt the procreative facilities of the female body;[39] while authors such as Barbara Newman and Elina Gertsman have interpreted them as figures that highlight the feminine component of divine agency.[40] The fact that the earliest known owner of such sculpture was a woman—Violante de

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[37] Gertsman, "Performing Birth," pp. 87-88.
[38] Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, esp. 22–29; and van Os, *The Art of Devotion*, pp. 50–51.
[39] Neumann, *The Great Mother*, pp. 234, 331; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 46; Rimmele, "Die Schreinmadonna," esp. 47–50.
[40] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*; Gertsman, "Performing Birth."

Aragón (1236–1300/01), queen of Castile—seems to support the case for a strictly gendered interpretation of these works.[41]

My research demonstrates that such attitudes, while reasonably formed—given current scholarship on women's roles as patrons of and audience for medieval devotional art, based on valid examples of female agents shaping contemporary images to suit their unique devotional needs—do not, in fact, accurately reflect the historical record for *Vierge ouvrante* sculpture. For example, although the first securely-attributed *Vierge ouvrante* was produced for a female patron, the second—a near-replica produced shortly afterwards—was likely made for a male patron, an unknown ecclesiastic in the queen's circle affiliated with the Cathedral of Salamanca, in whose treasury this work remains (Figs. 9a, b).[42] Similarly, while many works were destined for monastic settings, the chief promoters of the cult at its zenith in the early fifteenth century were the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, a male order whose religious agenda hardly included female empowerment.[43]

Audiences were also broader than initially assumed. Most Triptych Virgins are now preserved in remote parish churches, rural shrines, and cloistered convents (factors that contribute to their anonymity), which

[41] Doña Violante bequeathed her *Virgen abridera* to her burial foundation of Santa Clara de Allariz, in Ourense province (discussed at length below). The *Virxe abrideira* of Allariz, as it is known in the local Galician language, features in the chief monographs on medieval ivory: André Michel, Camille Enlart, and Émile Bertaux, *Formation, expansion et évolution de l'art gothique*, vol. 2, pt. 1 of *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. André Michel (Paris, 1906), p. 284; Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), vol. 2, pp. 4–5, no. 10; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Âge* (Fribourg, 1978), p. 134. See also n. 49 below.

[42] The Salamanca sculpture, often refered to as *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos* due to its interior program of the Seven Joys of the Virgin, appears in the *Vierge ouvrante* monographs of Sarrète, Fries, Trens, Schmid, and Radler. See also Margarita Estella Marcos, *La escultura del marfil en España: Románica y Gótica* (Madrid, 1984), pp. 134–36. Radler (no. 12, pp. 69–71, 252–55) illogically dated it a decade ahead of the royal sculpture, despite ample evidence that its carver not only worked from the ivory prototype but was less accomplished in its rendition; Isidro G. Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera de Allariz," in *Galicia no Tempo 1991: Conferencias/Otros Estudios*, ed. José Manuel García Iglesias (Santiago de Compostela, 1992), pp. 145–46. It has also featured in many exhibition catalogues: Ana Rodríguez, "Virgen Abridera," in *Vida y Peregrinación*, ed. Reyna Pastor (Madrid, 1993), pp. 188–89, no. 11; Marta Cuadrado, in *Maravillas de la España medieval: tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidro G. Bango Torviso (León, 2000), pp. 441–42, no. 185; Manuel Pérez Hernández, in *Ieronimus: 900 años de arte y de historia, 1102–2002* (Salamanca, 2002), pp. 138–39, no. 64; Vanesa Vaquero Pérez, in *Las Edades del Hombre. Yo, Camino* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2007), pp. 254–56, no. 114.

[43] Helen J. Nicholson, "The Military Orders and their Relations with Women," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Chrisitianity*, eds. Zsolt Hunyadi, József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 407–14.

Figure 9a *Virgen de los Gozos* of Salamanca, fourth quarter of 13th c., Museo de la Catedral, Salamanca, Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz).

Figure 9b *Virgen de los Gozos* of Salamanca, fourth quarter of 13th c., Museo de la Catedral, Salamanca, Spain (Photo: M.R. Katz). See color plate 4.

helps to account for the survival of these works, preserved by neglect, so to speak.[44] However, a survey of the venues of lost *Vierges ouvrantes* points to patronage among the highest echelons of society, as opening figures once graced the altars of Notre Dame de Paris and Durham Cathedral, and the palaces of Charles V of France, the Dukes of Burgundy, and Philip II of Spain.[45] The description of the Notre Dame *Vierge* confirms that ivory *Vierges ouvrantes* with narrative interiors were present in France before 1343 (the date of the treasury inventory), although none survives.[46] Its interior likely featured scenes of the Joys of the Virgin, the motif found in authentic thirteenth- and fourteenth-century ivories, not her sorrows, like the neo-medieval figures introduced onto the Parisian market ca. 1830 and now in the study collections of the museums of Lyon, Rouen, and the Louvre.[47]

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[44] The variety of venues in which Triptych Virgins are found can be well appreciated by surveying the 43 examples in Radler's *beschreibendem Katalog*, pp. 197–360. See also the 72 entries in Katz, "Interior Motives," appendices, pp. 218–21. I have since added 6 sculptures to my corpus.

[45] The Notre Dame *Vierge ouvrante* is recorded in a 1343 inventory transcribed in Gustave Fagniez, "Inventaires du trésor de Notre-Dame de Paris de 1343 et de 1416," *Revue archéologique*, 27 (April 1874), part 2, pp. 249–59, and was first published by Kroos, "Gotes tabernackel," but omitted by Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna.* The Durham sculpture, Our Lady of Boulton, has long been known to scholars, thanks to the attention given to the 1593 Rites of Durham where it is described; *A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes [of] the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression (1593)*, ed. James Raine (London, 1842), rprt. as the *Rites of Durham*, ed. J.T. Fowler (London, 1903). Ambiguous references to several opening works—most of them jeweled lockets but one certainly a *Vierge ouvrante* and another possibly so—appear in the inventories of Charles V Valois and the Dukes of Burgundy, and featured in the earliest scholarly article on this sculpture; Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris, 1879); Léon Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1849–52), vol. II; Édouard-Aimé Didron, "Les Images ouvrantes," *Annales archéologiques* 26, no. 6 (1869), part I, pp. 415–18. On the *Virgen de San Pío V* placed by Philip II in the basilica of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, see Zarco, *Inventario,* and de Andrés, "Historia y vicisitudes."

[46] The 1343 record reads, "*It., quedam alia ymago eburnean valde antiqua scisa per medium et cum ymaginibus sculpis in appertura, que solebat poni super magnum altare*," ("Item: another thing, a very old ivory image divided in the middle and with sculpted images inside that is usually put on the high altar"); Fagniez, "Inventaires de trésor," part I2, no. 8, p. 251. Although the entry does not specify that the *ymago* is of the Virgin Mary, the majority of works in this section of the inventory are images of the Virgin. It has been discussed as a *Vierge ouvrante* by Kroos, "Gotes tabernackel;" Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera;" and Elizabeth Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers in Medieval Paris," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. Peter Barnet (Princeton, 1997), pp. 18–37, esp. 35, n. 28; but otherwise neglected in the literature.

[47] On the acknowledged 19th-century *Vierge ouvrante* forgeries and the disputed Walters work, see Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, nos. 1–4, pp. 51–60, 203–20; Kelly Holbert, "The

The inclusion of documented but non-extant works such as the Notre Dame and Escorial Virgins in my corpus represents a small but significant change in *Vierge ouvrante* studies, clarifying and enlarging our picture of the genre. It offers an effective methodological advance from the descriptive formalism of past studies, and foregrounds evidence of provenance and original audiences as well as current locations. The provenance need not necessarily be in writing to be documented; for example, one Triptych Virgin, encased within a winged tabernacle—a feature common to a group of Spanish figures from sixteenth-century Castilla la Nueva—appeared at auction in Madrid in 2002 with the secure provenance of having emerged from a Carmelite convent in Cuerva (Toledo province) (Figs. 10a, b; Color Plate 5). The tabernacle wings, however, feature four Dominican saints—Saints Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Catherine of Siena, and Catherine of Alexandria—indicating, even in the absence of a written record, that originally it had been produced for a Dominican rather than a Carmelite community.[48] As for audiences, only one-third of *Vierge ouvrante* sculptures were found in cloistered settings, with the rest being divided among private chapels, parochial settings, urban cathedrals, rural shrines, and lay confraternities, where the viewers would have been of mixed gender.

Even within the cloister, equal numbers of all-male communities owned Triptych Virgins—including Carthusians, Carmelites, Dominicans, and the already mentioned Teutonic Order—as did female communities—including female Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines, and Augustinians. Once again, we see no prevalent pattern of monastic appeal, but evidence rather of surprising diversity. Thus, when the full record is

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Vindication of a Controversial Early Thirteenth-Century 'Vierge Ouvrante' in the Walters Art Gallery," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55/56 (1997/98), pp. 101–21; Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Pastiches, Revivals, Forgeries, and Open Questions," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. Peter Barnet (Detroit, 1997), pp. 285–89; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Les Faux," in *Ivoires de l'Orient ancien aux Temps modernises*, ed. Annie Caubet, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris, 2004), p. 183, no. 190; Irene González Hernando, "Un ejemplo de Virgen abridera de la Pasión: La Virgen de Boubon y la polémica en torno a su autenticidad medieval," *Medievalia* 38 (2006), pp. 57–64. Radler's tenuous argument that *Schreinmadonnen* arose from Cistercian and Fontevrist theology rests on her misdating of the Walters and Maubuisson Virgins. Her rare acceptance of the Walters sculpture as authentic has caused reputable scholars such as Rimmele and Didi-Huberman to draw unfortunate conclusions regarding the origins and meanings of *Vierges ouvrantes*.

[48] Newspaper accounts confirm that this piece emerged from the Convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas of Cuerva, Toledo in 1953 and entered a private collection. It was auctioned by Alcalá Subastas of Madrid as lot 518 in the sale of 8–9 May 2002, and purchased by an anonymous party. Due to export restrictions, the auctioneers feel it is likely still to be in a Spanish collection; correspondence, August and September 2007. A figure of Mary Magdalen reclines beneath the Triptych Virgin.

Figure 10a *Virgen abridera inmaculada* of Cuerva, mid-16th c., ex-coll. Convento de la Encarnación de las Carmelitas Descalzas, Cuerva (Toledo), Spain (Photo: courtesy Alcalá Subastas, Madrid).

examined, a picture emerges of a sculptural genre suited not to any particular gender, audience, or devotional setting, but fluid and adaptable to all. This in itself is a noteworthy outcome, as their broad appeal to a variety of audiences and lack of fixed patronage attests to the ease with which such works could be adapted to suit existing devotional practices, both private and communal. The iconographic flexibility, made possible by their moving parts and multiple scenes, likely aided their incorporation into such diverse venues.

Patronage is more difficult to categorize than audience, but again broader than assumed. Like many devotional figures of humble origin, most Triptych Virgins are anonymous and dated stylistically. Yet when we do have information about patronage, the names are illustrious. The

Figure 10b *Virgen abridera inmaculada* of Cuerva, mid-16th c., ex-coll. Convento de la Encarnación de las Carmelitas Descalzas, Cuerva (Toledo), Spain (Photo: courtesy Alcalá Subastas, Madrid).

twelve-inch ivory figure (32 cm, including its base) now in the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara de Allariz in Galicia (Ourense province, Spain), is both the earliest known authentic Triptych Virgin and the first with a secure provenance, having belonged to Violante de Aragón (1236–1300/01), wife of Alfonso X *el Sabio* (the Learned) of Castile (r. 1252–1284), and most likely produced in the royal workshops renowned for their work in ivory (see Figs. 2a, b; Color Plate 3).[49] As was the custom at the time, the Iberian

[49] The *Virxe abrideira de Allariz* was introduced into the *Vierge ouvrante* literature by Sarrète, *Vierges ouvertes*, pp. 131–33, citing José Villaamil y Castro, "Virgen abridera," and "Vírgines abrideras. La Virgen de Allariz," *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega,* 4/25 (1909), pp. 6–10. More recent studies include Estella Marcos, *La Escultura del Marfil,*

kingdoms maintained itinerant courts, and an easily portable statuette that could be viewed as a cult figure and as an ivory triptych would have been ideally suited for the queen's traveling chapel which, along with her chaplain, accompanied her on tour.[50] Its nine interior compartments, each no larger than a postage stamp, feature the Seven Joys of the Virgin: the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration, Resurrection (represented here by the empty tomb), Ascension, Descent of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost), and Coronation. The Joys of the Virgin also furnish the iconographical program for the other two ivories to survive from this period, the *Virgen de los Gozos* of Salamanca (Figs. 9a, b; Color Plate 4), so named in reference to these Marian *gozos* or joys, and the *Virgem do Paraíso* of Évora (discussed below).[51]

Based on costume details, Carmen Bernis has dated the Allariz sculpture to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and stylistically Isidro Bango Torviso has placed it in the final third.[52] Adding considerations of the queen's life, I date the work to the late 1260s or the decade of the 1270s. This predates the difficult period in Violante's life after the death of the heir to the throne, Fernando de la Cerda, led to a struggle over succession which, coupled with Alfonso X's slowly advancing illness (said to be sinus cancer causing pressure on the brain and irrational behavior), caused a marital separation.[53] Although the royal couple reunited in 1279,

pp. 125–30; Radler *Die Schreinmadonna*, no. 13, pp. 71–73, 256–60; José Carlos Valle Pérez, "Virxe Abrideira," *Galicia no Tempo*, ed. José Manuel García Iglesias (Santiago de Compostela, 1990), pp. 201–02, no. 92; Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera de Allariz;" Miguel Ángel González García, *La Virgen Abrideira de Santa Clara de Allariz* (Ourense, 1998); Cuadrado, *Maravillas*, vol. 1, pp. 440–42, no. 184. See also note 41.

[50] David Nogales Rincón, "Las capillas y capellanías reales castellano-leonesas en la Baja Edad Media (siglos XIII–XV): algunas precisiones institucionales," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 35/2 (2005), pp. 737–66; Rita Costa-Gomes, "The Royal Chapel in Iberia," *The Medieval History Journal*, 12/1 (2009), pp. 77–111; David Nogales Rincón, "La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la Capilla Real (1252–1504)," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009.

[51] The spurious 19th-century French forgeries described above, as well as the dubious Walters/Boubon figure, all feature Passion narratives in their interior, an anachronistic feature, as the Sorrows of the Virgin do not enter the repertory until the mid-14th century. Unfortunately, this has misled authors relying on secondary literature, such as Rimmele, "Die Schreinmadonna," and Karl Whittington, "The Cruciform Womb: Process, Symbol and Salvation in Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 399," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art*, 1 (2008), pp. 1–24, esp. 16, http://differentvisions.org.

[52] Carmen Bernis Madrazo, "La moda y las imágenes góticas de la Virgen: Claves para su fechación," *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48/170 (1970), pp. 193–218, esp. 200; and Bango Torviso, "Virgen abridera," p. 141.

[53] On Alfonso X's reign and life, see Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, with Miguel Rodríguez Llopis, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (1963, rprt. Barcelona, 1984); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993); H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso*

doña Violante's freedom and funds were severely curtailed, and upon the king's death in 1284, her position at court became even more unstable.[54] Hence, although Violante de Aragón lived until the winter of 1300/01, it is unlikely that she had the economic capacity to acquire an ivory traveling altarpiece for her personal chapel after the 1270s.[55]

Other biographical details inform our understanding of the piece's provenance. The queen's will, dated 1292, leaves all of her worldly goods to the convent of Santa Clara de Allariz, making particular mention of her religious possessions—"and I leave them all of my chapel, all that I have with me as well as all that I have already given" is the phrase used in her testament.[56] Doña Violante's pattern of patronage is unusual for an Iberian queen of this period. Rather than distribute her largesse among many institutions, she was an all-eggs-in-one-basket donor, with her Galician burial

X, el Sabio. Una biografía (Madrid, 2003). On his illness, see Maricel E. Presilla, "The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas de Santa María*," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry*, eds. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller (Madison, 1987), pp. 403–58.

[54] On the queen, see Richard P. Kinkade, "Violante of Aragon (1236?–1300?): An Historical Overview," *Exemplaria Hispánica: A Journal on Alfonso X and Alfonsine Iberia*, 2 (1992–93), pp. 1–37; Theresa M. Vann, "Violante," in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael E. Gerli (New York, 2003), p. 839. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, also devotes attention to Doña Violante. Her circumstances became even more dire after the death of her son Sancho IV in 1295, and the appointment of his wife María de Molina as regent for their underage son, Fernando IV. Relations between Doña Violante and her daughter-in-law had always been cool, and Violante became fully isolated from the court after María de Molina's ascent to power. See also Melissa R. Katz, "A Convent for 'la Sabia': Violante de Aragón and the Foundation of Santa Clara de Allariz," in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: Local, Regional, and Cosmopolitan Communities*, eds. James D'Emilio, Michael Kulikowski (Leiden, forthcoming).

[55] The year of the queen's death is mistakenly listed in older sources as 1292, the year in which she first made her testament. In fact, she lived on for another 8 years, dying in winter 1300/01 on the return journey after having made a pilgrimage to Rome for the first ever jubilee-year celebration. The copy of the will read by her grandson, Fernando IV of Castile, is dated 5 January 1302; "Testamento de d. Violante de Aragón" (1302), Archivo Histórico Nacional [hereafter AHN], Madrid, Sección Clero (Regular), Legajo 4.900, carp. 1429, no. 6. A 17th-century transcription of the medieval parchment was published in Patrocinio García Barriuso, "Documentación sobre la fundación, privilegios, y derechos históricos del monasterio de Santa Clara de Allariz: no. 4. El testamento de Dña. Violante," in *Santa Clara de Allariz: Historia y vida de un monasterio* (Ourense, 2002), pp. 25–28. Because the later transcription omitted several key phrases found in the original will, my references will be to the 13th-century document and not to the incomplete transcription currently in print.

[56] "... & *mandolas toda mi capiella assi / lo que les yo di commo lo que yo tengo*." "Testamento de d. Violante de Aragón" (1292), AHN, Madrid, Sección Clero (Regular), Legajo 4.900, carp. 1429, no. 5, fols. 5–6, lines 10–11.

foundation being her only major act of patronage.[57] In the 1260s, she had supported a hospital on the Camino de Santiago and donated land to the Franciscans of Valladolid, but after 1270, Allariz was her only beneficiary and the only one to receive goods in kind.[58] Nor did Santa Clara de Allariz have any other major patrons during its formative period—certainly no one of the status to possess such a costly ivory statuette. This leaves little doubt that the *Virxe abrideira* (as it is known in the local Galician language) was among the goods left by Violante de Aragón, a tradition always maintained at the monastery, although the earliest written inventory of the queen's donations survives only from the sixteenth century.[59]

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[57] On Violante de Aragón as a patron, see Katz, "A Convent for 'la Sabia'." On the patronage patterns of Iberian queens and regents, see Theresa M. Vann, "The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann, (Dallas, 1993), pp. 125–47; Miriam Shadis "Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage, and Succession," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons, Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), pp. 335–58; Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and her Daughters Berenguela of Leon and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 202–27; Ángela Muñoz Fernández. "Relaciones femeninas y activación de los mecanismos del privilegio y la merced: la Casa de Isabel I de Castilla," in *Las mujeres y el poder: representaciones y prácticas de vida*, eds. Cristina Segura Graíño, Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez (Madrid, 2000), pp. 115–34; *Isabel la Católica: la magnificencia de un reinado. Quinto centenario de Isabel la Católica, 1504–2004* (Madrid/Valladolid, 2004); María Jesús Fuente Pérez, *Reinas medievales en los reinos hispánicos* (Madrid, 2003); Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Burlington/Aldershot, 2005); Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 1134–71; Martin, *Queen as King*; Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009). In the present volume, see the studies by Eileen McKiernan González, Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, and Miriam Shadis.

[58] The *Camino* hospital is left a small benefice in her testament, but San Francisco de Valladolid is not; for neither was she the founder. Her frustrated attempts at patronage in Valladolid, consisting of real estate gifts blocked by the bishop, attest to her lifelong devotion to the Franciscans; see Francisco José Rojo Alique, "El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220–1518). (I) Fundación y reforma," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 65/250–51 (2005), pp. 135–301, esp. 200–27. She is mentioned in the 1266 charter of Santa Clara de Murcia as joint founder with her husband of this Franciscan convent; José García Oro, "Francisco de Asís en la España medieval," *Liceo Franciscano*, 41/121–23 (1988), rprt. as *Francisco de Asís en la España medieval* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 446–47. An investigation of doña Violante's role in the foundations traditionally ascribed solely to her husband would be a valuable addition to the literature.

[59] Santa Clara de Allariz's history is well documented, making it all the more evident that doña Violante was not just its founder but also its only patron of note in the first 50 years of existence, although it did continue to have royal affiliation, with her grandson the *infante* Felipe and his wife Margarita de la Cerda as later benefactors and interees. See *Santa Clara de Allariz: Séptimo centenario de la Fundación* (Orense, 1986), jointly issued as *Boletín Auriense*, anexo 5 (1986); and "Santa Clara de Allariz: Historia y vida de un monasterio," *Liceo Franciscano: revista de estudios e investigaciones,* 127–29 (1990),

At least four *Vírgines trípticas* were produced in Castile in the final third of the thirteenth century or the first years of the fourteenth: the three that survive are currently housed in Allariz, Évora, and Salamanca (Figs. 2a, b; 11a, b; 9a, b; Color Plates 3, 4). The latter is a replica of the Allariz Virgin made in pear wood with ivory plaques in its interior, whose patron, I argue, was a male cleric affiliated with the royal court, since it is a close copy of the queen's Triptych Virgin but in less costly materials. One feature the carver did not copy is telling; the exterior of the Salamanca replica lacks the dragon sleeping at the Virgin's feet, which art historians recognize as a reference to the Apocalypse but which the patron may have interpreted as a royal attribute (perhaps a lion of Castile-León?), and deferentially omitted (Fig. 9a).[60] A fourth sculpture, no longer extant, appears in a 1339 inventory of Sigüenza Cathedral, listed among a selection of ivory sculptures in the cathedral treasury and described as being damaged and in need of repair (which may explain its absence from subsequent inventories).[61] As Bango Torviso notes, given that the Sigüenza *Virgen* had already reached a sufficient age by the 1330s to have required repair, it may very well have been at least forty years old at the time of inventory—that is, old enough to be a contemporary of the Allariz, Salamanca, and Évora Virgins.[62] Like the Salamanca sculpture, its owner could have been a male canon of the cathedral, as they, too, were frequent

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pp. 11–266; rprt. as *Santa Clara de Allariz: Historia y vida de un monasterio* (Ourense, 2002). See esp. Atanasio López, "Apuntes históricos sobre el Convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (siglos XIII y XIV)," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 8/172–74 (1927), pp. 8–18, 25–32, 49–53; rprt. in *Santa Clara de Allariz*, pp. 63–85. The 16th-century inventory recording the queen's gift to the convent was incorporated into Ambrosio de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey D. Phelipe II. a los reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y principado de Asturias* (Madrid, 1765 [1572]), p. 159.

[60] Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera," p. 142, advances this possibility. Recently, I discovered a modern copy of the Salamanca *Virgen abridera* in the collection of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid. The figure was never completed, however, and the 3 opening sections were subsequently glued together to allow it to be sold as a conventional Virgin and Child figure. The museum acquired this piece in 1932, believing it to date from the 13th century; curatorial records, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid. I thank Cristina Partearroyo Lacaba for access to these records and to this intriguing, unpublished piece.

[61] *Et ot^o ymagê de stã maria qse abre por medio ase mester adobar, q esta qbrada* ("another image of St. Mary that can be opened down the middle, that must be repaired because it is broken"). *Libro ordinario del thesoro*, sig. 106 mod., fol. 1r, Archivo de la Catedral, Sigüenza, transcribed in Toribio Minguella y Arnedo, "Santa visita hecha a la Iglesia de la Catedral por su prelado don Fray Alonso en 26 de noviembre de 1339, e inventario de las alhajas, ropas, y libros," in *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (Madrid, 1912), vol. 2, app. 2, p. 302.

[62] Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera," p. 147.

travelers in medieval Iberia, in need of portable altarpieces that could do double duty as a cult figure or retable.

With one certain female donor, and two possible male patrons so far, let us turn to the fourth medieval ivory, the Évora Virgin, which offers a possibility of female patronage, but no certainty (Figs. 11a, b).[63] Nothing is known of the piece before 1474, when it is recorded in the possession of a woman named Isabel Afonso residing in the southern Portuguese city of Évora. In 1474, dona Isabel donated the sculpture, which bore the sobriquet Our Lady of Paradise, to a beatery (a community of unprofessed women religious, similar to the northern *beguinages*) known as the *Beatas de Santa María* or the *Recolhimento das Galvoas* after the three sisters of the Galvoa family who founded it ca. 1460.[64] A generation later, when the community decided to become formally affiliated with the Dominican order, they chose to name their monastery *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* in honor of the beloved sculpture, and not vice versa.[65] This is an important point: art historians have written that the sculpture was named after the

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[63] The *Virgem do Paraíso* of Évora was known to *Vierge ouvrante* scholars from Sarrète onward (see n.8), but considered lost, despite having been on view in the Cathedral Museum since mid-century, and published as such in numerous Hispano-Luso studies. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, pp. 73–75, 261–68, no. 14, corrected this error, yet Cuadrado, *Maravillas*, pp. 442–43, no. 186, revived it. See also Gabriel Victor Monte Pereira, "Conventos de Freiras: Mosteiro de Paraízo," *Estudos Eborenses: Historia, Arte, Arqueologia*, 6 vols. (Évora, 1886; rprt. Évora, 1947–1950), vol. 6, part 1, p. 148; Villaamil y Castro, "Virgen abridera," p. 86; Túlio Espanca, *Inventário artístico de Portugal*, vol. 7, *Concelho de Évora* (Lisbon, 1966), part 1, pp. 40–41; Nitz, "Marienleben;" Estella Marcos, *La escultura del marfil*, pp. 136–45; Bango Torviso, "Virgen Abridera;" Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Alameida and Mário Jorge Barroca, *Historia de Arte em Portugal: O Gótico* (Lisbon, 2002), pp. 271–75.

[64] The founders were Brittes Galvoa (d. 1471), her younger sister Ines Galvoa, and a third unnamed sister. Histories of the beatery *cum* convent and its celebrated sculpture can be found in Fr. Luis Cacegas and Fr. Luis de Sousa, *Terceira parte da historia des Domingos particular do reino, e conquistas de Portugal* (ca. 1600; rprt. Lisbon, 1767), bk. 1, chap. 13, pp. 51–52; Padres Manuel Fialho and Francisco da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa. Epilogo. Dos quatro Tomos da Evora Ilustrada que compoz o R.P.M. Manoel Fialho da Companhia de Jesu. Escritta, acrecentada, e amplificada pello e P. Francisco da Fonseca da mesma Companhia* (Rome, 1728), § 699, pg. 393; Túlio Espanca, *Cadernos de história e arte eborense*, vol. 28: *O convento de Nossa Senhora do Paraiso de Évora* (Évora, 1973). Franco's transcription of Fialho and da Fonseca's text incorrectly lists the date as 8 July 1574, but all earlier sources correctly list the year as 1474; Antonio Franco, *Évora Ilustrada: extraida da obra do mesmo nome do Pe. Manuel Fialho* (Évora, 1945), bk. 4, ch. 5, pp. 322–23.

[65] The story appears in print in Cacegas and de Sousa's ca. 1600 history, vol. 3, bk. 1, pp. 48b-51a; and again in Fialho and da Fonseca (1728), bk. IV, § 699, pg. 393. The same details are found in a manuscript chronicle kept by the nuns of the convent from 1555 onward, in a hand dating to the mid-17th century; Anonymous, "Relaçaõ e noticias da fundacaõ deste Mostr.º de N. S.ra do Paraizo, e da Imagem da mesma S.ra," Cota–Livro 95A (1555–1897), *Convento do Paraíso, Livro de Receitas e Despesas do Convento*, housed in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, fol. 172r–v.

Figure 11a *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* of Évora, ca. 1300 with ca. 1596 head, Évora, Museu de Arte Sacra da Sé, Évora Cathedral, Portugal (Photo: M.R. Katz).

Figure 11b *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* of Évora, ca. 1300 with ca. 1596 head, Évora, Museu de Arte Sacra da Sé, Évora Cathedral, Portugal (Photo: M.R. Katz).

monastery, but the convent annals and histories of the Dominican order in Portugal insist that it was the other way around: the beatery *cum* convent changed its name to accord with the title of the sculpture, which was called Our Lady of Paradise because, as legend has it, two angels delivered it directly from heaven to Dona Isabel's doorstep.[66]

The Évora sculpture, a beautiful and ingeniously carved ivory, is less likely the product of divine intervention than the skilled output of a Castilian-Leonese workshop, executed at the end of the thirteenth century. The artist most likely knew the Virgin of Allariz, and used it as his model. Unlike the sculptor of the piece in Salamanca Cathedral, however, the Évora artist did not attempt to copy the Allariz prototype faithfully, but rather felt free to model his (or her) own variant on the theme, replacing the two censing angels of the Allariz interior with scenes of the Visitation and the Death of the Virgin. The latter vignette in the Évora figure assumes the central place occupied by Christ's Ascension in the Allariz figure, displacing the Ascension scene to the left wing, and enhancing the Marian emphasis of an already Mariological genre, at this early stage in its formation. The acheiropoeitic tradition of the Évora sculpture as a work made by divine, not human, hands attests to the esteem in which it was held by its donor and audience. Sadly, it does little to inform us of the sculpture's fate during the 175 years that passed before it came into the possession of Isabel Afonso, nor how it traveled from northern Spain to southern Portugal before making its debut in the documentary record as her gift to the *Beatas das Galvoas* in 1474.

Little is known about Isabel Afonso save that she was of a genteel but non-aristocratic family, wealthy enough to bury her husband Nuno Martin[e]s in an elegant tomb but not to endow a private family chapel.[67] Possibilities of an overt Spanish connection must be discounted, as Dona Isabel's name does not appear among the ladies-in-waiting who

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[66] The Portuguese *achado* legend is recounted in Cacegas and de Sousa, *Terceira parte da historia*, vol. 3, bk.1, pp. 51b-52a; Fialho and da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*, bk. 4, § 699, p. 393. On acheiropoeitic origins and finding legends in medieval Iberia, see Honorio M. Velasco, "Las leyendas de hallazgos y de apariciones de imágenes. Un replanteamiento de la religiosidad popular como religiosidad local," in *La religiosidad popular*, ed. León Carlos Alvarez y Santaló, María Jesús Buxó i Rey, Salvador Rodríguez Becerra (Barcelona, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 401–10; Honorio M. Velasco, "Imágenes y santuarios. Una aproximación desde los relieves y las sombras de los relatos histórico-legendarios," in *Religión y cultura. Congreso de Religiosidad Popular* (*Andújar, 1997*), ed. Salvador Rodríguez Becerra (Sevilla, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 13–28.

[67] Manoel Jozé da Costa Felgueiras Gayo (1750–1831), *Nobilário das Familias de Portugal* (Braga, 1992), vol. 6.

accompanied the Spanish *infanta* Juana de Castilla during her sojourn in Évora in the 1470s. Juana (1462–1530), daughter of Enrique IV Trastámara (r. 1454– 1474), and known as *la Beltraneja*, sought exile as a Clarissan nun, first in Évora and later in Coimbra, after her marriage to Afonso V of Portugal was annulled and she was forced to abandon her title and claim to the throne of Castile by her aunt and rival Isabel I *la Católica* (r. 1474–1504).[68]

Numerous more fortunate members of the Castilian royal family and their retinues also spent extended time in Évora; indeed, Hispano-Luso ties were strong, as the *senhorio* or sovereignty of Évora traditionally formed part of the Portuguese queen's dowry, and intermarriage between the two kingdoms was common. At the time of the sculpture's production ca. 1300, the town was in the possession of Beatriz de Castilla (ca. 1293–1359), the daughter of Sancho IV and María de Molina, wife of Afonso IV of Portugal, and granddaughter of Violante de Aragón. Similarly, María de Portugal (1313–1357), a Portuguese *infanta* who married Alfonso XI (r. 1312–1350) and became queen of Castile, might also have been the conduit by which this sculpture, from a genre affiliated with the Castilian court, found its way to a Portugal. Lacking documentation to confirm this, it remains at present solely speculation, but the sculpture's being in private, female, non-noble hands in the later fifteenth century does give one pause for thought.

One other detail of Isabel Afonso's life is striking, and may also hold clues to the history of her *Virgem abrideira* (as the genre is known in Portuguese). In 1490, Dona Isabel and four other local gentlewomen founded a rival beatery, the *recolhimento das Beatas de Santa Marta*, later to become the Dominican convent of *Santa Catarina de Sena*, not far from the *Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* in Évora's compact town center.[69] Her decision not to join the *Galvoas* community with which she was affiliated in 1474 is curious, and although no written account remains to confirm this, Isabel may have wished to reclaim her donated sculpture to bring with her to the new convent. This would explain why various convent chronicles follow

[68] Antonio Caetano de Sousa (1674–1759), *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza, desde a sua origem até o presente* (Lisbon, 1787), vol. 3, pp. 38–43. See also Tarsicio de Azcona, *Juana de Castilla, mal llamada la Beltraneja: vida de la hija de Enrique IV de Castilla y su exilio en Portugal (1462–1530)* (Barcelona, 2007).

[69] Espanca, *Inventário artístico*, p. 238; Túlio Espanca, "Agonia do Convento de Santa Catarina de Sena de Évora," *A Cidade de Évora*, 58 (1975), rprt. in *Cadernos de Historia e Arte Eborense,* 30, *Estudos Alentejanos* (Évora, 1975). This is confirmed in Fialho and da Fonseca's history of Santa Catarina de Sena; see Franco, *Évora Ilustrada*, bk. 4, ch. 4, p. 319. Neither convent survives; both were destroyed at the turn of the last century following official ex-claustration as part of Portuguese civic reforms.

the unusual practice of listing the precise day of donation of the Paradise Virgin (8 June 1474), and the name of the court notary who witnessed the transaction (Joaõ Dias, *tabeliaõ d'el Rey*), emphatically asserting the legality of her gift.[70]

Whatever the circumstances, upon its arrival in the beatery of *as Galvoas*, the petite ivory Virgin and Child figure became the protagonist of a prominent, albeit narrowly confined cult. No doubt, the good women of the *Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* were devoted to the Virgin Mary, and understood the role of the ivory statue as a medium through which to access her divine intervention, yet their cult to the Blessed Virgin was fully merged with their cult to this particular image through which she was venerated. One of the miracles that graced the statue is recorded not only in the various histories of the Dominican order in Portugal, but also in the fabric of the sculpture itself. In 1598, Évora was beset by one of the frequent plagues that afflicted the city in the final quarter of the sixteenth century. In response, the nuns of the convent lit a plague candle and commenced the appropriate cycle of prayers to ward off the disease and avert its suffering.[71]

The wax coil of the plague candle, according to Manoel Fialho, corresponded to the circumference of the monastery, and would have burned for days, if not weeks, in the monastic choir, where it rested beside the altar on which sat the figure of Our Lady of Paradise, who had saved the convent from similar contagions in 1569 and 1579–1580.[72] Not surprisingly, one night the altar cloths caught fire, and flames swept through the room. Miraculously, the entire space was destroyed, save for the convent's namesake, its ivory Virgin, and the silken robes and long golden tresses in which it was dressed at the time. *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* survived, if much of her monastery did not, convent annals tell us, and went on to

[70] Cacegas and de Sousa, *Terceira parte da historia*; Fialho and da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*; Franco, *Évora Ilustrada*, bk. 4, p. 319. To date I have not been able to trace the original document, as notaries in Portugal were not required to file protocol records with municipal authorities until the 16th century. This makes the specificity of the Évora convent's references to the sculpture's donation exceptionally valuable as well as unusually detailed.

[71] The story of the 1598 miracle is recorded in Cacegas and de Sousa, *Terceira parte da historia*, vol. 3, bk. 1, pp. 63b–64a; Fialho and da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*, bk. 4, §699, p. 393.

[72] On these plague miracles, also orchestrated by the *Virgem abrideira*, see Fialho and da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*, bk. 2, §442–46, pp. 247–49. On the construction of plague candles and the rituals associated with them, see Catherine Vincent, *Fiat lux: Lumière et luminaires dans la vie religieuse en occident du XIIIe siècle au début du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2004).

perform additional miracles, including saving the convent from a lightning strike in 1701.[73]

So states the official record. The sculpture's survival is manifest; yet it had to have sustained considerable damage in the fire, as it was necessary to replace the entire head, save for a tall sliver at the back of the neck corresponding to the original carved veil (Fig. 12). The head currently visible is a ca. 1600 replacement carved out of wood, not ivory, and fully polychromed, with its carved blonde hair enhanced by a high, round coif of human hair neatly contained within a fine net and cinched with a pale silk ribbon.[74] Yet, we may be sure that a miracle did occur in 1598, thanks not only to the survival of the majority of the figure, but to the nearly perfect state of preservation of the interior scenes, a clear indication that the Triptych Virgin had been closed at the time of the accident, ensuring that the delicately carved details of its ten interior chambers were untouched by tongues of flame. Once again, the object itself documents its unwritten history, confirming the emerging picture that *Vierges ouvrantes* were displayed closed save for exceptional occasions.[75]

As for artistic quality, the Virgin of Évora exceeds that of her Salamanca and Allariz cousins, leading to previous identifications of the figure as French rather than Spanish in origin. This denomination was reserved by earlier generations of scholars for the most skillfully carved ivories.[76] Nevertheless, the likelihood that its maker was familiar with the Allariz prototype—before it entered the Allariz cloister upon Violante's death in the winter of 1300/01—suggests instead that it too came from the workshops of the kingdom of Castile-León, rather than a prestigious yet distant French atelier. One further detail points to a peninsular rather than Parisian origin: its method of manufacture was contrary to the Paris guild statutes for ivory carvers, recorded in 1268 by Étienne Bouileau, provost of Louis IX.[77] The rules clearly state that save for the arms

[73] On the 1701 miracle, see Fialho and da Fonseca, *Evora Gloriosa*, bk. 4, §699, p. 393.

[74] The catalogue from the influential exhibition *Maravillas de la España medieval* (Cuadrado, p. 442) mistakenly lists the Évora sculpture as wood rather than ivory, neglects to indicate that the head is not original, and locates it incorrectly in the destroyed monastery.

[75] The (in)frequency with which Triptych Virgins were opened and their interiors exposed to public view is discussed further in Katz, "Marian Motion."

[76] Koechlin, *Les ivoire gothiques*, applied a reductive criterion that all beautiful works were produced in Paris, and all works of lesser quality in the French provinces, unless proven otherwise. Today, the Spanish *Vierges ouvrantes* have been accepted as locally produced works—at least by art historians in Spain.

[77] Étienne Boileau (ca. 1200/10–1270), *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris: XIIIe siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau*, eds. René de Lespinasse, François Bonnardot (Paris, 1879), part 1, title 61, § 9, p. 128. These regulations form part of the standard literature on ivory; they receive particular attention in Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers."

Figure 12 *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* of Évora, detail of the wooden replacement head, ca. 1596, Évora, Museu de Arte Sacra da Sé, Évora Cathedral, Portugal (Photo: M.R. Katz).

of a crucifix, which may be carved separately from the body, all works of ivory must be carved from a single piece. This *bravura* workmanship was not exclusive to Paris; craftsmen of the highest order elsewhere in France, as well as Italy, England, Aragón, Castile, and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, applied these same standards to their masterpieces.

The technique employed in Queen Violante's *Virxe abrideira* of Allariz fulfills these requirements, as both the interior and exterior motifs are carved out of a single ivory tusk in one solid mass (see Fig. 2b). The carver of the Évora figure, by contrast, worked much of the Virgin and Child out of a single tusk, including the throne and many elements of the ten historiated scenes enclosed within the figure. Some of the finer details of the interior vignettes, however, were carved separately and attached to the principal scenes by means of tiny dowels (Fig. 13). This fact should be borne in mind by those who judge the carver of the Allariz piece to have been less skillful than the maker of the Évora *Virgem*, given that the interior scenes of the former are less meticulously miniaturized than those of the latter. Hence, despite its exceptional beauty, the Évora example, like the Triptych Virgins of Allariz and Salamanca and the lost work of Sigüenza Cathedral, was likely produced on the Iberian Peninsula, probably in the northwest, as Portugal had a minimal tradition of ivory carving prior to the establishment of direct commerce with Africa in the fifteenth century.[78]

Fascinating as these histories are, the point of greater significance for this study lies in the fact that although the Allariz and Évora Virgins both ended up as devotional works housed in monasteries of female religious, neither started out that way. Allariz, we recall, began as a work destined for a single private, royal patron, and Évora, before being adapted to the needs of corporate prayer, served the devotional needs of a laywoman. Hence, to classify these sculptures as objects devised to enhance the devotions of cloistered women would be incorrect, although later circumstances demonstrate their capacity to serve the needs of diverse religious communities. What then, are we to make of the assumption by eminent scholars that an early fourteenth-century Rhenish work in the Metropolitan Museum was probably owned by a cloistered German nun (see Figs. 6a, b)?[79] What factors may have led to this conclusion, given the

[78] Trens, *María: Iconografía de la Virgen*, p. 511, however, maintained that the Évora Virgin was French, as did Espanca, *Inventario artístico*, pp. 40–41 (or at least French in style). Christoph Baumer, "Supplement," *Marian Library Studies*, 10 (1978), p. 207, perplexingly terms the same work "French-German" in style.

[79] Van Os, *The Art of Devotion*, pp. 50–51, 55–56; Wixom, "Medieval Sculpture," p. 46 concurs.

Figure 13 *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* of Évora, ca. 1300, detail of the bottom central vignette, Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds, Évora, Museu de Arte Sacra da Sé, Évora Cathedral, Portugal (Photo: M.R. Katz).

absence of documentation to indicate the sculpture's origins? Gender is certainly a prominent factor in this attribution.

It seems that a stereotype has arisen, based on the recent scholarly interest in devotional practices of religious women, that has inadvertently conditioned us to think of all things small and devotional as female and confined. The selection of objects included in exhibitions such as *The Art of Devotion, Le Jardin Clos de l'Ame, Zeit und Ewigkeit*, and *Krone und Schleier* further reinforces this impression, as does visual evidence such as the portrait of Hedwig of Silesia with the beloved ivory statuette that accompanied her everywhere, including to the grave (see Fig. 1).[80] Each

[80] Van Os, *The Art of Devotion*. During its presentation at the Rijksmuseum in 1994–95, the exhibition went by the name *Gebed in Schoonheid: Schatten van privé-devotie in Europa: 1300–1500*. Paul Vandenbroeck, Luce Irigaray, et al., *Le jardin clos de l'ame: l'imaginaire des religieuses dans les Pays-Bas du Sud depuis le 13e siècle* (Brussels, 1994); *Zeit und Ewigkeit:*

study is a worthy piece of scholarship, and the conclusions drawn regarding the gendered usage of devotional art are highly appropriate in their specific contexts, but are they generalizable to objects not known to have emerged from convent settings? My purpose is not to call into question the validity of conclusions drawn by authors working in the field of female devotion, but to caution against these biases being employed reflexively to other aspects of medieval art.

A gendered reading of devotional objects is not without merit, but it may be somewhat limiting as well, inuring us to other possibilities. Could the Iberian model of audience diversity apply in northern Europe as well? Lacking evidence to the contrary, why should not the Metropolitan's sculpture have belonged to someone female and mobile, or indeed male and cloistered? After all, we have cases at Salamanca and Sigüenza cathedrals that suggest Triptych Virgins served as traveling altarpieces for male clerics, and evidence of active patronage undertaken by the knights of the Teutonic Order in the first third of the fifteenth century. Irene González has recently pointed to papal concessions authorizing the Knights to carry traveling altars on military campaigns, while simultaneously noting that some Triptych Virgins patronized by the Order might have been too large to have journeyed far from their designated chapels, an argument that embraces both male motion and stasis.[81]

Conversely, we have comparatively little evidence of reduced-sized Triptych Virgins having been commissioned directly for use within monastic settings. Ironically, in the one documented case of a Triptych Virgin being produced for a cloistered female, the abbess of Maubuisson, the figure is one of the largest *Vierges ouvrantes* known today (Figs. 14a, b).[82] The

128 Tage in St. Marienstern, eds. Judith Oexle, Markus Bauer, Marius Winzeler (Halle an der Saale, 1998); and *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklostern*, eds. Jutta Frings, Jan Gerchow (Munich, 2005). On Hedwig of Silesia, see n. 7.

[81] González Hernando, "La reinterpretación," pp. 226–27. While I agree that arguments can be made for both stasis and movement based on size, I disagree with her assertion that polychromed wooden sculptures, however heavily gilded, would have been too valuable to use as traveling altarpieces, especially given that liturgical objects of precious metals and gemstones also accompanied the knights on campaign.

[82] On Maubuisson, see the various monographs from Clément, *La représentation de la Madone*, on through Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, no. 5, pp. 60–61, 221–23; Didron, "Les images ouvrantes," pp. 415; Joseph Depoin, "La Vierge Ouvrante de Maubuisson. Notice Historique," in *Extrait des Mémoires de la Société historique de Vexin* (Pontoise, 1882), vol. 4, pp. 17–21; Adolphe Dutilleux and Joseph Depoin, *L'abbaye de Maubuisson* (*Notre-Dame-la-Royale*)*: histoire et cartulaire: publiés d'après des documents entièrement inédits* (Pontoise, 1882), pp. 142–43, 206–08; Félix Martin-Sabon, *Promenade artistique en Seine-et-Oise* (Paris, 1906), pp. 41–42.

Figure 14a Archival photograph of *Notre-Dame-la-Royale* of Maubuisson, ca. 1400, ex-coll. Parish Church of Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône, France (Photo: Paris, Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine © Ministère de la Culture–Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN/Félix Martin-Sabon).

Figure 14b Archival photograph of *Notre-Dame-la-Royale* of Maubuisson, ca. 1400, ex-coll. Parish Church of Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône, France (Photo: Paris, Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine © Ministère de la Culture–Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN/Félix Martin-Sabon).

sculpture, which shows a seated Virgin, measures 55 inches (140 cm) tall; if the figure were to stand, she would be over life-sized. This Triptych Virgin then, of certain female monastic patronage, is distinctly *not* a diminutive devotional figure designed for intimate contemplation by a small, confined nun.[83] Once again, the work of art inverts our gender expectations.

The Maubuisson sculpture, heavily altered in the seventeenth century when its interior vignettes were removed and replaced with *carte presse* figurines of saints, has caused much havoc in the historiography of Triptych Virgins. The convent annals record it as having been commissioned by an abbess ruling in the early fifteenth century, and stylistically it resembles works produced at that time.[84] Nevertheless, a tradition arose, following the emergence of the sculpture into the public arena after the suppression of the abbey in the French Revolution, that the *Vierge ouvrante* had been a gift of Maubuisson's royal founder, Blanche of Castile.[85] Although there is no evidence to support this, the fanciful rumor was accepted as fact, and the date of ca. 1240 (the time of the abbey's foundation) became securely attached to the sculpture, which became known in the nineteenth century as *Notre Dame la Royale*.[86] The emphasis placed by earlier scholars

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[83] Perhaps the phrase should be more properly "the sculpture measured," as *Notre-dame la Royale de Maubuisson*, as this sculpture was known, has not been seen since the night of 13 April 1973, when it was stolen from the parish church of St-Ouen-l'Aumône, where it had been housed following the suppression of the abbey of Maubuisson during the French Revolution.

[84] *Il y avoit en l'église du dehors, derrière le grand autel, une Vierge d'une grandeur et d'une grosseur prodigieuse, que l'on disoit avoir été faite, il y avoit environ deux cents ans, par la dévotion d'une abbesse*. Sœur Candide, in "Relations de la conduite particulière de chaque abbé et religieux qui ont eu part à celle de Maubuisson, et des traverses qu'ils ont faites à la Mère des Anges pendant 22 ans, dans lesquelles on voit la vertu, la sagesse et la grande humilité de cette mère," Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms 3369 (formerly Ms. 2983A), 17th Relation (ca. 1628–1646), fols. 250 ff.; transcribed in Depoin, "La Vierge Ouvrante de Maubuisson," vol. 4, p. 17.

[85] A report issued 15 October 1839 by the mayor, parish priest, and other local dignitaries, asserts that the face of the Virgin *looked* to them to be Spanish, and hence *must* have been given by the Spanish-born Blanche of Castile, a dubious line of reasoning on any level—even discounting the fact that Blanche left her homeland at the age of twelve in 1200; Depoin, "La Vierge Ouvrante de Maubuisson," vol. 4, pg. 14–15, quoting the 1839 *procès-verbal* signed by Messrs. Rougevin, C-M Godefroy, Delarue, Chennevièrre, and M. le curé Brétinière. The true cautionary tale is how easily such an implausible legend found its way into the work of otherwise rigorous scholars, without anyone questioning the source of this tradition.

[86] The German literature which dominates the field consistently dates the sculpture to the time of the abbey's foundation ca. 1240, from Fries in 1928–29 through Radler in 1990. Francophone authors, who presumably knew the sculpture personally, as it was located only a few miles outside of Paris, dated it to the 15th century, with the exception of Sarrète, "Vierges ouvertes," presumably the source by which the error entered the German

on *Vierge ouvrante* chronology compounded the effects of this otherwise routine error.

Hence, during the formative period of *Vierge ouvrante* studies, the Maubuisson *Vierge* was wrongly thought to be the earliest surviving Triptych Virgin, and became the model used by unscrupulous dealers to produce the forgeries that were introduced onto the market in France at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[87] Not only was it erroneously believed to be the earliest Triptych Virgin, the Maubuisson sculpture was also likely the only *Vierge ouvrante* known to scholars and dealers before 1870. This explains why an idiosyncratic feature, found only in the Maubuisson *Vierge*, appears in many of the neo-medieval replicas and ivory curios produced for eager collectors and unscrupulous dealers.[88] The modern carvers imitated Maubuisson's unique head-to-foot opening, thinking it was representative of the genre as a whole.[89] As more examples came to light, it soon became apparent that all other Triptych Virgins opened from the shoulders down. This left the head and face of the Virgin Mary intact, unmarred by the awkward vertical seam that divides the face of the Maubuisson sculpture, an unflattering feature medieval artists understandably had not imitated and modern copyists soon abandoned.[90]

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literature; see Clément, *La représentation de la Madone*; Fabre, "Les Vierges ouvrantes;" Vloberg, "Vierges ouvrantes." Sadly, Réau, *Iconographie*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 92–93, neglected the opinion of his countrymen and published the erroneous date and false attribution to the patronage of Blanche of Castile.

[87] On forgeries, see notes 15 and 47. Émile Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie du Ve à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 1, *Les Ivoires* (Paris, 1896), pp. 176–79, head curator of decorative arts at the Louvre in the late 19th century, was the first to publish the 3 sculptures as forgeries, although suspicions had been voiced earlier by experts.

[88] It was certainly the only sculpture available for study in Paris, where it could be seen during the decades between the suppression of the abbey of Maubuisson following the French Revolution, and 1839, the year that it was returned to the custody of church authorities and placed in the parish church of St. Ouen-l'Aumône, a town 17 miles (27 km) northwest of Paris. In 1869, Didron, "Les images ouvrantes," knew only of Maubuisson, the Burgundian ducal inventories, and the Louvre fake.

[89] According to Depoin, "La Vierge Ouvrante," the Maubuisson sculpture was restored in the Louvre at some point between 1792–1839. Not surprisingly, the 3 acknowledged French forgeries now in the collections of the museums of Rouen, Lyon, and the Louvre—all of which copy the Maubuisson sculpture's unusual full-figure division—appeared on the art market between the years 1792 and 1839. The disputed Walters figure, which shares with the acknowledged forgeries this singular opening form, cannot be traced back any further than the French Revolution; Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*; Holbert, "The Vindication;" Randall, "Pastiches, Revivals, Forgeries."

[90] The inspired interpretations of Triptych Virgins produced recently by authors relying on secondary sources makes it all the more imperative that scholars become aware of the misdating of the Maubuisson Virgin in the literature, and the consequential error regarding the allegedly Cistercian origins of *Vierges ouvrantes* in the 13th century. Similarly,

Conclusion

Vierge ouvrante sculptures contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the role of women as makers of medieval art by casting light on factors that may be missed or misread when approaching art through the lens of female devotional and emotional experience. Triptych Virgins have been interpreted as having been devised for and especially relevant to women's spirituality, yet as the above discussion demonstrates, this is true for only a segment of the sculptures made in the Middle Ages, whether or not they serve the devotional needs of women at present. Such assumptions reveal gender biases at work that, unless we take care to acknowledge their presence, may unwittingly prejudice our intent to interpret the medieval past in a contextually appropriate manner unclouded by modern cultural preconceptions. The discrepancy between expectations and outcome posed by *Vierges ouvrantes* raises the compelling question of whether there is anything inherently "female" about works made for women. At the same time, are these characteristics, when displayed in works made for men or mixed audiences, any more masculine or feminine than Mark Twain's turnip?

An in-depth study reveals that *Vierges ouvrante*s appealed not to any particular gender, audience, or devotional practice, but rather to both genders and diverse audiences. This outcome is far more intriguing, albeit less straightforward, than the single-audience model initially proposed, and raises the compelling question of how to make sense of apparently gendered elements whose appeal and acceptance transcend expected constituencies, challenging us to make sense of patterns that contradict widely held assumptions regarding gendered appeal, authority, and agency. The collapse of seemingly stable categories under the weight of scrutiny need not be viewed negatively. Rather, the undermining of prevailing expectations provides an opportunity to reengage critically with current methods and formulate new perspectives from which to approach women's roles in artistic production and reception. Such an endeavor advances our understanding of these issues, and ultimately energizes the investigation of gendered appeal, authority, and agency.

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scholars must recognize the unlikelihood of the emergence of Passion interior motifs in the 13th century, given the grave concerns surrounding the authenticity of the Walters/Boubon figure.

CHAPTER THREE

MERE EMBROIDERERS? WOMEN AND ART IN EARLY MEDIEVAL IRELAND*

Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh

"For the woman who embroiders earns more profit even than queens," states a judgement from the early Irish law tract, *Bretha im Fhuillemu Gell* (Judgements concerning Pledge-Interests), on the great value of a needle given in pledge.[1] The two categories thus distinguished, queen and embroiderer, must, however, for the learned class who wrote such tracts, have blurred together almost imperceptibly across the margin defined by birth. This made embroidery not a craft, but an elegant and appropriate art: embroidery was a skill taught only to aristocratic girls, as other legal texts on fosterage make clear.[2] Thus the daughter of an *ócaire* or freeman is taught the use of the quern, the kneading trough, and the sieve (*bro ⁊ losut ⁊ criathrud*), while the daughter of an *aire-tuíseo* or "lord of precedence" is taught sewing, composition/cutting out, and embroidery (*uaim ⁊ cumu ⁊ druinuchus*), as is the daughter of a king.[3] The aristocratic woman's defined role in early Irish society relegated the sphere of her activities to the domestic; her contractual capacities were far less than those of her husband, father, or brothers, yet in the disposal of the work of

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* I am most grateful to Therese Martin for her invitation to contribute to this volume, also to Mark Faulkner, Anna Moran, and my colleagues Juliet Mullins, Emma Nic Cárthaigh, and David Woods for ongoing discussion of many of the issues here dealt with.

[1] "*Air is mo do do thorbu dosli cach ben bes druinech olldaite cid rigna.*" D.A. Binchy, ed., *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 462.19–477.30, esp. 464.2–3 (hereafter *CIH*). Trans. R. Atkinson, W.N. Hancock, W.M. Hennessy, T. O'Mahony, and A.G. Richey, eds., *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Dublin, 1865–1901), vol. 5, p. 382.3–4 (hereafter *AI*). This tract forms part of the *Senchas Már*, a collection of law texts dating to the 7th and 8th centuries: Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), p. 245; Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005), p. 296, identifies it as tract 23 within that collection. This passage is briefly discussed by Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, p.78. The word "*olldaite*," disregarded in the 19th-century translation, suggests embroidery in several colours.

[2] Glosses to *Cáin Íarraith* ("The Regulation of Fosterage-fee"); tract 4 of the *Senchas Már*. *CIH* pp. 1759.6–1770.14; *AI* 2, pp. 146–93.

[3] *CIH* p. 1760.22; *AI* 2, p. 153.16–17; *CIH*, p. 1760.34; *AI* 2, p. 155.9.

her needle, she could take responsibility.[4] Women were entitled to leave bequests to the church of the produce from their own hands, and the same probably applied to gifts—which in the case of a queen could be quite considerable.[5] Likewise, contracts entered into with craftsmen and poets were amongst the few which were binding without legal sureties, and which women could therefore make.[6] The altar-cloths, jewels, and small portable objects donated by women to the church were, therefore, the combined result of specific social and legal possibilities, and, to an extent, an appropriate femininity in terms of medium. To regard them as lower in value than other more lasting works in stone or metal is, however, a mistake, as revealed by the mournfully recorded lost or "drowned" vest-

[4] *Bandíre*, tract 20 of the *Senchas Már*, states that the most foolhardy contracts to enter into are those with women, since women are not capable of alienating anything without the permission of those in authority over them, whether father, husband, sons, kin, or church. "*Messom cundrada cuir ban. Air ni tualaing ben roria ni sech oen a cenn*," *CIH* 443.29–30. Trans. and discussed by Daniel A. Binchy, "The Legal Capacity of Women with Regard to Contracts," in *Studies in Early Irish Law*, ed. R. Thurneyson (Dublin and London, 1936), pp. 207–34, esp. 213. Binchy (pp. 201–10, 216) suggested that this almost absolute incapacity was modified in the later Old Irish texts, and even more so in the Middle Irish glosses, thus *Cáin Lánamna* ("The Regulation of Couples," tract 7 of the *Senchas Már* according to Breatnach, *A Companion*, pp. 289–90) allows for the sale of clothing, food, cattle, and sheep by the wife. Neil McLeod, *Early Irish Contract Law* (Sydney, 2002), pp. 71–80, has recently argued that such incapacity is more closely related to the type of marriage a woman contracted, coupled with the amount of property she brought with her into the marriage. See also Lisa Bitel, "Women's Donations to the Churches in Early Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 114 (1984), pp. 5–23, esp. 8–10.

[5] For the ability to donate the produce of her own hands, see the *Bandíre* tract, *CIH* 442.21–2: "*torud a da llam do chor fri eclais*," discussed by Binchy, "The Legal Capacity of Women," p. 226. "*Ni tualain reicce na creice na cuir na cuinduruda sech oen a chenn, acht tabairt bes techta d'oen a cenn cocur cen dichill*:" "She is not capable of sale or purchase or contract or transaction without one of her heads, save a proper gift to one of her heads, with agreement and without neglect," *CIH* 444.5–6. Trans. Binchy, "The Legal Capacity of Women," p. 214. Similarly, from the "Tract on Marriage and Divorce" identified by Breatnach, *A Companion*, p. 306, as tract 40 of the *Senchas Már*: "*Nach tualaing in ben reca na creca sech in fer acht tabairt cach mna fo miad*," *CIH* 2103.35–6. "That the woman is not capable of sale or purchase without the man save for the gift of everyone according to her rank," Binchy, "The Legal Capacity of Women," p. 214.

[6] Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, p. 163, cites Heptad 25: "*Tait vii taburta la i tuaith ata dilsim cin mac cin raith. Udbuirt ar anmuin. Duas teachta do file. Log mbelra. Aithe imrime. Log lamtoruid. Duilgine cach aicde. Tabuirt espuic. Tabuirt rig*:" "With the Feine there are in a territory seven gifts which are perpetual, without a son, without a surety: an offering to the soul; proper reward to a poet; the reward for language; the payment for riding; the price of hand-produce; the payment of all handicraft; the gift of a bishop; the gift of a king" *CIH* 24.11–25.5; *AL* v 212. The Heptads or *Sechtae* are identified by Breatnach, *A Companion*, p. 291–92, as tract 9 of the *Senchas Már*. The same principle is expressed in *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* (*CIH* 459.23–460.2; "Kinship of Conducted Water," tract 22 of the *Senchas Már*, Breatnach, *A Companion*, p. 296).

ments of contemporary chronicles. Thus, for example, in 1118, the Annals of Ulster record that Cellach, Archbishop of Armagh, lost vestments worth one hundred ounces of silver, and himself received a shock, in some accident when crossing the river Dabhall.[7]

But could women's engagement with art in early medieval Ireland go beyond this? When asking this question, it is crucial to bear in mind the gendered focus of disciplinary research and the confines of methodologies thus far explored. The interactions of men and art have frequently been the focus of scrutiny, even when this is not explicitly stated, and this has normalised certain assumptions which require interrogation. Scholars have often tended to concentrate on two areas when attempting to populate the anonymity of Irish medieval art: the commissioning of artworks by royal patrons—notably building work, but also metalwork reliquaries and sculpted crosses—and the role of the artists or craftsmen themselves, sometimes subsumed within narratives of style, workshop, and attribution.[8] To a lesser extent, there has been some exploration of audience, but again usually assuming a male-gendered, often clerical and highly learned, viewer.[9] Some few exceptions to this general tendency in the scholarship on Insular art are suggestive of the value of examining images from the perspectives of both the male and female viewer, notably Carol Farr's interpretation of the women depicted on the Ruthwell Cross

[7] *The Annals of Ulster* (*to A.D. 1131*), ed. and trans. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), s.a. 1118. "*Mess cet n-unga do aidhmibh aiffrinn Ceallaigh comarba Patraic do badhudh i nDaball ⁊ bidhgadh dó fein*."

[8] For instance, but not exhaustively, on patronage: Raghnall Ó Floinn, "Clonmacnoise: Art and Patronage in the Early Medieval Period," in *Clonmacnoise Studies I*, ed. Heather King (Dublin, 1998), pp. 87–100; Tadhg O'Keeffe, "Diarmait Mac Murchada and Romanesque Leinster: Four Twelfth-Century Churches in Context," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 127 (1997), pp. 52–79; Tomás Ó Carragáin, "Rebuilding the 'City of Angels': Muirchertach Ua Briain and Glendalough, ca. 1096–1111," in *Proceedings of the XVI Viking Congress*, ed. J. Sheehan, D. Ó. Corráin, and P. Wallace (Dublin, 2010), pp. 258–70. On the artist or craftsman: Roger Stalley, "Artistic Identity and the Irish Scripture Crosses," in *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. Rachel Moss (Dublin, 2007), pp. 153–66; Griffin Murray, "The Arm-Shaped Reliquary of St. Lachtin: Technique, Style and Significance," in *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Dublin, 2004), pp. 141–64.

[9] Such an assumption is of course quite a reasonable one in manuscript studies, where hitherto there has been a greater degree of concentration on audience than in other media, even when this is implicit rather than explicit. See for instance, Jennifer O'Reilly, " 'Know who and what he is': The Context and Inscriptions of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion Image," in *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. Rachel Moss (Dublin, 2007), pp. 301–16.

in northern England.[10] Without ruling out the possibility of female patronage given the prominence of women in the iconography, Farr argued that these images served to negotiate women's roles within the Christianisation of England in a manipulative and charged manner, and specifically with female as well as male viewers in mind. Arguably, the representative strategies used in the depiction of the Virgin and Eve on the Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice (Co. Louth) are equally complex (Figs. 1–3). The Virgin presents the fruit of her womb to the Magi in a composition that echoes Eve's presentation of the fruit to Adam, while both Old Testament and New Testament scenes are ushered in by women.[11] Analysis of this thought-provoking juxtaposition suggests that a more careful reading of images of women in monumental sculpture could elucidate at least the element of audience or viewer in relation to the role of women and art. In terms of artistic production, however, it is manifestly clear from the documentary material that a shift of medium is required in order to enter into a valid discussion, and that textile art must become the focus if the role of the female artist or craftswoman is to be considered. Here, however, we reach a decided break with male-centred histories because the women so involved do not derive their status in society from their craft; they fall outside the boundaries of "professional" art, which has dominated the art-historical discourse. It will be argued below, however, that this in fact places embroidery on a par with manuscript production (in the early medieval period and in an Insular context), and that this is a useful comparative entry point into their study.[12]

Such disciplinary perspectives also have implications with regard to patronage, even if here the boundaries are more fluid. If women were encouraged to donate their own productions, men of equal status were not in a position to do so. While the daughter of a king was learning

[10] Carol A. Farr, "Worthy Women on the Ruthwell Cross: Woman as Sign in Early Anglo-Saxon Monasticism," in *The Insular Tradition*, eds. Catherine Karkov, Robert Farrell, and Michael Ryan (Albany, 1997), pp. 45–61.

[11] Catherine Karkov, "Adam and Eve on Muiredach's Cross: Presence, Absence and Audience," in *From the Isles of the North*, ed. Cormac Bourke (Belfast, 1995), pp. 205–11.

[12] In fact, our knowledge of the overlap between craftsmen and clerics in an early Insular context is at present subject to some dispute, and indeed it is possible that some metalwork objects were made by educated clerics who were also skilled metalworkers. In an Anglo-Saxon context Dunstan, monk, then archbishop of Canterbury (959–988), and finally, saint, was known for his abilities not just in manuscript art, but also in metalwork, which could corroborate this possibility. However, as it remains a contentious point, I will confine my arguments to the less disputed field of manuscripts. I am most grateful to Dr. Griffin Murray of the Kerry County Museum for ongoing discussion on this point.

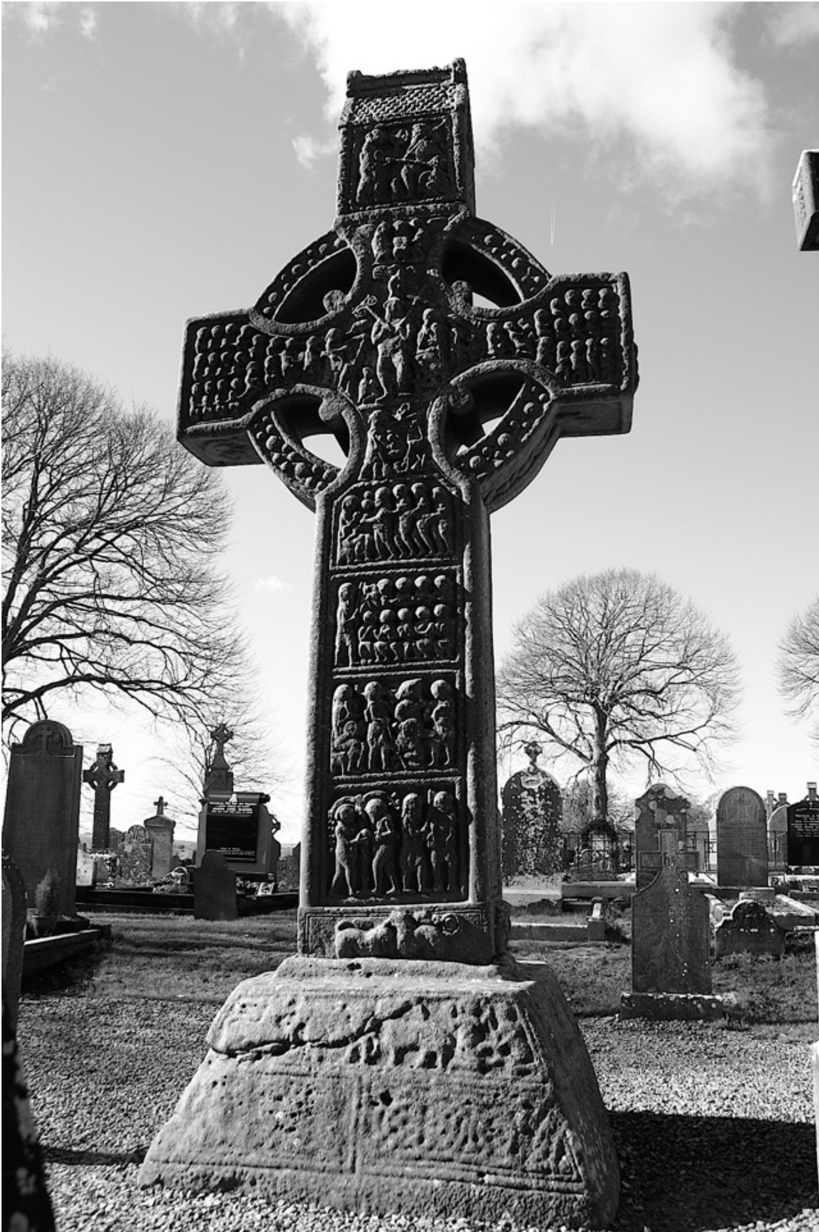

Figure 1 The Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, Co. Louth, ca. 900 (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

Figure 2 Eve holds out the apple to Adam. Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, ca. 900 (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

Figure 3 The Virgin holds out the Christ Child to the Magi. Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, ca. 900 (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

sewing, composition, and embroidery, her brother was learning horsemanship, swimming, and facility in strategic board-games.[13] Thus the connection between women's patronage and women's own artistic production could inevitably be closer than that of their male counterparts. Kings *had* to commission works in metal or stone; their wives did not. This is not to say that women did not also participate in patronage of other arts and crafts; indeed they did. The donation of gifts of jewellery and other small personal items was common from the sixth century onwards; we even have a description of an elaborate metalwork gift presented by a queen to St. Brigit and her nuns in the *Vita I*: "a skillfully wrought silver chain which had the figure of a man at the end."[14] Although chronicle sources are sparse, a number of queens in ninth- to twelfth-century Ireland are recorded as being actively involved in building work, from Land of Osraige, who built a church at Kildare in 868, to Derbforgaill of Mide (d. 1193), who completed the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise in 1167 (Fig. 4).[15] The role of the abbess in the ninth to twelfth centuries similarly encompassed the practicalities of organising construction.[16] The legal tracts, which reflect ordinary usage, as opposed to regal or saintly exceptions, also intriguingly suggest the possibility of female craftsmanship in stone or wood. *Bretha Crólige* (Judgements on Sick Maintenance) includes a list of women of particular importance in the *túath* (the smallest political grouping or kingdom of medieval Ireland) who cannot be removed for nursing elsewhere, including the *banshaer*, commonly translated "female wright."[17] The *saer*

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[13] *CIH* p. 1761.24–5; *AI* 2 p. 157.

[14] *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp, 1658), February 1, pp. 119–35, esp. 124. '§46 Regina quaedam ad S. Brigidam cum donis bonis venit; in quibus erat argentea catena fabrefacta, quae habebat in summitate formam hominis.' I am grateful to Dr. David Woods for his translation of this passage. See also Seán Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*: Background and Historical Value," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 119 (1989), pp. 5–49, esp. 26; more generally Bitel, "Women's Donations," pp. 8–10.

[15] *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Joan Newlon Radner (Dublin, 1978), §366; for discussion see Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, "Agha Church: Architectural Iconography and Building Ambiguities," in *Carlow: History and Society*, eds. T. McGrath and W. Nolan (Dublin, 2008), pp. 53–83, esp. 70–71. *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1848–51), s.a. 1167; for discussion see Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, " 'But What Exactly Did She Give?' Derbforgaill and the Nuns' Church," in *Clonmacnoise Studies II*, ed. Heather King (Dublin, 2003), pp. 175–207, esp. 176–80; Karen Eileen Overbey, "Female Trouble: Ambivalence and Anxiety at the Nuns' Church," in *Law, Literature and Society: CSANA Yearbook 7*, ed. Joseph F. Eska (Dublin, 2008), pp. 93–112.

[16] Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450–1150* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 201– 203.

[17] *CIH* 2294.37. Daniel A. Binchy, "Bretha Crólige," *Ériu*, 12 (1938), pp. 1–77, esp. 26–7, §32.

Figure 4 The Nuns' Church, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, finished by Derbforgaill in 1167 (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

in this period would have worked in wood, but also perhaps in stone, materials which are usually considered to be the exclusive domain of men; whether this is a hypothetical case or not is unclear.[18]

This article will, therefore, attempt to re-centre the textile art of early medieval Ireland, particularly embroidery, while at the same time acknowledging its place within the broader artistic context of manuscript, metalwork, and sculpture production. It will set forth the evidence for female religious as makers of shrouds and vestments, as found in hagiographic texts and martyrologies, while showing that the value accorded these cloths indicates that they were likely embroidered, as Anglo-Saxon examples were. A number of seventh- and eighth-century law tracts and their later glosses can be shown to demonstrate the key role of women in cloth production more generally, and the importance of pattern and ornament in that production, whether created through weaving, embroidery, or appliqué. The possibility that such pattern may involve narrative, and thus provide an artistic parallel for poetic composition, but also indicate

[18] On the role of the *saer* and the variety of his expertise, see Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, "A Legal Perspective on the *Saer* and Workshop Practice in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. Rachel Moss (Dublin, 2007), pp. 110–25, esp. 120.

a highly evolved art on a par with sculpture or manuscript illumination, must also be considered. The literary evidence for elaborate clothing, its colour, and its ornament is striking; even allowing for hyperbole, the importance of sumptuary distinction is clear. The close connection between cloth and fine metalwork, evidenced by the elaborate brooches of the seventh century onwards, and the Irish love of filigree, a technique whose aesthetic is so close to embroidery as to suggest deliberate emulation, raises the question of contemporary artistic values. Finally, key evidence for the association of embroidery with virtue, and the embroidering queen, donating linen cloths for the altar, as a follower in the Virgin's footsteps, will conclude this exploration of the artistic significance of women's production in medieval Ireland.

Perceiving Feminine Art—A View from the Twelfth Century

The attributes of femininity have been the subject of much debate and controversy from the earliest historical times up to the present. The interconnection between perceptions of female capability and feminine propriety is crucial to understanding women's relationship with art in early medieval Ireland; it is this nexus that will here be explored. There are some difficulties inherent in this endeavour. As Rozsika Parker has shown, the study of medieval English embroidery from the nineteenth century was informed—even deformed—by preoccupations with the role of women in the home, and this resulted in a distorted interpretation of medieval sources, with longer historiographical shadows.[19] While the Irish sources have not been subject to such a misreading, some of the translations which have not yet been superseded utilise a language as replete with implicit stereotypes as that highlighted by Parker.[20] Allowing for the validity of Parker's critique, it must be noted that Irish medieval society was extremely patriarchal as well as hierarchical, and that this defined women's creative labour just as much as it did every other aspect of their

[19] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London, 2010; 1st ed. 1984), pp. 20–33. I am grateful to Dr. Anna Moran for drawing this reference to my attention.

[20] The misleading translation of textual descriptions of material culture from medieval Irish sagas and law tracts has recently been exposed by Cathy Swift, "Old Irish for Archaeologists—An Interdisciplinary Perspective," in *The Modern Traveller to Our Past: Festschrift in Honour of Ann Hamlin*, ed. Marion Meek (Belfast, 2006), pp. 409–13.

lives.[21] Although gendered labour remains a factor in contemporary life, it is no longer as ubiquitous as it once was, and so its significance to medieval art and craft production is liable to be overlooked. In order to remind ourselves of ingrained medieval assumptions on this topic, it is useful to start with the striking marginal illustration on folio 24v of a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscript of Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica*, or "Topography of Ireland" [National Library of Ireland MS 700].[22] Here a naked figure with a long beard and hair, and a mane of curls running from nape to buttocks, is shown perched atop a hillock, engaged in the superlatively feminine task of spinning, distaff in hand (Fig. 5). The explanation for this ambiguous image is quite simple, but at the same time, revealing. Gerald's text describes how

> Duvenaldus, the king of Limerick, had a woman that had a beard down to her waist. She had also a crest from her neck down along her spine, like a one-year-old foal. It was covered with hair. This woman in spite of these two enormities was, nevertheless, not a hermaphrodite, and was in other respects sufficiently feminine.[23]

Michelle Brown has argued for the likelihood that Gerald himself was actively involved in the original programme of illustrations of a lost exemplar, from which derive both the Dublin National Library volume and British Library Royal MS. 13.B.viii.[24] This may then be a perfect example of the author's visualisation of physically-challenged femininity. These two closely related manuscripts do have some small differences in their illustrations, and notably the woman in the London manuscript is clearly shown with breasts, which are lacking in the Dublin version. In either case, however, the action she performs is sufficient to clarify for both

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[21] For a brief summation of women's position in society, see Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, pp. 68–79.

[22] Michelle Brown, "Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, vol. 10, *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards (London, 2002), pp. 34–59, esp. 40 argues for a date of ca. 1200 rather than the previously accepted dating of ca. 1220. I am most grateful to Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi for this reference and for bringing the marginal illustrations to Gerald's *Topography* to my attention in the first place.

[23] "Duvenaldus, rex Limericensis, mulierem habebat umbilico tenus barbatam. Quae et cristam habuit a collo superius per spinum deorsum, in modum pulli annui, crine vestitam. Mulier ista, duplici prodigio monstruosa, non hermaphrodita tamen, sed alias muliebri natura tantum emolita," *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, vol. 5: Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. James F. Dimock (London, 1867), p. 107; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (London, 1982), pp. 72–73.

[24] Brown, "Marvels of the West," pp. 33–34, 40–42.

Figure 5 Spinning hirsute woman illustrating Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica*, ca. 1200. Dublin: National Library of Ireland MS 700 fol. 24v (Photo: National Library of Ireland).

illuminator and audience her true nature: spinning encapsulated all her femininity of behaviour.

Such a connective relationship was neither novel nor local. As is well known, already in Ancient Egypt spinning was the domain of women. This is depicted in, for instance, the model of a weaver's workshop from the tomb of Mekhet-Re of ca. 2000 BC, which shows a row of women engaged

in spinning, as well as others plying, warping, and weaving.[25] Similarly in the Greek world, it was a task usually confined to women.[26] By the Roman period, when the action of spinning, or its paraphernalia of distaff and spindle, began to be shown on funerary sculpture, it had taken on moral overtones of wifely duty and feminine virtue.[27] And in a Biblical context, Jesus' words to "consider the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin" (Matt. 6:28, Luke 12:27) implies inclusivity through acknowledgement of just such a gendered labour divide.[28] In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, a manuscript depiction of ca. 1000 of the expulsion from Eden in Bodleian Library MS Junius 11 shows Adam with a spade and bag of seeds, as was traditional, and Eve with a spindle whorl (Figs. 6a, b).[29] Likewise in Ireland, the distaff was regarded as the quintessential woman's instrument. *Míadshlechtae* (Categories of Rank) gives it as their appropriate "weapon:" "*cucael codat roded do cach mnai*," or "a distaff to every woman," just as the "*caembachall*," a "fair ecclesiastical staff" was appropriate to each ecclesiastic.[30] The archaeological record confirms the prevalence of wooden spindles and hand-held distaffs, while stone and bone spindle-whorls are everywhere found (Fig. 7).[31] The image accompanying Gerald of Wales' text taps into ideas of very specifically feminine activities—of making in a female mode—to visualise the innate essence of this unfortunately hirsute woman. Ideas of virtue and productivity may also here combine, albeit not in an entirely clear manner. Whether what

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[25] Joan Allgrove-McDowell, "Ancient Egypt, 5000–332 BC," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 30–39, fig. 1.2.

[26] Ian Jenkins, "The Greeks," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, pp. 71–76, esp. 72 and fig. 2.1, showing a scene from a black-figure *lekythos* by the Amasis Painter with women spinning and weaving.

[27] John Peter Wild, "The Romans in the West, 600 BC–AD 400," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, pp. 77–93, esp. 82, and fig. 2.7, of the 2nd-century tombstone of M. Valerius Celerinus at Cologne, whose wife, Marcia Procula, is shown with a basket containing two loaded spindles.

[28] Walter Endrei and Rachel P. Maines, "On Two-Handed Spinning," in *European Women and Preindustrial Craft*, ed. Daryl M. Hafter (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995), pp. 31–41, esp. 31.

[29] Catherine Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius II Manuscript* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 76–77. I am grateful to Dr. Mark Faulkner for first drawing my attention to this image.

[30] *CIH*, p. 587.27, *AI* 4 p. 361. See also Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1998), p. 449.

[31] Nancy Edwards, "The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland, ca. 400–1169: Settlement and Economy," in *A New History of Ireland I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), pp. 235–300, esp. 281–82.

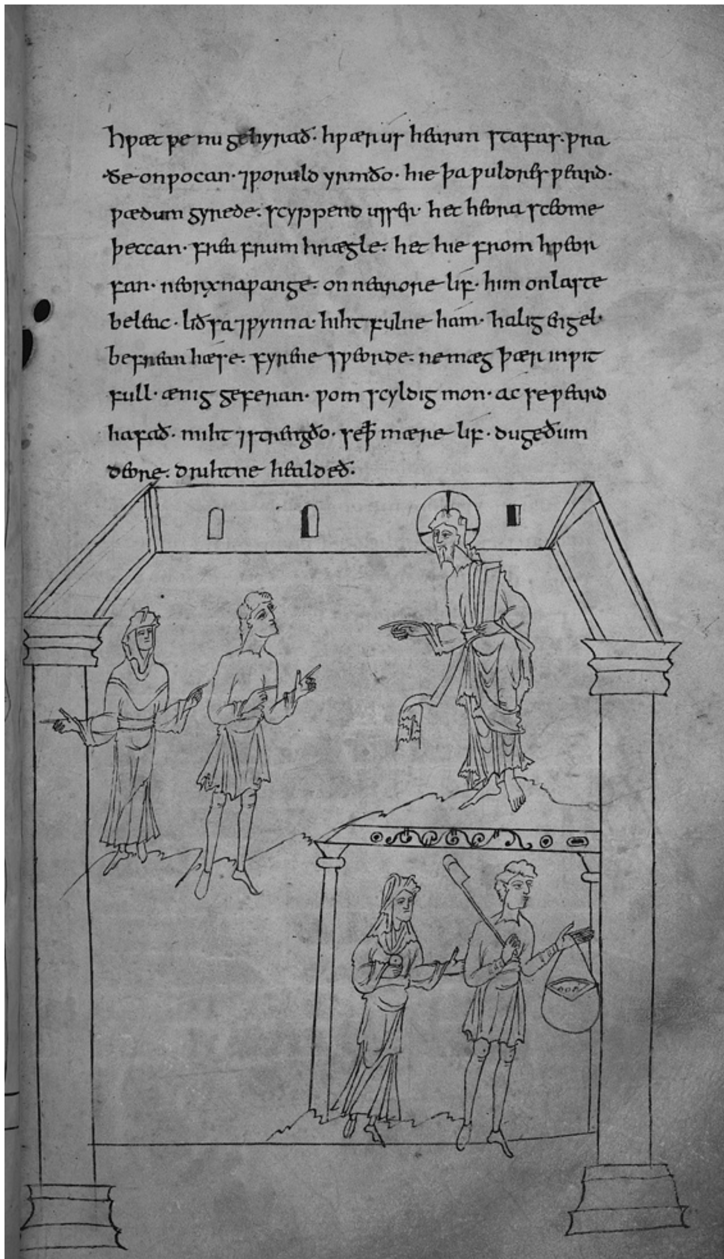

Figure 6a Adam and Eve. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, fol. 45r (Photo: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

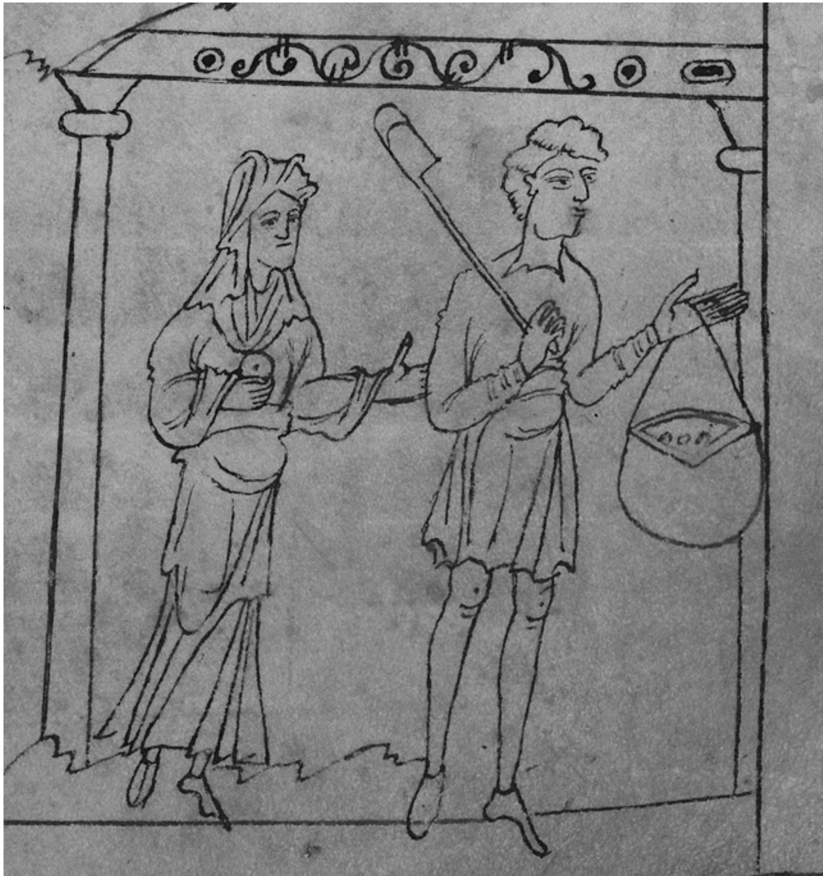

Figure 6b Detail of Eve with spindle whorl, ca. 1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, fol. 45r (Photo: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

the woman was making might in any sense be regarded as art is another matter; this will be dealt with in further detail below.

A second example from Gerald's *Topographia*, which also deals with an extraordinary woman, is pertinent to our enquiry. The exceptional woman in question is Brigit, virgin saint and founder of Kildare, whose historicity is dubious, but who may have died ca. 524.[32] The context of the account

[32] Recent opinion favours the view that the saint did really exist, and is not simply a Christianisation of a pagan deity. See Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church*, pp. 63–8; Lisa Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genovefa of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 187–94.

Figure 7 Spindle whorl from Cloghermore Cave, Co. Kerry, 99E0431:138 (Photo: Kerry County Museum).

is Gerald's description of an early Insular Gospel book which he saw at Kildare, and which he, and its clerical keepers, believed dated to the lifetime of the saint. Gerald's appreciation of the manuscript was perhaps due to its similarity in aesthetic values to contemporary productions which also revel in intricacy of detail. His reaction, although couched as a spontaneous one is indeed no such thing, drawing rather on Horace's *Ars Poetica*.[33] Bearing in mind that the account represents a mixture of twelfth-century interpretation as well as earlier tradition as retailed to Gerald of Wales, his account of the composition of the book is extremely interesting:

> On the night before the day on which the scribe was to begin the book, an angel stood beside him in his sleep, and showed him a drawing made on a tablet which he carried in his hand, and said to him, "Do you think that you can make this drawing on the first page of the book that you are about to begin?" The scribe, not feeling that he was capable of an art so subtle,

[33] T.A. Heslop, "Late Twelfth-Century Writing about Art, and Aesthetic Relativity," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C.R. Dodwell*, eds. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester and New York, 1998), pp. 129–41, esp. 132–35.

> and trusting little in his knowledge of something almost unknown and very unusual, replied: "No." The angel said to him: "Tomorrow tell your lady, so that she may pour forth prayers for you to the Lord, that he may open both your bodily and mental eyes so as to see the more keenly and understand the more subtly, and may direct your hands to draw correctly."
>
> All this was done, and on the following night the angel came again and held before him the same and many other drawings. By the help of the divine grace, the scribe, taking particular notice of them all, and faithfully committing them to his memory, was able to reproduce them exactly in the suitable places in the book. And so with the angel indicating the designs, Brigit praying, and the scribe imitating, the book was composed.[34]

Some elements of the tale ring true, such as the idea of copying from wax tablets. The Springmount Bog tablets furnish evidence from the seventh century of their use in Ireland for writing, if not drawing; such tablets were also used in Anglo-Saxon England.[35] Neither is there any reason to doubt that Gerald is reporting the tale from the manuscript's keepers, as parallels of angelic or otherworldly inspiration can be found elsewhere in Insular hagiography and saga. For instance, in Adomnán's *Life of Columba*, an angel shows a *librum vitreum*, or book of glass, directly to the saint, although this contains not a design, but the prescribed ordination for the kings of Dál Riada.[36] A little further afield in Northumbria, and moving from the visual to the verbal, Bede records a similar angelic dream as the inspiration for Cædmon's *Hymn*, one of the earliest Old English poems, whose composition is credited to the illiterate cow-herd Cædmon near

[34] "Nocte prima, cujus mane librum scriptor inchoaturus fuerat, astitit ei angelus in somnis, figuram quandam tabulae quam manu praeferebat impressam ei ostendens, et dicens, 'Putasne hanc figuram in prima libri quem scripturus es pagina possis imprimere?' Cui scriptor, de tantae subtilitatis arte, de tam ignotae et inusitate rei diffidens notitia, respondit, 'Nequaquam.' Cui angelus: 'In crastino die dic dominae tuae, ut ipsa pro te orationes fundat ad Dominum, quatinus ad acutius intuendum et subtilius intelligendum tibi tam mentis quam corporis oculos aperiat, et ad recte protrahendum manus dirigat.' Quo facto, nocte sequente iterum affuit angelus, eandem figuram aliasque multas ei praesentans. Quas omnes, divina opitulante gratia, statim advertens et memoriae fideliter commendans, libro suo locis competentibus ad unguem scriptor impressit. Sic igitur angelo praesentante, Brigida orante, scriptore imitante, liber est ille conscriptus," *Topographia Hibernica*, p. 124; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography*, pp. 84–85.

[35] E.C.R. Armstrong and R.A.S. Macalister, "Wooden Book with Leaves Indented and Waxed Found near Springmount Bog, Co. Antrim," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 50 (1920), pp. 160–65.

[36] The implications of this episode for our understanding of early manuscripts is discussed in some detail by George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells* (London, 1987), pp. 195–98, although I would not agree with all his conclusions.

the monastery of Whitby.[37] Cædmon's subsequent compositions are produced in a monastery presided over by a woman, but again, despite the prestige and nobility of the abbess, it is to a man that creativity is attributed.[38] A closer parallel geographically and artistically, if a secular one, occurs in a description in the Irish law tracts of the designing of a shield for Cúchulainn by the artificer Mac Endge. Mac Endge, devoid of inspiration and beginning to panic, is interrupted by an otherworldly man, Dubdethba, who appears mysteriously in his forge. Dubdethba tells Mac Endge to cover the floor in ash to the depth of a man's foot, then, with his double-pronged fork—a compass of some kind—inscribes the design in the ashes.[39] Mac Endge then casts the shield using the pattern on the floor as a model.

A wax-tablet prototype and angelic help, then, is nothing strange. Here, it is the role which Brigit plays that is unusual. Although as a saint she is able to bypass many of the limitations of womanhood, it seems that with writing or drawing, she has reached her limit. Despite her greater sanctity, she is not the vessel whereby these visionary designs are revealed to the human eye. This presents quite a contrast with the visions of twelfth-century female mystics such as Hildegarde of Bingen (1098–1179), whose example would presumably have been known to Gerald. Whether Hildegarde illuminated any manuscripts herself remains a matter of dispute, but even if not, she was the conduit for the heavenly vision, not merely an assistant to the illuminator.[40] In other sources, Brigit did experience visions, and one is even book-related. According to the seventh- or eighth-century *Vita I*, also found in eleventh- or twelfth-century glosses to the poem *Ní car Brigit*, she saw and heard masses being performed before the relics of St. Peter in Rome, and sent men to travel there to bring back the *ordo missae* and *universa regula*.[41] Like Gerald's tale, this puts female agency in the book arts at a remove, and contrasts with the contemporaneous situation in England where—Bede's evidence on creativity aside—nuns were

[37] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), Book 4, Chapter 24.
[38] Bruce Holsinger, "The Parable of Caedmon's 'Hymn': Liturgical Invention and Literary Tradition," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007), pp. 149–75, esp. 152.
[39] Paul Russell, "Notes on Words in Early Irish Glossaries," *Études Celtiques*, 31 (1995), pp. 195–204.
[40] Madeline Caviness, "Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to Her Work," in *Hildegard of Bingen. The Context of Her Thought and Art*, eds. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London, 1998), pp. 29–62.
[41] See Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church*, p. 87 for discussion.

indeed famous for their book production among the Anglo-Saxons, a key figure being Abbess Eadburgh of Minster-in-Thanet.[42]

Why this extreme distancing of St. Brigit from the book which, at the same time, revealed her sanctity through its miraculous design? It is possible that the reverence of the Irish for the Divine Word as embodied in the Gospel, revealed by and through the Evangelists, made any female intermediary improper; the Virgin alone among women was able to carry the Word.[43] The instruments of writing are certainly present in several Evangelist portraits, and books are the Evangelists' ubiquitous attribute.[44] Space precludes further exploration of the reasons for Brigit's sidelining, but it does seem clear that manuscript production in Ireland was an entirely male-dominated art, and that it was simply unthinkable to the medieval Irish that women should have a role to play in this. Brigit is not alone in requiring male assistance: the holy abbess Scíath of Ardskeagh in the Latin Life of Ailbhe sent for a scribe from a men's house to write out the text of the four Evangelists for her nuns.[45] The complexity of the visual exegesis which such Gospel book illuminations expound suggests that they were the product of an erudite, theologically-informed elite of clerics. That the word *scripsit* has been shown to mean both writing and drawing in early medieval Ireland confirms the single identity of scribe and illuminator.[46] In contrast with St. Brigit's lives, St. Columba's lives abound with book-related miracles. One even records how, when so busy copying a book he was unable to look up, another manuscript was brought to him to check its accuracy. Without even glancing at it, he pronounced that only

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[42] See Michelle Brown, "Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks," in *Lexis and Texts in Early English, Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, eds. Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2001), pp. 45–67, esp. 48 and 50, for discussion of Boniface's request to Abbess Eadburh of Minster-in-Thanet to produce elaborate books for his mission.

[43] On the role of the Virgin as elaborated through art, see Martin Werner, "The Madonna and Child Miniature in the Book of Kells," *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), pp. 1–23; Dorothy Kelly, "The Virgin and Child in Irish Sculpture," in *From the Isles of the North*, ed. Cormac Bourke (Belfast, 1995), pp. 197–204.

[44] The iconography of such writing instruments can indeed be very subtle and complex, see, for instance, on John the Evangelist in the Book of Kells (folio 291v): Heather Pulliam, *Word and Image in the Book of Kells* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 180–86.

[45] Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church*, p. 203, citing the Latin Life of Ailbe, D text, ch. 33, in Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 46–64, esp. 58–59.

[46] Lawrence Nees, "Ultán the Scribe," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), pp. 127–46.

the smallest letter, "an i," was missing.[47] Quite simply, books were always *by* men, if not always *for* men. That nuns could read and required Gospel books is implicit in Scíath's case, but the only evidence we have of female use of an extant manuscript is the prayer recorded in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, where the gender of lines such as *ut pro me dei famula oretis* is revealing.[48] The pen, then, was the instrument of the male *par excellence*. Did the distaff really play the same role for women?

Cloak or Dagger Art History?

Brigit's agency is at a remove when it comes to books, but the case is very different with regard to textiles. This should come as no surprise, given the evidence (discussed below) of Derbforgaill's presentation of altar cloths to Mellifont or, more tellingly, the tribute listed in the twelfth-century hagiographical text, *Betha Colmáin meic Luacháin*, where each nun gives a "linen shirt," while royal warriors contribute their cloaks, and smiths lumps of iron.[49] In the seventh-century *Vita I* (§58/§56), Brigit interprets a vision for the people of Patrick's death, following which:

> Then Patrick told Brigit to make with her own hands a linen shroud to cover his body with after his death, as he desired to rise to eternal life with that shroud.
>
> Brigit accordingly made the shroud and it was in it that St. Patrick's body was later wrapped and it is still in that place.[50]

This story presents some parallels with Bede's account of Abbess Verca's gift of a shroud to Cuthbert, which may potentially have been the

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[47] *Life of Saint Columba, Founder of Hy. Written by Adamnan, Ninth Abbot of that Monastery*, ed. William Reeves (Edinburgh, 1874), Book 1, Chapter 17 (accessed online at http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T201040/index.html, 20 December 2010).

[48] Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church*, p. 273, notes that "there is nothing notably gendered about the prayer:" grammatical form alone tells us the sex of its author.

[49] *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: The Life of Colman Son of Luachan*, ed. Kuno Meyer (Dublin and London, 1911), pp. 50–51. Meyer translates "*caillige*" as "old woman" but it is probably more accurate here to interpret it in the original sense of a veiled woman, or nun.

[50] Note that the chapter numbers of the Latin edition as printed by the Bollandists and Connolly's translated edition do not coincide. (§56) "Tunc dixit Patricius ad Brigidam, ut suis manibus faceret linteamen, quo corpus eius post exitum tegeretur, optans ut ex illo linteamine ad vitam aeternam resurgeret, & sic Brigida fecit linteamen, & in eo S. Patricij corpus inuolutum est, & in loco constat." *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 126; Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*," p. 30.

lost embroidered linen shroud described by Reginald of Durham in his account of St. Cuthbert's translation of 1104.[51] Given the dubious historicity of Brigit's *Vita*, it is useful to regard this episode as representative of expectations concerning the productions of female religious and of the provenance of venerated cloth relics, rather than attempting to tie the description to a known artefact. Attitudes are, however, shown to be remarkably similar in both Northumbria and Ireland in the seventh to eighth centuries.

Women's involvement in the production of fabric—linen particularly—is well documented in other types of written sources from Ireland. *Cáin Lánamna* (the Law of Couples), a law tract on marriage, details the division of property in the event of divorce. With regard to flax, the woman is entitled to only a small fraction of the produce in its raw state, but by the time it has been woven, or made up into the "finished article" (*lámthorud*), she is entitled to half.[52] Women are also closely associated with the processing of dye-plants such as woad, a plant whose leaves can be used to dye a rich blue colour, and madder, whose roots produce a brilliant red hue.[53] In the eighth-century tale, *Scéla Éogain ⁊ Cormaic*, the queen of Tara has her own private woad-garden, indicating that such plants might be associated with aristocratic women.[54] *Cáin Lánamna* states that, in property division, the wife's share of woad is only a third if it is in containers, but half if the woad has been dried: the actual dyeing of the cloth is explicitly the woman's task.[55] Similarly with madder, the wife is due a ninth when harvested, a sixth in sheaves, a third in bundles, and half when ground into powder or made up as a dyestuff.[56]

These texts relate to the most basic levels of cloth production and dyeing. But far more elaboration was required for high-status textiles. In particular, the application of pattern through embroidery was notably prized. Again, although archaeological evidence is slight to non-existent, the documentary record confirms the great value attributed to textile art,

[51] Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, "Buried Truths: Shrouds, Cults, and Female Production in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Aedificia Nova: Studies in Honor of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and Helen Damico (Kalamazoo, MI, 2008), pp. 300–24, esp. 309–12.

[52] *CIH*, p. 510.15: "*Leath do mnai a etach no lamtorad snithiu.*" *AI* 2, p. 373. See also Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, pp. 269–70.

[53] For discussion of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) and madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), see Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, pp. 264–69.

[54] Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, pp. 141–42.

[55] *CIH*, p. 510.16–17, discussed at length by Kelly, *Early Irish farming*, pp. 265–66.

[56] *CIH*, p. 177.12–5, *AI* 2, pp. 420.3–7; see Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, p. 268.

and, moreover, associates skill and virtue together. Once more, the *Vita I* provides two examples of Brigit's involvement in the acquisition, at least, if not the creation, of elaborate vestments:

> §111. Another time St. Brigit gave Bishop Conlaed's Mass vestments to the poor because she had nothing else to give them. And just at the time of the sacrifice Conlaed asked for the vestments and said, "I won't offer up the body and blood of Christ without my vestments." Thereupon at Brigit's prayer God provided similar vestments and all who were witnesses gave glory to God.
>
> §112 Another time too St. Brigit put vestments on the sea in a shrine that they might go a very long distance over the sea to Bishop Senán who was living on another sea-girt island and as the Holy Spirit revealed it to him he said to his brethren, "Go as fast as you can to the sea and bring here with you whatever you find." They went and found the shrine containing the vestments as we have said. When he saw it Senán gave thanks to God and Brigit, for where human beings cannot go without the greatest difficulty, the shrine went by itself with God to guide it.[57]

In neither case is it overtly suggested that Brigit or her nuns had made the vestments, but the implication that women, and especially women religious, might be a source of such items is certainly clear. That these were especially valuable, distinct, and difficult to come by, is equally implied.

It is a vexed question as to how far we can take hagiographic incidents of the seventh and eighth century as a basis for any assessment of the actual situation regarding women and fine textile production, whether contemporaneous or in the ninth to twelfth centuries.[58] With regard to the seventh and eighth centuries, pictorial evidence provides some interesting parallels. The Virgin's diaphanous robe in the Book of Kells, which appears to represent Byzantine silk, is suggestive of a knowledge and appreciation of fine textiles within the Northumbrian-Irish cultural sphere (Fig. 8).

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[57] §104 "Alio quoque tempore missalia vestimenta Conlaidi Episcopi pauperibus dedit, quia aliud quod daret non habebat. Et statim in hora sacrificii Conlaidus vestimentum suum quaesiuit, dicens: Corpus & sanguinem Christi non immolabo sine meis vestimentis. Tunc B. Brigida orante similia vestimenta Deus praeparauit. Omnes vero videntes glorificabant Deum. §105 Alio quoque tempore S.Brigida vestimenta in scrinio super mare misit, ut deuenirent per longissimum maris spatium ad Senanum Episcopum in alia insula in mari habitantem. Et ille, reuelante Spiritu sancto, Fratribus dixit: Ite quantocius ad mare; & quidquid illic inueneritis, huc vobiscum ducite. Illi autem abeuntes inuenerunt scrinium cum vestimentis. Senanus ergo videns vestimenta, gratias egit Deo & S. Brigidae. Quo enim homines ire non poterant sine magno labore, ibi scrinium solo Deo gubernante perrexit," *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 133–34; Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*," p. 46.

[58] On the historicity of hagiography and women's artistic and architectural production, see in the present volume Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Female Piety and the Building and Decorating of Churches, ca. 500–1150."

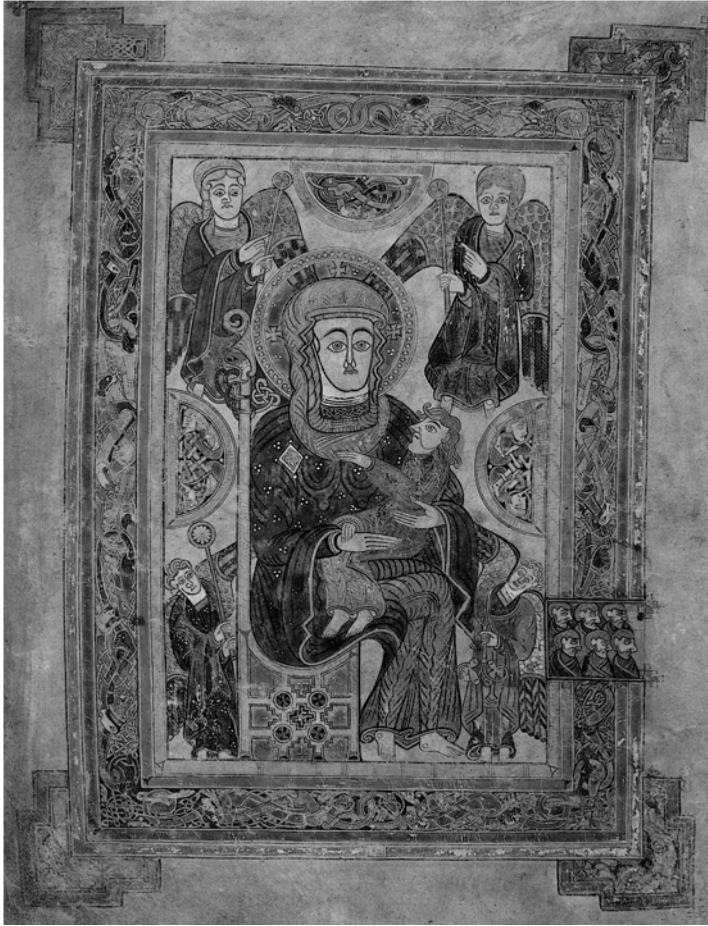

Figure 8 Virgin and Child. Book of Kells, ca. 800. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS A. I. (58), fol. 7v (Photo: Board of Trinity College Dublin).

This is also suggested by Adomnán's elaborate description of a spectacular cloak decorated with flowers which Columba's mother saw in a vision prior to the saint's birth.[59] However, the form of the Virgin's garment, with a separate veil and cloak, and decorative edgings on the cloak itself, is typical of northern European aristocratic costume; this has led Niamh Whitfield to suggest that Mary "is dressed more like a native Irish queen than like her early Christian/Byzantine counterpart."[60] The patterned peculiarity of the body of St. Matthew in his portrait in the late seventh-/early eighth-century Book of Durrow has often been interpreted as allusion to contemporary enamelwork (Fig. 9).[61] Although it is tempting to speculate on the implications of such a pseudo-enshrinement of the saint's body, the more convincing explanation, as explored by Conor Newman, sees it as an attempt to depict complex woven, patterned cloth.[62] Continuity of practice, but also of perception, regarding the involvement of holy women in the creation of elaborate cloth, is revealed in the twelfth-century notes to the *Féilire Óengusso* of ca. 800. "*Ercnat uág án orbae*" (Ercnait, a virgin, splendid her heritage), is identified in the notes as cook and robe-maker to St. Columba (also known as Columcille):

> Her name, however, in truth was *Ercnat*, that is, embroideress, for *ercad* in the Old Gaelic is now *rinnaigecht*, "drawing;" for it was that virgin who was embroideress, cutter, and sewer of raiment to Columcille *cum suis discipulis*.[63]

Not only are Ercnat's three skills the same as those taught to the daughters of kings as evidenced by the fosterage laws, that is, embroidery, composition, and sewing, but this threesome finds an almost exact parallel in the triple skills of the *saer* or carpenter/mason, as expressed in the eighth-century legal text, *Bretha Nemed toísech*. These comprise *luathrinde*

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[59] *Life of Saint Columba*, Book 3, Chapter 17 (accessed online at http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T201040/index.html, 20 December 2010). I am grateful to Dr. David Woods for drawing this example to my attention and for access to his forthcoming article, "Under the Abbot's Cloak: The Symbolism of Columba's Clothing in Adamnán's *Vita Columbae*."

[60] Niamh Whitfield, "Brooch or Cross? The Lozenge on the Shoulder of the Virgin in the Book of Kells," *Archaeology Ireland*, 10/1 (Spring 1996), pp. 20–23, esp. 22.

[61] For instance, Peter Harbison, *The Golden Age of Irish Art: The Medieval Achievement 600–1200* (London, 1999), p. 39.

[62] Conor Newman, " St. Matthew's Cloak, Durrow fol. 21v," in *Above and Beyond: Essays in Memory of Leo Swan*, eds. T. Condit and C. Corlett (Bray, 2005), pp. 219–28.

[63] Whitley Stokes, ed., *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London, 1905), pp. 34–35, 42–43 (January 8). "*Ercnat immorro a hainm iar fir .i. druinech. Huar ercad tall isin t*[*sh*]*engaidilc rinnaigecht sen indossa, ar isi ind og sin ba druinech cumtha ⁊ huamma etaig Colu*[*i*]*m cille cum suis discipulis*."

Figure 9 St. Matthew, Book of Durrow, 8th c. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS A. 4. 5. (57), fol. 21v (Photo: Board of Trinity College Dublin).

(decorative work), *luathluth for aigib* (swift dexterity on pillars/props, that is, constructional ability), *dluthuccha gan fhomus can feiscre* (close composition without measuring and without warping).[64] In each case, decorative work and overall compositional ability are matched to the basic technical skill, whether sewing or hewing.

From an art-historical point of view it is valuable to assess just how far we can take the correspondence of *rinnaigecht* and embroidery. *Rinnaigecht* is frequently used in contexts which make clear that figurative, if not narrative, art was in question in a sculptural and metalwork context.[65] That cloth items could be elaborately "composed" is hinted at in the texts, but nineteenth-century translations have obscured this. Thus, a list of women's possessions from *Cethairshlicht Athgabálae* (The Four Divisions of Distraint) has one highly suggestive word:

> Distress [distraint] of two days for the price of the produce of the hand, for wages, for weaving, for the blessing of one woman on the work of another, for every material which is on the spindles, for the flax spinning stick, for the wool spinning stick, for the wool-bag, for the weaver's reed, for all the instruments of weaving, for the flax scutching-stick, for the distaff, for the spool-stick, for the flyers of the spinning wheel, for the yarn, for the reel of the spinner, for the border, *for the pattern* (*"aiste"*) *of her handiwork*, for the wallet with its contents, for the basket, for the leather scoop, for the rods, for the hoops, for the needle, for the ornamented thread, for the looking-glass which one woman borrows from another, for the black and white cat, for the lap-dog of a queen, for attending in the field, for supplying a weapon—for it is about the true right of women that the field of battle was first entered.[66]

Here, finally, Parker's warning on nineteenth-century assumptions must be borne in mind. "*Aiste*" has been translated in this context as pattern, but elsewhere it means literary composition, or sometimes metre. In the ninth-century text *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* (The Colloquy of the Two

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[64] *CIH* 2219.37. This list of triads begins at *CIH* 2219.32 and continues to *CIH* 2220.16. For the dating of the text see Liam Breatnach, "Canon Law and Secular Law in Early Ireland: The Significance of *Bretha Nemed*," *Peritia*, 3 (1984), pp. 439–59, also Breatnach, *Companion*, pp. 188–91. I have discussed this passage more fully in relation to the *saer* in "A Legal Perspective."

[65] Ní Ghrádaigh, "A Legal Perspective," pp. 118–22.

[66] *"Athgabail aile im log lamthoraid. im duilchine im fobrithe im apartain mna diaraile im cach na adbur bis i feirtsib im fertaib im snimaire im pesbolg im fethgeir. Im aiced fige uile. im flesc lin. im cuicil. im lugarmain. im cloidem corthaire. im abrus. im comopapair nabairse. im corthair. im* <u>*aiste*</u> *lamthoraid. im iadag cona ecortaig. im criol. im crandbolg. im rinde. im chusail. im snathait. im snaithe liga. im scaideirc focoisle ben araile im baircne cat ban. im oircne rigna. im tincur roe tairec nairm. ar is im fir ban ciatoimargaet roe,"* *CIH* pp. 379.4–12; *AI* 2, p. 151. Emphasis mine.

Sages), the gnomic phrase "*sruth fáil*" (stream of science, a description of a poet) is glossed in the Book of Leinster as "*.i. aiste imda nó immad na hecsi*," here translated by its editor as "of many metres, or the abundance of science."[67] Yet it is "pattern" in the distraint text, because it is women's work. To an extent, however, the perceptual problem is ours, and not that of nineteenth-century editors; after all, pattern (in woven cloth especially) and metre are closely related concepts, so it makes sense that the one word suffices for both. It is difficult now for us to attribute equal value to literary art and to embroidery, but an Anglo-Saxon parallel might suggest almost exactly this. At the Battle of Maldon (Essex) in 991, the Vikings defeated the West Saxon forces led by Byrhtnoth and tribute was paid by the Archbishop Sigeric to keep the Vikings from raiding again. The battle is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in various saints' lives, but its most famous depiction is in the poem of that name, written after the event in the heroic style.[68] According to the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis* or Book of Ely (from the monastery in Cambridgeshire that Byrhtnoth patronised), Byrhtnoth's wife, Ælflæd, bequeathed a woven or embroidered hanging of her husband's deeds to the monastery.[69] Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon context, narrative composition both by men and women is found, but in different media. It is probable that Irish embroidery was not narrative in depiction, as artwork from Ireland in other media is not, or only very seldom. But it is likely that it was as complex and meticulously composed as the metalwork, or indeed the metrical poetry, that remains to us. The consternation with which the annals recorded the loss of the valuable mass-vestments of the archbishop of Armagh in 1118, mentioned above, suggests that these were almost certainly embroidered, and possibly with gold thread.[70]

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[67] Whitley Stokes, ed., "The Colloquy of the Two Sages, *Immaccallam in dá thuarad*." *Revue Celtique,* 26 (1905), pp. 8–64, esp. 22–23.

[68] *The Battle of Maldon, AD 991*, ed. D.G. Scragg (Manchester, 1981).

[69] C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 134–36, describes the context of both in detail, although he does not consider that the evidence for the tapestry's subject matter is satisfactory. The difficulties of ascertaining whether this was indeed a tapestry or embroidery, and what exactly it did depict, are further elaborated by Mildred Budny, "The Byrhtnoth Tapestry or Embroidery," in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. Donald Scragg (Oxford and Cambridge MA, 1991), pp. 263–78. I am most grateful to Dr. Juliet Mullins for drawing this episode to my attention in the first place, and for further discussion of it.

[70] *Annals of Ulster* s.a. 1118.

Authorship is just as difficult to pin down as content. Brigit's *Vita I* and the glosses to the *Félire* suggest that in both the eighth and twelfth centuries, female religious were involved in the production of elaborate vestments; it is unlikely that the situation in the ninth to the eleventh centuries was distinct. Derbforgaill's gift of altar cloths at the consecration of Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth, in 1157 is indicative not merely of the value of such cloths, but also of a continuing tradition of aristocratic female patronage which the law tracts, with their mention of the bequeathing of handiwork, or *lámtorud,* have also implied.[71] The reference to the donation of linen shirts as tribute in *Betha Colmáin maic Luacháin* is particularly significant considering the parallel to be found in the near-contemporary Welsh Laws of Court, which prescribe the donation of linen by the queen at the same time as her husband's donation of woollen garments or cloaks in a secular context.[72] Given the role which hagiographical literature played in setting forth political claims and enforcing normative behaviour towards the church, the evidence of *Betha Colmáin* suggests that such a pattern was also present in Ireland. It is, therefore, of some significance that the *Betha Colmáin* was most likely composed under the patronage of Derbforgaill's father in ca. 1122.[73] We thus have a connection between a documented gift of cloth and prescribed exemplary behaviour.

Is it possible to delve any further into medieval appreciation of skilled textile work in Ireland? When it comes to the higher arts of needlework, embroidery was the most significant of these across the medieval world.[74] The Irish evidence is very slight, in comparison with Anglo-Saxon England,

[71] *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols. (Dublin, 1848–51), s.a. 1157: "Do-rad din O Cerbhaill tri fichit oile uinge d'ór dóibh, & ro rad ben Tighearnain Uí Ruairc inghean Ui Mhaoileachlainn an c-comatt cedna & caileach óir ar altoir Mhairi, & edach ar gach n-altóir dona naoi n-altoraibh oile bátar isin teampall isin;" "O'Cearbhaill also gave them three score ounces of gold; and the wife of O'Ruairc, the daughter of Ua Maeleachlainn, gave as much more, and a chalice of gold on the altar of Mary, and cloth for each of the nine other altars that were in that church."

[72] T.M. Charles-Edwards, "Food, Drink and Clothing in the Laws of Court," in *The Welsh King and his Court*, eds. T.M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen, and Paul Russell (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 319–37, esp. 323; Robin Chapman Stacey, "Clothes Talk from Medieval Wales," in *The Welsh King and his Court*, pp. 338–46, esp. 346.

[73] Meyer, *Betha Colmáin maic Luacháin*, pp. vi-vii.

[74] See, for instance, Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 170–87; Gale Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2004; 1st ed. 1986), pp. 308–15; Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Stitches in Time: Establishing a History of Anglo-Saxon Embroidery," in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, eds. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 1–27.

but many suggestive literary references remain to be explored.[75] Niamh Whitfield has interpreted the description in the eighth-century saga *Táin Bó Fraích* of fifty white tunics (*co túagmílaib óir*) as referring to gold-embroidered animal interlace, or possibly appliqué work.[76] She has further noted the occurrence of the word "*órsnáithe*," meaning "gold thread," in various early texts.[77] The value of the needle of the skilled embroiderer, which is worth an ounce of silver, as adjudged in *Bretha im Fhuillemu Gell*, has already been mentioned; her earnings "greater even than those of a queen" should indeed give pause for thought. The identity of such embroiderers has also been noted as being from the aristocratic orders of society only. There is, beyond this, a further congruence between virtue, wisdom, and embroidery which is incidentally alluded to in the ninth-century text, *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* (The Colloquy of the Two Sages).[78] The *Immacallam* begins with the death of Adna mac Uthidir, poet of Ireland; significantly, his ceremonial robe and by implication his office, is given on his death to the poet Ferchertne, but is coveted by his son Néde.[79] The role of clothing and cloaks in the tale is emphasised throughout. On arrival at the court of Emain Macha, the troublemaker Bricriu asks Néde for a gift worth his honour price, promising that if this is given him, Néde will become the chief poet of Ireland. Néde immediately complies, giving a "*lenid corcra do, cona cumtuch oir ₇ airgit*" (a purple tunic [to him], with its adornment of gold and silver).[80] Although the editor, Whitley Stokes, does not comment upon it, the word *cumtach* is frequently used to mean the shrines of sacred objects, particularly bells or books.[81] Here it must refer to embroidery, but it is striking that Irish ecclesiastic metalwork, especially from the eighth century, greatly visually resembles embroidery, in its use

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[75] For an in-depth and inspiring assessment of the value of such literary works towards expanding our knowledge of textiles and clothing, and the difficulties inherent in this, see Niamh Whitfield, "Dress and Accessories in the Early Irish Tale 'The Wooing of Becfhola'," in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, eds. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 1–34.

[76] Whitfield, "Dress and Accessories," p. 10.

[77] Whitfield, "Dress and Accessories," p. 10.

[78] The dating is that of John Carey, "Myth and Mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*," *Studia Celtica*, 24–25 (1989–90), pp. 53–69, esp. 56. I am most grateful to Geraldine Parsons for this reference.

[79] Stokes, "The Colloquy of the Two Sages," pp. 8–9.

[80] Stokes, "The Colloquy of the Two Sages," pp. 12–13.

[81] For such objects, see Raghnall Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1994).

of thin gold filigree (Figs. 10a, b; Color Plate 6).[82] It is worth considering whether such metalwork is intentionally imitative of textiles.[83] In any case, the poet's robe, which Néde then assumes, is far more splendid:

> and took his robe around him. Three were the colours of the robe, to wit, a covering of bright birds' feathers in the middle, a showery speckling of *findruine* [possibly tinned bronze][84] on the lower half outside, and a golden colour on the upper half.[85]

While the form of the robe itself is so exaggerated that it must be fictitious, nonetheless, the implication of elaborate clothing, here with either gold appliqué or embroidery, as indicative of status, is by no means unique to this text. The different cloaks with their various colours and fringes accorded the kings subject to the kings of Munster, and described in "*Lebor na Cert*" (The Book of Rights) of ca. 1100 represent possibly its most elaborate expression.[86] It is also evident in the satirical goliardic text, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, where the destitute cleric has a dun-coloured cloak, and the beautiful woman one of purple with a gold brooch.[87] The symbolism of such clothing is underlined in the *Immacallam*, where the dialogue of which it is chiefly composed begins with Ferchertne's exclamation: "*Ciasu fili, fili imam li*[*g*] *tugen cona llí?*," that is, "Who is this poet, a poet round whom lies the robe with its splendour?"[88]

Perhaps the most interesting reference to textiles is that found in a passage in the *Immacallam* in which the elder poet, Ferchertne, presages doom. He describes a topsy-turvy world in which the right order of things has been overthrown, and everything is the reverse of how it should be. Two lines epitomise this evil for women and for men:

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[82] This is particularly true of items such as the Derrynaflan Paten, for which see: Michael Ryan, ed., *The Derrynaflan Hoard: A Preliminary Account* (Dublin, 1983).

[83] The relationship between metalwork and manuscripts (relating for instance to the Book of Durrow), and metalwork and stonework (particularly with regard to the crosses at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary), has been constantly canvassed in the field of Insular art, but due to lack of survival of embroidery, possible connections with textile art have been utterly overlooked.

[84] Whitfield, "Dress and Accessories," p. 6 for this translation of *findrinne*.

[85] "*⁊ gabais a thugnig imme. Tri datha na tugnigi .i. tugi do ittib én ngel ar medón: frosbrechtrad findruine for ind leith ichtarach dianectair, ⁊ fordath fororda for ind leith uachtarach*." Stokes, "The Colloquy of the Two Sages," pp. 12–13.

[86] Myles Dillon, ed. and trans., *Lebor na cert: The Book of Rights*, Irish Texts Society, vol. 46 (Dublin, 1962).

[87] *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, ed. Kenneth H. Jackson (Dublin, 1990), pp. 21, 37.

[88] Stokes, "The Colloquy of the Two Sages," pp. 14–15.

Figure 10a Derrynaflan Paten, 8th c. (Photo: © National Museum of Ireland).

Figure 10b Detail, Derrynaflan Paten, 8th c. (Photo: © National Museum of Ireland). See color plate 6.

> Great skill in embroidery will pass to fools and harlots, so that garments will be expected without colours [without embroidery]. Wrong judgements [and kin-slaying] will pass into kings and lords.[89]

Kinslaying and wrong judgements are themselves identified as causes of doom in a wide variety of Irish literary texts: there is no stronger way for the author to suggest utter disharmony. This lends real weight to his association of embroidery with "fools and harlots," and confirms that the reverse is usually true: by implication, embroiderers were the wise and the virtuous. Again, legal tracts also indicate societal respect for them. Thus in the text on sick maintenance, *Bretha Crólige*, such women require no fewer than three judges to ascertain the correct entitlement of their nursing care. This suggests that the decision involved deliberation and judgement in no small degree, but also that embroiderers and those who worked cloth were sufficiently important to warrant such deliberation: "*Ben lamtoruid isi ales na tri-so do mes a folaigh*," "A woman of profitable handicraft is she who is entitled to these three for the estimation of her maintenance."[90] The glosses clarify this as "*i. ben doni torad dia laim .i. druinech ⁊ mna doni bogad ⁊ bregad ⁊rl*," "a woman who does profitable work with her hand, e.g., an embroideress and women who perform steeping and dressing of flax &c."[91]

By the twelfth century at the latest, Irish apocrypha reveal that the close connection of cloth-making and virtue had developed even further, as the Virgin's abilities in cloth-making begin to be cited. In fact, it is likely that Marian apocrypha which emphasise this were known much earlier, given their importance in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, where also pre-Viking images of Mary with spinning implements have survived.[92] The first concrete Irish expression of this occurs in the *Lebor Brecc* (The Speckled Book, Royal Irish Academy MS 23.P.16), in the first account of the Lord's Passion, *Pais in Choimded*, which records that Christ's robe had been made for him by his mother, the Virgin:

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[89] "*sóifid rodruine i n-ónmite ⁊ athchessa, co sailfiter etaige cen líge* [*nó cen imdenma* (Rawlinson B.502)]; *sóifid esbretha* [*⁊ fingala* (Rawlinson B.502)] *ir-rigu ⁊ tigernu.*" Stokes, "The Colloquy of the Two Sages," pp. 42–43.

[90] *CIH*, p. 2294.19–24 (at 23–4); Binchy, "Bretha Crólige," pp. 26–27.

[91] *CIH*, p. 2294.32–3; Binchy, "Bretha Crólige," pp. 26–27.

[92] Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 267–72; Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Cloth-Making and the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives*, pp. 8–25, esp. 15.

> To Pilate fell the tunic, which Mary had made for Christ—purple the colour of that tunic—"purple" its name; there was no wasting away, and no sewing of the needle on that tunic; marvellous and wonderful it was, and it is still in existence.[93]

Interestingly, the schematised depictions of Christ's seamless garment in the eighth-century St. Gall Gospelbook (Stifsbibliothek MS 51) and the tenth-century Southampton Psalter (Cambridge, St. John's College MS C 9), show an attention to fabric colours—both are purple with gold (?) borders—and present a very striking form, which may attempt to represent the cloth as the seamless, purple garment thus described.[94] In the case of the Southampton image (Fig. 11; Color Plate 7), some careful thought has gone into its depiction, as the illuminator has gone to the trouble of synchronising the colours from two different Gospel accounts, the purple of John 19:2, with the scarlet of Matthew 27:28. This indicates that an interest in Christ's robe was not new in an Irish context, and that the connection with Mary may likely have been of long standing, even if a direct association is only provable in the twelfth century.

But what was the significance of this? In the later medieval period in Ireland, we know that it was seen as particularly appropriate for women to provide clothing for statues and linen cloths for ecclesiastical use.[95] This appears also to be the case in the earlier period, as Derbforgaill's gift of altar cloths of 1157 would indicate. But the dressing of the altar was particularly appropriate in theological terms, if we bear in mind the Virgin's example. It is possible that the Virgin was considered to have made the robe for Christ in the first place because of contemporary practice among women. Thus, one of the legal offences within marriage relates to clothing: "*nemdenum . . . drochdenum . . . malldenum*," "Not making it . . . making

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[93] "*Piláit imorro, is dó ranic inar Ísu, is e do-roine Muiri do Christ, corccra didiu dath an inair-sin .i. purpuir a ainm; ni bui tra tomailt na uaimm snathati isin inar-sin; ba mirbulta ingnath he, & maraid beos*," Roger Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar breac: Text, Translation, and Glossary* (Dublin, 1887), p. 368.

[94] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 245–52, assesses the value of artistic depictions of costume for our understanding of 10th-century dress in England. This parallel Anglo-Saxon evidence suggests that a tunic and trousers, to some extent derived from contemporary clothing, form the basis of Christ's garment in the Southampton Psalter, and thus that the gold borders may indicate the use of gold-embroidered borders on high-status clothing in the 10th century. Nevertheless, the artist's engagement here is not with naturalistic depiction but with symbolic potential; situating it within the exegetical and hagiographic Marian tradition is, therefore, more fruitful.

[95] Dianne Hall, *Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland, c.1140–1540* (Dublin, 2003), p. 27. See also, in the present volume, Rachel Moss, " 'Planters of great civilitie': Female Patrons of the Arts in Late Medieval Ireland."

Figure 11 Crucifixion scene, Southampton Psalter, 10th c. Cambridge, St. John's College MS C.9, fol. 35v (Photo: Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge). See color plate 7.

it badly . . . making it slowly."[96] The Virgin, like other women, had a responsibility to clothe her son. By making altar cloths, women were clothing the altar itself, where Christ's sacrifice was re-performed; essentially, they were following the Virgin's example, and clothing Christ.

Conclusion

Ireland has no equivalent of the Bayeux "Tapestry"—more correctly, of course, the Bayeux Embroidery—nor even of the slighter, if beautiful, embroidery which survived in St. Cuthbert's coffin; pieces such as these have made Anglo-Saxon textile art a rich field for research. The lack of such material in Ireland has hitherto doomed the discussion of textile descriptions to an obscurity which, as Niamh Whitfield has shown, it ill deserves. Women's interactions with art have always been more fugitive than men's, particularly in certain types of documentary source, such as annals or chronicles. Here, the bias towards recording the deeds of men whether in battle or in patronage, the destruction or construction of buildings, and tributes of cattle or gold, occlude the recording of either women or textiles. It is only right to acknowledge, however, that the lack of interest which these medieval chroniclers showed is as nothing to the culpability of contemporary scholarship, particularly in the field of art history where beautiful objects are almost a requirement for any sustained discourse to take place. Women in medieval Ireland did, sometimes, patronize other more durable works than the elusive embroideries and textiles here discussed, as, for instance, the Romanesque doorway at Freshford, Co. Kilkenny (Figs. 12a, b), whose inscription asks for a prayer for "Niamh, ingen Cuirc" ("Niamh, daughter of Corc"), or the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise of which Derbforgaill was patron (see Fig. 4).[97] However, it must be questioned whether such works would have had the profound connection for either the aristocratic woman or the nun which embroidery could do, as the product of her own hands. St. Ciarán, the founder of Clonmacnoise was, like Christ, the son of a carpenter (*saer*). Mael Brigte, the "noble bishop of Kildare and Leinster" who died in 1097, is also recorded as "son of the wright ua Brolcháin;" his father, "primshaer Erenn"

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[96] *CIH* p. 144.25–29. I am grateful to Prof. Fergus Kelly for drawing this reference to my attention.

[97] George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845), pp. 285–87.

Figure 12a Doorway with inscription, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, mid-12th c. (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

Figure 12b Detail of inscription on doorway, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, mid-12th c. (Photo: J. Ní Ghrádaigh).

had died in 1029.[98] While this is not to suggest that Mael Brigte's ecclesiastical career was due to his father's profession, it does show the modes of making most closely allied in gender terms, which had such positive Christological allusions. For women, the strongest prototypes on whom they could base their behaviour continued to be Eve and the Virgin. It is no surprise that the latter should be the model after whom they strove in their artistic production. The embroidered produce of their needles was, at the time, highly valued. It is nineteenth-century scholarship, and ourselves, who mentally prefix "mere" to embroidery.

[98] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1097, 1029.

CHAPTER FOUR

ERASURES AND RECOVERIES OF WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE: THE CASE OF SAINT-QUENTIN, LOCAL NOBILITY, AND ELEANOR OF VERMANDOIS

Ellen M. Shortell

During the mid-nineteenth-century restoration of stained glass windows at the former collegiate church of Saint-Quentin in the Vermandois (Picardy, France), the heads of three of the four figures in a pair of donor panels were replaced. In the process, the restorer turned a group of four women into two women and two men (Fig. 1; Color Plate 9).[1] In another panel, a married couple became two men. The visual erasure of female donors parallels the compilation of historical and art-historical narratives in which modern conceits about gender obscured the roles that women played in the public sphere in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From both historical and historiographic perspectives, Saint-Quentin is a compelling case study of women's roles in the making of art and architecture, and of the consequences of their omission from histories.

In the traditional narrative of Gothic architecture, Saint-Quentin was for a long time a particularly problematic building, as a series of erroneous hypotheses reinforced one another from the nineteenth century forward. Modern scholars speculated that Villard de Honnecourt (fl. ca. 1210–1240) was the architect and King Philip Augustus (1165–1223) the primary patron, and that construction was motivated by the king's victory at Bouvines in 1214.[2] The first Gothic construction (Figs. 2 and 3) was assigned

[1] See also Ellen M. Shortell, "'The Widows' Money' and Artistic Integration in the Axial Chapel at Saint-Quentin," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Farnham, 2009), pp. 217–36.

[2] Villard's authorship was first proposed by Pierre Bénard, "Recherches sur la patrie et les travaux de Villard de Honnecourt," *Travaux de la Société Académique des sciences, arts, et belles lettres de Saint-Quentin*, 13 (3rd ser. 6), (1864–5), pp. 260–80; Villard's role was refuted by Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "Le 'problème' de Villard de Honnecourt," in *Les battiseurs des cathédrales gothiques*, ed. Roland Recht (Strasbourg, 1989), pp. 209–23, and his, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt. A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Farnham,

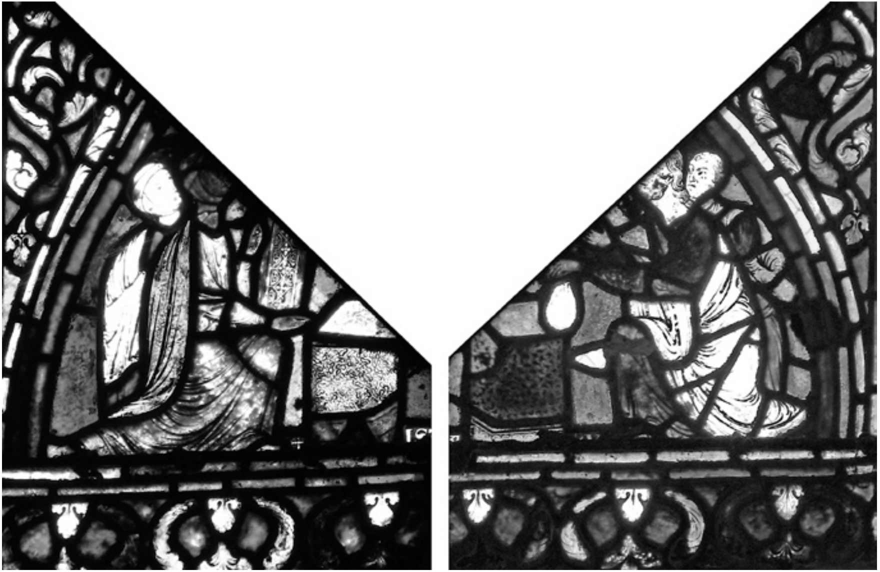

Figure 1 Widows' donor panels from the Glorification of the Virgin window, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: E. Shortell). See color plate 8.

Figure 2 Exterior from southeast, ca. 1192–1257, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: S. Murray).

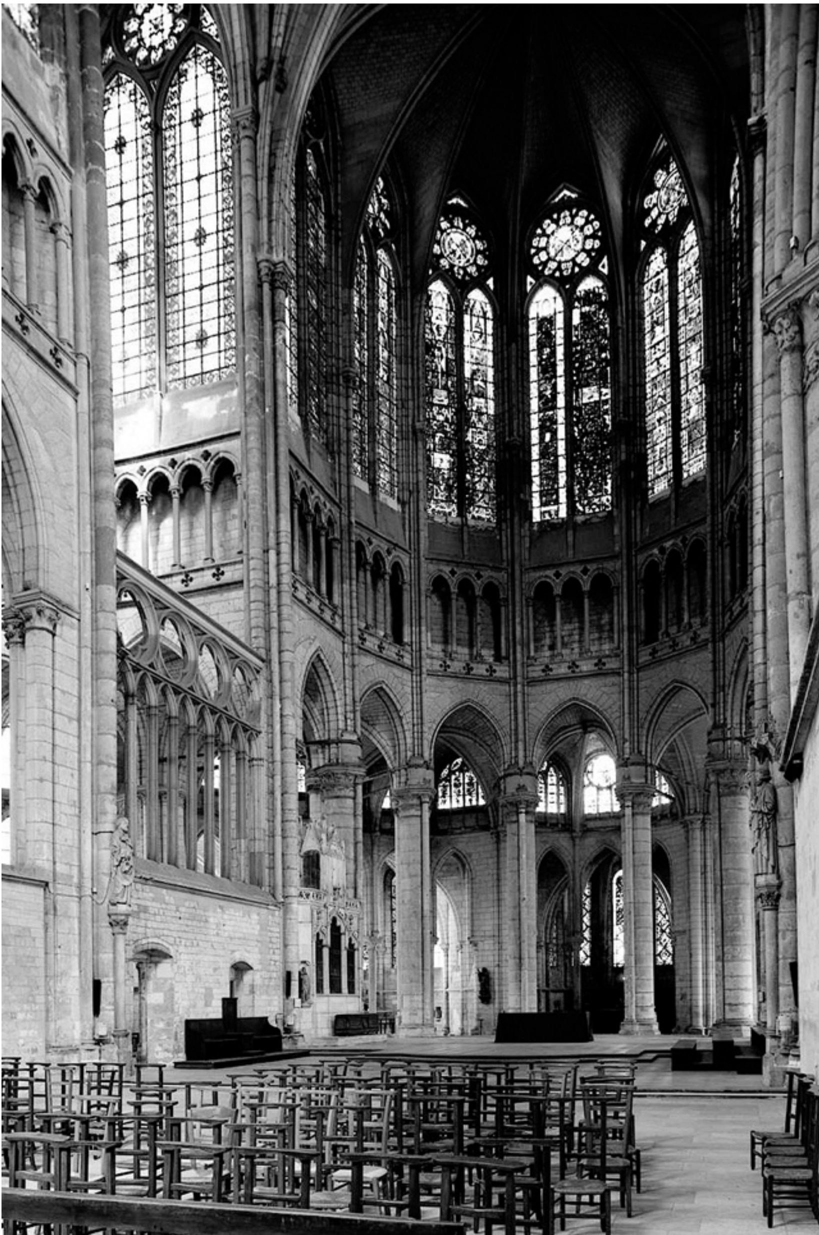

Figure 3 Interior facing east, ca. 1192–1257, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: E. Shortell).

dates about twenty years too late, and the building was relegated to the status of a curious hybrid that followed earlier, innovative structures.[3] The blindness of historians, connoisseurs, and restorers to women's presence was one important factor in the misinterpretation of the history of construction of one of the largest Gothic churches in France.[4] This essay will examine visual and documentary evidence that identifies female patrons, from the lower nobility to Countess Eleanor of Vermandois, as well as the historical assumptions and circumstances that left them invisible.

Gothic Building and the Local Nobility

Effectively replacing the romantic notion that great urban churches reflected an outpouring of civic pride or royal intervention, recent social and economic histories tell us that much of the money for construction of secular churches in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France came from the collective or individual income of the clergy and their families.[5] Similarly,

2009), pp. 98–100, 224–26. François Bucher, "A Rediscovered Tracing by Villard de Honnecourt," *Art Bulletin*, 59 (1977), pp. 315–19, continued to uphold the Villard theory. Ellen Shortell, "Beyond Villard: Architectural Drawings at Saint-Quentin and Gothic Design," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, 15 (2005), pp. 18–29, agrees with Barnes. On Philip Augustus' role, see Robert Branner, review of Héliot, *La Basilique de Saint-Quentin, Speculum*, 43 (1968), pp. 728–32; and his *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965), p. 82; Marion E. Roberts, "Ecclesia Sancti Quintini MCCXIV–MCCLVII," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1962; Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die Gotische Architektur in Frankreich: 1130–1270* (Munich, 1985), p. 350; Bruno Klein, "Chartres und Soissons," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 49 (1986), pp. 437–66.

[3] The most comprehensive work on Saint-Quentin prior to the 1990s is Pierre Héliot, *La Basilique de Saint-Quentin et l'architecture du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1967), which builds on the documentation provided in his "Chronologie de la Basilique de Saint-Quentin," *Bulletin monumental*, 118 (1959), pp. 7–50. Héliot proposed a relatively early date of 1205 for the first construction in the chevet. Robert Branner's review, *Speculum*, 43 (1968), pp. 728–32, argued for a date about 15 years later, in agreement with Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 281–94. Later works to take up the hybrid theme include Kimpel and Suckale, *Die Gotische Architektur*, p. 350; and Bruno Klein, "Chartres und Soissons," pp. 437–66.

[4] See the following works by Ellen M. Shortell, "The Choir of Saint-Quentin: Gothic Structure, Power, and Cult," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2000; "Dismembering Saint Quentin: Gothic Architecture and the Display of Relics," *Gesta*, 36 (1997), pp. 32–47; "Saint-Quentin, Chartres, and the Narrative of French Gothic," in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, eds. Robert Bork, William W. Clark, and Abby McGehee (Farnham, 2011), pp. 35–44.

[5] Among the studies that turned attention to the social and economic aspects of cathedral-building in France are Robert Lopez, "Economie et architecture médiévale. Cela aurait-il tué ceci?" *Annales, Economies-Sociétés-Civilizations*, 8 (1952), pp. 433–38; Robert Branner, "Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210–1241," *Speculum*, 36 (1961), pp. 23–37; Henry Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral*

while earlier feminist studies of medieval history concluded that women had lost the ability to exercise political and economic power after the year 1000, recent research into historical documents and their interpretation has revealed that both secular and religious women served as important patrons in both financial and political senses.[6] Both issues come into play during the first Gothic construction campaigns at Saint-Quentin (ca. 1190–1230). The canons were drawn from the local nobility; like many other secular chapters, the collegiate foundation provided a career path for sons of the local aristocracy, and charters give a sense of a close social network around the church.[7] Family members, including mothers, gave to the construction fund, as did wealthy widows and knights from the region. In addition, the successive counts and countesses of Vermandois acted as patrons and protectors of the church from the early eleventh century until the death in 1213 of Eleanor, their last heir.[8]

Building (New York, 1979); André Mussat, "Les cathédrales dans leurs cités," *Revue de l'art*, 55 (1982), pp. 9–22; Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and its Cathedral between 1210 and 1240," *Art History*, 11 (1988), pp. 17–41; and Stephen Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton, 1989), esp. 25–50.

[6] Theodore Evergates, "The Feudal Imaginary of Georges Duby," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27 (1997), pp. 641–60, reconsidered the model proposed by Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500–1200," *Feminist Studies*, 1 (1973), pp. 126–42, rprt. in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 83–101. Recent contributions to this topic include Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2010); Theodore Evergates, ed., *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France* (Philadelphia, 1999), esp. his "Aristocratic Women in Medieval Champagne," pp. 74–110; Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300* (Philadelphia, 2007); June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, GA, 1996); Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1986); Constance H. Berman, "Introduction: Secular Women in the Documents for Late Medieval Religious Women," *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88 (2008), pp. 485–92; Erin Jordan, "Female Founders: Exercising Authority in Thirteenth-Century Flanders and Hainault," *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88 (2008), pp. 535–61; Madeline H. Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, http://dc.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/, 2001.

[7] Studies of the aristocratic makeup of chapters include William Mendel Newman, *Les Seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie XIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Philadelphia, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 10–11, 100–124; Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d'Amiens (1066–1306) avec une note sur la famille des seigneurs de Heilly* (Paris, 1972); William Mendel Newman with the assistance of Mary Rouse, *Charters of St. Fursy of Péronne* (Cambridge, MA, 1977); Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siecle. Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986); and Edouard Fournier, *Nouvelles recherches sur les curies, chapitres, et universités de l'ancienne église de France* (Arras, 1942).

[8] Abbot Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, trans. and ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1964), pp. 250–55; rprt. as *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. and ed. R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington, DC, 1992), pp. 142–45, esp. 142, n. A.; Quentin Delafons, *Extraits originaux d'un*

The names of these aristocratic donors were recorded in obituaries, charters, and a revenue book kept by the chapter, and some were represented in the surviving stained-glass windows in the chevet chapels. Changes made during nineteenth-century restoration work on the windows erased or confused the visual evidence; not only were female donors turned to men, but other gender switches underline the kinds of assumptions restorers seem to have made about medieval women.

Stained-glass Restoration and Gender Change

In 1837, the newly-formed national Commission des Monuments historiques allocated funds for the restoration of Saint-Quentin's medieval stained glass, while the architecture itself was judged to be of secondary importance.[9] The oldest glass included three historiated windows from the earliest phase of construction, when the radiating chapels were completed. Today they are found in the axial chapel, which is dedicated to the Virgin (Figs. 4, 5). The Infancy of Christ and the Triumph of the Virgin are pendant windows, hanging in their original locations on either side of the central lancet. The axial window is now a jumble of scenes from the stories of St. Stephen and probably Theophilus, which originally occupied the center light in the adjacent chapel to the south. The latter was the first to undergo restoration work.

The painter Louis Nicolas Lemasle (1788–1876), a student of Jacques-Louis David, was the first inspector appointed by Monuments Historiques to direct the restorations at Saint-Quentin. In 1839, he reported that he and the glass painter Dominique Rigaud (fl. ca. 1830–1870) had installed stained-glass windows in two lights in the Virgin Chapel that had previously been blank glazed.[10] These newly-installed windows consisted of

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manuscript de Quentin de la Fons intitulé "Histoire particulière de l'Église de Saint-Quentin," ed. Charles Gomart (Saint-Quentin, 1854); Charles Seymour, *Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century: A Study in the Early Development of Gothic Architecture* (New York, 1968), pp. 6–11.

[9] In a letter preserved in the archives of the Monuments Historiques, Prosper Merimée, first inspector general, stated, "Je n'ai pas vu cette église . . . C'est, si je suis bien informé, une édifice qui a de jolis détails, mais dont le mérite est très secondaire sous le rapport de l'art," Archives Centrales des Monuments Historiques [ACMH], Palissy, France, carton 96, dossier no. 1.

[10] On Lemasle's restoration activities, see "Séances générales tenues à Amiens," *Bulletin monumentale*, 5 (1839), pp. 286–87. Proposals, reports, and other documents relative to his work at Saint-Quentin are found in ACMH, Palissy, carton 96.

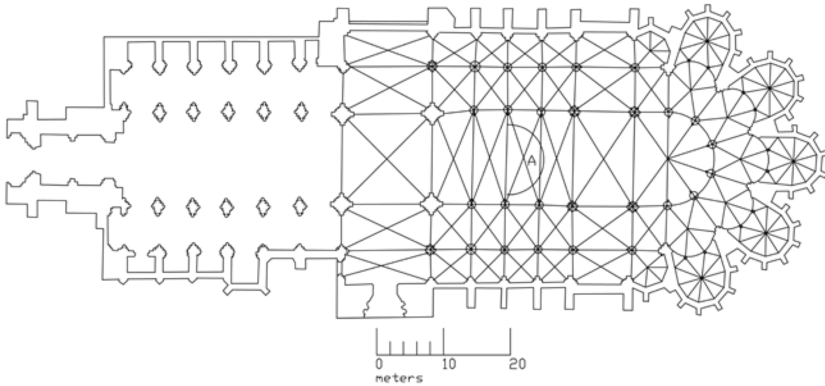

Figure 4 Plan with proposed 13th-c. form of choir, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (lan and drawing: E. Shortell).

"a background of abraded white glass surrounded by a new colored vine-scroll border…" Into the center of each were inserted "four fan-shaped (lit. fish-scale) panels composed of several small figures on a dark ground, containing mystical subjects."[11] The lower registers of these windows were filled with panels of medieval grisaille glass, and a small shield was placed at the apex of the light (Fig. 6).[12]

In its current state, the St. Stephen/Theophilus window contains twelve medieval panels: four full fan-shaped panels aligned on the window's vertical axis and eight half fans that fill the spaces between them on the sides (Fig. 7). Modern panels that now complete the lower registers were

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[11] ACMH, Palissy, carton 96: "… comportant un fond en verre blanc dépoli, entouré d'une bordure neuve de couleur à vignettes au milieu ont été intercalés à chaque croisié 4 panneaux en forme d'écaille contenant des sujets mistiques composés de plusieurs petites figures placées sur un fond de verre de couleur foncé, les sujets avaient été déplacés l'an dernier…"

[12] A plan of the armatures of the church's windows, drawn in the 17th century, showed only one window—the central window in the chapel on the south side of the Virgin Chapel—with the distinctive fan-shaped panels. Pierre Bénard had access to the plan when he described the windows in "Les vitraux de la Collégiale," *Journal de Saint-Quentin*, June 15 and 26, July 13 and 20, August 3 and 5, September 7, and October 5, 1859, and June 15, 1860, but it has since disappeared. It was part of Quentin Delafons' 17th-century manuscript, but was not included in Charles Gomart's published version. Since the chapel's dedication was changed to St. Louis at the end of the 13th century, antiquarians were unsure of its original dedication; see Delafons, *"Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin,"* pp. 58, 414–18. Gifts to an altar of St. Stephen, dated before 1235, are recorded in Laon, Archives Départementales de l'Aisne G785, pp. 1279–281, however, and there is no other location possible for such an altar. The chapel was reconsecrated in the 1830s to the Sacred Heart; the medieval glass was removed in 1837 to allow for appropriate redecoration of the chapel.

Figure 5 Ambulatory and axial chapel, ca. 1192–1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: S. Murray).

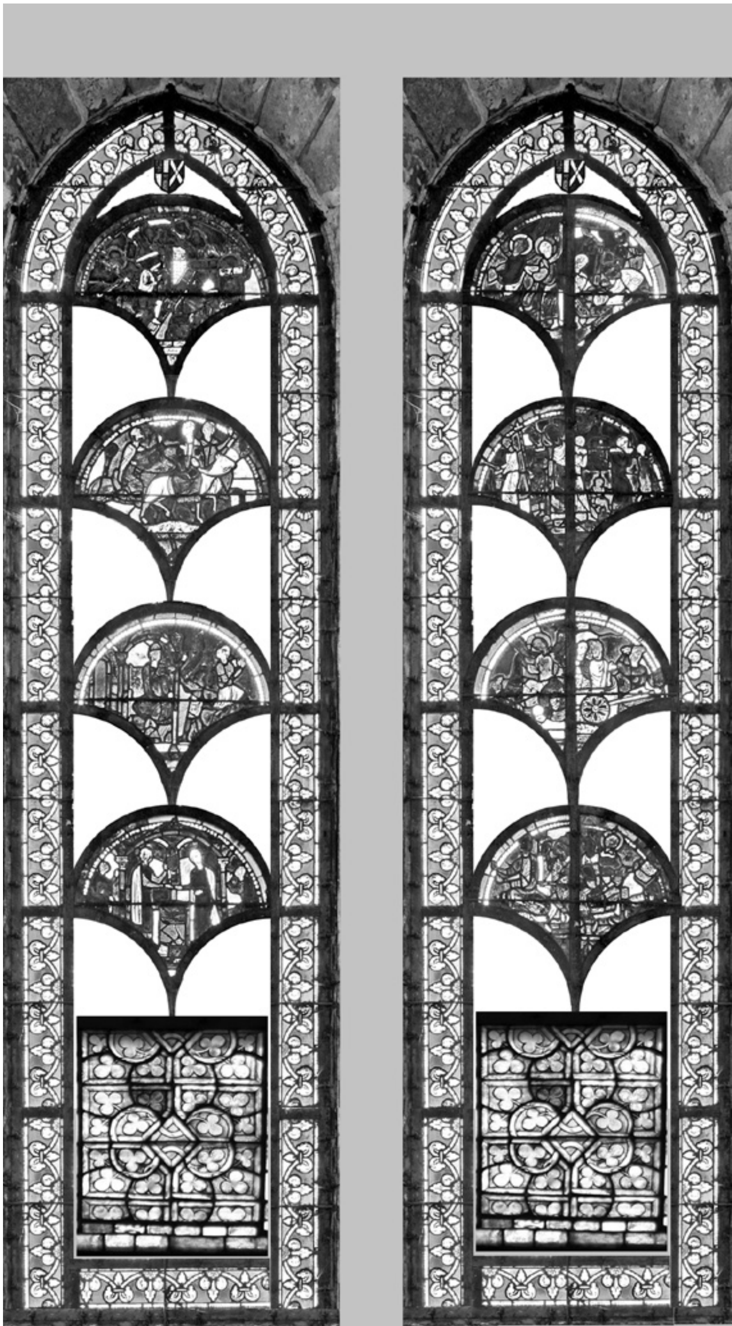

Figure 6 Reconstruction of St. Stephen window as in 1840. Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo and montage: E. Shortell).

Figure 7 St. Stephen and Theophilus window, medieval panels, ca. 1200. Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: P. Cowan).

created later in the nineteenth century. Lemasle and Rigaud must have taken the eight side panels and reversed their placement in order to construct full fan-shaped panels by combining two half panels. The result would have been symmetrical, but showed no comprehension of the subjects in the panels.

The restorations carried out by Lemasle and Rigaud seem to take to an extreme Adolphe-Napoléon Didron's (1806–1867) conception of a medieval window as a "mosaic" rather than a narrative painting.[13] In reporting on his restoration of some later medieval windows in the transepts, Lemasle made it clear that his goal was to make well-preserved glass from upper windows more visible by moving it closer to the ground; he also routinely replaced deteriorated heads with new ones; both practices were common and approved by the Commission des Monuments Historiques.[14] Lemasle's interest in an overall "medieval" effect and his lack of concern for identifying the subject or creating a coherent series of scenes helps to explain the replacement of at least one female head with a male one.

Scenes from the story of the relics of St. Stephen can be identified by comparison to more coherent windows of about the same date at Chartres, Laon, and Bourges, among others.[15] One of the half-panels should show Lady Juliana, who had mistaken St. Stephen's body for her husband's, riding in a chariot with two men on the way to Constantinople to bury him (Fig. 8; Color Plate 9). Instead, a beardless man's head sits on Juliana's

[13] Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, "Peinture sur verre: Vitrail de la Vierge," *Annales archéologiques*, 1 (1844), pp. 83–86, esp. 83–84, asserted "c'est de la mosaïque qu'on doit faire, et non des tableaux." The idea of an "archaeological window" is discussed by Jean-François Luneau, "Vitrail archéologique, vitrail-tableau. Chronique bibliographique," *Revue de l'art*, 124 (1999), pp. 67–78.

[14] Prosper Mérimée, then chief of the Commission des Monuments Historiques approved this procedure; see ACMH carton 96.

[15] Representations of the story of St. Stephen's relics in stained glass are found at Châlons-en-Champagne, Chartres, Bourges, Auxerre, Laon, and Le Mans Cathedrals. For Auxerre, see Virginia Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 167–68 and pl. 6; Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi [hereafter CVMA], France, Recensement III, *Les Vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris, 1986), pp. 117–18; for Châlons, Louis Grodecki, *Le Vitrail Roman* (Fribourg, 1977), pp. 124–27 and fig. 105; for Chartres, Colette Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la Cathédrale de Chartres: Étude iconographique*, Corpus Vitrearum France Études II (Paris, 1993), pp. 61, 236–37, 318–19; for Bourges, CVMA France, Recensement II, *Les Vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire* (Paris, 1981), pp. 168–73 and fig. 145; for Laon, Adrien de Florival and Etienne Midoux, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Laon*, fascicle 4 (Paris, 1891); for Le Mans, Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de la Cathédrale du Mans," *Congrès Archéologiques de France*, 119 (1961), pp. 59–99, esp. 84; CVMA France, Recensement II, pp. 241–57.

Figure 8 St. Stephen and Theophilus window, Juliana en route to Constantinople, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: E. Shortell). See color plate 9.

Figure 9 St. Stephen and Theophilus window, donor panel, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: Ministère de la Culture/Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN/ Art Resource, NY).

shoulders, and now faces away from her two companions, with whom she should be in conversation.

Another, more surprising, gender switch was reported by Baron Ferdinand de Guilhermy (1809–1878), who systematically visited medieval sites and described the buildings along with stained glass, wall paintings, and furnishings. When he visited Saint-Quentin in 1855, he said nothing of the donor panels in the axial chapel windows, but in his description of the Infancy window he noted that the head of the Virgin in the Flight into Egypt had been replaced with that of a bearded man (see Fig. 10). This, too, was probably the work of Lemasle and Rigaud. When Pierre Bénard (d. 1900), then architect-in-chief at Saint-Quentin, published his description of the glass four years later, the error had apparently been corrected.

The scene of Juliana riding to Constantinople is not well known, but it is perplexing that an academically trained artist would not recognize the Flight into Egypt. It might be mistaken for Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, although the presence of other Infancy scenes should suggest otherwise to an informed restorer. In any case, the gender switch in this panel must be attributed either to ignorance or lack of interest in anything beyond

Figure 10 Infancy of Christ window, Flight into Egypt, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: B. Delaire).

a visual effect. A similar lack of understanding may well have applied to changes made in the donor panel for the St. Stephen and Theophilus window.

"Juliana's" head was clearly made by the same artist who inserted a replacement head in the donor panel. This image shows two figures holding a window above an altar (Fig. 9). They stand inside a chapel, while male and female figures kneel at the sides, to the left and right, respectively. The window depicted in the donor panel is inscribed with part of a name, "ROG," and can be identified with Rogo of Fayel (modern Fayet) (d. by 1200), an important nobleman whose domains were in the Vermandois near Saint-Quentin.[16] Documents issued by Count Raoul the Valiant of Vermandois and his successors, dated between 1144 and 1187, include Rogo as a witness; Rogo's name was also recorded among the earliest group of chapel founders in a revenue book belonging to the chapter of Saint-Quentin.[17] The death of Rogo is remembered in the chapter's Martyrology on 4 ides February, and his son Odo confirmed the obituary gifts in a charter dated August 1200.[18] The dates and acts of Rogo of Fayel indicate that he died some time between 1187 and 1200, making this image important in establishing that the chevet chapels were under construction in the 1190s. The will of Dean Anisius (d. 1197) and documents issued by his successor, Daniel (fl. 1198–1213), indicate that the chapels were in use

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[16] Studies attempting to trace the genealogy of the Fayel or Faiel family include Louis-Paul Colliette, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique, civile, et militaire, de la province de Vermandois* (Cambrai, 1772), vol. 2, pp. 395–97; Jules Hachet, "Les seigneurs de Fayel en Vermandois du XIIème au XIXème siècle," part 2, *Mémoires de la Société Académique de Saint-Quentin*, ser. 4, 14 (1899–1900), pp. 355–77, esp. 355–62; and William Mendel Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, vol. 2, pp. 101–103, the most reliable source. Some have also speculated that this family is the subject of one of the better-known "coeur-mangé" stories, in which the husband feeds the unfaithful wife her lover's heart; see Jakemes, *Le roman du châtelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel*, trans. and ed. A. Petit and F. Suard (Paris, 1986).

[17] Documents with Rogo of Fayel as signator are found in the Cartulary of the Abbey of Longpont, BnF Coll. de Picardie, vol. 24, 139–40; Cartulary of Saint-Quentin, BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2591, fol. 80; transcriptions and summaries in Claude Hémeré, *Tabella chronologica decanorum, custodum canonicorumque regalis ecclesiae S. Quintini* (Paris, 1643), pp. 43–44; and Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 414–20.

[18] The chapel founders recorded in the chapter's lost "old revenue book" are recorded in Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 414–18; Rogo's obit appears in the Martyrology of the chapter of Saint-Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale Guy de Maupassant, Saint-Quentin, unnumbered manuscript, fol. 37, 4 ides February; and his son's confirmation of his obituary gifts to the church appears in the chapter's cartulary, Archives Nationales de France MS LL 985B, fol. 226rv.

by 1197.[19] But the donor panel has more to tell us about the circumstances of the donation and the role of both male and female family members in the construction campaign.

The Seigneurs and Dames de Fayel

The "Rogo" panel appears to depict a family group. The obit for Rogo requires anniversary offices for his wife, Rohais, whose own obituary describes her as the "venerable matron" of Fayel, and includes provision for offices for Rogo, suggesting that she outlived her husband. The annual gifts by both spouses are all from the tithes of Fayel and from wine transport tolls collected by the family.[20] Until the mid-thirteenth century, donations for anniversary memorial services were assigned to specific altars in the chevet, making an unusually clear connection between individual memorials and chapel foundations. Thus, it is reasonable to associate the figures depicted in the donor panel with the chapel foundation and the documented gifts to the church from Rogo and Rohais of Fayel.[21]

As with the Juliana figure, the replacement donor head also faces in the wrong direction (see Figs. 8 and 9); the two heads are virtually mirror images, and sit so awkwardly on their bodies that one wonders whether the artists might have mistakenly painted the wrong side of the glass and interchanged the two heads to correct the error. It seems likely that Lemasle and Rigaud either misread two similar but deteriorated heads, or, unable to see the original heads at all, assumed that a male figure would be more appropriate for both situations. That is, in the France of the 1830s, unaware of the subject matter of the windows, it might not have occurred

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[19] The text of Anisius' will is copied in Laon, Archives Départementales de l'Aisne, G 785, pp. 391–93. Daniel's letter does not survive but was paraphrased by Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, p. 415, and discussed by Claude Hémeré, *Augusta Viromanduorum Vindicata et Illustrata duobus libris quibus Antiquitates Urbi, et Ecclesiae Sancti Quintini, Viromandensiumque Comitum series explicantur* (Paris, 1643), pp. 142–43. In the latter case, Daniel was erroneously placed in the early 12th century.

[20] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 37, 4 ides February, "Obiit . . . Rogo de Faiel qui dedit nobis ii. modios frumenti assignatos ad decimam de faiel et xxx sol ad winagium de Martis Villa unum modium frumenti et xv sol. in die anniversarii sui et in die anniversarii Rohais uxoris sue unum modium frumenti et xv sol. distribuendos canonicis privates;" 47 vo., 6 nones March, "Obiit & [Rohais] venerabilia matrona de Faiel qui dedit nobis . . . sol. assignatos ad w[inagium] Martis Ville medietatem in die obitus sui distribuendam et alteram medietatem in die obitus Rogonis de Faiel mariti sui." Odo's confirmation is copied in Paris, Archives Nationales MS LL 985B, fol. 226.

[21] See also Shortell, "The Widows' Money," pp. 225–27.

to the restorers that a woman would be riding in a chariot with two men or standing at an altar.

The standing figure on the right is so heavily restored that its gender is unclear. Enough original glass remains, however, to show that the two standing figures are dressed differently; like the kneeling female figure, the standing figure on the right wears an ankle-length, belted garment, and no surcote. If, as seems likely, this figure were female, the standing figures would echo the kneeling ones, dividing the image by gender, and would follow the common device for the depiction of donors, placing a husband on the viewer's left and a wife on the right, with their children kneeling behind the parent of the same gender.[22] This suggests that the figures represent Rogo and Rohais offering the window, with Odo and perhaps one of his sisters kneeling at the sides of the chapel to confirm their approval.

After confirming his father's obituary gift in August 1200, Odo made a gift to the Cistercian monastery of Fervaques for the entry of his youngest, and only unmarried, sister, Rohais "junior," into the convent.[23] Presumably, the two married sisters, Agnes, also called Clemence, and Mathilda, had received their inheritance portions as dowries.[24] While they might still inherit from their brother in the event of his death—a condition which, as we shall see, had been important for the succession of Eleanor as Countess of Vermandois earlier in the same decade—their interest in the family property in 1200 was less immediate than that of the younger Rohais, who had as yet received no portion of the family legacy.[25] Rohais junior therefore seems the most likely person to be depicted in the donor panel.

Although there are other readings possible, the visual evidence points most strongly to a married couple in the center, flanked by their children.[26]

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[22] Corine Schleif, "Men on the Right–Women on the Left: (A)symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church*, eds. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (Albany, 2005), pp. 207–49; Madeline H. Caviness, "Abbess, Anchoress, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 105–53, esp. 128–29; Elizabeth C. Parker, "The Gift of the Cross in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Thelma Thomas and Elizabeth Sears (Ann Arbor, 2002), pp. 177–86, esp. 181–83, 185, ns. 19, 32.

[23] Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, vol. 2, pp. 102–103, n. 2.j.

[24] Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, vol. 2, pp. 102–103, n. 2.j. and k.

[25] On practices of inheritance, succession, and approval of property transfers, Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, pp. 88–93, 119–33.

[26] Elsewhere I have suggested the alternative possibility that the restored figure is a cleric, a previously unnoticed member of the family known as "Henry the Physician;" see Shortell, "The Widows' Money," pp. 223–27.

This is not simply an artistic convention. Since a married woman was entitled to her own dowered property, the common marital property, and to the use of her husband's property after his death, she would have to approve any alienation thereof.[27] Similarly, an unmarried daughter like the younger Rohais who was due a part of the inheritance would have a legitimate say in its disposition. In this case, the presence of mother and daughter would underline the consent of all immediate heirs, commemorating not only Rogo's donation and Odo's confirmation, but also Rohais' and Rohais junior's participation in the gift.

The Widows' Window: The Legacies of Rassendis Crassa and Rassendis Waukins

While Lemasle and Rigaud may have been relatively ignorant of subjects and composition in medieval glass, better-informed artists were behind a gender switch that was probably made more than twenty years later in the donor figures of the Triumph of the Virgin window (see Fig. 1). In the 1850s, Adolphe-Napoléon Didron created a Tree of Jesse window for the central light of the axial chapel, and submitted proposals for the restoration of altars and wall paintings. While there is no mention of his working on medieval windows, Didron was one of the most important stained-glass restorers of his time, and his arrival was heralded as the beginning of serious restoration work.[28] Founder of the periodical *Annales archéologiques*, published from 1844 to 1881, and author of *Iconographie chrétienne: histoire de Dieu* (Paris, 1843), Didron "ainé" was a serious observer of the conventional medieval depiction of religious subjects, as well as a member of the Commission des Monuments Historiques. He was succeeded at Saint-Quentin by a local artist, Jean Talon (fl. ca. 1850–1880), and, later, by his nephew, Edouard Didron (1836–1902), also known as "Didron jeune." All three had a more thorough grounding than Lemasle and Rigaud in medieval art and iconography.

In their present state, the donor images at the base of the Triumph of the Virgin window show two women in the left-hand panel presenting a stained-glass window at an altar, and two figures with male heads in the

[27] Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, pp. 91–98.

[28] Didron first visited Saint-Quentin to measure the windows in July 1851, according to the Fabric Council records, Saint-Quentin, Archives Municipales, 6S2, fol. 233, 7 July 1852, and fol. 262, 21 June 1856.

right-hand panel holding a sack of coins over an altar. Beneath the two panels are the inscriptions "this window" (ISTA VITREA) and "the widows' [feminine plural] money" (AES VIDVARVM), respectively. The only original head in this group is the right-most one in the left-hand panel; the other female head and the two male heads are modern.

All four figures are similarly dressed, with ankle-length garments, mantles, and no surcotes, like the right-hand figures in the donor panel of the St. Stephen window. In 1859, then-architect-in-chief Pierre Bénard described the figures as "four women," which seems in keeping with the inscription.[29] Presumably, then, the male heads were added after that date. In his *Antiquités et Monuments du Département de l'Aisne*, published in 1882, Edouard Fleury (1815–1883) described the panels as they look now and speculated that the men must be relatives of the widows. Although he accepted the modern heads as original, he felt a need to explain the presence of men in apparent contradiction to the inscription.[30]

Pierre Bénard was architect from 1856 until the mid-1890s, so it is somewhat surprising that figures he described as women became men during his tenure. He hired Jean Talon to work on the stained glass in the radiating chapels, and Talon continued at Saint-Quentin until 1879, when the Commission des Monuments Historiques found his work inept and relieved him of his duties. In the interim, Talon had dismantled Lemasle's pastiche windows and probably reassembled the St. Stephen/Theophilus panels. He made a pair of new windows for those openings with scenes framed in quatrefoil armatures, described as "typologies of the Virgin."[31] Photographs of these windows, lost between wars in the twentieth century, show scenes from Genesis with allusions to Mary as the new Eve (Fig. 11); the new subjects were more appropriate for the Virgin Chapel, and restoration efforts now clearly concerned themselves with something deeper than simple visual effect. Talon's work demonstrates a greater knowledge of medieval iconography than his predecessors had possessed.

It is impossible to tell whether the widows' heads were replaced by Talon or by Edouard Didron. Through all the restoration work in these windows, it is clear that the artist was interested in creating an appropriate

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[29] Pierre Bénard, "Les Vitraux de la Collégiale," *Journal de Saint-Quentin*, 7 September 1859, p. 3.

[30] Edouard Fleury, *Antiquités et Monuments du Département de l'Aisne* (Paris, 1877–1882), vol. 4, pp. 126–27.

[31] Archives Municipales de Saint-Quentin 6S3, 14 June 1878.

Figure 11 Genesis panel by Jean Talon (?), ca. 1860, now destroyed, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY).

religious message as well as a visual effect, and that he was familiar with medieval modes of depiction. The volumes of the *Annales archéologiques* include a number of descriptions and images of donor figures, including women, in sculpture and glass, indicating that the subject was well known by 1850.[32] While dividing the two halves of the image into male and female pairs, the artist switched the traditional placement of males on the left and females on the right, a device used sometimes in medieval art to

[32] For example, in the first issue, Adolphe Napoléon Didron, "Une Piscine du Moyen Age," *Annales archéologiques*, 1 (1844), pp. 36–40, esp. 38, n. 1, identifies donor figures holding buildings on the font at the high altar at St-Urbain in Troyes as well as statuettes of two queens of Navarre and countesses of Evreux holding a window between them in a sculptural group originally made for a 14th-century chapel at the collegiate church of Mantes.

Figure 12 Crucifixion window, detail of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II as donors, ca. 1160, Poitiers Cathedral (Photo: V. Raguin).

indicate the preeminence of the woman, which would be appropriate if the figures were indeed men approving the widows' donation, as Fleury implied.[33] The restorers may have modeled their work on donor images in which husband and wife face each other; they may even have known the Great East Window of Poitiers Cathedral, in which Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) and Henry II of England (1133–1189) are shown as donors, with Eleanor on the left (Fig. 12). Caviness has argued that this positioning underlines Eleanor's role as the primary donor.[34] It seems unlikely, although not impossible, that the restorers would have thought about the implications of reversing the usual pairing.

The presence of men is not only at odds with the pre-restoration description of the image, it is also contrary to the realities of property control around 1200.[35] It is, however, in keeping with nineteenth-century French

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[33] Fleury, *Antiquités et Monuments du Département de l'Aisne*, vol. 4, pp. 126–27; see also note 22 above.

[34] Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen," pp. 127–29.

[35] Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The* laudatio parentum *in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, 1988), esp. 7–9, 80–85, 124–29, 177–209; Robert Fossier,

law, in which women did not control property, and better reflects the economic status of modern than medieval women. Whether the restorer made a conscious choice to replace a female head with a male one, misread a damaged image, or simply assumed without a clear medieval model that male heads would be appropriate, the gender switch resulted from an intervention based on nineteenth-century ideology and expectations.

Unlike the image of the Fayel family, the inscription describes the donors only as "widows," without names. The figures are likewise undifferentiated, and might be compared to groups of craftsmen depicted as donors in windows of about the same date at Chartres Cathedral, where some of the Saint-Quentin glass painters also worked.[36] The women are not dressed as nuns, but as wealthy laywomen; the group identity that the image suggests seems to be neither a familial relationship nor membership in a monastery.

Among the chapel donors listed in the chapter's revenue book were two women, Rassendis Crassa and Rassendis Waukins; little is known about them, although the chapter's martyrology provides some clues. "Crassa" could be a descriptor for one person, that is, "Rassendis the Stout," but elsewhere the martyrology entries clarify descriptive nicknames with the word "dicta/us," as in "the Noble Lady of Boves, known as Ada the Countess," or "Girardus, called the young nobleman."[37] More likely, Crassa/us was a family name that did not survive like other descriptive names associated with families from the medieval Vermandois, including "Sotus/Le Sot" (the fool), "Collum tauri/Coldetor" (the bull-necked) or "Nasus Catus/Nesde-cat" (the cat-nosed).[38] There is also an obit for Balduinus Crassus and,

La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 262–73; Robert Hajdu, "The Position of the Noblewoman in the Pays des Coutumes, 1100–1300," *Journal of Family History*, 5 (1980), pp. 122–44, esp. 128–33; Shortell, "The Widows' Money," pp. 228–31; Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, pp. 119–33.

[36] The artistic group that included the Infancy and Triumph windows at Saint-Quentin, the St. Eustace window at Chartres, and other stained glass from Soissons and Laon Cathedrals and the Château of Baye, was first proposed by Louis Grodecki, "Le maître de Saint-Eustache de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*, eds. M. Kühn and L. Grodecki (Berlin, 1965), pp. 171–94; rprt. *Le Moyen Âge Retrouvé* (Paris, 1985), pp. 520–43. Some revision of his conclusions is proposed in Shortell, "The Choir of Saint-Quentin," pp. 292–300.

[37] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 35 vo., 6 ides February, "Nobilis mulier Domina Babuef dicta Ade comitissa;" fol. 31, pridie kalends February, "Girardus dictus bachelerus."

[38] The Le Sot family included Matthew, the treasurer of the chapter of Saint-Quentin credited with laying the first stone for the new church, Martyrology fol. 26, 10 kalends February, and his immediate relatives, Martyrology fol. 69, 6 ides April; fol. 76, 7 kalends

on a separate day, an ambiguous entry that reads, "on this same day died Dean Odo [fl. ca. 1161–1165] and *of Baldwin* who gave us the oven located below the tower, and his wife Rassendis and Emmelina of Bethencourt and her daughter Agnes of Chameli [emphasis mine]."[39] The text was copied from an earlier martyrology, and a phrase was omitted in the process. The entry would make more sense grammatically and fit the formulas normally used in the Martyrology if it read "Dean Odo, for whose anniversary we receive . . . *from the domains* of Baldwin . . . and his wife Rassendis . . .," meaning that Baldwin, Rassendis, Emmelina, and Agnes all then occupied lands from which annual rents had been due since Odo's death. Rassendis Crassa herself is credited with giving her house and land, as well as rents on several other properties in perpetuity, in the obit recorded on the day of her death.[40] This action is typical of widows who placed their property in the hands of the church in order to free themselves from the burdens of property management, devote themselves to charitable works and spiritual lives, and/or repay the clergy for protection and perpetual prayer.

Rassendis Waukins does not appear by that name in the Martyrology. There are three men with similar names who could have been her relatives: Symon Wauchisi, Robert Walcisi, and Walcisus the knight.[41] She could be the same person as Rassendis de Fara, who gave perpetual rents on property that had belonged to a deceased canon named Marsilius, a similar situation to that proposed for Baldwin and Rassendis.[42]

Among other widows mentioned in the chapter's documents of about the same time was Oda Coldetor, mother of a canon and a member of one of the leading families of the region.[43] Oda gave a mill to the leprosarium

May; the Coldetor family included Oda and her son Johannes; see note 43 below; Robert Nez-de-Cat was Mayor of Saint-Quentin, banished for a year after anti-clerical riots in 1213; his wife's obit appears in the Martyrology on fol. 106, 6 kalends July.

[39] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 140, 8 kalends September, "Eadem die obiit Odo Decanus & Balduini [sic] qui dedit ecclesie furnum sub turri situm. Et uxor eius Rassendis & Emmelina de Betencort & Agnes de Chameli filia eius."

[40] Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 288, 415. The obit for "Rassendis Crassa" is found in the Martyrology, folio 38 vo., ides of February.

[41] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 88 vo., 17 kalends June; fol. 178, 3 ides November, and fol. 170, 5 kalends June, respectively.

[42] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, 181 vo., 13 kalends December.

[43] Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 166 vo., 14 kalends November, "Eadem die obiit Oda Coldetor pro cuius anima et Huberti mariti eius Robertus Rufus canonicus et Hubertus filii eorum dederunt nobis medietatem decime de miseri ad horas." According to Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, p. 132, another member of her family, a canon of Saint-Quentin, named Jean Coldetor (Johannes Collum Tauri), later founded a chapel west

of Saint-Lazare in Saint-Quentin, and is thought to have finished her life serving at the hospital.[44]

In Saint-Quentin, as elsewhere in northern France, loosely organized religious communities of both men and women were found attached to hospitals around 1200.[45] The collegiate chapter asserted progressively more oversight over these institutions in the following decades as they grew in importance and popularity.[46] Membership in such a community could explain the depiction of unrelated widows as a group, although the clergy could simply have decided to combine the donations of several women whose memories they believed would best be celebrated in the Virgin Chapel. The image would also serve as a reminder that widows were considered a vulnerable class of persons, whom canon law required the clergy to protect regardless of their economic status.[47] Whatever lives the donors led in widowhood, their act of turning over property to the church provided for the construction and decoration of the Virgin Chapel in which they were remembered. If, like Oda Coldetor, they were also relatives of canons, the exchange would have had personal significance as well for both the widows and the chapter.

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of the small transept and was depicted as a donor in its stained glass windows. His obit is found in the Martyrology, fol. 8 vo., 8 kalends January.

[44] Colliette, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la province de Vermandois*, vol. 2, pp. 309, 588.

[45] Bruce Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 45–46, n. 103; Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 66–68, 164; Gomart, ed., *Extraits originaux d'un manuscript de Quentin de la Fons*, vol. 1, pp. 286, 293–97; Penelope Galloway, "'Discreet and Devout Maidens': Women's Involvement in Beguine Communities in Northern France, 1200–1500," in *Medieval Women in Their Communities*, ed. Diane Watt (Toronto, 1997), pp. 92–115, esp. 96–99; Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia, 2003).

[46] Shortell, "The Widows' Money," pp. 225–31.

[47] Clerical responsibility toward wealthy widows under canon law was debated during the early 13th century. The clerical obligation to care for *miserabiles personae* stated in Gratian's *Decretum* was clarified by Stephen of Tournai and other legal scholars, and by the Third Lateran Council in 1179, as including both financial and legal support for orphans, widows, and the indigent. See James Brundage, "Widows as Disadvantaged Persons in Medieval Canon Law," in *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 193–206, esp. 193–97, 201–202, ns. 1–18. Patricia Skinner, "Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community," in *Medieval Women in their Communities*, pp. 204–21, noted, however, that the protection of widows by both clergy and princes is an ancient *topos*, not necessarily supported by contemporary legal documents. Benoît-Michel Tock, "L'image des veuves dans la littérature médiolatine belge du VIIIe au XIIe siècle," in *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 37–48, also noted the paucity of specific information about the lives of real widows and the repetition in legal documents of the same formulas about the widow's condition and virtue.

The two surviving donor images represent two types of patrons belonging to the lesser nobility of the Vermandois, widows and nuclear families, for whom the canons would continue to pray; based on the lists of chapel founders, a third group consisted of canons themselves, who probably appeared as donors in other chapel windows that were lost before the French Revolution. Together, these noble donor groups represented the constituents of the social network that surrounded the church and provided much of the economic support for construction of the new chevet in the 1190s.

In the chapter's medieval records, male and female donors were recorded in chronological order, with details of the type and amount of income given, and the altar or feasts for which those gifts were intended. The donor's gender is distinguished only by her or his name. By the seventeenth century, however, men and women were sometimes separated in historical memoirs derived from the same records. In his mid-seventeenth-century manuscript, "Histoire particulière de l'église de Saint-Quentin," for example, Canon Quentin Delafons (ca. 1591–1650) included two separate, successive chapters entitled, "Des Princes, Seigneurs et Gentils-Hommes, Bienfaiteurs de l'église royale de Saint-Quentin," and "Dames, Desmoiselles Bienfaitrices de l'église de Saint-Quentin," which required him arbitrarily to sort charters and obituary entries by gender.[48] On the one hand, this process highlighted the patronage of women as something remarkable; on the other hand, it opened the way for a gendered reading of the medieval sources. The construction of histories that masked women's contributions can be traced back to such seventeenth-century narratives; they became codified with the nineteenth-century processes of history writing, monumental description, and restoration.

The Historiographic Legacy

To borrow Pierre Nora's term of *lieux de mémoire*, the formation of an official French commission for historic monuments marked a definitive shift in the perception of medieval buildings, from living sites of accrued local memory to repositories of a national historical ideal.[49] First formed under the government of the King Louis-Philippe (r. 1830–1848), the commission included vocal supporters of Gothic such as Eugène-Emmanuel

[48] Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 280–91.

[49] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, Special Issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*, 26 (1989), pp. 7–24.

Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807–1857), Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), and Adolphe-Napoléon Didron. Studies by Françoise Bercé and Françoise Choay of the commission's early work have helped to cast it in the perspective of the politics of the July Monarchy, nostalgic for the Capetian era, and, more broadly, at a point when Western society began to define itself as "modern," that is, as something utterly distinct from the past.[50] The process of creating historic monuments required a conceptualization of a distant time as something from which the present time was definitively separated.

In retrospect, the restorations of the mid-nineteenth century seem to underline how unfamiliar the medieval past was, as antiquarians, architects, and artists trained in a classical tradition tried variously to re-imagine it.[51] Viollet-le-Duc himself wrote that, "to restore an edifice is not to maintain it, repair it, or remake it, it is to re-establish it in a complete state that may never have existed at a given moment."[52] Although Viollet-le-Duc was willing to be more interpretive in his restorations than some of his contemporaries, such restorations aimed not to excavate the actual form a building may have taken at a given time in the past, but rather to recreate an image of what it should have looked like under ideal circumstances. Historic monuments came to be, as Kevin Murphy has said, "set apart from the flow of time as representations of inaccessible moments of the past."[53]

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[50] On the early history of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, see Françoise Bercé, *Les premiers travaux de la commission des monuments historiques, 1837–1848: Procès-verbaux et relevés d'architectes* (Paris, 1979). The effects of the commission's decisions on the fate of monuments were also discussed by Paul Léon, *La Vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration* (Paris, 1951). A more theoretical approach to the commission's history is taken by Françoise Choay, *L'allegorie du patrimoine* (Paris, 1992); Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France* (New Haven, 1988); Virginia Chieffo Raguin, "Revivals, Revivalists, and Architectural Stained Glass," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49 (1990), pp. 310–29.

[51] Choay, *L'allegorie du patrimoine*, emphasizes how little knowledge of medieval history or architecture was available in the mid-19th century. Important case studies on the transformation of medieval monuments under the auspices of the Commission des Monuments Historiques are Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (University Park, PA, 2000); Michael Camille, *The Gargoyles of Notre-Dame: Medievalism and the Monsters of Modernity* (Chicago, 2009); and Meredith Cohen, "Restoration as Re-Creation at the Sainte-Chapelle," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 48 (2005), pp. 135–54.

[52] "Restaurer un édifice, ce n'est pas l'entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c'est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné." Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Restauration," in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1866), vol. 8, p. 14.

[53] Murphy, *Memory and Modernity*, p. 18.

While the architecture of Saint-Quentin escaped the more heavy-handed restorations that other buildings saw, antiquarians from Edouard Fleury to the members of the local Société Académique such as Charles Gomart (1804–1884) and architect Pierre Bénard joined in the national effort to piece together the history of their local community and its medieval monuments; their writings comprise the foundations on which subsequent studies of medieval Saint-Quentin were built.[54] Like the restoration of architecture and stained glass, historical and art historical narratives are interpretations of evidence that are influenced by the ideologies of their authors; in fact, the evidence that is sought and discovered is to some degree the product of the same impulse.

From the earliest historical compilations, the building history of Saint-Quentin was confused by the interpretation of medieval documents by a seventeenth-century canon, Claude Hémeré (ca. 1580–1650). In his *Augusta Viromanduorum Vindicata et Illustrata* of 1643, Hémeré tied together three documented events: a fire in about 1102, a donation by Raoul the Valiant, Count of Vermandois (ca. 1100–1152), and an obituary notice crediting the chapter's treasurer, Matthew, with the placement of the first stone.[55] Since Raoul was born in about 1100 and there were several lacunae in the list of known chapter officers, Hémeré surmised that Raoul's gift must have coincided with his coming of age around 1120, and that Matthew was treasurer at that time. A century after Hémeré, Louis-Paul Colliette repeated this hypothesis as accepted fact in his chronicle of the history of the Vermandois: the church needed to be rebuilt because of a devastating fire; as soon as he was old enough, the new count provided funding (his powerful widowed mother's inaction remains unremarked and unexplained), and the work was initiated by the treasurer Matthew on behalf of the chapter.[56] Although Quentin Delafons, Hémeré's contemporary, questioned the relationship among the three events, his work was not published until the mid-nineteenth century, and Hémeré's conclusions were

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[54] Most important among these were Fleury, *Antiquités et Monuments de l'Aisne*; Pierre Bénard, "L'Art national ancien et la basilique de Saint-Quentin," *Mémoires de la Société Académique de Saint-Quentin*, ser. 4, vol. 5, (1882), pp. 82–111; and Gomart's editions of Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, and *Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Quentin*. Each of these men was a regular contributor to the *Mémoires de la Société Académique de Saint-Quentin* during his career.

[55] Hemeré, *Augusta Viromanduorum*, pp. 142–43, and *Tabella chronologica*, pp. 23–25.

[56] Colliette, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la province de Vermandois*, vol. 2, pp. 138–39, 150–51, 455. Raoul's mother, known as Adele or Alix, is remembered in the martyrology, as "Ada Comitissa" on 18 November, fol. 181.

not seriously cast in doubt.[57] In fact, these documents relate to three distinct events, separated by several decades: Raoul's gift was recorded on his death, some fifty years after the fire, and it was Matthew Le Sot, treasurer in the late 1180s to mid-1190s, who placed the first stone of the new choir around 1192.[58] However, from the perspective of Canon Claude Hémeré, for whom the church was a continuous, stable institution, there must have been a practical necessity for rebuilding on a holy site, and the primary male authorities of the church and secular society should have been responsible for making the building whole again.

The sources that Hémeré drew upon, the reasoning he used to link them, and the acceptance of his conclusions by his successors, are all symptomatic of the development of a historical narrative that assumed that events were directed by individual men of special importance and ignored the varied dynamics of lesser-ranked social groups, as well as the exercise of political or economic power by even high-ranking women. To some extent, this is thanks to the fact that such men paid chroniclers to record their actions. The creation of prose chronicles in Picardy around 1200 has itself been seen as an ideological defense against the threat of social change, but early modern authors read such stories as unbiased first-hand accounts.[59] In addition, while historical writings of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries systematically studied the charters and chronicles of cathedral chapters, men's monasteries, and secular institutions, more recent scholarship has added the consideration of documents related to women's monastic houses, as well as courtly literature and hagiographies, with the result that previously unnoticed examples of women's patronage have come to light.[60]

More subtle was the assumption that women's donations to religious foundations were matters of private piety, while men's were public and

[57] Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, p. 415.

[58] The only surviving reference to a fire at Saint-Quentin is found in the *Miraculae Sancti Marculfi, AA SS* Maii vol. 7 (Antwerp, 1688), pp. 525 and 529. Raoul's and Matthew's obituary gifts are recorded in the Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, fol. 159 vo. and 164, respectively. While Raoul's death in 1152 is well established, a letter from Daniel, who became Dean of Saint-Quentin in 1198, establishes that Matthew had died not long before that date. The letter is discussed in Delafons, *Histoire de l'Église de Saint-Quentin*, p. 415; Hémeré, *Augusta Viromanduorum*, pp. 142–43, and his *Tabella Chronologica*, pp. 23–25.

[59] Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1993), esp. xvii–xxvi and 1–44.

[60] Constance H. Berman, "Introduction: Secular Women in the Documents for Late Medieval Religious Women," *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88 (2008), pp. 485–620, esp. 489; Jordan, "Female Founders," pp. 535–61.

politically motivated.[61] The interest of historical chroniclers like Hémeré and Colliette lay in public actions and political events that shaped society as a whole. When their documents included the actions of women, they were usually cast in a different light from those of men. Nineteenth-century authors who promoted the appreciation and restoration of Gothic church architecture saw the buildings as highly charged public monuments, consistent with the actions of powerful men, and continued to project a modern idea of gender differences onto their medieval subjects.

The Presumed Agency of Great Men at Saint-Quentin

Even as the field of art history has moved away from its former focus on the works of great men, the grand narrative of Gothic architecture retains a distinctly masculine character. It is frequently told as the story of a series of innovative masters, although we know the names of very few. Viollet-le-Duc's characterization of them as heroic, forward-looking men comparable to the engineers of the French rail system, has continued to color our ideas.[62] In addition, in the Middle Ages greater expense was usually lavished on cathedrals, secular collegiate foundations, and monasteries for men than on women's houses, with the result that the most impressive and durable buildings—those that have thus survived time and history to become the normative types—were sites where male clergy chanted the offices.[63] Yet the dramatic innovations that manifested themselves in the great Gothic cathedrals were the result of smaller experiments at multiple sites.[64] While medieval circumstances generally led to the most

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[61] Jordan, "Female Founders," analyzes the inherent problems in the public/private divide as formulated by Georges Duby in *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), and *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York, 1983).

[62] Viollet-le-Duc, "Architecture," in *Dictionnaire raisonné*, vol. 1, pp. 116–452, esp. 149–50, states "Pendant le règne de Philippe-Auguste on s'aperçoit que l'art de l'architecture progresse dans le voie nouvelle sous l'influence d'hommes réunis par une communauté des principles, mais conservant encore leur physionomie et leur originalité personnelles;" and Viollet-le-Duc, "Cathédrale," vol. 2, pp. 278–392, esp. 281: "Rien, en effet, aujourd'hui, si ce n'est peut-être le mouvement intellectuel et commercial qui couvre l'Europe de lignes de chemins de fer, ne peut donner l'idée de l'empressement avec lequel les populations urbaines se mirent à élever des cathédrales."

[63] See Caroline Bruzelius and Constance Berman, "Introduction," *Gesta* (*Monastic Architecture for Women*) 31 (1992), pp. 73–75.

[64] This idea was highlighted by John James, *The Template Makers of the Paris Basin* (West Grinstead, 1989), p. 5.

sumptuous architecture being built for men, the choices made by restorers and antiquarians to focus on the most impressive examples of the style have skewed the canon and distorted our understanding of the development of formal and technical change.[65]

The idea of Gothic architecture as the creation of a series of gifted master masons is problematic also because it ignores the collaborative nature of the enterprise, including the input of clerical and noble patrons, as well as the interactions among masons and other artisans who had worked at different sites.[66] While the great majority of master masons certainly were men, women were involved in the building process at nearly all levels.

Shelley Roff has examined documentary evidence from a range of times and places across medieval Europe, demonstrating the roles that women played as laborers on construction sites and as artisans such as sculptors and glass painters.[67] Artists' workshops were family businesses where women often learned a father's or husband's trade. The fact that women could inherit and administer their fathers' or husbands' businesses cautions us against the assumption that architectural design and construction was exclusively the province of men. As Roff has noted, individual legal rulings and the later medieval development of guild regulations against female artisans indicate that some were capable of doing that work and must have at least attempted it.[68] Female masons, carpenters, tilers, and glaziers are mentioned in municipal records in Paris, London, Nuremburg, and Strasbourg by the end of the thirteenth century.[69] Communal charters

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[65] Bercé, *Commission des monuments historiques*, pp. 1–17, provides a history and analysis of the decision process of the first restorers and antiquarians in the 1830s and 1840s. Viollet-le-Duc's writings reflect the attitudes of this group; see especially his "De la construction des edifices religieux en France, depuis le commencement du Christianisme jusqu'au XVIème siecle," *Annales Archéologiques*, 1 (1844), pp. 179–86; 2 (1845), pp. 78–85, 143–50, 338–49; 3 (1845), pp. 321–36; 4 (1846), pp. 266–83; and 6 (1847), pp. 194–205.

[66] For further discussion of these issues, see Corine Schleif, "The Roles of Women in Challenging the Canon of Great Master Art History," *Attending to Early Modern Women*, eds. Adele Seeff and Susan Amussen (Newark, 1999), pp. 74–92.

[67] Shelley E. Roff, "'Appropriate to her Sex'? Women's Participation on the Construction Site in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 109–34. See also the seminal piece by Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages: 'The Dark is Light Enough'," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London, 1997), pp. 3–21.

[68] Roff, "Appropriate to her Sex," p. 118.

[69] Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Gender and Medieval Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA and Oxford, 2006), pp. 128–50, esp. 130; Meredith Parsons Lillich, "Gothic Glaziers: Monks, Jews, Taxpayers, Bretons, Women," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 27 (1985), pp. 72–92; Roff, "Appropriate to her Sex," pp. 118–19, 132, ns. 43–51.

issued for Saint-Quentin after 1192 included regulations for certain trades, especially cloth-making, and divide the types of work as appropriate to male and female workers.[70]

Women were found in other positions on the construction site, including the most menial laborers. A mid-twelfth-century miracle story from Notre-Dame-en-Vaux in Châlons-en-Champagne tells of four women who were buried and then revived when a foundation ditch they had been digging "with their fingernails" collapsed around them.[71] While this story is surely exaggerated to emphasize the miraculous happy ending, it does have roots in the activities of poor women on construction sites, digging ditches, filling masons' hods, and carrying sand. Such women were vulnerable to abuse and violence, while women who had the skills to work in stained glass and sculpture workshops might be better protected by working offsite.

While there is no specific evidence of female construction workers at Saint-Quentin, there is in fact no mention of any mason, carver, painter, or glazier regardless of gender, with the exception of one master named Jean de Saint-Quentin, who bought a house in 1254, three years before the official consecration of the choir.[72] Scholarship on women on construction sites helps to underline the distortion inherent in the assumptions by historians that have led, erroneously, to a single-gendered image of church design and building. The desire not only to name a master but also to go further by imagining his biography and personality at Saint-Quentin created a historical fiction that left historians blind to the visual evidence.

Seventeenth-century historical writings notwithstanding, nineteenth-century archaeologists quickly recognized that the Gothic church of Saint-Quentin had to have been built much later than 1120.[73] The events that Hémeré assigned to the early twelfth century could have had little

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[70] Joseph-Antoine Roy, "Les Institutions de Saint-Quentin de 1151 à 1195," unpublished Diplôme annexe, Université de Picardie, Saint-Quentin, n.d.; André Triou, "Les origines de la commune de Saint-Quentin, et ses vicissitudes," in *Les chartes et le mouvement communal, Colloque régionale* (Saint-Quentin, 1980), pp. 3–10.

[71] Pere Charles Rapine, *Annales ecclésiastiques du diocèse de Châlons en Champagne* (Paris, 1636), p. 215, rprt. in Katharina Corsepius, *Notre-Dame-en-Vaux: Studien zur Baugeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Châlons-sur-Marne* (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 23–24.

[72] Pierre Héliot, "Chronologie de la Basilique de Saint-Quentin," p. 49, n. 1; Martyrology of Saint-Quentin, 12 kalends June, fol. 90 vo., "Obiit Johannes magister fabrice huius ecclesie pro quo et eius iuxore [Ermine] habemus xxx. l. par . . .;" Laon, Archives Départementales de l'Aisne, G 788, p. 487; Hémeré, *Augusta Viromanduorum*, p. 143.

[73] Fleury, *Antiquités et monuments de l'Aisne*, vol. 4, p. 43; Bénard, "L'Art national ancien et la basilique de Saint-Quentin," pp. 82–111.

relevance, and the only secure date accepted for construction at Saint-Quentin was the consecration of the choir in the presence of King Louis IX (1214–1270) in 1257. The beginning of construction was then calculated backward and placed around 1220–1225, ignoring the multiplicity of stylistic changes that suggest a more drawn-out construction process than that of other buildings such as Chartres, where more clearly established dates set the standard.[74]

For Saint-Quentin, however, a late date was reinforced for early scholars after the publication of the first facsimile of Villard de Honnecourt's drawings by J.B. Lassus in 1858.[75] In 1864, Pierre Bénard, architect in charge of restorations at Saint-Quentin, published an article in which he attributed the design of Saint-Quentin to Villard de Honnecourt.[76] Villard would have had to arrive in Saint-Quentin after the upper stories of Chartres and Reims were underway—no earlier than 1220. The attribution to Villard was accepted by many scholars until the 1960s, when Carl Barnes convincingly argued that Villard was not a master mason; additional studies of late medieval architecture and of Villard's drawings have greatly diminished what once seemed a remarkable set of coincidences.[77] But the dates proposed in the mid-nineteenth century had become widely accepted for Saint-Quentin by both architectural historians and stained glass scholars, with a few notable exceptions arguing for the first construction around 1205.[78]

In the 1960s, Marion Roberts and Robert Branner further suggested that the definitive inheritance of the Vermandois by King Philip Augustus of France in 1214 had provided the impetus for the construction of the greatly enlarged new choir in a style that would reinforce French royal

[74] Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "The Cathedral of Chartres and the Architect of Soissons," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 22 (1963), pp. 63–74; Anne Prache, *Lumières de Chartres* (Paris, 1989), p. 85; Dany Sandron, *La Cathédrale de Soissons: Architecture de pouvoir* (Paris, 1998), esp. 163–67; Shortell, "Narrative of French Gothic," esp. 35–38, 42–44. James, *The Template Makers of the Paris Basin*, esp. pp. 3–7, makes the case on a broader scale.

[75] Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus, *Album de Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIIIe siècle, manuscrit publié en fac-simile* (Paris, 1858; facs. ed., Paris, 1968).

[76] Bénard, "Recherches sur la patrie et les travaux de Villard de Honnecourt," pp. 260–80.

[77] Barnes, "Le 'problème' de Villard de Honnecourt," pp. 209–23, and his *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt*, pp. 98–100, 224–26; Bucher, "A Rediscovered Tracing by Villard de Honnecourt," pp. 315–19; Shortell, "Beyond Villard: Architectural Drawings at Saint-Quentin and Gothic Design," pp. 18–29.

[78] See note 4 above. The date of 1220 was also used for analysis of the stained glass by Grodecki, "Le maître de Saint-Eustache," pp. 184–94.

hegemony over a region previously tied to the counts of Flanders.[79] This idea was an attractive one for scholars, as it neatly wrapped up the story of Saint-Quentin and ascribed deep social meaning to the "Frenchness" of its design. But as a model of the relationship of social history to art, it proved both too broadly sweeping and chronologically dislocated.

Eleanor of Vermandois, Philip Augustus, and Philip of Alsace

Philip Augustus, in fact, had begun his efforts to acquire the Vermandois and other southern Flemish territories soon after he became king in 1180. His ultimate inheritance of the territory came only after the death, in 1213, of his cousin Eleanor, the last Countess of Vermandois, whose rights he helped to secure between 1182 and 1192. As the last member of the family who had established the collegiate foundation next to their principal residence in Saint-Quentin, Eleanor is a more likely political figure to connect with the early construction of the Gothic choir.

Saint-Quentin is the principal city of the Vermandois, one of the territories on the border between France and Flanders that was disputed in the second half of the twelfth century. Control over the Vermandois was one of the keys to the ambitions of both Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders (r. 1168–1191), and Philip Augustus, King of France, in the 1180s.[80] Since the beginning of the eleventh century, the area had been controlled by the counts of Vermandois, close cousins of the Capetian kings of France. Count Raoul the Valiant (ca. 1100–1152) served as seneschal of France under Louis VI and Louis VII, while his brother Simon (d. 1148) was bishop of Noyon.[81] Together, Raoul and Simon were also patrons and protectors of the church of Saint-Quentin throughout the first half of the twelfth century.[82]

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[79] Branner, review of Héliot, *La Basilique de Saint-Quentin*, pp. 728–32, and his *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, p. 82; Roberts, "Ecclesia Sancti Quintini MCCXIV–MCCLVII:" Kimpel and Suckale, *Die Gotische Architektur in Frankreich*, p. 350; Klein, "Chartres und Soissons," pp. 437–66.

[80] John Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), trans. and rev., *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement. Les fondations du pouvoir royal en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1991), pp. 34–52; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 1–44.

[81] Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, p. 268; Abbot Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 250–55.

[82] See esp. Seymour, *Notre-Dame of Noyon*, pp. 6–11.

In an act famously condemned by Bernard of Clairvaux, Raoul divorced his first wife, Eleanor of Champagne (1102–1147), and married Petronilla of Aquitaine (ca. 1125–1193), sister of Eleanor of Aquitaine.[83] The three children of this second marriage were designated Raoul's heirs. The eldest, Elizabeth (d. 1182), was married to Philip of Alsace (1143–1191); she inherited the Vermandois and Valois when her brother, Raoul the Leper (d. 1167), retired from his duties as count due to illness in 1164. Probably in retribution for her infidelity, Elizabeth granted the Vermandois to her husband in 1175; King Louis VII (1120–1180) confirmed this donation in 1179.[84] Philip Augustus added his confirmation a short time later, after his marriage to Philip of Alsace's niece, Isabelle of Hainault (1170–1190).[85]

These actions would have disinherited Elizabeth's sister Eleanor, the rightful heir to the territory as Raoul's last surviving child, when Elizabeth died in 1182, if Philip Augustus had not repudiated his approval of the donation and taken up Eleanor's cause.[86] Eleanor received the Valois in 1182 with the Treaty of La-Grange-Saint-Arnoul, and was to inherit the Vermandois on her brother-in-law's death. After the French king defeated the Flemish at Boves in 1185, however, Eleanor became Countess of Vermandois, although Philip of Alsace retained the cities of Péronne and Saint-Quentin. It was only after Philip of Alsace's death in 1192 that Eleanor inherited Saint-Quentin.

The initiation of construction in the chevet of the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin coincided closely with Eleanor's acquisition of the city. Whether there is a direct causal relationship between these events is not known, however, and the precise date of the construction can only be estimated from the formal evidence, datable donations by local nobility,

[83] See Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), pp. 43–44; H. Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* (Paris and Troyes, 1859–1869), vol. 2, pp. 346–78.

[84] On Elizabeth of Vermandois, see Karen S. Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, pp. 111–37, and Léon Louis Borelli de Serres, *La réunion des provinces septentrionales à la couronne par Philippe Auguste: Amiénois, Artois, Vermandois, Valois* (Paris, 1899), p. xxvi, n. 2. Accounts of Elizabeth's infidelity include "Benedict" of Peterborough, *Vita et gestis Henrici II et Ricardi, Angliae Regum*, ed. T. Hearne, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 13, p. 163; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 13, p. 198.

[85] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 22, 323, n. 84; Borelli de Serres, *La réunion des provinces septentrionales*, p. xxvi, n. 3.

[86] Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, pp. 82–100, 119–39, provides a thoroughgoing analysis of aristocratic family structure and inheritance practices in northern France; on p. 132, he discusses the specific example of Eleanor of Vermandois' rights to inherit from her sister.

and documentary indications that the chapels were in use by 1197.[87] While documents identify local noblemen and women, no surviving documents, church or secular, name Eleanor as a primary benefactor. However, factors other than mere chronological coincidence suggest that she played an important part.

When she became Countess of Vermandois, Eleanor resumed the role that her ancestors and siblings had played with regard to the chapter and the commune of Saint-Quentin; she also regained her ancestral home adjacent to the church precinct, although it is not clear how much time she spent there.[88] For the nobility of the region, including the canons of Saint-Quentin, it must have seemed like something of a return to normalcy, as they would no longer be subject to an absent prince with ambitions of territorial expansion and consolidation, but to a member of the comital family that had held the Vermandois for more than two centuries.

In 1192 Eleanor was in her early forties and her two children had died young. She had survived at least two husbands, if not three, and had been married to the last, Matthew, Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise (1155–1208), for at least 15 years.[89] In part because Eleanor issued documents as "Countess of Vermandois and Lady of Valois" but not "Countess of Beaumont," it has long been repeated that Eleanor and Matthew of Beaumont were divorced at about this time, but there are no clear records of the end of the marriage. Constance Berman has recently argued that the couple remained married but that Eleanor acted independently in her role as Countess of Vermandois.[90] Since the king stood to inherit Eleanor's property if she died before him without children, such an arrangement could well have been stipulated by Philip Augustus to avoid a repeat by Matthew of Beaumont of the claim made by Philip of Alsace to his wife's territories. The

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[87] See notes 19 and 20 above; for formal comparison, see Ellen Shortell, "Shifting Views: Arcade Screens and Chevet Chapels from Saint-Remi to Saint-Quentin," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, 20 (2010), pp. 66–69.

[88] Constance Hoffman Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property and Religious Benefactions in France: Eleanor of Vermandois and Blanche of Castile," *Viator*, 41 (2010), pp. 151–82, esp. 161–67, argues that Eleanor probably spent most of her time at the royal court in Paris, thereby saving on expenses and accruing additional money to support religious foundations.

[89] The sources for Eleanor's biography and number of husbands are summarized by Louis Duval-Arnould, "Les aumônes d'Alienor, dernière comtesse de Vermandois et dame de Valois," *Revue Mabillon*, 60 (1984), pp. 395–463; Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," has argued against a third marriage to Philip of Alsace's brother Matthew as a misreading of documents and confusion with her last husband, Matthew of Beaumont.

[90] Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 159.

contemporary chronicler Anonymous of Béthune, however, does allude to a marital separation in his description of the events of the 1180s and 1190s.

> The king gave the county of Valois to the Count of Beaumont and his wife, but he did not wish to turn over the Vermandois. Then the Count of Beaumont parted from his wife, and she entreated the king, and begged him so for mercy . . . that he gave her Saint-Quentin and Ribemont [and other possessions within the Vermandois.][91]

While both Eleanor and Matthew are mentioned in 1206–1207 donations to the bishop of Paris for a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine in memory of Queen Adele of Champagne, they are referred to separately as the Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise and the Countess of Vermandois, and are credited with separate gifts, so their relationship at that time remains ambiguous.[92] What is certain is that Matthew of Beaumont never took the title of Count of Vermandois, and ceased to refer to himself as Count of Valois after 1192; none of Eleanor's acts related to the Vermandois bear Matthew's name or seal. Coins of Saint-Quentin were issued in Eleanor's name alone.[93] Whether married, separated, divorced, or, after 1208, widowed again when Matthew died, Eleanor clearly exercised the authority of the counts of Vermandois in her own person. Her actions extended both to local politics and to significant monetary support and protection for religious foundations.

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[91] Léopold Delisle, ed., *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France par un Anonyme de Béthune. Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1904), vol. 24, p. 754, "Li rois rendi la contée de Valois al conte de Beaumont et à sa feme; mais de Vermendois ne voloit il point rendre. Puis se departi li cuens de Beaumont de sa feme, et ele traist al rois, et li cria tant merchi et tant fist por lui qu'il li rendi Saint Quentin et Ribemont et Oreigni et Chatni sor Oise et Reissons sor le Mare, et les homages del signor de Neele et del signor de Ham et del seignor de Vendoeil et del signor de Guisse et del signor de Leskiere, et moult d'autres haus homages; mais Amiens et Montdidier et Capi et Clari et Pierone et Aties et Roie et Choisi et Torote coretint il à son oes." See also Charles Petit-Dutaillis, "Une nouvelle chronique du règne de Philippe-Auguste: L'anonyme de Béthune," *Revue historique*, 50 (1892), pp. 1–8.

[92] Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 153, n. 11, cites the chapel foundation as evidence that they remained married. However, Matthew's charter states that his motivation is to compensate for his inability to join the Crusade as he had vowed, and the charter was sealed only with Matthew's seal. Eleanor's donation of ten silver marks to sustain the chapel was noted by Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris, in a confirmation. See Louis Douet d'Arcq, ed., *Recherches historiques et critiques sur les anciens comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise, du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Amiens, 1855), pp. 46–47, docs. 54–56.

[93] Alan M. Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, GA, 1990), pp. 321–41, esp. 326.

Eleanor's Patronage of Religious Foundations and the Chapter of Saint-Quentin

During and after her marriage to Matthew of Beaumont, Eleanor gained a reputation as a pious woman and a generous benefactor to religious foundations. As part of the agreement giving her the inheritance of the Vermandois, Philip Augustus required her to list all the donations she had made to foundations and their amounts, and set her a spending limit for the future in order to prevent her from giving away too much of the territory that he would inherit on her death.[94] These remarkable documents show her great generosity to religious foundations, particularly to monasteries, hospitals, and leprosaria. To the chapter of Saint-Quentin, she gave three *livres parisis* of rents on the city's market stalls, and sixty *solidi parisiensi* for anniversary offices in memory of her parents and, eventually, herself. These are not extraordinary gifts, but Eleanor might have been able to give additional support to the chapter without asking Philip Augustus' approval. Her family had a longstanding proprietary relationship with the church, her ancestors had established the foundation and protected it, and members of the chapter of canons served as scribes and clerks for the counts. In a sense, the Counts of Vermandois treated the collegiate church as their own; support for the chapter of Saint-Quentin could reasonably have been considered among Eleanor's household expenses, of which there are no records.

Eleanor surely had other means at her disposal for the support of religious institutions and building campaigns, which would not necessarily have been recorded. As Louis Duval-Arnould pointed out in his study of the royal documents, the agreements with Philip Augustus concern primarily the alienation of land and agricultural income in perpetuity.[95] Such gifts would almost always generate charters to prove ownership or the right to collect income in the future, whereas one-time donations of cash, worker's wages, liturgical furnishings, stained-glass windows, or renewable resources such as wood for construction would not need documentation for the future. The same holds true in general for the types of documents preserved by ecclesiastical chapters, including Saint-Quentin. Constance Berman has calculated that Eleanor had as much as 3,500 *livres* in cash

[94] Duval-Arnould, "Les aumones d'Aliénor," pp. 395–463, reproduces the charters and analyzes their contents.

[95] Duval-Arnould, "Les aumones d'Aliénor," pp. 402–407.

per year at her disposal, and argues that she could have used some of this income to pay workers or buy building materials at two important monasteries that she founded in the Valois on her own, Longpré (Villiers-Cotterets) and le Parc-aux-Dames (Rouville, Compiègne).[96] The perpetual income that she left these houses was generous, but not sufficient to support a complete building campaign.

Some gifts of this nature to other foundations are known only through documents kept by the recipients. It is thanks only to the obituary of Soissons Cathedral, for example, that we know that Eleanor provided all the wood needed there for the vault centering and for the canons' stalls, as well as a stained-glass window given jointly with the king.[97] Similarly, gifts to Noyon Cathedral were recorded in the cathedral's cartulary but not in the royal agreements.[98] It seems most unlikely that Eleanor would have ignored a foundation as close to her family as Saint-Quentin. Her father and brother had both left generous gifts to the collegiate chapter, including perpetual income from comital lands, which might have been associated with earlier construction in the western tower, but which would have continued to yield income in Eleanor's time.[99]

In 1196 the countess ceded to the church the rights to income she had collected from several villages, saying that she had collected it mistakenly, thinking that her predecessors had also done so. Explaining that she had made careful inquiries and learned of her error, Eleanor stated, "We do not wish to impose any new exactions on the church; we have made restitution in full of all that we have received up to now," and renounced any future claim to the income.[100] It is unclear whether we should take literally

[96] Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," pp. 160–67, 179–80, reviews evidence for expenditures at Eleanor's foundations of Longpré and le Parc-aux-Dames.

[97] Obituary of the Chapter of Soissons Cathedral, BnF, coll. Baluze, vol. 46, fol. 463; Carl F. Barnes, Jr., appendix of documents related to Soissons in Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys of Reims and Braine* (Princeton, 1991), p. 148; Sandron, *La Cathédrale de Soissons*, pp. 44, 62, n. 303.

[98] Cartulary R of the Chapter of Noyon, Beauvais, Archives départementales de l'Oise, G 1984, fol. 135; Seymour, *Cathedral of Noyon*, p. 65.

[99] Ellen Shortell, "*Turris Basilice Innixe*: The Western Tower of the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin," in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. Terryl Kinder (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 147–56.

[100] Cartulary of the Chapter of Saint-Quentin, 15th century, Paris, BnF lat. 11070, fol. 80, dated 1196, "Elienor comitissa Sancti Quintini et domina Valesiae omnibus tam presentibus quam in futuris in perpetuum, notum fieri volumus que, cum inter nos et canonicos Sancti Quintini querela esset de procurationibus illis, quas ab hominibus ecclesiae exigimus, et tum semel accepimus de villis que dicuntur Vermans, Iehancourt, et le Vergies, diligentiori inquisitione facta a senioribus hominibus terrae et fidelibus nostris, didicimus

Eleanor's description of this event as the resolution of a dispute or as a subterfuge to benefit the church at the king's expense. No document of an arbitration survives, as one might expect in such a case, and she probably collected the income for several years before giving it up. The chevet chapels were in use by 1197, and construction might have been moving into more costly parts of the structure in 1196. It may be no coincidence that Eleanor turned over income to the church at this moment. In the absence of other evidence, it is not possible to ascertain her motives, but at the least it appears that she readily yielded to the canons' request at a time when they needed additional funding for construction.

Aside from the gifts mentioned above, Eleanor gave the chapter a gold chalice, which the canons had melted down to buy income-producing land. The chalice is only known because its disappearance was included in a 1211 dispute between the countess and the canons that was adjudicated by Philip Augustus; the canons offered Eleanor the stones that had been removed from the chalice with the suggestion that she donate them for the new chasse to be made for the relics of the church's patron, St. Quentin.[101]

Eleanor's patronage of religious foundations, from her generous donations to hospitals, to the two women's monasteries she founded herself, to the Cathedrals of Soissons and Noyon and the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin, seems to be typical of women of her status in France and Flanders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While earlier scholarship attached many construction campaigns to important men, women's patronage is now recognized as having played a significant role in the creation of Gothic religious architecture in France and Flanders, possibly greater than that of their male counterparts. At the highest level, two queens of France, Eleanor of Vermandois' aunt, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and her younger cousin, Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), are now given greater credit for the endowment of buildings and for decisions about construction that were once attributed to the patronage of their husbands or sons. Madeline Caviness has argued that Eleanor of Aquitaine was responsible

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que pater noster comes Radulphus, sive successores eius usque ad tempora nostra, nunquam procurationes ibidem acceperunt. Nos vero exactiones novas super ecclesiam inducere non volentes. Omnia que exinde accepimus, plene restituimus et illi querele omnino remniciantes ecclesiam in perpetuum ab huiusmodi exactione quitamus."

[101] The text is copied in the "Livre Rouge," 14th-century Cartulary of the Chapter Saint-Quentin, Paris, AN LL 985 B, ccxxxi v–ccxxxii r, and in Paris, BnF MS. lat. 11070, fol. 82–83, dated 1211.

not only for the east window of Poitiers Cathedral, but also for the Tree of Jesse windows at Saint-Denis, York, and Canterbury.[102] Caroline Bruzelius, Constance Berman, and Alexandra Gajewski have investigated Blanche of Castile's role in the construction of Royaumont, during Louis IX's minority, in addition to her own documented foundations of Maubuisson and Le Lys.[103] Other works jointly commissioned by Blanche and her son Louis IX, including the north transept of Chartres Cathedral and the Sainte-Chapelle, seem to carry on themes that Blanche began in Louis' childhood; while they glorify the monarchy of her husband and her son, these projects owe a great deal to Blanche.[104]

Eleanor of Vermandois' sister Elizabeth co-founded churches with her husband, Philip of Alsace, most notably the collegiate church of Saint Thomas-Becket in Crépy-en-Valois. Both Elizabeth and Philip's second wife, Matilda of Portugal (1157–1218), are remembered in the Martyrology of Saint-Quentin as benefactors, but Philip himself is absent.[105] Their successors, Countesses Jeanne (1194–1244) and Marguerite (1202–1280) of Flanders, exercised political power through strategically placed monastic foundations in the early thirteenth century, according to Erin Jordan.[106] In a situation similar to that of Eleanor of Vermandois at Saint-Quentin,

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[102] Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen," pp. 127–29, and her "Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis: The State of Research," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Gerson (New York, 1986), pp. 257–72, esp. 267.

[103] Caroline Bruzelius, "Cistercian High Gothic: Longpont and the Architecture of the Cistercians in France in the Early Thirteenth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1977, pp. 189–228, suggests that decisions about Royaumont were due to Blanche's preferences. Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," pp. 167–71, looks at the documentary history and economics of the foundation. In the present volume, Alexandra Gajewski, "The Patronage Question under Review: Queen Blanche of Castile (1188–1252) and the Architecture of the Cistercian Abbeys at Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys," considers as well the formal similarities with Eleanor's other known Cistercian foundations.

[104] Recent reconsiderations of Blanche's role as queen regent, her patronage, and political power, include Miriam Shadis and Constance Hoffman Berman, "A Taste of the Feast: Reconsidering Eleanor of Aquitaine's Female Descendants," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2003), pp. 177–212; Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship:' Reassessing the Argument," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2003), pp. 137–61; Beat Brenk, "The Sainte-Chapelle as a Capetian Political Program," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, eds. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto, 1995), pp. 195–213; Willibald Sauerländer, "Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres, and Naumburg," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, pp. 153–66, esp. 167.

[105] Martyrology, nones March, fol. 50r–v, "Eadem die obiit Regina Matildis Comitissa Flandrie", and 14 kalends May, fol. 73, "Eadem die obiit . . . Elizabeth Comittissa."

[106] Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage* (New York, 2006), pp. 61–85, argues that the patronage of religious foundations offered multiple avenues to political

Agnes of Braine's (1130–1201) foundation of Saint Yved of Braine was hidden by histories that portrayed her husband, Robert of Dreux (1123–1188), as the patron.[107] On the other hand, while the spread of the Gothic style has been correlated with Philip Augustus' expansion of French royal territories, his interest in architecture seems to have been confined mainly to defensive and military structures.[108]

As outlined here, it is more than a coincidence that the chevet of Saint-Quentin was under construction while Eleanor was Countess of Vermandois. While it is likely that she made greater economic contributions to the building campaign than documents reveal, her presence as Countess of Vermandois and her behavior as a political leader also had a much more direct bearing on social conditions in Saint-Quentin than any of Philip Augustus' activities.

Eleanor and Realpolitik *in Saint-Quentin*

While the return of Saint-Quentin to the counts of Vermandois must have brought about a sense of familiarity and stability after years of conflict between the king of France and the count of Flanders, it came at a time of transition in the church and in secular society. Eleanor was called upon to negotiate between the communal government, the peasants of the region, the local nobility, and the collegiate chapter. She frequently seems to have taken the part of the laity against the secular canons of the collegiate church.

Eleanor's complaint about the missing chalice, along with other points of dispute in the 1211 judgment, reflects some of the tensions in the relationship between the countess and the chapter during the 1190s and especially after 1200. Anti-clerical sentiment ran high throughout the Archdiocese of Reims by 1210; this period also saw investigations of the collegiate chapter of Saint-Quentin by the papal legate Cardinal Robert de Courson (d. 1219), accusations of simony, and the resulting institution of reforms.

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power and authority over the local aristocracy for the Countesses Jeanne and Marguerite of Flanders in the early 13th century.

[107] Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys*, pp. 67–69, 73–74, 88, 95–96, 123–24, 131–35, and her *Reframing Medieval Art*, chpt. 1.

[108] Meredith Cohen, *Building Sovereignty: The Sainte-Chapelle and Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, forthcoming), discusses the civic and military nature of Philip Augustus' architectural projects at length, particularly in chapter 1. I am grateful to Prof. Cohen for sharing a draft with me.

The disputes between Eleanor and the chapter in 1211 seem to be entangled with external pressure for change, which would eventually weaken the bonds between the church and local nobility.[109]

Historians have shown that, during the period from the beginning of Philip Augustus' reign until the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, the lower aristocracy throughout the northern provinces of France tried to reassert its independence against the growing power of the king.[110] The propensity of high-ranking noblewomen like Eleanor of Vermandois to endow monastic foundations with land holdings complicated the situation by alienating property not only from the king, but also from the lower nobility and the secular clergy.[111] Eleanor's inheritance in 1192 may have emboldened the aristocratic canons of Saint-Quentin and their families to move forward with a building campaign that would essentially monumentalize their place in society with an imposing church, pushing back against the centralizing tendencies of the monarchy and the growing strength of the communal government. However, the power that the building appeared to embody was already eroding.[112]

In addition to royal threats against the autonomy of the local nobles, tensions between the townspeople and the clerical nobility rose in the first decade of the thirteenth century.[113] The town of Saint-Quentin claims to have been granted one of the first communal charters in France, and Raoul of Vermandois had upheld the longtime rights of the commune and its government.[114] Philip of Alsace, however, had suppressed all communes

[109] For further discussion of these circumstances, see Shortell, "Dismembering Saint Quentin," pp. 32–47.

[110] Baldwin, *Philippe Auguste*, pp. 25–62; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. xix–xx, 1–44.

[111] Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," pp. 155–56; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. xix–xx, 1–44; Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, pp. 75–80.

[112] Shortell, "Dismembering Saint Quentin," pp. 32–47.

[113] Attention was first drawn to the significance of this situation throughout France by Martin Warnke, *Bau und Überbau: Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1976). Further studies by Barbara Abou-el-Haj include "The Structure of Meaning: Architectural Representations in the Later Middle Ages," *Studies in Iconography*, 25 (2004), pp. 129–71, "Artistic Integration Inside the Cathedral Precinct: Social Consensus Outside?," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, pp. 214–35, and "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and its Cathedral between 1210 and 1240," *Art History*, 11 (1988), pp. 17–41. See also Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago, 1993).

[114] André Triou, "Les origines de la commune de Saint-Quentin et ses vicissitudes," in *Les chartes et le mouvement communal* (Saint-Quentin, 1980), pp. 3–10; Robert Fossier, *Chartes de coutume en Picardie* (*XIe–XIIIe siècle*), Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, vol. 10 (Paris, 1974), map after p. 122, and pp. 173–77; Henri Martin and Emmanuel Lemaire, *Le Livre Rouge de l'Hôtel de Ville de*

in his domain; Philip Augustus and Eleanor of Vermandois together reinstated them, referring explicitly to Raoul's recognition of the commune.[115] The royal policy was clearly meant to cast the new rulers as champions of urban government while allowing the king to insinuate royal justice in lieu of ecclesiastic justice in the towns.[116] No doubt the royal policies also played on the existing tensions between nobility and bourgeois, between the landed economy and the money economy associated with the burgeoning wool trade of northern France, in which Saint-Quentin participated.[117]

As countess, Eleanor supported the commune against the clergy in several notable instances. Aside from the missing chalice, the other points of conflict between Eleanor and the chapter of Saint-Quentin in the 1211 document revolved around the rights of the countess, the chapter, and the communal government to exercise justice in different parts of the town and under particular circumstances. Several documented disputes in the first decades of the thirteenth century centered on the communal government arresting a member of the chapter, or vice versa; the situations were less a question of the severity or nature of the crime than a power struggle between the two groups.[118]

Eleanor tried to prevent the clergy from imposing penance and collecting fines levied against townspeople as part of a sentence of excommunication; Philip Augustus judged against her and in favor of the clergy in this instance.[119] The countess also asked the king to require each new canon,

Saint-Quentin (Saint-Quentin, 1881), pp. v–vi; A. Giry, *Etude sur les origines de la commune de Saint-Quentin*, ed. Emmanuel LeMaire (Saint-Quentin, 1888), pp. 1–11.

[115] Copies of the communal charters are published in Elie Berger, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe-Auguste, roi de France* (Paris, 1916), vol. 1, pp. 14–22. Additional communal documents were published by Martin, *Le Livre Rouge*.

[116] Susan Kupper, "Town and Crown: Philip Augustus and the Towns of France," Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1976, explored these issues at length. See also Baldwin, *Philippe Auguste*, pp. 185–94, 234–49.

[117] On the growth of the textile industry and its effects on the economy of northern France and the Netherlands, see Henri Laurent, "Nouvelles Recherches sur la Hanse des XVII Villes," *Le Moyen Age*, ser. 3, 6 (1935), pp. 81–94; Marci Sortor, "Saint-Omer and its Textile Trades in the Late Middle Ages: A Contribution to the Proto-industrialization Debate," *American Historical Review*, 98 (1993), pp. 1475–499; and Yoshio Fujii, "Draperie urbaine et draperie rurale dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux au bas moyen âge: Une mise au point des recherches après H. Pirenne," *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990), pp. 77–99.

[118] Shortell, "The Choir of Saint-Quentin," pp. 123–24.

[119] "Livre Rouge" of the Chapter Saint-Quentin, Paris, AN LL 985 B, ccxxxi v–ccxxxii r; and Paris, BnF MS. lat. 11070, fol. 82r–83r, dated 1211: "Item ex parte Comitissae propositum est quod burgenses Sancti Quintini nullam debeat emendam pro excommunicatione, nisi pectoris, tonsionem et penitenciam. Hoc autem ita diffinuimus que emendam debent

after his investiture, to appear before her and swear fealty to her; the royal court agreed that she should have this privilege, and the canons agreed to comply.[120] While the specific circumstances that brought about the disputes between Eleanor and the chapter remain unknown, it is clear that she took an active role in the definition of local government, and understood the political importance of her activities.[121] In the spring of 1213, a few months before Eleanor's death, tensions between the commune and the canons erupted in a riot in which one of the canons was killed.[122] Eleanor's actions in 1211 seem to stand out against this background as efforts to ameliorate growing tensions between the two sides.

Eleanor's possession of Saint-Quentin, beginning in 1192, and her active involvement in local politics, created a situation distinct from the rule of Philip of Alsace. While Eleanor concerned herself with the politics of competing institutions and tried to mediate among them, she followed her father's and brother's leads in recognizing her responsibility to support the church, "according to the customary and honest manner of noble princes . . . to show the highest reverence for the clergy of the the holy church," to quote the formulaic opening found in official documents.[123] Her relationship with the chapter was complex; tensions between them appear to have grown from the countess' attempts to return to the hierarchical relationship that her father had had with the chapter, while the canons had become used to greater independence in the intervening years. The lower aristocracy of the region, meanwhile, remained closely tied to the chapter, often by family relationship, and their patronage role in the

pecuniariam sicut fit per totum regnum nostrum, nisi exinde possint se tueri privilegio Domini Papae aut nostro. . . . Item conquestus est Decanus Sancti Quintini que Comitissa hominem excomunicatum per annum et diem nolebat compellere ad satisfactionem, et diffinitum est a nobis, que comitissa tenetur ad hoc. Et inde potest levare suum forifactum si tamen ei Decanus ostenderit legitime ipsum fuisse iuste excomunicatum."

[120] "Livre Rouge" of the Chapter Saint-Quentin, Paris, AN LL 985 B, ccxxxi v–ccxxxii r; and Paris, BnF MS. lat. 11070, fol. 82r–83r, dated 1211: "Item super hoc quod Comitissa petit ut singuli canonici post investituram suam faciant fidelitatem comitisse, diffiniuimus que ipsa debet esse in possessione illius iuris que decanus Sancti Quintini et canonici qui presentes aderant cum eo recognoverunt coram nobis."

[121] Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage*, pp. 61–85. On the political implications of the construction of Saint-Quentin, see Shortell, "Dismembering Saint Quentin," pp. 32–47.

[122] Lemaire, *Le livre Rouge*, pp. xcv–xcvi.

[123] For example, Paris, BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 2591, fol. 81r, Charter of Raoul the Leper, donating the fruits of a prebend to the chapter of Saint-Quentin begins: "Consueto et honesto more nobilium principum nostra voluntas est, et speciale desiderium nostrum, sanctae clerici ecclesiae summam reverentiam gratanter exibere, et quanto altiores sumus iuxta li[beram] dignitatem, tantomagis honorem debemus ecclesiasticum amplioribus et beneficiis exornare.

construction was direct and self-interested. While Eleanor confirmed and thus continued the long-term financial contributions of her family to the chapter, possibly providing additional funds for construction materials through cash gifts, her political actions may, in fact, have tended to rein in the power of the collegiate chapter and the noble families affiliated with it.

Conclusions: Restoration, Historical Narrative, and Medieval Women

In considering the methods of the historian, Michel de Certeau argued that in order to posit reasons for historical events one must "discover through the very stuff of historical information what allows it to be conceived," that is, "what makes something thinkable."[124] The sources themselves, with their various implications, must also be "thinkable" in the historian's own time. The nineteenth-century conception of Gothic buildings as monumental representations of a distinct past went hand in hand with the writing of their histories. The study and restoration of buildings provided one way for nineteenth-century France to define its own modernism as a product of the past but, at the same time, as a distinct break from it. Where Claude Hémeré, Quentin Delafons, and Louis-Paul Colliette saw their work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as compilations of ancient documents that established the continuity and privileges of institutions, Viollet-le-Duc, Jean-Baptiste Lassus, and others in nineteenth-century France imagined the architects of Gothic buildings as bold heroic figures with "a modern spirit," "striking out on new paths . . . united by a community of principles," yet each one exercising his personal creativity.[125]

Both groups of authors wrote for a purpose. Hémeré, Delafons, and Colliette saw the church's position threatened by religious dissent and political challenges to its autonomy in their own time; they sought to establish the power of the *status quo* through historical proofs. Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus were passionate in their belief that Gothic architecture defined the character of France as they understood it. The historical event of Gothic, in their estimation, came about because of the policies of Philip Augustus

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[124] Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York, 1988), p. 117.

[125] Viollet-le-Duc, "Architecture," pp. 149–50; see note 63 above. Lassus expressed similar sentiments in the introduction to his facsimile of Villard de Honnecourt's drawings, *Album de Villard de Honnecourt*, pp. ix–xvii.

and the coincident existence of a group of brilliant and passionate young men. In neither instance was the active participation of women, whether economic, political, or artistic, as conceived in this essay, "thinkable" as a significant part of the making of Gothic architecture. Nor was it possible to imagine that the contributions of lay nobility were motivated by anything other than religious devotion and recognition of the church as the key to salvation, or that the cumulative inspirations of several artists led to the final design of the building. The disconnection between our readings of the medieval evidence and the work of earlier antiquarians and restorers highlights the ideological rifts between medieval and modern societies, and between seventeenth-, nineteenth-, and twenty-first-century historical writing. Within these differences, we can trace the process of women's erasure from history and recast our understanding of the social, economic, and creative processes that produced Gothic architecture. Only now is it possible to think of women's actions as essential to the larger project.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN LATE MEDIEVAL CIVIC PAGEANTRY IN ENGLAND*

Nicola Coldstream

In 1421 Isabel Beauchamp supplied eight pairs of angels' wings for child actors appearing on London Bridge at the welcome and formal entry accorded to the French princess Katherine of Valois on her arrival as the bride of Henry V.[1] The entry was accompanied by street pageantry. Many people were involved in creating the pageants, but Isabel is the only woman so far to be discovered among the craftsmen. Women did, however, play significant parts in pageantry, as honorands, as makers, and as performers.

Only persons of the highest status made ritual entries to cities: rulers, their consorts, or high-ranking visitors. As part of a ritual entry, pageantry was practised all over Europe, and is recorded in England from at least the thirteenth century. It took the form of *tableaux vivants* installed at intervals along the processional route on the city gates or on temporary structures usually made of timber and canvas, raised around such permanent street furniture as water conduits and monumental crosses. The *tableaux* comprised biblical or allegorical figures who might deliver speeches, sing, dance, or enact a small scene. The subject-matter was at once general and specific, using well-known moralising themes that were directed at the purpose of the entry and the particular honorand.

Evidence for pageants is patchy and scarce. They are seldom described in detail. Notable exceptions are the entry of Isabeau of Bavaria to Paris in 1389, Richard II's pageant in London in 1392, and Henry V's triumphal

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* The conference *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, held in Madrid in May 2010, gave me the opportunity to assemble this material in coherent form, and I am most grateful to Therese Martin for inviting me to take part, as well as to my fellow participants, who made many helpful comments and suggestions. I thank Kate Morton for drawing the text figures and the map; and I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Professor Caroline Barron, who kindly read and commented on a draft, and most generously allowed me to make use of unpublished research notes of her own.

[1] *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1382–1538*, eds. Vanessa Harding and Laura Wright, London Record Society, 31 (1995), p. 97.

entry into London in 1415 after the battle of Agincourt.[2] Most others receive at best a passing mention in a chronicle; some are known solely from the purchase of materials.[3] Isabel Beauchamp, for instance, is known from this one record as a supplier or craftswoman.[4] Chroniclers wrote of pageants only if they were interested in them, and the accidental survival of evidence in other sources suggests that some pageants may have taken place without any record. Yet no medievalist is deterred by lack of evidence: we can work with what exists while being aware that the picture is incomplete.

The present enquiry began with an interest in the pageant structures themselves. These are well documented and illustrated from the late fifteenth century, but not earlier. While medieval entry pageants have been discussed in detail by historians of literature and the theatre, little attention has been paid to their appearance.[5] Since only the entries of Isabeau and Henry V have left descriptions of the pageant structures so detailed that it is possible to suggest a reconstruction, it is hardly surprising that art historians should ignore objects that are ephemeral in both fact and representation; but the spectacle was an essential part not only of the pageants but of city festivities, and the nature of these structures is worth investigating.[6] The emphasis of this paper, however, is on women's contributions to civic pageantry as recipients of honour, participants, makers, and performers. Although the women who helped to make the

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[2] *Chroniques de Jean Froissart. Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises*, ed. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, 15 vols (Paris, 1824–6), vol. 12, pp. 7–15; Richard Maidstone, *Concordia* (*The Reconciliation of Richard II with London*), ed. David R. Carlson (Kalamazoo, MI, 2003); *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp. 101–13. The best overview of medieval street pageantry in London is in Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge, 2002).

[3] Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 37–8.

[4] See n. 1, above.

[5] John G. Nichols, *London Pageants* (London, 1837); Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1918–20, repr. New York and London, 1963); Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300–1660*, 2 vols (London and New York, 1959–72), vol. 1, pp. 51–175; Gordon Kipling, "Wonderfull Spectacles: Theater and Civic Culture," in *A New History of English Drama*, eds. John D. Cox and David S. Kastan (New York, 1997), pp. 153–71; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998); Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge, 1995); Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*.

[6] George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (Chicago, 1944) does attempt reconstructions. See also Nicola Coldstream, "Pavilion'd in Splendour: Henry V's Welcome into London after the Battle of Agincourt, 1415," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (forthcoming).

structures and costumes, and those who performed in the pageants, could be described as active participants, the royal women in whose honour the pageantry was staged were essentially passive recipients.[7] They did not instigate pageants, nor, probably, did they dictate the subject-matter. The themes tend to keep the women firmly in their place; a woman was elevated only if she was needed to support a weak man or, alternatively, to reflect his glory. Yet since pageantry was devised for a specific occasion, the subject-matter of women's pageants can to some extent be distinguished from that accorded to men.

The tradition of royal or quasi-royal entries in England began in London, but in the fifteenth century entries were also made into provincial cities. Of the towns where such entries are recorded—Norwich, Coventry, Bristol, and York—all except Bristol staged cycles of mystery plays.[8] Civic records used the word "pageant" for the wheeled carts that supported the staging of the plays, and both plays and pageants were the responsibility of the guilds.[9] Yet street pageantry and mystery plays were distinct phenomena. London began staging pageants long before mystery plays were established, and, like Bristol, it had no play cycle of its own. Pageants differed significantly from plays: they were fixed, more or less static in presentation, and there were no scene changes. Visually, it is clear from the surviving descriptions that the disposition of imagery about a pageant structure reflected that of contemporary altarpieces, screens, tapestries, manuscript illuminations, ivories, and other illustrated pieces. The pageants at the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, at Bruges in 1468 are said to have reproduced scenes from tapestries belonging to the Burgundian court.[10] The static arrays of apostles, prophets, angels, and other figures mentioned on English pageants at once recall the rows of images on reredoses, frontals, screens, and buildings.

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[7] Among the many studies on royal women actively involved with the elaboration of art and architecture for this period, see, in the present volume, Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, "The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda and Leonor. The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century."

[8] Mark C. Pilkinton, *Records of Early English Drama: Bristol* (Toronto and London, 1997), p. xxix.

[9] Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 1, pp. 52–4; Alan Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago and London, 1974), p. 80.

[10] Christine B. Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446–1503* (New York, 1989), p. 49; Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 67.

Unlike play cycles, pageants were devised for the specific occasion, so although they could reuse materials from previous occasions, no two pageant series were ever quite the same. Furthermore, there is evidence that experts were sometimes brought in from elsewhere to supervise the event, which suggests that, while provincial pageants could draw on the guilds' stores of props and costumes, and on local actors, devising the themes of pageantry was not necessarily entrusted to the guilds. Pageants and play cycles were aspects of a much wider taste for outdoor festive activities which included mayoral processions and celebration of the major feasts of the Church,[11] but although both plays and pageantry had a strong liturgical element, pageant imagery was inspired by the taste for imitation, transformation, and reflection in the world of symbol, metaphor, and allegory expressed in static arts.

Royal entries are recorded in London from 1207, with the visit of the imperial claimant, Otto of Saxony. Yet they were mostly associated with coronations, preceding the crowning ceremony at Westminster Abbey with a progress through the City of London. Westminster, with the royal abbey and palace, was physically and jurisdictionally separate from London; but king and City were interdependent, both materially and financially: the City housed the monarch's Great Wardrobe, the Tower of London was on its eastern boundary; and the great City merchants and bankers were expected to provide large sums of money in loans or taxation. Relations were often fractious. The coronation entry sealed a pact between the ruler and the City: the monarch promised good government in return for loyalty and cash. Queens, as mediators and future mothers of heirs to the throne, played a significant part. Since before the mid-fifteenth century kings of England made marriages that were not only politically motivated but in most instances to foreign-born princesses or aristocrats, the coronation processions of these young women were also ceremonies of arrival. The youngest, for whom no pageants are recorded, was Isabella of France, who was nine years old when she arrived in 1397 to marry the widowed Richard II; others, including Eleanor of Provence (crowned 1236), Eleanor of Castile (arrived 1255), Anne of Bohemia (crowned 1382), and Margaret of Anjou (crowned 1445), were between thirteen and sixteen.[12]

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[11] Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca and London, 2007), p. 2.

[12] Eleanor of Provence (ca. 1223–91), married Henry III (r. 1216–72); Eleanor of Castile (1241–90), married the future Edward I (r. 1272–1307); Anne of Bohemia (1366–94), was the first queen to Richard II (r. 1377–99); Margaret of Anjou (1430–82) was queen to Henry VI

Kings and queens normally made formal entries into London at their coronations, but Richard II (1377–99) and Henry V (1413–22) made additional ones; Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, took part in two.[13] Whether or not an entry involved pageantry, the streets were always cleaned and decorated with tapestries and cloth of gold. The entry route was established by the fifteenth century (Fig. 1). A coronation entry took place over two days. The first day the honorand started from Eltham Palace, southeast of London, and was met at Blackheath by the Mayor and civic dignitaries, their livery in the City's colours of red and white, and each bearing the emblem of his craft.[14] Accompanied by minstrelsy and crowds of men on horseback, the procession made its way to London Bridge, and thence to the Tower of London. Here, traditionally, the honorand spent the night, riding through the City the following day, with the mayoral procession and an escort of nobility, along Cornhill and Cheapside, and to St. Paul's Cathedral. The pageant zone now lay between the south end of London Bridge and St. Paul's, ending at the entrance to St. Paul's churchyard. In the cathedral the honorand venerated the shrine of the City's saint, Erkenwald, before riding on to Westminster Abbey, the shrine of the royal saint, Edward the Confessor, and the coronation.

It is possible that some sort of pageantry greeted the earliest recorded entries. Matthew Paris, writing of the arrival of Otto in 1207, refers to "prodigious devices,"[15] and at the entry of Eleanor of Provence in 1236 he writes

(r. 1421–61). For references to their coronation pageants, see Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*.

[13] Her coronation entry in 1382 and at Richard II's reconciliation with London in 1392 (see below).

[14] Until 1444, after which the livery companies abandoned the City livery in favour of their own, perhaps under the influence of Paris: Laetitia Lyell and Frank D. Watney, *The Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1435–1527* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 49, 88, 147–8, 229, 290, 303; Thomas F. Reddaway, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327–1509* (London, 1975), p. 44; Richard Osberg, "The Goldsmiths' 'Chastell' of 1377," *Theatre Survey*, 21 (1986), pp. 1–15, esp. 4; Anne Sutton, "Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, his Household and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century," *Textile History*, 22 (1993 for 1991), pp. 253–76, esp. 262–3; Lawrence M. Bryant, "Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6 (Minneapolis and London, 1994), pp. 3–33, esp. 19–20; *The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London*, ed. Lisa Jefferson, 2 vols. (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2009), pp. 887, 989.

[15] "prodigialibus adinventionibus:" Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden, 3 vols., Rolls Series, 44 (1866), vol. 2, pp. 108–9; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 44.

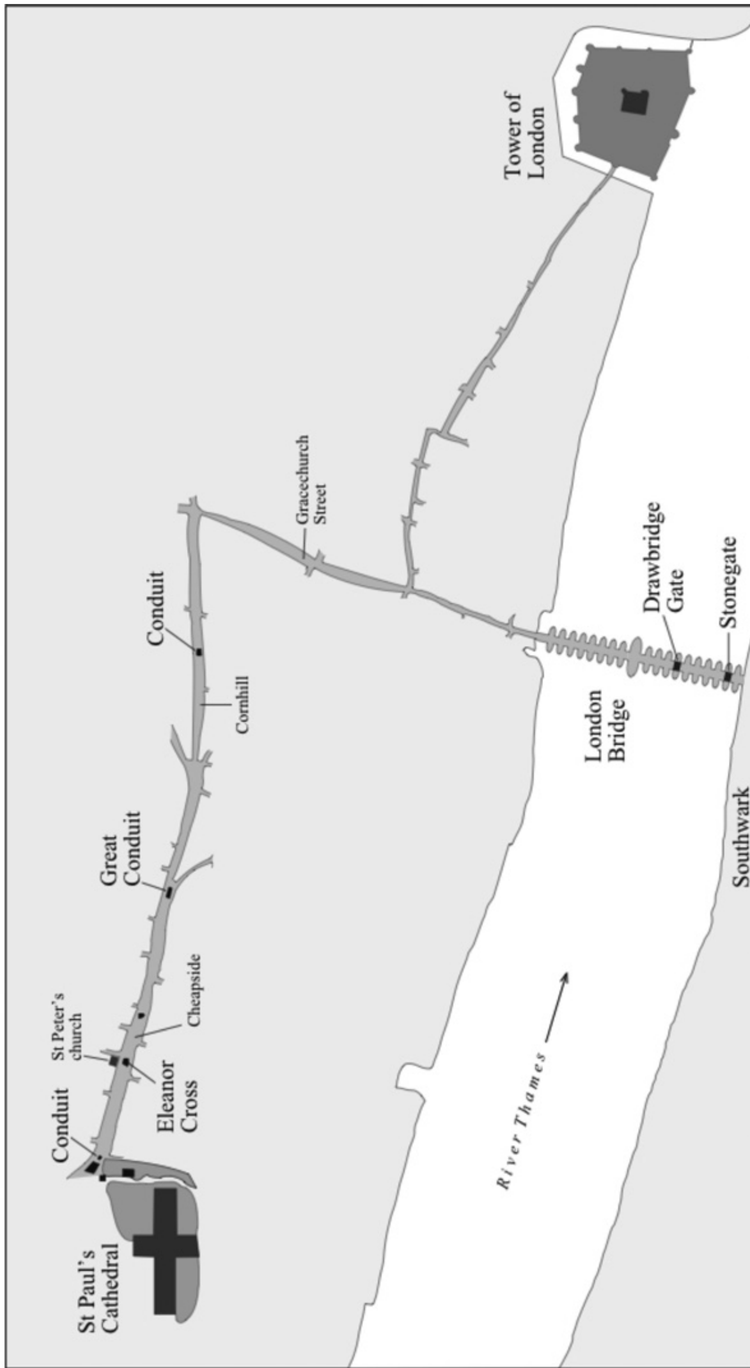

Figure 1 The pageant route through the City of London (© Kate Morton).

of "prodigious and wonderful machines."[16] The latter, whatever they were, could not have been textile hangings, which he noted separately. These devices need not have been fixed structures: in 1298, celebrating Edward I's victory over the Scots at Falkirk, the Fishmongers paraded gilded models of sturgeon through the streets of London, while silver salmon were borne on horses.[17] With the entry of Margaret of France in 1299 we can be more precise: two wooden towers were set up in Cheapside, from which wine flowed through eight pipes.[18] The towers may have been constructed on the Great Conduit (see Fig. 1), built in 1245, which was later regularly adapted to discharge wine on festive days.[19]

Of more immediate interest, however, are the wooden towers themselves. Such towers, which could vary from simple turrets to elaborate castles constructed of timber and painted linen or canvas, were understood to represent the New Jerusalem. They affirm that the entry ceremonial was based on that of the *adventus* adopted by late Roman Emperors.[20] In this ceremonial the city became the New Jerusalem, the monarch a type for Christ. A queen's entry made a symbolic re-enactment of the assumption and coronation of the Virgin. The symbolism of the New Jerusalem underlay entries to many cities in Christendom, but it was particularly observed in London, where most entries featured towers or castles often painted in the biblically attested colours of the heavenly city—crimson, white, and green.[21]

In London the iconography of a queen's coronation was based on that of her husband, with modifications. For Anne of Bohemia's entry in 1382 some of the materials that had been used for Richard II's coronation procession five years earlier were deployed again, in particular a wooden castle with turrets. This was set up by the goldsmiths, probably near their

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[16] "prodigiosis ingeniis et portentis:" Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series, 57 (1872–83), vol. 3, pp. 336–7; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 44.

[17] Withington, *English Pageantry*, p. 124.

[18] *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, A.D. 1259 to A.D. 1343*, ed. and trans. Henry T. Riley (London, 1863), p. 220.

[19] Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 44.

[20] Ernst Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), pp. 207–31.

[21] Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 16; *Gregory's Chronicle: The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the 15th Century*, ed. James Gairdner, Camden Society, new ser., 17 (1876), p. 174; Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 1, p. 72; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 109; Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 36.

commercial centre on Cheapside, around the Eleanor Cross.[22] At Richard's coronation in 1377 four maidens, who either stood on the castle or were suspended on ropes, scattered gold leaves on the king as he passed by; a golden angel, on top of the castle, bent to offer him a crown. For Anne, the number of maidens was reduced to three, and there was no angel.[23]

Similarly, some at least of the imagery used for the entry of Katherine of Valois in 1421 had appeared in that of her husband, Henry V, in 1413. The only detailed evidence comes from the accounts of the Wardens of London Bridge, the body responsible for maintaining the structure, so we know only of the two pageants that formed the welcome preceding the coronation procession on the following day.[24] As in Henry's entry, a huge giant and his wife stood on the Stonegate, the gate tower at the Southwark side, the former carrying an axe and the keys to the City. Apparently made out of metal hoops and fitted with movable heads, they were dressed in costume, including a form of head armour known as a Pisan collar.[25] At the Drawbridge gate towards the middle of the bridge stood Henry's emblems of the lion and the antelope with shields round their necks, as in 1413. The lion was apparently able to roll its eyes.[26] It was for Katherine's entry that the craftswoman Isabel Beauchamp supplied the angels' wings;[27] and costumes were provided for a number of virgins who appeared on the bridge, together with banners and streamers.[28] Katherine's ancestry was, however, acknowledged by the presence of St. Petronilla, patron saint of the Carolingian kings of France.[29]

[22] Osberg, "The Goldsmiths' 'Chastell'," pp. 3–5. The Eleanor Crosses were 12 commemorative crosses set up 1291–4 by Edward I in memory of Eleanor of Castile. Both London crosses, at Cheapside and Charing, were destroyed; the present Charing Cross is a modern replacement.

[23] William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1834–6), vol. 2, p. 217; Withington, *English Pageantry*, p. 129; Reddaway, *The Early History*, p. 44; Osberg, "The Goldsmiths' 'Chastell'," p. 4; Kipling, "Wonderfull Spectacles," p. 164; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 44.

[24] *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, pp. 77–112, 313.

[25] *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, p. 86; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 102–3.

[26] Withington, *English Pageantry*, pp. 137–8.

[27] See note 1, above.

[28] *London Bridge: Selected Accounts*, p. 88; Vanessa Harding, "Pageantry on London Bridge," in *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing*, eds. Bruce Watson, Trevor Brigham, and Tony Dyson (London, 2001), pp. 114–5.

[29] Caroline M. Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *'Bring furth the pageants.' Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, eds. David N. Klausner and Karen S. Marsalet (Toronto, 2007), pp. 91–104, esp. 96.

There is nothing here specific to Katherine's role as queen, although the next day the "rialte [lit. royalty, here meaning richness] of sights that might be done for her comfort and pleasure" may have included suitable allusions.[30] With Margaret of Anjou in 1445, however, there is certain recognition of her queenly duties. By this time the imagery and layers of meaning in entries had been much developed, partly under the influence of those devised for Henry VI in London and Paris.[31] Margaret's entry, on her marriage to Henry aged fifteen, reflected not only contemporary attitudes to queenship in general but the political needs of the day.[32] Arriving as she did during the final drawn-out stages of the Hundred Years' War, Margaret was burdened not only with the usual expectations placed on women but also with an obligation—if only symbolic—to bring peace.[33]

Although the Mayor and Aldermen were arrayed in the best scarlet cloth for Margaret's entry, the livery companies abandoned the City livery of red and white, and greeted her wearing blue gowns and red hoods.[34] Since the Stonegate of London Bridge had collapsed in 1437 and was not yet rebuilt, the Wardens had to compromise.[35] An allegory of Peace and Plenty awaited Margaret at the bridge foot, with an instruction to produce an heir to the throne and a speech by Peace concerning the Anglo-French war. On the Drawbridge gate a Noah's ark had been set up, with Margaret compared to the peace-bearing dove. The emphasis on peace

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[30] *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 174; *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W. de Brie, Early English Text Society, original series 136 (London, 1908), p. 426.

[31] *The Brut*, pp. 450–1, 458–60; Withington, *English Pageantry*, pp. 141–7; Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 51–2; *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. Arthur H. Thomas and Isabel D. Thornley (London, 1938), pp. 158–66; *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. and trans. Janet Shirley (Oxford, 1968), pp. 268–70; Lawrence M. Bryant, "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 88–118; Bryant, "Configurations of the Community;" Kipling, *Enter the King*; Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 54–6; Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 243; Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge," p. 97.

[32] Helen Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 17–23.

[33] Since the reign of Edward III (1327–77), the English kings had claimed the throne of France in a conflict that lasted intermittently from the 1330s to 1453, fought as much in the law courts as on the battlefield. The boy king, Henry VI, had been crowned in Paris as king of France and in London as king of England. By the 1440s the balance was tipping towards the final victory of France.

[34] Sutton, "Order and Fashion," pp. 262–3; see also n. 13 above.

[35] Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 21; Bruce Watson, Trevor Brigham, and Tony Dyson, eds., *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing* (London, 2001), p. 106.

continued the next day with a pageant on Cornhill featuring St. Margaret: the queen's patron saint and a type of the Virgin Mary, and thus a mediator. It was in this pageant, however, that the different layers of meaning came together to shift the focus away from Margaret as bringer of peace and mother of heirs towards her own spiritual journey to the New Jerusalem. The latter was, as now traditional, set up at the Cheapside Cross, preceded on the conduit by a *tableau* of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and succeeded at the entrance to St. Paul's churchyard by the Resurrection and Last Judgement.[36]

This coronation entry is significant in several ways, not only because it is one of the few about which we know in some detail. All but one of the texts were delivered in English, a trend that had begun only in the reign of Henry V.[37] The appearance of the queen's patron saint set a precedent for women's entries, as, on a more mundane note, did Margaret's travel arrangements from the Tower to St. Paul's: feeling unwell, she was carried in a litter, a practice adopted by her successors.[38]

The most noteworthy addition to Margaret's entry, however, is the allegory of Peace and Plenty. The allegorical precedent was set by Henry VI, not in either of his coronation processions (London in 1429, Paris in 1431) but in the entry celebrating his return to London in 1432: the figures of Nature, Grace, and Fortune awaited him on London Bridge, and some Liberal Arts were arrayed, with a tabernacle of Wisdom, in Cornhill.[39] The inevitable reference back to the husband must explain the allegory in Margaret's entry, since allegorical figures did not appear in either of the two succeeding coronation entries, although they were used again in pageantry for Margaret (discussed below).

Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth of York were the first two native-born queens of England since the early twelfth century. Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV, was crowned in 1465. She was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and representatives of the livery companies, the latter again

[36] Withington, *English Pageantry*, p. 148.

[37] At Henry V's entry in 1415 the maidens on the sixth pageant addressed him in English: *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 110–111. I am grateful to Caroline Barron for pointing out to me the significance of this.

[38] Isabeau of Bavaria entered Paris in a litter in 1389: *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, vol. 12, p. 7.

[39] *Great Chronicle of London*, pp. 158–66; Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 243; Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge," p. 96; Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, p. 93, describes them as Faith, Hope, and Charity.

dressed not in scarlet but in murrey, a mulberry-coloured cloth,[40] and we know details of only one pageant: on the Drawbridge gate of London Bridge a structure was brought out of storage and re-erected. In addition to choristers, there were angels with wings made from peacock feathers, and speeches of welcome from St. Paul, Mary Cleophas, and St. Elizabeth. The former represented Elizabeth's descent from the counts of St. Pol; the two latter, models of motherhood and a patron saint.[41]

The coronation of Henry Tudor's wife, Elizabeth of York, in 1487 upset tradition with the abandonment of an entry over London Bridge. Instead, Elizabeth came up river from Greenwich, accompanied by the city livery companies in their barges. The Mayor, Aldermen, and craftsmen were in livery as usual, and the boats were decorated with banners and streamers. According to Leland, the Bachelers Barge surpassed all, bearing a great red dragon, one of the Tudor emblems, spouting flames. But there were "also many other gentlemanly pageants well and curiously devised to do her Highness sport and pleasure with."[42] All we know of Elizabeth's progress through the city the next day is that, sumptuously dressed as a bride in an ornate litter, she was entertained by young virgins and choristers dressed as angels, while the craftsmen in livery looked on.[43]

The coronation entries were designed to welcome the queen and emphasise her duties as she undertook a journey in both actual and symbolic time. Despite the reasons that their marriages had been contracted, there was barely any reference to current politics before the entry of Margaret of Anjou. But entries did take place on other occasions, in both London and provincial cities. Leaving aside the victory parades, the others were provoked by specific, immediate political need, which was politely

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40 Sutton, "Order and Fashion," p. 263.

41 Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 1, pp. 288–9; David Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville: Mother of the Princes in the Tower* (Stroud, 2002), p. 19; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 129.

42 John Leland, *Antiquarii de Rebus Britannias Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearn, 6 vols. (London, 1774), vol. 4, pp. 216–33. The quotation is taken from p. 218, with modernised spelling. The Bachelors (Bachelers in Leland's spelling) were young men of the craft guilds, who were not yet members of the livery companies. In many of the larger companies they formed a yeomanry or bachelor group within the company itself: Jefferson, *The Medieval Account Books*, p. 129n. I am grateful to Caroline Barron for helping me to identify them. The fullest account of the festivities is in Nicholas H. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth* (London, 1830), pp. lxxi–iv, which relies heavily on Leland. See also Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, p. 95; Sidney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 49–50.

43 Leland, *Antiquarii*, p. 219.

concealed beneath an iconographic veneer of themes concerning power and duty. Women were prominent in at least four of these, either as the honorand or singled out for honour.

In 1392 Richard II deprived the City of London of its privileges, and reinstated them only in return for a public gesture of submission, expressed in a royal entry for Richard and Anne, with the display and pageantry that Richard loved. The source that describes the event in greatest detail is the poem, *Concordia*, written by the Carmelite friar, Richard of Maidstone.[44] His emphasis is on the City's submission to the power of the monarch, with Richard as the bridegroom to the citizens. The symbolism has been variously interpreted by modern scholars, Strohm stressing "the profoundly gendered" nature of the consummation of a marriage between Richard and the citizens, and Kipling the *adventus* symbolism, which would encompass Christ's marriage to the Church.[45] There is evidence to support both readings in Maidstone's text, but, given the nature of medieval symbolism, they are not mutually exclusive.

Three pageants, including the castle, were staged along Cheapside and, most unusually, the route was extended to a fourth pageant at the western limit of the City at Temple Bar.[46] Amid a musical cacophony, Anne travelled behind her husband, and Richard of Maidstone makes it clear that the party stopped at the pageants to listen to speeches (lines 210–40, 283, 337–9, 429–30). Anne's presence was acknowledged in various ways: she was honoured with gifts of her own (line 210); at the bridge foot a gold crown was held over her head (lines 191–4); at the castle-tower above the Cheapside Cross a youth and a maiden dressed as angels were let down on ropes to offer gold crowns to both king and queen; and at Temple Bar, angels again descended, bearing two golden altarpieces—one each for Richard and Anne—with images of the Crucifixion.[47] Two of the speeches

[44] Maidstone, *Concordia*, see note 2, above. All text references to lines in the poem are to that edition.

[45] Gordon Kipling, "Richard II's Sumptuous Pageants and the Idea of a Civic Triumph," in *Pageantry and the Shakespearean Theatre*, ed. David M. Bergeron (Athens, GA, 1986), pp. 83–103; Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), p. 107.

[46] *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394*, eds. Leonard C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), pp. 504–7; Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 15–20; Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), p. 20, with references.

[47] The Wilderness for John the Baptist on Temple Bar is the first record in London of a landscape setting for a pageant *tableau*. It may have been inspired by the rabbit warren set up for Isabeau's entry to Paris in 1389.

were directed specifically at Anne: the texts dwelt on her name (meaning Grace in Hebrew; lines 121, 434) and begged her to intercede with the king in the manner of Esther (lines 431–50). Later, in public in Westminster Hall, she made a long intercessory speech to the king (lines 465–92).[48]

When in 1426 John, Duke of Bedford, who was regent for the young Henry VI, returned from France to a hostile London, he and his wife, Anne of Burgundy, were received on the Bridge by an array of the Nine Worthies, plus John himself and his ancestor, Henry, Duke of Lancaster.[49] Evidently here the Lancaster dynasty was using the Worthies to enhance its own moral and chivalric claims, but if the Worthies were offering themselves as protectors, as they did later for Margaret of Anjou (discussed below), the *tableau* may have officially acknowledged Anne's presence. She was also recognised by the figure of a virgin princess accompanied by assistant junior virgins in white tunics.[50]

In these entries the women were accepted as consorts to the ruler. Yet apparently from the mid-fifteenth century queens made entries to provincial cities that were focused entirely upon them. They seem to coincide with the political intrigues that led to the Wars of the Roses, disputes over the throne between the dynasties of Lancaster and York.[51] We have records of entries by Margaret of Anjou to Norwich in 1452 and Coventry in 1456; and by Elizabeth Woodville to Norwich in 1469. Margaret and Elizabeth were sent out to represent and gain support for their respective houses of Lancaster and York. Of Margaret's visit to Norwich in 1452 we know little: a messenger was paid to find out from which direction she was approaching the city and to inform the authorities; her arms were painted, probably

[48] See Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 109, for an interpretation that stresses the eroticism of Anne's submissiveness.

[49] They were: Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey Bouillon. These characters (the *Neuf Preux* in French) were selected from distinguished historical or legendary pagans, Jews, and Christians, three of each, as moral and chivalric exemplars. They were sometimes counterbalanced by Nine Heroines, and were particularly popular in the later medieval period.

[50] Barron, "Pageantry on London Bridge," p. 96.

[51] The Wars of the Roses were the civil wars, conducted sporadically between 1455 and 1485, between the houses of Lancaster and York, which were both descended from Edward III, and rivals for the crown. Their emblems were roses, red for Lancaster and white for York. The Lancastrians, represented by Henry VI, were in power from 1399 until the Yorkists, in the person of Edward, Earl of March, wrested the throne from Henry in 1461, and was crowned Edward IV. Both houses were united when the Lancastrian Henry Tudor married Elizabeth of York (see above).

on wooden shields, to hang on the city gates;[52] and Margaret Paston spoke for women across the centuries when she wrote to her husband: "When the Queen was here I borrowed my cousin Elizabeth Cleris' *devys* [ornament or jewellery], for I durst not for shame go with my beads among so many fresh gentlewomen as here were at that time."[53]

Margaret of Anjou's visit to Coventry, which was part of her dower and that of her son, Edward of Lancaster (1453–71), was much more elaborate. It essentially reasserted Lancastrian power. The presence of Henry and the infant Edward was recognised in the pageantry. The ceremonial route between the Bablake gate and the commercial centre was short, skirting the area controlled by the cathedral priory, but it made up for its brevity with no fewer than fourteen pageants (Fig. 2). Since Coventry had an established cycle of mystery plays, there were presumably enough local resources and experience to mount an impressive display; but one John Wetherby was summoned from Leicester to compose verses and stage the scenes.[54] As at Margaret's coronation the iconography was elaborate, though it built upon earlier developments.

Starting at Bablake gate, next to the Trinity Guild church of St. Michael, Bablake, the party was welcomed with a Tree of Jesse, set up on the gate itself, with the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah explaining the symbolism. Outside St. Michael's church the party was greeted by Edward the Confessor and St. John the Evangelist; and proceeding to Smithford Street, they found on the conduit the four Cardinal Virtues—Righteousness (Justice?), Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude. In Cross Cheaping wine flowed freely, as in London, and angels stood on the cross, censing Margaret as she passed. Beyond the cross was pitched a series of pageants, each displaying one of the Nine Worthies, who offered to serve Margaret. Finally, the queen was shown a pageant of her patron saint, Margaret, slaying the dragon.

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[52] Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols., 2nd ed. (London, 1805–10), vol. 3, p. 158.

[53] *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. Norman Davis, vol. 3, eds. Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond (Oxford, 2004), vol. 1, p. 250. Spelling modernised by author.

[54] *The Coventry Leet Book*, ed. Mary D. Harris. Early English Text Society, original series, 135 (London, 1907–13), pp. 264, 287–92; Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, pp. 61, 68, 73; Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 78; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 148–9; Joanna L. Laynesmith, "Constructing Queenship at Coventry: Pageantry and Politics at Margaret of Anjou's 'Secret Harbour,' " in *The Fifteenth Century*, vol. 3, *Authority and Subversion*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 137–47; Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, pp. 140–42.

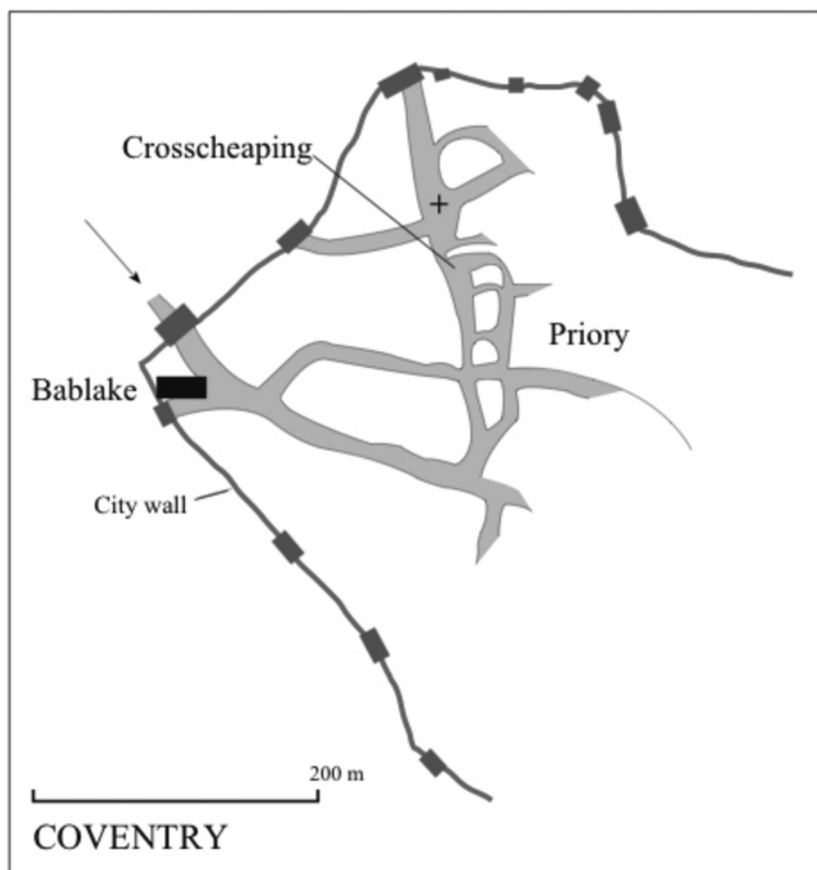

Figure 2 Plan of part of medieval Coventry, showing the pageant route for Margaret of Anjou (© Kate Morton).

The meanings here are complex and have been variously interpreted. An initial reading of the programme found a message of messianic kingship:[55] the Jesse tree equating royal genealogy with that of Christ had been used at the welcome for Henry VI on his return from Paris in 1432.[56] A more recent, feminist view is that the symbolism is essentially Marian, and to be associated with Margaret both as queen and mother of the heir rather

55 Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 61–8.

56 Nichols, *London Pageants*, pp. 18–20; *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 174; Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 1, p. 72; Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 61–2.

than Henry himself.[57] The theme is shared sovereignty, with Margaret equal to her husband and son. Ideal kingship was symbolised by the presence of Edward the Confessor, but Margaret was the person to whom the speeches were specifically addressed and she, not Henry, was seen as the saviour of the house of Lancaster. This reading tips the balance too far the other way: the *tableau* of Edward the Confessor and St. John was a direct reference to the legend of the Ring and the Pilgrim, one of Henry III's favourite stories, which was illustrated in Westminster Abbey, several of his houses, and in manuscript. It symbolised royal *largesse*, and its message at Coventry would certainly have encompassed the reigning king.[58] Again, the presence of allegorical figures, first used for Henry, seems to acknowledge his presence. Yet, while the message of the Coventry pageants was directed at contemporary events it emphasised Margaret's motherhood and duties as queen; and it was expressed as a traditional spiritual journey from the Old Testament, via the incarnation represented by the cross, to the final triumph over evil, with the help of the Virgin, allegory, and the Worthies. The only true thematic innovation was the commentary by the prophets.[59] Explanations were to feature again for Elizabeth Woodville, but it is difficult to know whether they were for the benefit of the queen or the audience.

Elizabeth Woodville's visit to Norwich in 1469 consisted of only two pageants, and was ended prematurely by rain.[60] Unlike the pageants staged for Margaret at Coventry, these were thematically conventional. Edward IV had visited Norwich in June on his way to the shrine at Walsingham,

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[57] Laynesmith, "Constructing Queenship," pp. 142–7; Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 140.

[58] Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 49–50.

[59] At Henry VI's entry to London in 1432 the prophets Elijah and Enoch stood in the trees flanking the Tree of Jesse, but apparently they complimented the King and offered him fruit: Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, p. 93.

[60] Henry Harrod, "Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Visit to Norwich in 1469," *Norfolk Archaeology*, 5 (1859), pp. 32–7. The event is difficult to clarify since the Chamberlain's Accounts used by Harrod are currently untraceable in the Norfolk Record Office. Harrod implies that additional pageants were planned but not staged owing to the rain. Since the structures would have been erected and the costs recorded, this seems unlikely. It appears also that although the city expected the queen to visit, the authorities had very little notice of the date: see the letter of 6th July from John Aubry to Sir Henry Spelman (Beadle and Richmond, *Paston Letters*, p. 178). Harrod by his own admission left out details of materials and craftsmen as being of no interest, but he did not say that other pageants were recorded. Since Elizabeth was the guest of the Dominicans (for several weeks longer than planned), we may infer that only two pageants were intended. What follows is drawn from Harrod, but see also Withington, *English Pageantry*, p. 152.

before travelling to sort out what he had thought was a minor show of discontent in the north of England, but which turned out in the event to be a serious rebellion in the midlands. Apparently oblivious of the impending crisis, Elizabeth made her own progress round Norfolk in July, a journey carefully monitored by officials in Norwich so that they might have everything ready for her entry, expected on the 18th, at the correct gate to the city. John Pannell of Ipswich, a man famous for devising plays, pageants, and subtleties (elaborate confectionary sculptures for the table), was summoned to Norwich with his servants for twelve days; and minor repairs were made to the conduit outside the Dominican church.

Elizabeth arrived at the Westwyk Gate (now demolished; Fig. 3), to be received by the Mayor and civic dignitaries. A stage, covered in red and green worsted, was set with figures of angels, shields, and banners showing the arms of the king and queen, while square scutcheons were powdered with crowns, roses, and fleurs-de-lys. There were two giants, made of wood and Hungary leather, their bodies stuffed with hay and the crests to their helmets decorated with gold- and silver-leaf. In attendance were two patriarchs, the twelve apostles, and sixteen virgins dressed in hooded mantles. The Chamberlain's Accounts, which are the source for the event, note that a friar played the part of the angel Gabriel; that John Mumford's son "assisted in this performance;" and that Gilbert Spirling exhibited a pageant of the Visitation, which required a speech of explanation. Organs accompanied singing clerks.

The second pageant was staged at the entrance to the Dominican friary of St. Andrew, "under Thomas Cambridge's house." The friars contributed materially to this pageant, lending tapestry to cover the stairs leading up to the stage (adorned as in the first pageant) as well as some vestments. The great chair of St. Luke's guild was brought from the cathedral for the Queen to sit in; "Fakke" and his boys sang for her. At this point began what sounds like a typically heavy July downpour. The queen took refuge in the friary, the civic dignitaries and performers retreated to the Guildhall in search of dry clothes, and Stephen Skinner and others found coats and hoods for them.

Despite the traditional themes, there is much of interest in this account. The welcoming giants are similar to, if less elaborate than, those on London Bridge. The Visitation scene referred to both Elizabeth's motherhood and her patron saint, though Gabriel's presence in that scene is hard to explain; since we do not know the words of Fakke's song, the theme of the second pageant is unknown. The contributions of the guilds are clear, and it is worth noting that although Norwich, like Coventry, had a play cycle,

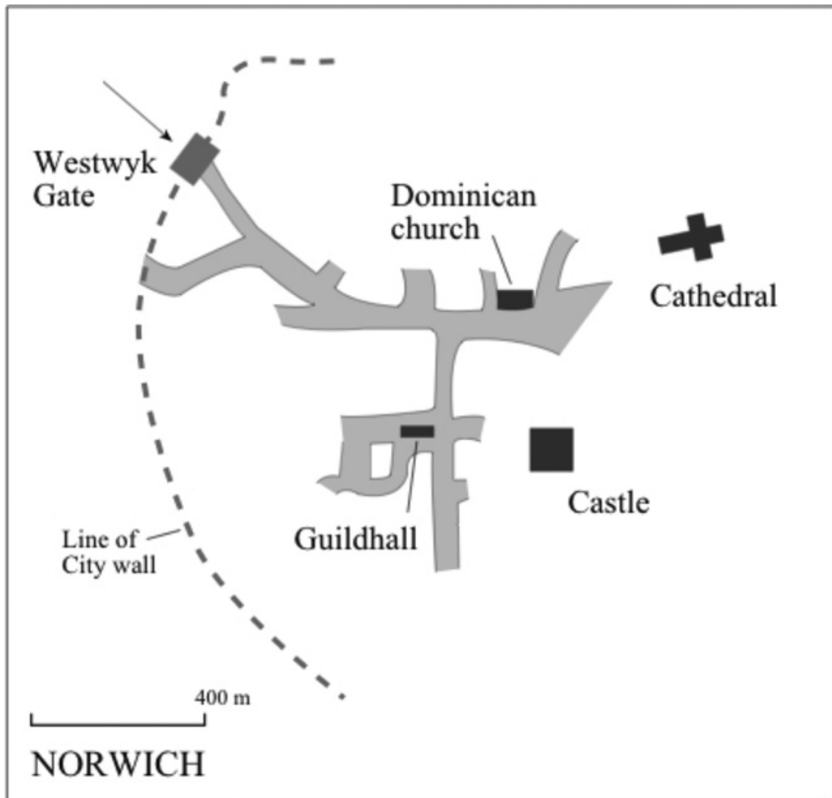

Figure 3 Plan of part of medieval Norwich, showing the pageant route for Elizabeth Woodville (© Kate Morton).

someone was brought in from outside to stage the pageants. The most interesting evidence of all, however, is the involvement of the Dominicans, as both actors and suppliers of materials. This is one of several hints over the years at the participation of educated mendicants in street pageantry. Alexandra Johnston has persuasively suggested that in York the Augustinian friars provided much of the theological content and overall shaping of the play cycle;[61] Richard of Maidstone, author of the *Concordia*,

[61] Alexandra F. Johnston, "The *York Cycle* and the Libraries of York," in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society. Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 11 (Donington, 2002), pp. 355–70.

was a Carmelite friar;[62] and in Norwich we find the Dominicans, an order equally educated and active in urban religious life.

So far, with the exception of the craftswoman Isabel Beauchamp, we have been looking at the highest women in the land, passive recipients of honour. Isabel's presence hints that women helped to create the pageantry; did they also take part in it? Girls and women are elusive participants, but they are not entirely invisible. Noblewomen were on display with the queen, travelling in her procession in large numbers. In 1392 two carts carrying Anne of Bohemia's ladies overturned on London Bridge, causing much mirth at the sight of the ladies' naked thighs (and much moralising from Richard of Maidstone, the source of the anecdote: lines 250–4). In 1487 Elizabeth of York's enormous escort included noblewomen both on horseback and in litters, each attended by a noble male escort.[63]

As for performers, it is difficult to be certain whether adult women played roles in the *tableaux*: the three ladies and figures of the Liberal Arts in Henry VI's entry of 1432 may well have been played by women, as also the allegorical figures of Peace and Plenty in 1445, and the Cardinal Virtues and St. Margaret at Coventry in 1456. It has been presumed that at Elizabeth Woodville's coronation entry in 1465 the parts of SS. Elizabeth and Mary Cleophas were taken by men,[64] but this may be a confident extrapolation of evidence from the Elizabethan theatre, which may not apply to street pageantry of a former era. Elizabethan actors were professionals, and there is no evidence that companies of players performed in street pageantry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The question of women's participation in pageantry must remain open.[65]

With girls we are on safer ground. In addition to Froissart's assertion that girls acted in the pageants for Isabeau of Bavaria in 1389,[66] we have plenty of evidence for England. When accounts refer to maidens and virgins we may presume that these performers were girls (perhaps the daughters of guildsmen), especially when boys and youths are specified separately. Two maidens were suspended over the castle at the Black

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[62] See note 2, above.

[63] Leland, *Antiquarii*, pp. 219–21.

[64] Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville*, p. 19.

[65] Caroline Barron suggests in an unpublished paper that women seem to have performed in civic festivities as singers and dancers in the century after the Black Death, only to be reduced to silent participation or withdrawn altogether into the private sphere by the end of the fifteenth century.

[66] *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, vol. 12, p. 10.

Prince's entry in 1357,[67] maidens and virgins took part in all Richard II's pageantry, and indeed in all recorded pageantry from then on, as actors and choristers. Richard of Maidstone is specific on this point (lines 319–40). It is almost as if girls were, until puberty, essentially neuter (as in the German *das Mädchen*), and therefore given more freedom to participate than their marriageable sisters.[68]

The messages of the pageants firmly reminded the royal women of their place as mothers and mediators, honoured but subordinate. Yet, if passive, these young women were not without significance. It is clear from the pageantry of 1392 and 1426 in London and 1456 in Coventry that when a crisis needed to be resolved, the queen (or regent's wife) was accorded extra recognition. Her duty as mediator—or the good aspect of a misdirected man—suddenly became more than a pious wish. At Coventry, Margaret of Anjou was even presented as the rock upon which the monarchy rested. That a crisis had to be sensed in order to provoke such emphasis is borne out by Elizabeth Woodville's entry to Norwich in 1469: since no one involved (not even the absent Edward IV) knew that the earl of Warwick was about to move against the king, the entry was thematically routine.

Only men are recorded as devisors and directors of the pageants, and the final say was inevitably theirs. Indeed, in all the instances given above, the king or his advisers must have approved the texts and subject-matter. Even so, pageantry involved women and girls at every level. Yet in pageants for women, upon whom every eye was trained, the focus was less active, literally and metaphorically, than the craftswomen and performers.

[67] *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuarensis*, in *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuarensis 1346–1367*, ed. James Tait (Manchester, 1914), pp. 204–6; *The Anonimalle Chronicle 1337–1381*, ed. Vivian H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), pp. 40–41; *The Brut*, p. 308; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 44–5.

[68] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 101–13; Caroline Barron, personal communication.

PART TWO

OWNERSHIP AND COMMUNITY

CHAPTER SIX

THE PATRONAGE QUESTION UNDER REVIEW: QUEEN BLANCHE OF CASTILE (1188–1252) AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CISTERCIAN ABBEYS AT ROYAUMONT, MAUBUISSON, AND LE LYS[1]

Alexandra Gajewski

Recent studies have highlighted the importance of cultural patronage for medieval queens, not only as a means to express devotion, but also as a strategic instrument used to assert their identity and lineage and to access and maintain the power and influence for which, otherwise, they depended on their husbands and sons.[2] Among the various arenas in which women could exercise their patronage, scholars have highlighted the arts linked to the commemoration of the dead, together with manuscripts and literature, seals, and architecture.[3] Although patronage has,

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[1] I would like to thank Paul Crossley, Therese Martin, and Andreas Puth for their helpful suggestions and judicious comments, and I am grateful to Rose Walker for sending me two of her articles that were unavailable to me. While writing this paper, I profited from a stimulating discussion about Blanche of Castile with John Lowden.

[2] There is a growing bibliography of individual case studies. A now classic collection of essays on the subject is June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, GA, 1996). See also Paul Crossley, "An Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge and Rochester, 1997), pp. 263–87; Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 1134–171. For the ways in which a Capetian queen could exercise "unofficial" power and Blanche in particular, Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York and Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 137–63; Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York, 2009), pp. 2–3, 121–59.

[3] Different aspects of the link between queens, death, and patronage relevant to this paper are discussed in Elizabeth Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England 1060–1330," *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), pp. 339–80; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*. Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie, 7 (Geneva, 1975). For specific studies on queens, John Carmi Parsons, " 'Never Was a Body in England Buried with Such Solemnity and Honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship*, pp. 317–37; Kathleen Nolan, "The Queen's Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo with Carol Stamatis

therefore, become a cornerstone in the study of queenship, the basic methodological problems of the approach are rarely discussed. Interpreting art and architecture in the light of the intentions of a (lay-)sponsor raises, in the first place, difficult questions concerning agency and the level of influence a patron might exert on an artist, especially if the patron is a women and a queen with often lesser financial capacities, and the artist is an architect, working as he does in a non-representational artistic medium.[4] Moreover, while scholars are discovering multilayered motivations that shaped the patronal agendas of queens, the results are rarely set into the historiographical context of the two main hermeneutical models for the study of royal patronage: Robert Branner's "court style" and Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale's "hierarchy of styles" (*Stillagen*) that must form the starting point for any investigation into the functions and effects of patronage.[5]

The French queen and regent, Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), is a fitting candidate for a study that tries to address these complex issues, since her patronage played a central role in the conception of both Branner's and Suckale's theories, and the queen, known for her "love of magnificence," has also figured in more recent studies of female patronage.[6] Spectacular objects, including possibly three *Bibles Moralisées*, count among her various manuscript commissions.[7] The famous miniature on the final leaf of a

Pendergast (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 249–67, and Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide de Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship", in *Capetian Women*, pp. 45–76. For queens' literary patronage, McCash, *Cultural Patronage*; for seals, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France 1150–1350", in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler, Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA 1988), pp. 61–82; Nolan, *Queens in Stone*.

[4] The term "non-representational" is used here in its basic sense as not representing nature, comparing the abstract quality of architecture to other media. See the discussion of mimesis in art in Heike Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1999), pp. 192–93.

[5] Robert Branner, *Saint-Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965); Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130–1270* (Munich, 1985). Suckale had developed the concept already in "Peter Parler und das Problem der Stillagen," in *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern*, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne, 1980), vol. 4, pp. 175–84, and continued to develop it in *Die Hofkunst Kaiser Ludwig des Bayern* (Munich, 1993), and "Réflexions sur la sculpture parisienne à l'époque de Saint Louis et de Philippe le Bel," *Revue de l'Art*, 128 (2000), pp. 33–48.

[6] See note 2. For the quote, Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 2001), p. 331.

[7] John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA, 2000), esp. vol. 2, pp. 200–01, attributes *Vienna 2554*, *Vienna 1179,* and *Toledo* to Blanche. For Blanche as a manuscript patron, see also Robert Branner, "Saint Louis et l'enluminure

Bible from the later 1230s, now divided between Toledo and the Pierpoint Morgan Library, depicts Blanche on a rich gold background and directly involved in the act of patronage (Fig. 1; Color Plate 10). The enthroned queen turns with a gesture to her son Louis IX (b. 1214, r. 1226–1270), while in a lower register a cleric directs a lay craftsman to paint the manuscript.[8] Blanche is also associated with the patronage of stained glass and the highly ideological programme of the window cycles in the transept and the choir clerestory at Chartres that she probably commissioned around 1216–1220 together with her husband, Louis VIII (r. 1223–1226).[9] The glass, emblazoned with Castilian and Capetian heraldic devices, shows Old Testament figures and members of the royal family, thus placing the Capetian dynasty in the context of Christ's ancestors. Blanche's direct involvement is suggested by the inclusion of a king and a queen of Castile, perhaps representing her parents Alfonso VIII (r. 1158–1214) and Leonor of England (1161–1214).

Yet, this portrayal of Blanche as a munificent, active patron, conscious of her station and political influence, appears at odds with the scholarly assessment of Blanche's architectural patronage, and especially of the role she played and the aims she pursued in the case of three Cistercian foundations: Royaumont, a male monastery, founded near the royal castle at Asnières-sur-Oise in 1228 by her son Louis while under Blanche's guardianship (Fig. 2); Maubuisson, a convent for women established by the queen in 1236 near the castle at Pontoise; and Le Lys, another women's establishment started eight years later with the support of Louis near the castle at Melun (Fig. 3). In some discussions about Royaumont, Blanche fades into the background while the spotlight is turned onto the young king's role as pious benefactor. Yet, the lack of architectural adornment

parisienne au XIIIe siècle," in *Septième Centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis: actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21–27 mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), pp. 69–84; Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Queenship and Kingship in the French *Bible Moralisée*: The Example of Blanche de Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554," in *Capetian Women*, pp. 177–208; Nolan, *Queens in Stone*, pp. 129–31.

[8] New York, The Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 240, fol. 8r. See Lowden, vol. 1, pp. 127–32; Lindy Grant, "Gold Bezants on the Altar: Coronation Imagery in the *Bibles Moralisées*," in *Image, Memory and Devotion*, eds. Zoë Opačić, Achim Timmermann (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 55–59.

[9] Beat Brenk, "Bildprogrammatik und Geschichtsverständnis der Kapetinger im Querhaus der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Arte Medievale*, 5/2 (1991), pp. 71–95; Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, pp. 132–13; Lindy Grant, "Representing Dynasty: The Transept Windows at Chartres Cathedral," in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA, 2010), pp. 109–14, notes pp. 231–32. Lindy Grant's forthcoming monographic study on Blanche of Castile will undoubtedly shed new light on the queen's patronage.

Figure 1 Blanche of Castile and Louis IX in the *Bible Moralisée*, late 1230s, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 240, fol. 8r (Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, NY). See color plate 10.

Figure 2 Royaumont, remains of northern transept, ca. 1235 (Photo: Michael Davis).

Figure 3 Le Lys, abbey ruins seen from west, ca. 1248 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

compared to contemporary great church architecture meant that Royaumont never fitted comfortably into the category of royal patronage. When, in 1965, Branner identified Blanche as a patron of Royaumont, it was in order to account for the abbey church's austerity. At Maubuisson and Le Lys, pronounced simplicity is combined with such carefully understated sophistication, they escaped the attention of architectural historians until the late 1970s, when Terryl Kinder recognized them as objects of Blanche's patronage.[10] Scholars have since tried to explain the abbeys' simplicity by suggesting a male versus female dialectic that ties more advanced or elaborate features to the male patron, Louis, whereas the female patron, Blanche, is connected with the simpler or less advanced features. Yet, set into the wider context of her often lavish sponsorship, the different forms of display that were commissioned by Blanche hint at an as yet undiscovered complexity behind Blanche's motivations. Because Blanche's example challenges the existing models of female patronage, her case invites us to review these models, to question the effects of patronage, to compare female and male sponsorship, and to investigate the variety of motivations at work.

Historiography: Queen Blanche's Activities as an Architectural Patron Overlooked

Assessing Blanche's role in the foundation of Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys is complicated by historiographic traditions still popular today that have linked Royaumont exclusively to the initiative of the boy king Louis IX and failed to consider Blanche's influence.[11] The roots of this tradition are to be found not so much in the text of the foundation charter that will be discussed later, but rather they stretch deep into the hagiography of the king. Our main source for Louis' association with Royaumont is the *Vie de Saint Louis*, written in 1303, six years after Louis' canonisation by the Franciscan monk, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, on the request of Louis'

[10] Terryl Kinder, "Blanche of Castile and the Cistercians. An Architectural Re-evaluation of Maubuisson Abbey," *Cîteaux—commentarii cistercienses*, 27 (1976), pp. 161–88, esp. 164, n. 6, argues that these are the only Cistercian foundations that can be attributed to Blanche. But see Lindy Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy, 1120–1270* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 207–08, who discusses Blanche's and Louis' patronage of Le Trésor.

[11] For a current example see the website www.royaumont.com, accessed 10/11/2011.

daughter, Blanche (1253–1323).[12] Guillaume puts Royaumont at the top of the list of Louis' pious foundations and reports that the king was himself responsible for the construction of the abbey, the cost of which amounted to a staggering 100,000 *Livres de Parisis*.[13] Furthermore, the *Vie* is the source for a number of anecdotes involving Louis and Royaumont. According to one such vignette, Louis and his brothers assisted the monks in carrying stones to the building site. Guillaume includes true-to-life details in his account that help define the prince's personality. Thus, in one story that takes place at the abbey, Louis scolds his boisterous younger brothers, reminding them that they should behave like the monks themselves.[14] Louis emerges from these scenes as a saint already in adolescence, combining the virtues of a king with the humility of a monk.

The lively style of Guillaume's account, however, does not offset the fact that this portrayal of Louis was to serve first and foremost as an *exemplum* of the ideal Christian prince.[15] Neither Joinville, who in contrast to Guillaume had known Louis personally, nor even Guillaume de Nangis, who gave a panegyrical description of Royaumont, included these anecdotes in their accounts of Louis' life.[16] But Guillaume is unlikely to have invented these stories outright. In his prologue, Guillaume explains that he used

[12] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H.-François Delaborde, *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus* (Paris, 1899); for the dedication to Princess Blanche, pp. 1–7. For Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Louis Carolus-Barré, "Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite et biographe de saint Louis," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 79 (1986), pp. 142–52; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), rprt., *Héros du Moyen Age, le Saint et le Roi* (Paris, 2004), pp. 173–983, esp. 459–66. In the following, I will quote the 2004 edition.

[13] This sum can be compared to the annual budget of the French Monarchy that was 250,000 *livres*, the cost of the Sainte-Chapelle at 40,000 *livres*, and the price of 135,000 *livres* the king paid for the crown of thorns. See Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint-Louis* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 16. It should also be compared to the 21,431 *livres* Blanche spent on 6 years of wages and materials for the construction of Maubuisson, see below note 60.

[14] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, pp. 40–41 (Louis spends Christmas 1254 at Royaumont), pp. 42–43 (Louis participates in a vigil in honour of St. Michaels, he has his own cell at the abbey), p. 46 (the foundation of Royaumont by Louis and the costs of construction), p. 51 (Louis observes the *mandatum* of the monks), p. 53 (he takes part in the theological instructions of the monks), p. 71 (he helps with the construction), pp. 85–86 (he serves in the refectory), pp. 93–96 (he visits monks that have fallen ill), pp. 109–110 (repetition of the *mandatum* scene and the construction of the abbey).

[15] Le Goff, *Saint-Louis*, p. 464: "Guillaume de Saint-Pathus a un modèle de prince idéal dans la tête, et il accommode plutôt la *Vie* (...) de Saint Louis à ce modèle que l'inverse."

[16] Joinville, *Livres des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looÿs*, ed. Jacques Montfrin, *Vie de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1998). For Joinville and the text generally known as *Vie de Saint Louis*, see Montfrin, "Introduction," in *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. vii–xxviii. Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Ludovici IX*, eds. Pierre-Claude-François Daunou, Joseph Naudet,

as his source the now lost canonisation dossier presented to the pope in the 1280s.[17] Among the thirty-eight witnesses to the inquest, Guillaume cites Adam of Saint-Leu, abbot of Royaumont, and Brother Guillaume of Paris, a former monk at Royaumont.[18] It is tempting to speculate that this Royaumont faction was responsible for instituting the commemoration of Louis' pious acts at the abbey as part of the hagiography of the king, thereby intimately tying their abbey to the memory of its founder.[19]

Discouraging any interest in Blanche's role in the foundation of Royaumont, the ideal of a strong but pious ruler who cooperates with the Church, so powerfully evoked by Guillaume, proved instrumental in shaping the views of later scholars. Foremost among them is the Jansenist and historian Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont (1637–1698), whose history of Louis from 1688 included a chapter largely based on Guillaume, entitled "Actions de piété que saint Louis pratique à Royaumont."[20] Abbé Henri Duclos equally relied on Guillaume in his important 1867 study of Royaumont in which he aimed to show that Catholicism could make an important contribution to the France of the second Empire and heal its religious divisions.[21] More recently, Guillaume was a significant source for the distinguished architectural historian and Cistercian monk, Anselme Dimier, who studied Royaumont's impact on Cistercian architecture.[22] The quality of Dimier's scholarship cannot conceal the underlying agenda

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in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* [hereafter *RHGF*], vol. 20 (1840), pp. 312–465.

[17] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, pp. 3–6. Guillaume explains that half the dossier was sent to him from Rome, the other half was given to him by Jean de Samois, Bishop of Rennes (1297–1299) and Lisieux (1299–1302). See also Le Goff, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 459–466.

[18] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, pp. 7–11.

[19] Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis, 1272–1297: essai de reconstitution*, posthumous ed. Henri Platelle (Rome, 1995), pp. 121–27.

[20] Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France*, ed. Jules de Gaulle, 6 vols. (Paris, 1847–1851), vol. 1, pp. 493–97. It is clear from this text that Louis was still commemorated at Royaumont at the time of Le Nain de Tillemont's writing. Le Nain de Tillemont is also the source for the information that Louis was first persuaded to found Royaumont when he was present at the dedication of Longpont and that Louis was able to see the altar from his cell in Royaumont. See Bruno Neveu, "Le Nain de Tillemont et la Vie de saint Louis ," in *Septième Centenaire*, pp. 315–29.

[21] Henri-Louis Duclos, *Histoire de Royaumont, sa fondation par Saint Louis et son influence sur la France* (Paris, 1867), pp. ii–iii, 5.

[22] Marie-Anselme Dimier, "La Place de Royaumont dans l'architecture du XIIIe siècle 1976," in *Septième Centenaire*, pp. 115–19, esp. 115–16; see also Dimier, *Saint Louis et Cîteaux* (Paris, 1954); Dimier, "Saint Louis à Royaumont," *Archéologia*, 31 (1969), pp. 22–29. For Dimier, Benoît Chauvin, ed., *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, vol. I/1 *L'homme, l'oeuvre* (Pupillin, 1987). For a balanced account of Louis' and Blanche's respective roles in the foundation of Royaumont, Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, "Cistercian High

to provide an explanation for the loss in the thirteenth century of the Cistercian order's original architectural simplicity. The presence of "a king on the building site"[23] offered a justification for the elaborate character of Royaumont's architecture which could be interpreted as a demonstration of—male—royal magnificence. At the same time Louis' own later canonisation invested this apparent decline of Cistercian ideals with a touch of sanctity.

The emphasis on Louis' intimate relationship with the abbey established Royaumont's position in scholarship as the paradigmatic royal Cistercian abbey and shifted attention away from Blanche's role in the foundation.[24] And yet, in an aside, Le Nain de Tillemont asserted that Louis founded Royaumont "on the counsel of his mother and certain barons."[25] Blanche's late nineteenth-century biographer, the archivist Élie Berger, also perceived Blanche's guiding hand behind the foundation.[26]

Blanche Recognised as an Architectural Patron, and Branner's Model of Patronage

The first author to seize the clues and stress the importance of Blanche's architectural sponsorship of Royaumont was Robert Branner in his 1965 *Saint-Louis and the Court Style*, although, as the title suggests, the book's primary focus remained on the king-patron.[27] The study represented a move away from a concentration on the formal analysis of buildings—including in Branner's own earlier writings—and helped establish

Gothic: The Abbey Church of Longpont and the Architecture of the Cistercians in the Early Thirteenth Century," *Analecta cisterciensia*, 35 (Rome, 1979), pp. 189–204.

[23] Dimier, "Saint Louis à Royaumont," p. 24: "un roi sur le chantier."

[24] See my more detailed discussion of Royaumont as a model for other royal abbeys: Alexandra Gajewski, "Sedletz und die französische Zisterzienserarchitektur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: Hypothesen und Kontroversen," in *Sedlec: historie, architektura a umělecká tvorba seleckého kláštera ve středoevropském kontextu kolem roku 1300 a 1700*, ed. Radka Lomičková (Prague, 2009), pp. 347–65.

[25] Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 489: "... par le conseil de sa mère et de quelques barons..." In the text, the assertion is marked with a footnote (Ms. F p. 899) that refers to a separate volume "F" which contained a set of now lost references.

[26] Élie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille, reine de France* (Paris, 1895), p. 275; Berger's study of Blanche grew out of his work on vol. 4 of the *Layettes du Trésor des chartes de France*, see Charles-Victor Langlois, "Élie Berger," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 86 (1925), pp. 230–32, esp. 231; Réné Cagnat, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Élie Berger," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 88 (1927), pp. 5–19, esp. 13–15.

[27] Branner, *Saint-Louis*.

patronage as a major field of art-historical inquiry.[28] At the centre of the argument is the seductive thesis that, comparable to later Renaissance courts, the thirteenth-century French court generated a distinctive style reflecting the patronage and personal interests of the royal family. Acknowledging Blanche's central role in the formation of what he considered a "court style," Branner argued that the two seemingly opposing architectural trends of the thirteenth century—one tending towards austerity, the other to rich elaboration—corresponded to the two main personalities of its age: Blanche and her son Louis.[29]

The way Branner constructed his argument deserves some closer attention. With his sharp eye for formal comparisons, Branner realised that despite Royaumont's cathedral-type chevet and three-story elevation, the immediate model for the surface effects and the detailing was to be found in a group of smaller churches built after 1225 in and around Paris, some of them parish churches.[30] Furthermore, he noticed an austerity in certain features which he considered evidence of a resistance to Chartres, for Branner the most influential building of the time, and of an adherence to traditional Cistercian qualities.[31] Such shunning of the avant-garde within a building under royal patronage needed an explanation. For Branner, it was provided by Blanche's influence.[32] He argued that the abbey of Royaumont was founded on the queen's initiative and attributed the presence of the features he considered ill-suited in the royal context to Blanche's character and what he described as her modesty, restraint, and "policy for using ordinary rather than extraordinary methods."[33] He speculated that the queen might have had a certain awareness of style that would have allowed her "to select an architect and a design that would give formal expression in stone to her desire for discretion."[34] For Branner, it was only under the patronage of Louis that this restrained style was superseded by

[28] Eric Fernie, "Robert Branner's Treatment of Architectural Sources and Precedents," *Gesta*, 30 (2000), pp. 157–60.

[29] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 30–39; next to Royaumont, Branner also attributes Tour Cathedral to Blanche's patronage.

[30] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, p. 34.

[31] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 35–36. The concept of a resistance was first introduced by Jean Bony, "The Resistance to Chartres in Early Thirteenth-Century Architecture," *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 20/21 (1957/58), pp. 35–52.

[32] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 32–33, 36–37, for the evidence offered in support of the queen's involvement.

[33] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, p. 36.

[34] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, p. 39.

a more decorative, avant-garde style, the "real" court style, typified by the Sainte-Chapelle.

Although Branner's approach was innovative in 1965, his idea of the workings of patronage owed much to earlier writers. Attributing to the royal patrons direct agency and control over architectural design, he considered agency to be conditioned essentially by the moral character or the personal taste of a patron.[35] This understanding of patronage was fundamental to Branner's construction of the court-style theory, and it is the same central aspect of the theory that has proved so controversial. Scholars like Caroline Bruzelius pointed out that while mid-thirteenth-century architecture can be associated with Paris and the prestige of the royal court, it cannot be narrowed down to the sole influence of the king.[36] Indeed, as most historians today seem to agree, trying to establish a direct link between the architectural style of a building, not to mention of a whole period, and the personality and predilections of the patron opens a Pandora's Box of problems.[37] Especially in the thirteenth century, at a time when architecture was becoming increasingly a craft of specialists, it is uncertain how much immediate control a patron would have been able to exercise over the architect.[38] Significantly, no contemporary medieval text employs descriptive terms to define architectural details like the capital style or the relative thinness of the colonnettes that a patron would have needed in order to communicate his ideas about style to the architect.[39] Christopher Wilson's analysis of what he considers an unparalleled case of close collaboration between a patron and an architect—King Henry III

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[35] See also the critique of Branner in Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, p. 380; and remarks by Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and her Daughters Berenguela of Léon and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage*, pp. 202–27, esp. 211–12.

[36] Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, *The 13th-century Church at St-Denis* (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 161–65. See also Howard Colvin, "The 'Court Style' in English Medieval Architecture: A Review," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. V.J. Scattergood, J.W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 129–39; Paul Binski, "The Cosmati at Westminster and the English Court Style," *The Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), pp. 6–34.

[37] Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Gender and Medieval Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), pp. 128–50; Jill Caskey, "Whodunnit?: Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, pp. 193–212.

[38] See Paul Crossley, "Review of: Binski, Paul. *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven, 2004)," *The Art Bulletin*, 88 (2006), pp. 393–96, esp. 395–96.

[39] Christian Freigang, "*Imitatio* in Gothic Architecture: Forms *versus* Procedures," in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity*, *Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, eds. Zoë Opacic, Achim Timmermann (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 297–313.

(r. 1216–1272) and Master Henry during the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey from 1245–suggests that patronal concerns were focused on more complex issues than style as such. Wilson identifies questions of function as one of the central interests of the king and argues, furthermore, that the design process, and especially the choice of architectural models, was shaped by the political ambitions that Henry III pursued in reconstructing Westminster Abbey.[40]

Another aspect that Branner's approach shares with Dimier's is the association of male royal patronage with magnificence. In Branner's analysis of Royaumont, Dimier is turned on his head. Whereas Dimier had argued that the presence of the king on the building site could help explain the (in his eyes) unnecessarily elaborate character of Cistercian Royaumont, Branner now suggested that Blanche's involvement in the foundation could help explain the (in his eyes) surprising austerity of kingly Royaumont. Branner thus sets up a polarity between male and female patronage and its respective association with magnificence and modesty. This is particularly problematic since Branner's appraisal of the queen's character as discrete and moderate is not really sustained by textual evidence. It is difficult to avoid the impression that Branner's view of Blanche owes more to a post-war notion of women than to medieval chronicles, where Blanche is often portrayed as behaving with the fortitude of a man. Jacques Le Goff, the most recent biographer of Louis IX, sums up Blanche's character as "strong, courageous, and authoritarian."[41] Indeed, in Branner's own 1976 assessment of Blanche's patronage of illuminated manuscripts he contradicted his earlier arguments by suggesting that, as a Spanish princess, "her taste was perhaps for things rich."[42]

Finally, Branner's evaluation of Blanche's patronage suffers from his narrow choice of monuments, including only buildings with evidence of architectural innovation.[43] Because the simplicity of Maubuisson or Le Lys was only of marginal interest to him, what would have been a vital piece of evidence for Blanche's patronage is missing from Branner's discussion of the queen's court style.

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[40] Christopher Wilson, "Calling the Tune?: The Involvement of King Henry III in the Design of the Abbey Church at Westminster," *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 161 (2008), pp. 59–93.

[41] Le Goff, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 776–784, esp. 780. Her uncompromising reaction to the Paris University riots of 1229 speaks of severity rather than moderation.

[42] Branner, "Saint Louis et l'enluminure parisienne," pp. 69–84, esp. 84: "... son gout était peut-être pour les choses riches."

[43] See Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, p. 380.

Blanche's Architectural Patronage According to Kimpel and Suckale

The first study to consider all three abbeys as objects of royal patronage and to discuss the architectural affinities among them was Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale's 1985 survey of Gothic architecture in France. With their radical new approach, blending architectural, social, and material history, the authors challenged many of the existing theoretical models, among them earlier approaches to patronage and a concentration on prestigious buildings. In comparing Maubuisson, Le Lys, and Royaumont, they argued that there was never a single royal court style.[44] The differences in size and elaboration among the three abbey churches showed that, instead, royal patronage encouraged a hierarchy of styles (*Stillagen*) according to the place and function of the buildings, comparable to the use of *genera dicendi* in medieval rhetoric. It is central to Kimpel and Suckale's argument that all three abbey churches were used for royal burials: Royaumont became a mausoleum for the royal children, the queen herself was buried at Maubuisson, and her heart was brought to Le Lys.[45] To summarise their arguments, Maubuisson and Le Lys were less lavishly constructed than Royaumont because, as an institution for Cistercian monks and an important burial church for the royal family, the latter would have been considered worthy of greater elaboration than the buildings constructed for communities of nuns. Furthermore, the flat east end of Le Lys, compared to the polygonal one at Maubuisson, indicates together with other details that the convent reserved for the heart of the queen had a lower status than the one that served as the burial place for her body.

Where Branner had based his assessment of the court style on the elusive evidence of the patron's personality, Kimpel and Suckale now proposed the notion of *decorum* as the formative aspect in determining the aesthetic of a building. Indeed, style for them is much more than the expression of the patron's character; it is a language the patron shares with his audience and that he or she can adapt to a specific occasion. Like a rhetorician, the patron can choose among different architectural motifs

[44] Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, pp. 381–84. Since then, the architecture of the three abbeys has been discussed by Kinder, "Blanche of Castile;" Alexandra Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches sur l'architecture cistercienne et le pouvoir royal: Blanche de Castille et la construction de l'abbaye du Lys," in *Art et architecture à Melun au moyen âge*, ed. Yves Gallet (Paris, 2000), pp. 223–54; Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, pp. 123–29.

[45] See below the discussion of Royaumont's function as a burial church.

to conform to an intended meaning or function of the building. Such an approach offers not only a far broader understanding of the effects of patronage on architecture, but furthermore, by associating the choices of patrons and architects with the function, status, and meaning of the building, the model, ultimately, anchors the idea of patronage in a more historically grounded context.[46]

It would be unfair to expect a detailed investigation of every aspect touched on by the example of Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys, which for Kimpel and Suckale represents a case study intended to demonstrate the possibilities of the approach.[47] Even so, it is relevant to observe that the sophisticated model of stylistic hierarchies is open to potentially problematic assumptions about the period and perhaps especially about women. Most importantly, the authors infer from the architectural differences between Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys that a male community would have enjoyed a higher status than a female community in thirteenth-century France. Here we find again schematic polarities set up between "male versus female" patronage and its respective association with "high versus low art" and "elaborate versus simple" forms. It is true that Roberta Gilchrist's studies have demonstrated that there was a gender-specific quality to the architecture of religious women that was often expressed by reduced ornamentation and simplified ground-plans compared with male monastic architecture.[48] However, she considered that this difference was not a sign of limited esteem, but rather an indication that nunneries were established for a different purpose and by a different social group. Moreover, Caroline Bruzelius and others have shown that the distinction between male and female monasteries was not necessarily expressed through architectural simplicity, especially when the female community had the support of a powerful patron or patroness, but rather through the configuration of the monastic space or liturgical

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[46] See also the reviews of Kimpel and Suckale by Willibald Sauerländer in *Kunstchronik*, 39 (1986), pp. 458–64, and by Caroline Bruzelius in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 47 (1988), as well as Andreas Puth, "Review of Bernd Carqué, *Stil und Erinnerung: französische Hofkunst im Zeitalter seiner Deutung* (Göttingen, 2004)," *The Burlington Magazine*, 148 (2006), pp. 343–44.

[47] Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, p. 381: "Ehe wir auf die Hauptstiftungen näher eingehen, (...) wollen wir an einem Beispiel, den Resten der königlichen Zisterzienserabtei Maubuisson bei St. Ouen-l'Aumône (Oise) zeigen, was man damals unter bewußter Abstufung verstanden hat."

[48] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 22–25, 36–60.

furniture adapted to the specific needs of religious women.[49] Therefore, even if we accepted for the sake of argument that status was invariably expressed by using elaborate plans and decorative architectural features, we cannot assume that, as a rule, female convents had a lesser status; there are a number of nunneries, including Cistercian nunneries, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that are at least as complex as, if not more than, some of the male monasteries.[50] More importantly, the prestige of a community did not necessarily equal elaborate architecture.

Another problem concerns the proposed hierarchy of burial places. The function intended for Royaumont at the time of its foundation in 1228 has been the subject of debate, and some authors have suggested it was originally built to become Louis' mausoleum proper, as I will discuss later.[51] If it could be shown that Royaumont was built with a view to the king's interment there, his position as anointed king could help explain the abbey's greater elaboration compared to the queen's burial church. However, Kimpel and Suckale do not mention that debate, stating only that Royaumont was built for members of the royal family. In this

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[49] Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, "Hearing is Believing: Clarissan Architecture, ca. 1213–1340," *Gesta*, 31 (1992), pp. 83–91; Bruzelius, "Nuns in Space: Strict Enclosure and the Architecture of the Clarisses in the Thirteenth Century," in *Clare of Assisi: A Medieval and Modern Woman. Clarefest Selected Papers*, ed. Ingrid Petersen (St. Bonaventure and New York, 1996), pp. 53–74. See also Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Kirche und Klausur—zur Architektur mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster," in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, eds. Susan Marti, Helga Willinghöfer (Munich, 2005), pp. 88–103. Among the increasingly expansive literature on liturgical furniture in female convents, see Gerhard Weilandt, "Alltag einer Küsterin: die Ausstattung und liturgische Nutzung von Chor und Nonnenempore der Nürnberger Dominikanerinnenkirche nach dem unbekannten 'Notel der Küsterin' (1436)," in *Kunst und Liturgie: Choranlagen des Spätmittelalters—ihre Architektur, Ausstattung und Nutzung*, ed. Anna Moraht-Fromm (Ostfildern, 2003), pp. 159–87. See also in the present volume Stefanie Seeberg, "Women as Makers of Church Decoration: Illustrated Textiles at the Monasteries of Altenberg/Lahn, Rupertsberg, and Heiningen (13th–14th c.)."

[50] Claudia Mohn, *Mittelalterliche Klosteranlagen der Zisterzienserinnen: Architektur der Frauenklöster im mitteldeutschen Raum* (Petersberg, 2006), pp. 22–33. Examples of elaborate Cistercian convents founded by women are discussed in Klára Benešovská, "*Aula Sanctae Mariae*, abbaye cistercienne feminine de foundation royale," in *Cîteaux et les femmes*, eds. Bernadette Barrière, Marie-Élizabeth Henneau (Paris, 2001), pp. 55–70; Andrea G. Pearson, "Spirituality, Authority, and Monastic Vows: An Antependium from the Community of Flines," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, vol. 6. *Cistercian Nuns and Their World*, ed. Meredith P. Lillich (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005), pp. 323–63, esp. 327–30. For male Cistercian abbey churches that continued to use the square eastern apse, see Matthias Untermann, *Forma Ordinis: die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser* (Munich, 2001), pp. 472–507 (for the period 1180–1240), 560–64 (for the period 1240–1320).

[51] Kimpel and Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*, p. 382.

context, the hierachy of styles that Kimpel and Suckale suggest for Le Lys and Maubuisson becomes doubtful. The only way of explaining why the royal family should be buried in more ostentatious surrounding than the queen herself would be to assume that simplicity was an automatic category of female patronage. Similarly problematic seems to me the assumption that Le Lys had a lower status than Maubuisson because the former was reserved for the queen's heart while the latter was reserved for her body. In fact, the importance of later heart burials for the Capetians and the often very elaborate tombs suggest that the relationship between the two rituals was not a hierarchical one.[52] More importantly, among the Capetians, Blanche was the first to introduce a heart-burial, and there was no precedent for how to build a church for this new ritual and no established hierarchy for her to adopt.

Therefore, in the case of Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys, the idea of a stylistic hierarchy, although liberating us from the narrow notion of a single court style, also challenges us to question our ideas of status and *decorum* in connection with female patronage and to re-examine closely the circumstances surrounding the foundation of all three sites.

Documentary Evidence: The Foundations of Maubuisson and Le Lys

Since Blanche's part in the foundation of Maubuisson and Le Lys is documented, it seems best to start the examination of the evidence in non-chronological order, not with Royaumont but with Maubuisson and Le Lys, which allows us to form a better idea of Blanche's manner of conducting herself as a patron. Due to the survival of sources we are better informed about the work at Maubuisson than at Le Lys, but the construction and foundation of the two abbeys seem to have followed the same pattern.[53]

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[52] Alexandre Bande, *Le cœur du roi: les Capétiens et les sépultures multiples, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 2009), pp. 51–104.

[53] For Le Lys, Armande Prieur, "L'abbaye Notre-Dame du Lys-la-Royale," Ph.D. dissertation, Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1945. My references are to the posthumous publication: Armande Gronier-Prieur, *L'abbaye Notre-Dame du Lys á Dammarie-les-Lys* (Verneuil-L'Etang, 1971), pp. 9–11. The author points out that most of the archives of Le Lys were destroyed or dispersed in the Revolution. The accounts for the construction of Maubuisson, *Achatz d'héritage pour la fondation de Maubuisson*, are kept in the Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise, 72H12. They were partly published by Henri De L'Épinois, "Comptes relatifs à la fondation de l'abbaye de Maubuisson," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 19 (1858), pp. 550–67, and my references will be to this edition. See also Constance

Within months after the dedication of Royaumont, the week after Pentecost in 1236, work started on the abbey of Notre-Dame-la-Royale, later known as Maubuisson.[54] The lands Blanche purchased were situated near Pontoise, which was held by the queen herself. [55] On 30 November 1237 Blanche established an account with Brother Gilles, treasurer at the Temple of Paris where her accounts were administered, to pay a Master Richard de Tourny, supervisor of the work at Maubuisson.[56] As the person responsible for the acquisition of lands and rents, Master Richard occasionally held private meetings with the queen. Over the next six years a total of 21,431 *livres Parisis*, 15 *solidi,* and 4 *derniers* was spent on wages and materials.[57] To that should be added the endowments (over six months in 1240–1241, 918 *livres*, 14 *solidi*, and 10 *deniers*) and the land purchases (in 1246–1248, Blanche spent 1,500 *livres* on land at Bretignolles).[58] Foundation charters were given in 1239 and in March 1241, some years after construction had started.[59] A colony of nuns from Saint-Antoine-des-Champs,

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Hoffman Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property and Religious Benefactions in France: Eleanor of Vermandois and Blanche of Castile," *Viator*, 41/2 (2010), pp. 151–82, esp. 172–75.

[54] *Achatz d'héritage*, p. 555: "Anno Domini millesimo tricesimo sexto, fundata fuit nova abbacia juxta Ponthisaram ab illustri Blancha, Dei gratia regina Francorum. Et hec est recepta magistri Richardi de Torni pro operibus dicte abbacie, que fundata fuit prima ebdomada post Penthecosten."

[55] In 1244, Louis VIII confirmed Blanche's dowry, the *châtellanies* of Hesdin, Bapaume and Lens, see Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII* (*1187–1226*) (Paris, 1894), p. 479, no. 219. In his testament, he left Artois to his second son, Robert, "salvo dotalicio matris sue," see Alexandre Teulet, ed., *Layettes du Trésor des chartes de France*, vol. 2: 1224–1246 (Paris, 1866), p. 54, no. 1710. In a charter of 1237, Robert says that he has received Artois, including his mother's dower for which she is to be recompensed, see *Layettes*, vol. 2, p. 349, no. 2562. Eventually, Blanche received Meulan, Pontoise, Étampes, Dourdan, Melun and its *châtellanie* with all their lands, see *Layettes*, vol. 2, p. 438, no. 2885. See also Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 314–15; Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," pp. 167–69.

[56] For Richard de Tourny, see Robert Branner, "A Note on Pierre de Montreuil and Saint-Denis," *The Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), pp. 355–57, esp. 356; Kimpel and Suckale, *Die Gotische Architektur*, p. 538.

[57] *Achatz d'héritage*, p. 559.

[58] Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 174; Armelle Bonis, *L'abbaye cistercienne de Maubuisson—La formation du temporel* (*1236–1356*) (Cergy-Pontoise, 1990).

[59] The now lost 1239 foundation charter is mentioned in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 7, col. 928; and by Adolphe Dutilleux and Joseph Depoin, *L'abbaye de Maubuisson* (*Notre-Dame-la-Royale*)*: histoire et cartulaire*, part 4: *Analyse du cartulaire et annexes* (Pontoise, 1885), pp. 233–34. The 1241 foundation charter, preserved in the Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise, was published in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 7, *Instrumenta*, cols. 103–104; Adolphe Dutilleux and Joseph Depoin, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Maubuisson* (*Notre-Dame-la Royale*), part 1: *Chartes concernant la fondation de l'abbaye et des chapelles* (Pontoise, 1890), pp. 1–2; and trans. Constance H. Berman, *Women and Monasticism in Medieval Europe: Sisters and Patrons of the Cistercian Reform* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2002), pp. 59–61, no. 59.

just outside Paris, moved to Maubuisson probably in 1242.[60] The queen built herself a house where she could stay while visiting the convent.[61] On 26 June 1244 the convent was dedicated by William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, in the presence of the king.[62]

As for the abbey of Le Lys, by that date part of the land on which it was to be built had already been purchased and in June of the same year the queen bought the vinyard "in the place where she wanted to build the abbey;" over the next four years, the queen made a number of donations to Le Lys in lands and rents.[63] However, in June 1248 when Blanche's son, King Louis IX, signed the foundation charter for Le Lys, he claimed that the monastery was founded and built by himself.[64] This was repeated in two charters given in June 1248, and only in a charter from July 1248 Louis stated that the abbey had been founded by his mother.[65] In a charter from 1252 given by Blanche while Louis was on crusade she specified that the abbey had been founded conjointly.[66] Gronieur-Prieur suggests that Le Lys was founded on Blanche's initiative, but having just founded Maubuisson, the queen relied on the king to supply the necessary funding. This agrees with the evidence that many of the queen's pious donations were paid

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[60] The authors of the *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 7, col. 928, date the commencement of Guillemette's abbacy to 1240. However, purchases of linen for dresses, shoes, etc., in the *Achatz d'héritage*, pp. 563–64, suggest that the nuns arrived in 1242. See Pierre Soulier, ed., *Histoire & Archéologie à l'abbaye royale & cistercienne de Maubuisson* (Cergy-Pontoise, 1988), p. 36. For Saint-Antoine, see Bonnardot Hippolyte, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Antoine-des-Champs de l'ordre de Cîteaux. Étude Topographique et Historique* (Paris, 1882); Constance Hoffman Berman, "Cistercian Nuns and the Development of the Order: Saint-Antoine-des-Champs," in *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Studies in Honor of Jean Leclercq*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 121–56.

[61] *Achatz d'héritage*, p. 561.

[62] Dutilleux and Depoint, *L'abbaye de Maubuisson*, part 1: *Histoire de l'abbaye et des abbesses* (Pontoise, 1882), p. 7; Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 319–21.

[63] Gronier-Prieur, *L'abbaye Notre-Dame du Lys*, p. 28: "in quo loco proposuit abbatiam edifficare" (sic), see also pp. 23, 28–29. We know of 8 charters that were given by the queen in the years 1247 and 1248.

[64] For the foundation charter, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, *Instrumenta*, pp. 72–73, no. 96: "Ludovicis Dei gratia Francorum rex (...) quoddam monasterium fundavimus & aedificari fecimus...." Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 176, points out that the charter only survives in a copy from the 14th century and speculates that its authenticity might be suspect.

[65] These 3 charters are published and translated in Berman, *Women and Monasticism*, pp. 62–65, nos. 27–29, p. 65, no. 29: "... abbey of nuns which our dearest lady and mother, Blanche, illustrious queen of the Franks, established...."

[66] Berman, *Women and Monasticism*, p. 66, no. 30: "... Le Lys (...) which was founded by ourselves and our son ..."

for by the royal treasury.[67] For example, in 1239 the *hôtel du roi* paid a certain Herbert, the *parcheminier*, for the illumination and binding of an *ordo* destined for one of the queen's abbeys, which must be Maubuisson.[68] The ties between the abbeys were clearly intimate. The central part of the foundation charters for Maubuisson (March 1241) and Le Lys (June 1248) uses the same terms, and Le Lys itself was settled by a community of nuns from Maubuisson. The first abbess of Le Lys, Alix, former countess of Mâcon, had originally entered Maubuisson.[69]

The 1241 foundation charter for Maubuisson does not mention whether Blanche's original intentions for the foundations included her burial. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the queen was preparing for her death at least by the late 1240s. Before leaving on crusade, in June 1248, Louis IX allowed Blanche to use in advance the revenues from her income for the two years that would follow her death or her entry into religious life, suggesting that Blanche intended to join a monastery at the end of her life.[70] According to the *Grandes Chroniques*, in November 1252, Blanche was staying at Melun with her daughter Isabelle (ca. 1225–1270) when she fell ill and she set off for Paris immediately. Five or six days before her death she joined the Cistercian order of Maubuisson.[71] Kathleen Nolan most recently concluded that Blanche's choice of Maubuisson as a burial place is a likely one since Blanche stood at the intersection of two traditions: a long history of Capetian queens who made their own funerary arrangements, away from the royal necropolis at Saint-Denis, and the tradition established by Blanche's parents and sisters to bury their members in the Cistercian convent at Las Huelgas (outside Burgos in Castile).[72] With the

[67] Gronier-Prieur, *Notre-Dame du Lys*, for the surviving textual evidence, pp. 9–13; for the foundation and the royal charters, pp. 21–31. On the subject of donations made by the queen see also Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, p. 318. Blanche herself made 2 further donations in 1250 and 1252 before her death in 1252.

[68] *Itinera, dona et hernesia anno domini MCCXXXIX inter Ascensionem et omnes sanctos*, eds. Natalis de Wailly and Léopold Delisle, *RHGF* 22 (Paris, 1865), pp. 538–615, esp. 605; Branner, "Saint Louis et l'enluminure," p. 70.

[69] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, col. 247.

[70] H.-François Delaborde, *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, vol. 5/2: ancienne série de sacs dite aujourd'hui supplement (Paris, 1909), p. 170, no. 150. Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 318–19; Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 169.

[71] *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, *RHGF* 4, ed. Paris Paulin, (Paris, 1836–1838), pp. 330–31.

[72] Nolan, *Queens in Stone*, pp. 123–29. See also her helpful summary of this discussion, pp. 5–10. Nolan suggests that Capetian queens might have chosen burial away from Saint-Denis, while earlier Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 90–91, argued that they were excluded.

burial of Blanche's heart, finally, Le Lys can also be tied into this network of funerary patronage. The seventeenth-century Sebastian Rouillard, who claims to base his accounts on earlier documents, recounts that Blanche herself asked for her heart to be taken to Le Lys before her death.[73] The architecture provides additional evidence here. The parallel circumstances of the foundation, making the convents sister abbeys, are—as we shall see—also reflected in the architectural similarities of the abbey churches, suggesting that the abbeys were built with a similar purpose in mind.[74] However, the twin foundations can only be fully understood if we consider Blanche's role in the earlier foundation of Royaumont.

The Case for Blanche as a Patron of Royaumont

Despite the fact that Louis acted as the principal founder of Royaumont in the charters, there are, as Branner noted, many good reasons for supposing that Blanche was the instigator of the foundation. In his testament of 1226, the dying King Louis VIII stipulated that the crown jewels should be sold to found a Victorine abbey in his memory.[75] Two years later, the young Louis IX purchased from the nuns of Saint-Martin at Boran a grange on a site called *Cuimont*, situated near the royal castle at Asnières-sur-Oise. He renamed it Royaumont (*Regalis Mons*), inviting, however, not a Victorine but a Cistercian community.[76] The foundation charter was signed by Louis

[73] Sebastian Rouillard, *Histoire de Melun* (Paris, 1628), pp. 431–33. On the title page, Rouillard claims for his study: "Le tout recueilly de diverses Chroniques et Chartres manuscripts." Rouillard points out that it was the queen's express wish to have her heart buried at Le Lys and that she entrusted Abbess Alix with the task. See also Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, p. 416, and Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 95, who accept that it was Blanche's decision. Berman, "Two Medieval Women's Property," p. 178, implies that the transfer of the heart was Abbess Alix's initiative. However, as Rouillard suggests, Alix's ambitions and Blanche's desires might have met in this question.

[74] Gronier-Prieur, *Notre-Dame du Lys*, pp. 22–24, esp. 24: "Ces deux abbayes soeur…"

[75] Testamentum Ludovici VIII, *RHGF* 17, 311C, no. 22. See also Le Goff, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 275–77.

[76] Duclos, *Histoire de Royaumont*, pp. 35–36. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronicon*, ed. H. Geraud, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300* (Paris 1843), vol. 1, p. 181: MCCXXX (…) Ludovicus rex Franciae fundavit abbatiam Regalis Montis… ; Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Ludovici IX*, p. 318: "Ludovicus (…) construxit (…) abbatiam (…) in loco qui *Cuimont* dicebatur, quae modo à regis nomine nominatur Monsregalis. In qua ab initio novitatis suae abbatem cum xx. Monachis de ordine Cisterciensi ad serviendum Domino ibidem instituit, … ;" Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, p. 46.

in the same year, 1228, and further donations followed.[77] Both Blanche and Louis attended the dedication ceremony on 19 October 1235.[78]

The decision to choose a Cistercian community and thereby to ignore part of the instructions of the old king's will was more likely taken by Blanche than by young Louis.[79] Louis never founded a Cistercian house by himself, and while he continued to support the Order after Blanche's death, he also turned to other orders, especially the mendicants.[80] For Blanche, on the other hand, the foundation of Royaumont—and the subsequent establishment of Maubuisson and Le Lys—represents the summation of a lifetime's association with the Order. In fact, the motivations behind the foundations can only be fully appreciated if we recall that the endowment of a prestigious Cistercian monastery represents continuity with the patronage of Blanche's natal family, to whom she always remained closely attached,[81] and perhaps follows particularly the model of her mother.

Together with her husband Alfonso VIII de Castile, Leonor, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) and Henry II of England (d. 1189), is now considered to have played a central role in the foundation of Santa María la Real at Las Huelgas on 1 June 1187, one year before Blanche was born.[82] In 1199, shortly before Blanche left Castile for the French court, Alfonso and Leonor requested the convent's integration into the Cistercian Order

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[77] The foundation charter can be found in the Cartulaire de Royaumont (B.N. MS. Latin 9166); published by Duclos, *Histoire de Royaumont*, pp. 37–42; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 10, col. 265–67.

[78] Dimier, *Saint Louis*, p. 58, n. 12.

[79] Branner, *Saint-Louis*, p. 33; see also Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," pp. 162–63; Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, p. 192.

[80] Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, p. 300. See also Lester K. Little, "Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars," *Church History*, 33 (1964), pp. 125–28.

[81] Throughout her life Blanche maintained close contacts with her family: Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 258–62, 325–28. Her nephew Alfonso, son of her sister Urraca, was brought up at the French court. Another Alfonso, son of her sister Leonor, Queen of Aragón, came to France in 1244. The grandchildren of her sister Berenguela were also at the French court, where they were called "les enfants d'Acre," since their father was Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem. Among the people in her entourage several were perhaps Castilian, among them a Lady Mincia.

[82] Shadis,"Piety, Politics and Power;" James D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform and Artistic Change in Medieval Castile," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 6, Cistercian Nuns and Their World*, ed. Meredith P. Lillich (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005), pp. 189–280. For a more circumspect appraisal of the evidence of Leonor's involvement see Rose Walker, "Leonor of England, Plantagenet Queen of King Alfonso VIII of Castile, and Her Foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Las Huelgas. In Imitation of Fontevrault?" *Journal of Medieval History*, 31 (2005), pp. 346–68, esp. 350–52.

as the head of its own congregation.[83] There are striking parallels between the foundation of Las Huelgas and Blanche's patronage of the Cistercians: Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys were all founded near royal residences, not unlike Las Huelgas, which was founded on the outskirts of the northern Castilian capital of Burgos and perhaps replaced a country seat in that place.[84] Burgos was part of Queen Leonor's dower; as for Blanche, she established Maubuisson and Le Lys on the land she had exchanged for her dower. At Las Huelgas, a royal palace was constructed near the convent. Blanche also built a palace next to Maubuisson.[85] Maubuisson's dedication to *Sancta Maria Regalis* not only echoes *Mons Regalis*, Royaumont, but also replicates Las Huelgas' dedication. Indeed, the affiliation went much further than the name: in her 1241 foundation charter to Maubuisson, Blanche declared that she founded the abbey in memory of her parents, Alfonso and Leonor.[86] In 1244, Blanche took advantage of her admittance into the General Chapter to request Maubuisson's recognition as *Cistercii filia specialis*, a title that had been granted to Las Huelgas in 1199.[87]

Perhaps as early as the 1180s, Las Huelgas served as a burial place for several children Leonor and Alfonso lost in infancy, among them in 1211 Prince Ferdinand, heir to the throne.[88] The royal children were perhaps

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[83] For Cistercian nuns, Sally Thompson, "The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Woman*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–52; Roger de Ganck, "The Integration of Nuns in the Cistercian Order, Particularly in Belgium," *Cîteaux*, 35 (1984), pp. 239–47. In 1199, the Order accepted the affiliation of Las Huelgas and recognised the new congregation: D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," pp. 191–206.

[84] Henrik Karge, "Die königliche Zisterzienserinnenabtei Las Huelgas de Burgos und die Anfänge der gotischen Architektur in Spanien," in *Gotische Architektur in Spanien*, ed. Christian Freigang (Frankfurt, 1999), p. 15, n. 4.

[85] For Leonor's dower, D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," p. 208, n. 63, quotes Bishop Lucas of Tui, whose 13th-century chronicle mentions a royal palace at Las Huelgas.

[86] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 7, *Instrumenta*, col. 104: "... in ea ad honorem omnipotentis Dei ac specialiter gloriosissimae semper Virginis matris ejus, (...), pro salute animae nostrae, & animarum clarae memoriae Alfonsi quondam regis Castellae illustris genitoris nostri, & Alienordis reginae uxoris ejus genitricis nostrae, & carissimi domini nostri felicis recordationis Ludovici quondam regis Francorum illustris, ac carissimi filii nostri praedicti, (...), de propriis bonis nostris temporalibus fundavimus, & aedificari fecimus (...). Quam quidem abbatiam, sanctam Mariam regale, (...), deinceps decrevimus nominandam."

[87] For Maubuisson, see Dutilleux and Depoin, *Cartulaire de Maubuisson*, pp. 5–7; Dimier, *Saint Louis*, p. 87; for Las Huelgas, see D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," p. 203.

[88] Rose Walker, "The Poetics of Defeat: Cistercians and Frontier Gothic at the Abbey of Las Huelgas," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe, AZ, 2007), pp. 187–213.

originally buried in the *Capilla de la Asunción*, within the abbey's cemetery. Alfonso and Leonor had pledged their bodies to the convent in 1199 and, after their deaths in 1214, they were buried in a double sarcophagus, perhaps directly in the church.[89] The exact date when the children's tombs were translated to the nuns' choir is a matter of debate. If, as James D'Emilio argues, the event occurred in the early 1230s, it would coincide with the construction of Royaumont.[90]

When Blanche's son Philippe-Dagobert died in 1235 at the age of 13, he was the first person to be buried at Royaumont and given a special place, close to the main altar.[91] Although in the past it has been assumed that originally Louis had intended Royaumont as a burial place for himself, Dimier and Alain Erlande-Brandenburg have suggested that Royaumont was always intended as a burial place for the royal children for whom Saint-Denis was not considered appropriate.[92] Admittedly, as Bruzelius argues, we cannot be certain whether the decision to bury the royal children in the abbey church was taken before 1235 or, indeed, whether the abbey was founded with the future function in mind.[93] It seems possible that for some time there was a lingering ambiguity as to where Louis was going to arrange his burial.[94] All that the sources allow us to conclude is

[89] D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," pp. 210–12, n. 79. For the original position of the tombs see also Eileen Patricia McKiernan González, "Monastery and Monarchy: The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas and Santa María la Real de Sigena," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2005, pp. 217–22.

[90] D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," pp. 213–15, n. 88. See also Karge, "Die königliche Zisterzienserabtei," p. 27; McKiernan Gonzalez, "Monastery and Monarchy," pp. 198, 219.

[91] Dimier, *Saint Louis*, pp. 76–80. For the tomb of Philippe-Dagobert, today at Saint-Denis, see Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140–1270* (Munich, 1970), p. 141; Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *The Art Bulletin*, 56/2 (1974), pp. 224–43, esp. 225–26; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 164–65.

[92] Dimier, *Saint Louis*, p. 77; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 77–78, 93. Blanche had lost several children, among them Philippe, born in 1209 as heir to the throne and died in 1218, who was buried at Notre-Dame. Another son, Etienne died some time after his birth in 1225, and Jean de France died in 1232. For a genealogy, see Le Goff, *Saint-Louis*, p. 779 (where Philippe-Dagobert's death is given as 1233).

[93] Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, pp. 194–196, suggests that Jean de France's burial in 1232 at Poissy, 4 years after the foundation of Royaumont, shows that Royaumont was not intended from the start as a family necropolis. However, one could also argue that Jean was not buried at Royaumont because the church was still under construction. Bruzelius, pp. 189, 201, suggests that the church was complete at the time of the dedication, which she dates to 1236.

[94] In a now classic essay, Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program," argues that, in 1264, the monks of Saint-Denis commissioned the re-installation of the tombs at the abbey (countering earlier arguments that the programme was initiated by Louis IX) in order to draw

that the first burial of one of Blanche's sons coincided with the consecration and probably the completion of the abbey church and that clearly no time was lost in appropriating the church for the commemoration of a royal infant.

Although there was also a loose tradition among Capetian kings and queens for choosing a Cistercian abbey instead of Saint-Denis as a final resting place,[95] the immediate model of Blanche's own parents is more likely to have influenced decisions about Royaumont. In addition, envoys from her sisters Berenguela (1180–1246) and Leonor (d. 1243/44) at the French court would have informed her about the important role Las Huelgas played in the lives of her sisters and nieces, who acted as patrons, played a prominent part in the convent's government, and were buried at the abbey.[96] Considering that Blanche's body was buried at Maubuisson and her heart at Le Lys, it seems that in many ways, the three separate institutions—Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys—together played the role in Blanche's life that Las Huelgas alone was playing in the lives of her parents and sisters.

From her parents, Blanche must have learned the importance of counting the Order amongst her allies, both politically and spiritually.[97] Blanche's benevolence included generous donations and financial aid to various abbeys of the Order.[98] The Cistercians could also rely on the queen and

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attention to the abbey's role as royal necropolis and to dissuade Louis from choosing Royaumont as his burial place. Wright, p. 231, relies on Le Nain de Tillemont's evidence, drawn from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, to establish Louis' close relationship with Royaumont. However, even if the Saint-Denis monks perceived the danger of losing Louis' body, it does not necessarily suggest that Louis had decided to be buried at Royaumont. The Royaumont foundation charter certainly does not mention burial. At this early stage of his life, young Louis might have kept his options open. The sources do not allow us to settle this question.

[95] For example, King Louis VII was buried at the Cistercian house of Barbeaux and his wife, Adela of Champagne, probably at Pontigny. See Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Aspects of Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses," Ph. D. dissertation, University of London, 1976, pp. 191–92, 305.

[96] For envoys from Castile to Blanche and back, Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 258–62. Berger's main source was the "Recepta et expensa anno M. CC. XXXIIII. inter Candelosam et Ascensionem," *RHGF* 21, pp. 226–51. Blanche was visited by Spanish clerks and servants and she received envoys from "la reine de Castile," probably Berenguela, and Leonor (*RHGF* 22, p. 598 d–e). For the role the Castilian princesses played at Las Huelgas see Shadis, "Piety, Politics and Power," pp. 207–10; Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009); D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," pp. 208–09.

[97] For the role of politics in the relationship between the kings of Castile and the Cistercians, see D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas," pp. 193–206.

[98] For Blanche's 1243 loan to Pontigny and other donations, Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 317–19.

her children to attend important ceremonies. On 24 October 1227, Blanche and Louis attended the dedication of the abbey church at Longpont and six years later, on 2 June 1233, that of the new church of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, the convent which sent out the colony of nuns to Maubuisson, perhaps in December 1242.[99] Blanche's participation, together with that of Louis and three of his brothers, in the translation of Edmund of Abingdon's relics at Pontigny in 1247 must have lent prestige to the occasion and would have promoted the recognition of the new saint, the former bishop of Canterbury, whose canonization Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) had granted only the year before.[100] In response to Blanche's attentions to the Order, she could rely on the Church to support her political aims. Thus, Innocent IV confirmed his predecessor's annulment of the marriage between Jeanne of Ponthieu and Henry III (r. 1216–1272) of England, which in 1237 had allowed Blanche to secure the hand of this wealthy bride for her nephew, Fernando III (r. 1217–1252 in Castile, 1230–1252 in Léon).[101]

Blanche constantly sought the intercession of the Cistercians not only for herself, but also for her family, both French and Castilian. When Blanche's sister Leonor, formerly queen of Aragón, died at the Cistercian Convent of Las Huelgas in 1243/1244, Blanche requested of the Cistercian General Chapter that a mass should be celebrated for Leonor throughout the entire Order.[102] And in 1244, when Blanche, accompanied by Louis, his brothers—the counts of Artois and Poitiers—and her daughter Isabelle, had special permission to attend the General Chapter at Cîteaux, she asked for the anniversary of her parents, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Leonor, to be commemorated in the Order.[103]

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[99] Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, pp. 320–21; Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," p. 166; for the date see n. 66.

[100] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richard Luard, Rolls Series, 57 (1872–1883), vol. 4, p. 361; vol. 6, p. 129; Dimier, *Saint Louis*, p. 172.

[101] Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, p. 326.

[102] Joseph-Maria Canivez, *Statuta Capitolorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1934), pp. 260–61: "Petitio domini regis Franciae et reginae matris eius de plenatio servitio per Ordinem universum por regina Arragonensi sorore sua quae nuper opiit, exauditur." See Dimier, *Saint Louis*, p. 83.

[103] For Blanche's request to celebrate her parents' anniversary, Canivez, *Statuta*, p. 276: "Ad nimiam supplicationem dominae Blanchae reginae Franciae conceditur ut anniversarium patris sui Alphonsi regis Castellae, et regina Alienor matris suae, quod privatim fiery consuevit fiat solemniter in convent die consent." For this and the royal family's presence at the General Chapter, Dimier, *Saint Louis*, pp. 85–88.

The Case for Blanche and Louis IX as Collaborators in Religious Patronage

Blanche's family traditions and her own affiliation with the Cistercians might make her a likely protagonist in the foundation of Royaumont. Ultimately, however, it would be a mistake to try to separate Blanche and Louis' patronage at the time of Blanche's regency, even after Louis came of age when, as we have seen, he supported his mother's foundation of Le Lys. The close relationship between Blanche and and her son had its roots in the circumstances surrounding Louis VIII's premature death of dysentery at the age of 39. After Louis VIII had passed away, on 8 November 1226, the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais announced the deathbed decision by Louis to place his son and successor, together with the kingdom and his other sons, under the guardianship (*ballo sive tutela*) of his wife Queen Blanche.[104] Clinging to this fragile hold on power, Blanche successfully defended her son's throne against a coalition of hostile barons. Maintaining much of her influence, at least unofficially, after Louis came of age around 1234, she became regent once more in 1248, after Louis' departure on crusade, and until her death in 1252.

Historians agree not only that Blanche exercised enormous influence over her son, but also that their cooperation was successful, happy, and generally untroubled by tensions. Louis' coming of age was not marked by any official ceremony since, according to Le Goff, Blanche and Louis had established a "coroyauté," a tacit sharing of governance that continued well beyond Louis' twentieth birthday.[105] Louis, the anointed king, acted, as Joinville says, "with the council of his good mother."[106] And clearly, they were allies not only on the political stage but also in the religious realm and in the institutions they patronized. They appeared together at dedications and at the General Chapter at Cîteaux. Louis lent financial support to his mothers' pious donations. When, in March 1239, Louis confirmed the Cistercian Order's exemption from taxes, originally made

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[104] *Layettes*, vol. 2, p. 102, no. 1828: "... rex Francie Ludovicus (...) voluit et disposuit quod filius eius, qui ei in regno succederet, cum ipso regno et pueris ipsius aliis, essent sub ballo sive tutela karissime domine nostre B. (Blanche) regine, genetricis eorum, ...". See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 244–47; Grant, "Representing Dynasty," p. 110.

[105] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 281, 612–13, 780–82, points out, however, that the equality between Louis and Blanche was superficial since only Louis possessed supreme royal power. According to Le Goff, only one time did a real confrontation develop between Blanche and Louis when Louis announced that he was going on crusade. That time, it was Blanche who gave in.

[106] Joinville, *Livres des saintes paroles*, p. 54: "car ce fesoit il par le conseil de bone mere."

by his great-great-grandfather, Louis VI (r. 1108–1137), he associated himself with Royaumont, recalling his position as *fundator*, and with his mother, as whose son he names himself.[107] The itineraries, finally, show that Louis regularly visited not only the chateau at Asnières-sur-Oise and nearby Royaumont, but he also visited Pontoise and nearby Maubuisson.[108] Therefore, we should consider Royaumont (founded by Louis), and Maubuisson (founded by Blanche), like Ly Lys (founded jointly), as collaborative patronage projects that reflect the unusually close political and spiritual aspirations of the queen and her son. But how does the architecture bear out this patronal association?

Architectural Evidence

In my 2000 study of the architecture of Le Lys, I supported Terryl Kinder's conclusion that the abbey churches of Maubuisson and Le Lys must have been so similar in design that they were probably built by the same team of masons.[109] I suggested, furthermore, that their churches were also closely related to the church at Royaumont, despite the latter's greater size and elaboration. In order to evaluate Blanche's patronage, it is necessary to re-examine the architectural relationship of the three churches, especially in connection with Kimpel and Suckale's argument of a triple hierarchy that relates to their function and status. It will be useful to discuss the architecture of Le Lys and Maubuisson first, before comparing it to Royaumont, in order to gain an independent idea of the complexity of their design. In view of the almost complete destruction of the church at Maubuisson, I will start the analysis with Le Lys, the last of the abbey churches to be built and probably completed by 1248.[110]

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[107] "Ludovico rege Franciae, filio dominae Blanchiae, feliciter imperante, et abbatiae Regalis Montis, cisterciensis ordinis, piissimo fundatore," cit. Dimier, *Saint Louis,* p. 59, n. 17.

[108] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 627 with sources.

[109] Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," pp. 183–85; Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches," pp. 237–41.

[110] See note 44. The two abbey churches are also mentioned in: Marcel Aubert, *L'architecture cistercienne en France*. With the collaboration of Aliette De Maillé, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1947), vol. 1, pp. 88, 155, n. 6; vol. 2, pp. 186–88 for comments on the plan of the churches and on the fact that in contrast to other Cistercian convents they possessed side-aisles. Jean Bony, *French Architecture of the 12th & 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 538, mentions Le Lys in n. 38 and gives it a place on his map showing the Rayonnant style, pp. 406–07, fig. 384. Branner, *St. Louis*, pp. 120–21, discusses only the eastern window of Le Lys, the single "progressive" feature. For the dating of the constructions suggested in the captions of the present study, see Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches," pp. 226, 244–45.

Judging from the surviving evidence of the church (Figs. 3, 4),[111] simplicity and elaboration were carefully and successfully counterbalanced in this design. Today, of the abbey church, only the east end and the transept remain standing. The choir consists of two bays with a flat eastern termination flanked by a single eastern transept chapel on each side, and the transept has one large bay on each side of the crossing, opening onto the eastern chapels.[112] Le Lys' most striking feature is the large and complex tracery window that occupies the eastern wall (Fig. 5). It is composed of triple lancets surmounted by three sexfoil oculi and and, at the centre, a small trefoil, perched rather uncomfortably on the tip of the central lancet.[113] Large traceried, double-lancet windows also decorate the north and south wall of the eastern choir bay and the transepts (Fig. 4). Slender vaulting shafts rise up to star-shaped capitals from which spring the attenuated ribs of the now-missing choir vaults (Fig. 7). The elegance and complexity of these features contrasts with the stark severity of plain surfaces. Strips of bare wall flank all the windows. Most strikingly, about a third of the elevation of the western choir bay between the arch at the entrance to the adjacent chapel and the small lancet window above is occupied by plain wall, made necessary by the lean-to roof of the chapel (Fig. 6).

Similar observations can also be made about the nave, which consisted of seven bays, flanked by aisles on each side (Figs. 4, 8). The elevation comprised plain rounded piers supporting the arcades, a triforium consisting of a single arch, and, above, a clerestorey lit by a simple slender lancet in each bay. Among all this simplicity stood out the delicately cusped trefoils that decorated the inside of the triforium arches.

The key to the successful integration of complex architectural elements into the austere elevation is the use of chamfers. That is, wherever two orthogonal planes intersect in the building, the edge is cut away (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). Thus, the jambs of both the traceried and the lancet windows consist of single or double chamfers; chamfered mullions are used for the

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[111] Gronier-Prieur, *L'abbaye Notre-Dame du Lys*, pp. 42–46, 122. Le Lys fell into ruins in the years following the dissolution of the community in 1792. The springing of the arches on the western side of the crossing piers, together with a reconstruction by Edouard Bérard from 1875, help to reconstruct the three-story elevation of the nave. However, the engraving is not entirely reliable: all the *piscinae* in the surviving parts are drawn incorrectly.

[112] The abbey church was perhaps damaged in 1358 and underwent important transformations during the 17th century, traces of which remain visible. Gronier-Prieur, *L'abbaye Notre-Dame du Lys*, pp. 133–34; Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches," pp. 227–28.

[113] A foil is a lobe or leaf-shaped curve formed by the cusping of a circle or an arch. For this and other architectural terminology used here, see John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, 4th ed. (London, 1991).

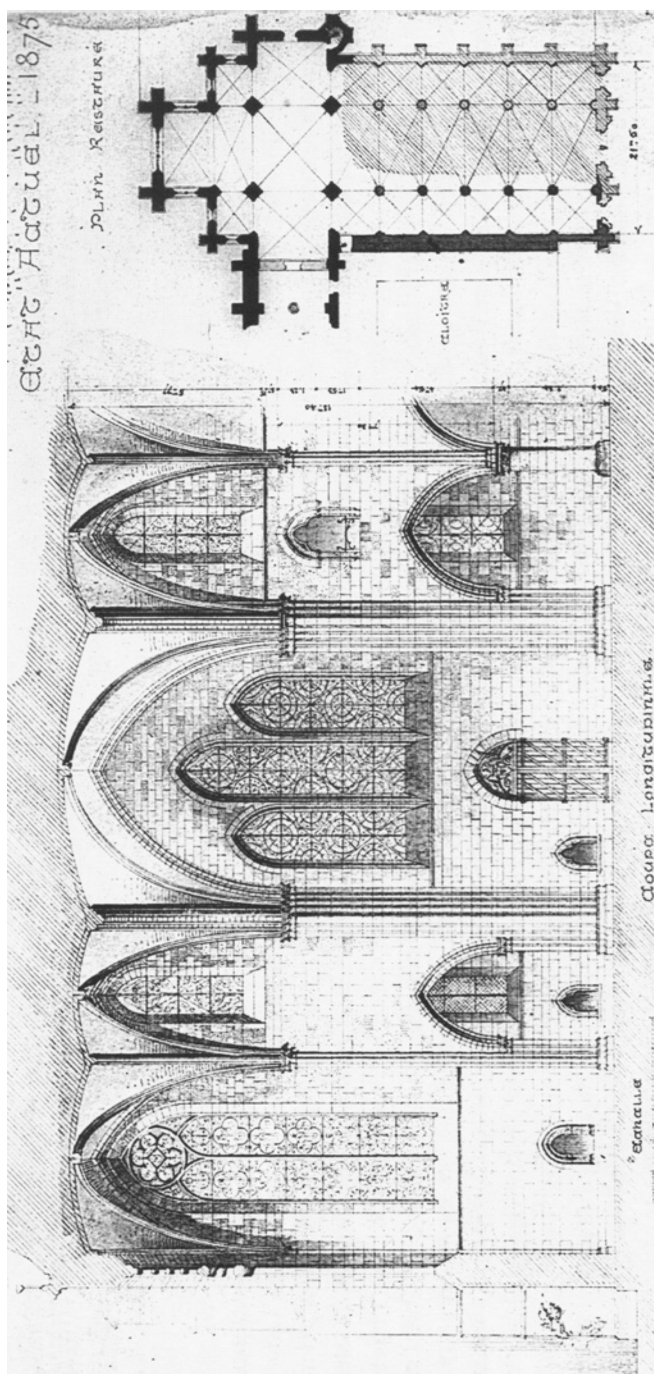

Figure 4 Edouard Bérard, *Ancienne abbaye de Dammarie-les-Lys*, 1876. Detail showing longitudinal section and restored plan (Plan: Charenton-le-Pont, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine.

Figure 5 Le Lys, window of eastern apse, ca. 1248 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

Figure 6 Le Lys, eastern apse and south transept, ca. 1248 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

Figure 7 Le Lys, vaulting shafts in eastern apse, ca. 1248 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

Figure 8 Le Lys, south side of nave, springing of triforium arches, ca. 1248 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

tracery in the windows and in the triforium; and the arches of the triforium are trimmed with chamfered corners.[114] Apart from lending an overall homogeneity to the architecture, the use of chamfers distinguishes Le Lys from most contemporary church architecture, where those surfaces are bedecked with nook shafts and colonnettes, dematerialising the walls that play such an important role at Le Lys.

Maubuisson, built between around 1236 and 1244, seems to have been almost identical to Le Lys, except for its seven-part, polygonal eastern apse compared to Le Lys' square one.[115] Only a few remnants of the church survive: the south-eastern corner of the south transept chapel (Fig. 9), the north wall of the north transept, adjacent to the monastic range, and several bases and drums belonging to arcade columns. Like Le Lys, Maubuisson had a nave of seven bays and a transept with single eastern chapels flanking the choir (Fig. 10). Kinder observes close similarities between Maubuisson and Le Lys in their proportions, the use of columns with polygonal plinths, the cross-section of the crossing piers, the base moulding profiles and the use of single vaulting shafts in the corners of the transepts. For Kinder it is clear that the two abbeys were built by the same hand, or at least by the same atelier.[116] Indeed, at Maubuisson, the single surviving jamb of a lancet window is decorated with the same double chamfer separated by a triangular notch, or V-shaped indentation, that we see at Le Lys (Fig. 9, compare with Fig. 8), strengthening Kinder's case.

Kimpel and Suckale, who consider the use of a square eastern apse instead of a polygonal one as a deliberate reduction intended to set up a hierarchy of forms, argue that the decoration of Le Lys was also scaled down in comparison to Maubuisson. They refer to an illustration by Alfonso Simil that shows a capital from Maubuisson described as "un chapiteau de l'Eglise."[117] This capital has a double row of crockets while a capital partly surviving from Le Lys has only a single row, though in both

114 Jambs are the vertical, lateral faces of arches, doors, and windows. A mullion is the vertical post or upright that divides a window into lights.

115 Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," traces the origin of Maubuisson's plan back to the now completely destroyed Cistercian convent of Saint-Antoine, the abbey that sent out the first colony of nuns to Maubuisson, dedicated on 2 June 1233 in the presence of Louis IX and Blanche. For Saint-Antoine, Berman, "Cistercian Nuns."

116 Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," pp. 183–85.

117 Kimpel and Suckale, *Gothische Architektur*, p. 383, fig. 396. Another capital at Maubuisson, said to come from the church, is now displayed in the eastern range of the conventual buildings. It shows a single row of crockets and a rounded lower abacus with a star-shaped upper abacus. The alleged provenance seems doubtful as the capital is very short for an arcade pier capital.

Figure 9 Maubuisson, south transept chapel, south eastern corner, ca. 1244 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

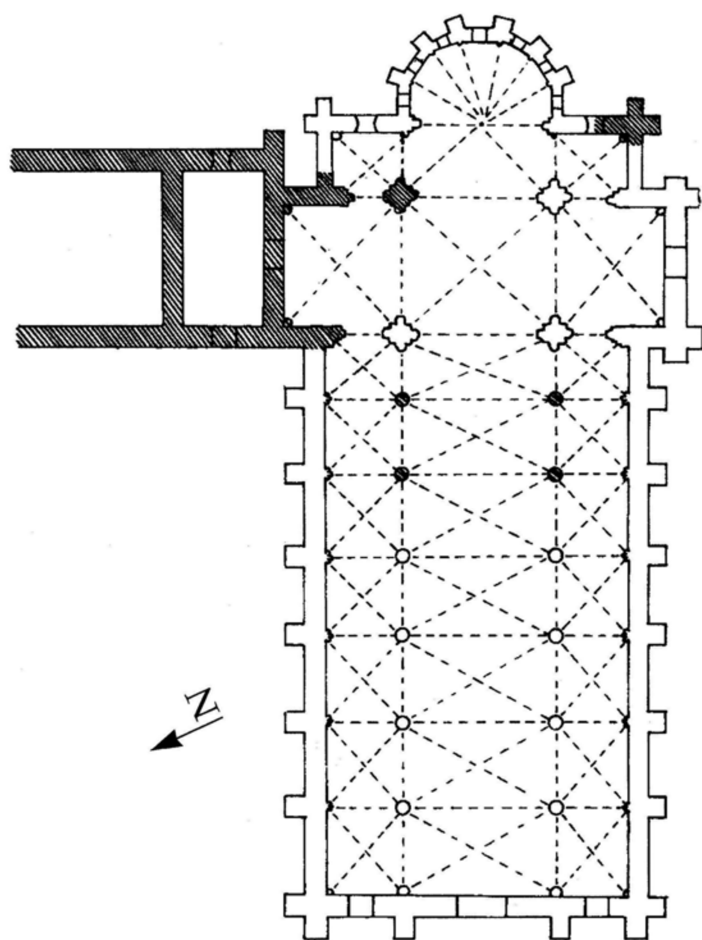

Figure 10 Maubuisson, ground plan (After: T. Kinder, "Blanche of Castile and the Cistercians. An Architectural Re-evaluation of Maubuisson Abbey," *Cîteaux–commentarii cistercienses*, 27 (1976), pp. 161–88).

cases the crockets consist of two tapering ribbed leaves with a small tuft of foliage sprouting at the top. One could add further observations: the interior height at Maubuisson was probably 20m, while Ly Lys measured 17m. At Maubuisson, all the surviving socles from the northern transept are polygonal; at Le Lys, only the transverse arches have polygonal socles.[118] However, the evidence does not all point the same way. At Maubuisson, there were clusters of triple vaulting shafts along the outer aisles while there are five shafts at Le Lys.

Ultimately, the evidence for Le Lys representing a deliberate simplification compared to Maubuisson hinges on the vital comparison between the ground-plan of the eastern apses of the convent churches. However, the case is more ambiguous than a look at the ground-plans might suggest. One could question whether Le Lys' square eastern apse would have been either cheaper in construction or perceived to be a more humble form than Maubuisson's polygonal one, since the vast eastern window at Le Lys would have been an undoubtedly expensive commission; furthermore, it lends an ostentation to this apse that could not have been matched by the necessarily smaller windows of a polygonal apse.[119] One could speculate, therefore, that in the case of the two convents the difference is not an expression of hierarchy but generated by desire for *varietas*.[120]

If, from an architectural point of view, Maubuisson and Le Lys are sister buildings, the male monastery of Royaumont can be considered their elder brother. Undoubtedly, Royaumont was larger and more splendid than the two convents. But despite the evident differences, Royaumont shares their aesthetic quality that marries simplicity of form to sophistication of detail. Most of the church of Royaumont was destroyed after the abbey was sold in 1791.[121] Today, there remains only the north-eastern corner of the northern transept (Fig. 2) and the outer wall of the south nave aisle and the south transept façade, both of which adjoin the northern gallery of the surviving cloister. In contrast to the convents, here the nave consisted of nine bays instead of seven, the transept was flanked by aisles and the eastern apse was surrounded by an ambulatory and a wreath of radiating

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118 For the height of Maubuisson and Le Lys, Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," p. 184.

119 Judging from descriptions of Maubuisson, the small size of the windows in the apse was compensated by the use of a double row of windows. Kinder, "Blanche of Castile," p. 174.

120 On the importance of *varietas* for medieval writers, Mary Carruthers, "*Varietas*: A Word of Many Colours," *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* (Fall, 2009), pp. 33–54.

121 Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, pp. 189–90.

chapels (Fig. 11). Enough survives of the elevation, especially the return on the east side of the north transept, to show that it was more elaborate than Le Lys (Fig. 12). Windows and triforia were flanked by multiple shafts and the north transept façade was decorated with triple windows and a rose above. But despite these obvious differences, the number of similar features is striking (Figs. 4, 12). The main arcade piers at Royaumont were also columnar, and the triforium arches, though more elaborate, were adorned with a trefoil motif that resembles the triforium at Le Lys. In contrast to the simple lancets in the clerestorey of Le Lys, at Royaumont the clerestory windows were probably all filled with tracery, but like Le Lys, they were flanked by strips of bare wall. In both buildings attenuated bundles of shafts, probably resembling the vaulting shafts in the east end of Le Lys, rose from the arcade capitals to the springing of the vaults. Similarities in the detailing link the two buildings even more closely. The lancet windows of the transept façade have an outer order of shafts, but the inner order is decorated with a double chamfer moulding, separated by a triangular notch, just like the windows at Le Lys and the one surviving window jamb at Maubuisson (Figs. 2, 6, 9). The architectural hierarchy between Royaumont on the one hand and Maubuisson and Le Lys on the other is all the more remarkable because, at Le Lys, the same architectural features are employed only to be downscaled, but the buildings' family affinity goes even further and is rooted in the underlying simplicity that affects all the designs.

In part, that simplicity together with other aspects of the construction might signal the importance of Cistercian traditions at the three abbeys. This seems to be particularly true for the ground-plans: Le Lys' square eastern apse and square transept chapels recall the so-called "Bernardine" Cistercian plan, typical of many twelfth-century churches of the Order and still in use in the thirteenth century.[122] Prior to Royaumont, the abbey of Longpont, dedicated 1227, had already introduced a cathedral-type chevet and a three-story elevation to the Order.[123] A preference for areas of undecorated wall space as part of the elevation had also been typical of

122 Untermann, *Forma Ordinis*, pp. 472–507.

123 For Longpont, Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, pp. 19–60; Bruzelius, "L'abbaye de Longpont," *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 148/2 (1990), pp. 431–43. For Cistercian architecture in the Rayonnant period, Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*; Michael T. Davis, "The Choir of the Abbey of Altenberg: Cistercian Simplicity and Aristocratic Iconography," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture, 2* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1984), pp. 130–60.

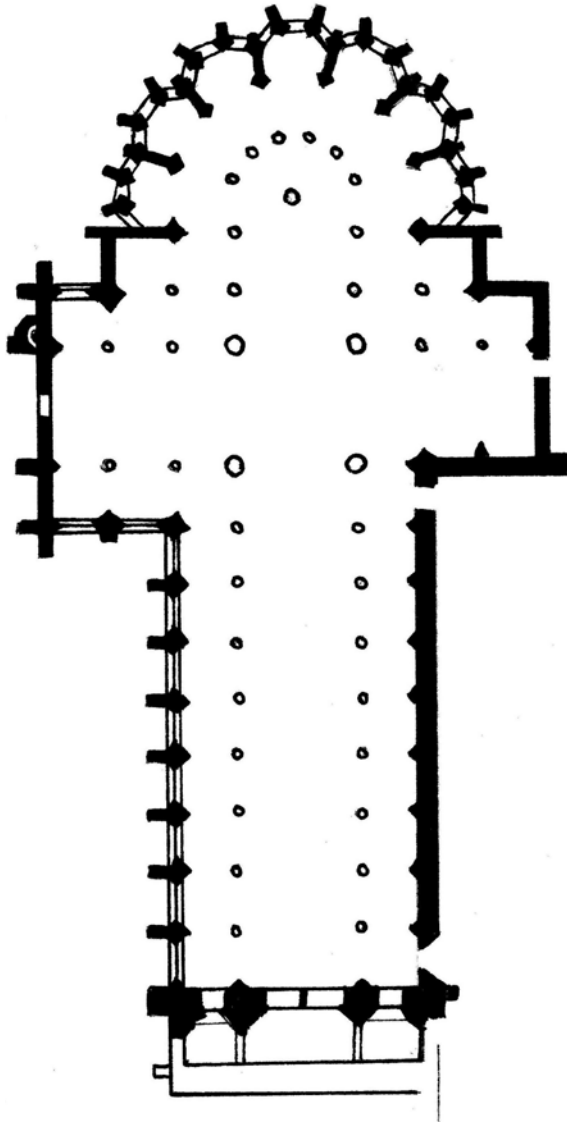

Figure 11 Royaumont, ground plan (After: R. Branner, *Saint-Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1966, p. 34, fig. 4).

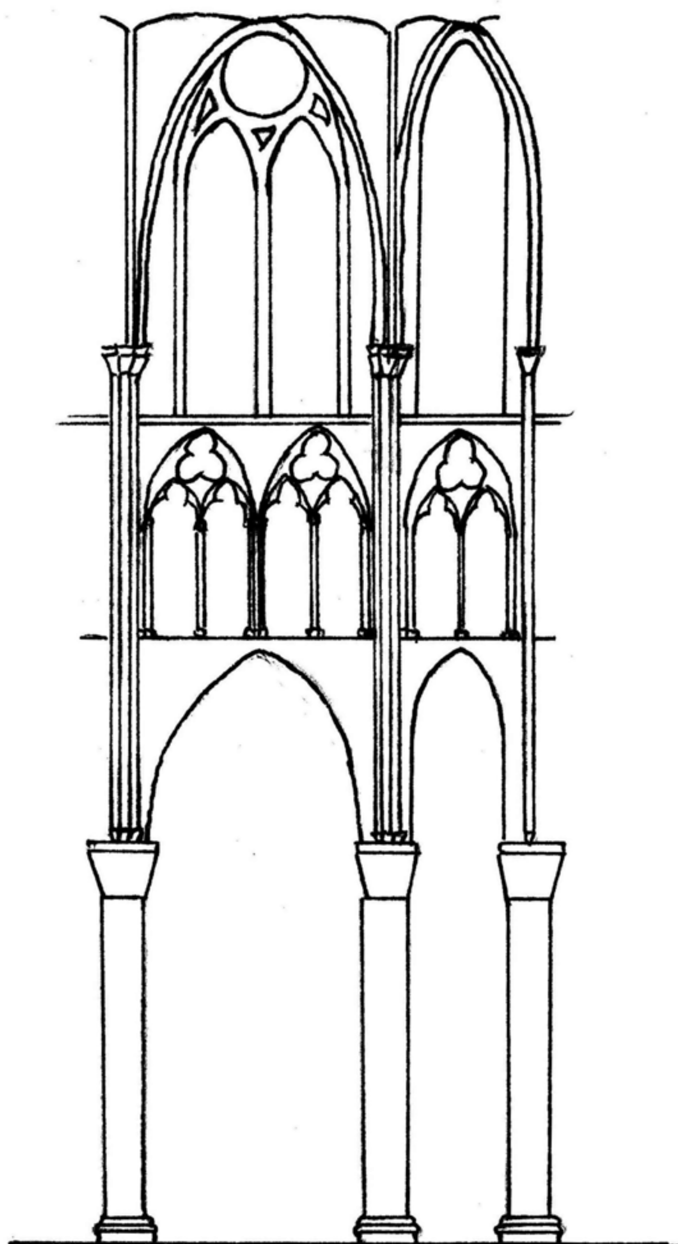

Figure 12 Royaumont, reconstruction of elevation (After: R. Branner, *Saint-Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1966, p. 35, fig. 5).

earlier Cistercian architecture. But the main models for the elevation of the three abbey churches were not Cistercian.

Royaumont's three-story elevation—consisting of columnar piers, two double-lancet openings in each bay of the triforium, and a double-lancet window with an empty oculus in the clerestorey—relates it closely to a group of contemporary churches in and around Paris, including the parish churches of Saint-Séverin and Brie-Comte-Robert (Fig. 13), and the collegiate church of Saint-Quiriace at Provins. Built in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, these churches were taking their cue from the cathedral of Notre-Dame and were largely unaffected by the contemporary reconstructions of Saint-Denis and the cathedral of Troyes in the Rayonnant style.[124]

Moreover, architectural simplicity was also characteristic of a number of contemporary, smaller non-Cistercian churches, many of them situated, like Royaumont, in or near the Oise valley, like Sainte-Maure-et-Sainte-Brigide at Nogent-les-Vierges, a parish and pilgrimage church founded by Louis IX in 1241, and the nave of the parish church of Saint-Léger-et-Sainte-Agnès at Agnetz, from the mid-thirteenth century. Architectural historians have paid considerable attention to these churches. For Jean Bony, they represented the "Simplified Severe Style" and a reaction against the splendour of contemporary Rayonnant architecture.[125] Kimpel and Suckale also suggest that the simplicity of this architecture was provoked by the increasing complexities of the Rayonnant style. Yet, the austerity of these churches should not be taken as an indicator of the workshops' lack of sophistication since in some of their features these buildings show "a knowledge and handling of the most up-to-date formulas."[126] Furthermore, the origins of some of these simplified formulas can be found once again on the building site of Notre-Dame. Here, bare strips of wall have a distinguished pedigree in the clerestorey windows erected in the late twelfth century. Around 1220–1230, these windows were lengthened but not

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[124] This was first noted by Branner, *Saint-Louis*, pp. 33–36. See also Robert Branner, "Paris and the Origin of Rayonnant Gothic," *The Art Bulletin*, 44 (1962), pp. 39–51; Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, pp. 327–28; Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, pp. 212, 216–19; Kimpel and Suckale, *Gotische Architektur*, pp. 340, 349; Alexandra Gajewski, "Le transept et la nef de la collégiale Saint-Quiriace de Provins," *Bulletin Monumental*, 164 (2006), pp. 261–70.

[125] Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, pp. 429–37.

[126] Kimpel and Suckale, *Gotische Architektur*, pp. 452–53 (apropos Agnetz): "Entscheident ist aber, wie hier Kenntnis und Beherrschung (...) modernster Formulierungen genutzt werden..." See also Bruzelius, *Cistercian High Gothic*, pp. 210–12.

Figure 13 Brie-Comte-Robert, Sainte-Etienne, view to east, ca. 1230 (Photo: A. Gajewski).

widened, and as late as the early 1250s the blind tracery motifs of Jean de Chelles' north transept façade and adjacent bay did not occupy the full width of the bay.[127] Royaumont appears to be an integral part of this group of simplified abbey churches and sophisticated parish churches.

At Le Lys and presumably at Maubuisson, Royaumont's elevation was further simplified, but the design of Le Lys also shows an independent knowledge of Royaumont's neighbouring churches in the valley of the Oise. Chamfered mullions, similar to those at Le Lys, are used for the clerestory windows at Saint-Martin-aux-Bois, and they appear as well in the Benedictine priory of Saint-Pierre-Saint-Paul at Villers-Saint-Paul.[128] Moreover, Le Lys' eastern window resembles in its avant-garde nature the western window at Agnetz. As Branner noted, the apparent simplicity of its chamfered mullions conceals a cutting-edge design. The small trefoil impaled on the central lancet anticipates the tracery design in the choir of Old Saint Paul's in London, begun in 1258, and at Saint-Urbain at Troyes after 1262.[129] We have lost the elevation of Maubuisson, but the architectural similarities with Le Lys suggest that Le Lys' relationship with the Oise-valley group was established via Maubuisson. Clearly, in the first half of the thirteenth century, architectural simplicity was not restricted to the Cistercians, and seemingly austere architecture included highly innovative details.

Blanche, Louis, and the Patronage of Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys

As an examination of the documentary and architectural evidence demonstrates, we do not need to set up opposing categories, such as "royal versus Cistercian," "male versus female" in order to understand the architecture of these three abbey churches. Their mixture of simplicity and elaboration was not specific to Cistercian architecture. At the same time, there

[127] Claudine Lautier, "Les remplages aveugles de Jean de Chelles et de Pierre de Montreuil à Notre-Dame de Paris," in *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts: Produktion und Rezeption; Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag = Architecture et sculpture monumentale du 12e au 14e siècle: production et réception; mélanges offerts à Peter Kurmann à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, ed. Stephan Gasser, Christian Freigang (Bern, 2006), pp. 129–41, esp. 136–38; Wilson, "Calling the Tune?" pp. 75–76; Maryse Bideault and Claudine Lautier, *Ile-de-France Gothique—1, Les églises de la vallée de l'Oise et du Beauvaisis* (Paris, 1987), pp. 41–42.

[128] Kimpel and Suckale, *Gotische Architektur*, pp. 407, 526; Bidault and Lautier, *Ile-de-France Gothique*, pp. 395–402.

[129] Branner, Saint Louis, pp. 120–21.

is no suggestion that in plan or elevation they were in contradiction with the Order's attitudes to architecture, especially since Royaumont's cathedral-type chevet and elevation had an important precedent at Longpont.[130] Moreover, the evidence weighs in favour of Blanche and Louis collaborating in their patronage and, therefore, it seems likely that both approved of the design. However, next to the influence exercised by the institution and the patrons, there are a number of intermediaries who might have played a role in the design of the churches. At Maubuisson, the supervisor of the works, Master Richard of Tourny, seems to have enjoyed considerable freedom in between the end-of-term meetings with the queen, and we may assume that this was also the case for the architect—or architects—of the abbeys. The numerous similarities with architecture in the Oise suggest a familiarity with the region, perhaps even an origination there. Nothing opposes the idea that the patrons, Blanche and Louis, plus the institution, the supervisor, and the architect all had their expectations met in a design that answered each of their requirements.

In light of the many architectural similarities between Royaumont and Le Lys (and therefore also Maubuisson), the churches for the nuns of Maubuisson and Le Lys represent what appears to be a deliberate simplification compared to the already relatively simple male monastery. It seems safe to argue that the contrast in size and complexity beween the abbey churches would hardly have been realised without Blanche's or Louis' approval. Since, as we have seen, their status as convents might have suggested a small scale but did not necessarily require pronounced simplicity, there must be a different explanation. We might, therefore, consider the limited financial situation of the queen who financed Maubuisson herself. If we can trust Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, the construction of Maubuisson was not even half as expensive as Royaumont. On the other hand, Blanche went on to found another convent church with Louis' help and, thus, doubled the expenses. Therefore, it is possible that a more modest design was deliberately chosen.

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[130] It is no coincidence that when the abbot of Royaumont was disciplined in 1263, it was on account of the church furniture and decoration, *not* its architecture. Canivez, *Statuta*, vol. 3, p. 11, no. 9: "Item, abbati Regalis montis praecipitur auctoritate Capituli generalis, quod picturas, imagines et sculpturas, cortinas, columnas cum angelis circa maius altare de novo factas, ad humilitatem et simplicitatem antiquam Ordinis redigat, ita tamen quos sepulchris regalibus vel eorum qui de regali genere prodierunt, nullam praeiudicium per praeceptum huiusmodi generator; quod si qdimpletum non fuerit infra mensem, idem abbas cum priore suo a vino abstineat donec praeceptum Capituli effectum debitum sortiatur."

However, the overt simplicity of Maubuisson and Le Lys contrasts with Blanche's wider patronage—her manuscripts and the Chartres glass—which seems to have aimed at magnificence rather than austerity. And indeed, the rituals established in the context of Blanche's death speak of ostentation.[131] The elaborate obsequies that took place after Blanche's demise, on 26 or 27 November 1252 had been well prepared, perhaps thanks to Louis' 1248 grant, allowing Blanche to use two years of her revenues. Already on the 28th a procession took her body in a golden chair to Saint-Denis, and on the following day she was buried at Maubuisson.[132] Contemporary descriptions of her funeral rituals suggest they were the most elaborate since the burial of King Philip 'Augustus' (d. 1223), and it was the only one recorded for a French queen until the fourteenth century.[133] Moreover, as noted above, Blanche was the first among the Capetian kings and queens to have a separate heart burial, a practice previously used in France only for saints. Outside France, the separate burial of the German emperors' hearts had become a tradition since the eleventh century, and in England Richard Lionheart (d. 1199) was the first king to donate his heart to a separate place.[134] At this point, it would not have been surprising if a French king had demanded a heart burial, especially as they were anointed with the holy unction that conferred thaumaturgical powers. As a French queen, however, Blanche had not received that unction. By arranging for herself a burial suitable for a statesman or a saint, Blanche suggested that, if not her person, then the body politic could be as worthy of veneration as those already living with God. Following Ernst Kantorowicz's argument that the burial of a king was an act of state, a means by which the continuity of power could be expressed and assured symbolically, it is possible to understand Blanche's elaborate funeral and the new

[131] Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches;" Shadis, "Blanche of Castile," pp. 137–64.

[132] The funeral ritual is described in the *Chronique de Primat, RHGF* 23, p. 10; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 5, p. 354; *Les Grandes chroniques de France*, pp. 330–31. For the account of the funeral, Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 23–24; Berger, *Blanche de Castille*, p. 415. Parsons, "Never Was a Body," p. 324, n. 19, notes that several English queens were buried weeks or months after their deaths because their tombs were not ready.

[133] Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 18.

[134] In France, heart burials had been arranged for Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1117) and Edmond of Abingdon (d. 1240). In 1246, one year after Edmond's canonisation, his heart was buried at Provins and his body at Pontigny, a ceremony attended by Blanche. The body of Richard Lionheart was interred at Fontevrault and his heart at Rouen cathedral. Blanche was perhaps influenced by her Plantagenet relative. See Elizabeth Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator*, 12 (1981), pp. 221–70; Gajewski-Kennedy, "Recherches", pp. 246–48; Bande, *Le cœur du roi*, pp. 51–104.

ritual of the heart burial at Le Lys as symbolic acts of the kind normally reserved for male rulers. In this way the queen assured the continuity of power, especially in the absence of the crusading king, and surrounded Capetian rulership with an aura of sanctity.[135]

Seen in this light, the comparative simplicity of Maubuisson and Le Lys is unlikely to relate to Blanche's personal modesty. It would appear that Blanche was too aware of her public persona to let herself be guided simply by personal taste. Moreover, the issues involved in the foundation of the convents also go beyond the general question of decorum, and it is clear that Blanche's twin mausolea were not intended to signify a lower status. A central problem with current models of patronage is the tendency to draw straight inferences from the visual evidence about the patron's character or social condition. Such an approach might be appropriate to the study of the magnificent Toledo *Bible Moralisée* (Fig. 1; Color Plate 10). But, in other cases, patronage could be a much more subtle tool. Blanche was, of course, not the first patroness to discover the importance of expressing humility through austere architecture, and she was certainly not the last. In 1223/24, Philip Augustus' widow Ingeborg founded the hospital of Saint-Jean-en-l'Ile at Corbeil, to which she retired in 1225 and where she died in 1236.[136] The nave of the church is not flanked by aisles, and the vaulting shafts spring from corbels on the otherwise undecorated walls. In 1255 Blanche's daughter, Isabelle, founded Longchamp, a convent of Poor Clares, where she lived a famously saintly life.[137] The church has disappeared, but undoubtedly it was a modest building. Blanche differed from her sister-in-law and from her daughter in a number of ways. She was not, like her daughter, born into the Capetian family; rather, she was considered a foreigner, like Ingeborg. But in contrast to Philip Augustus' repudiated wife, Blanche was not only Louis VIII's consort and the mother of the king, she also held an exceptional position of power which attached special meaning to her actions. To cite just one gesture, kissing Elizabeth

[135] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Medieval and Political Theology* (Princeton, 1997; 1st ed. 1957), pp. 409–19. See also Paul Binski, *Medieval Death, Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), pp. 60, 64; thus, in my interpretation Blanche differs from the queens discussed in Parsons, "Never Was a Body."

[136] See Kimpel and Suckale, *Gotische Architektur*, pp. 229–34, who argue that this architectural modesty was typical of King Philip himself and his court. See also Bruzelius, "Review of: Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur*," pp. 190–92. Bruzelius argues that the tendency towards austerity among buildings related to the royal court can already be seen in the chapel of Saint-Frambourg at Senlis.

[137] Sean Linscott Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (South Bend, IN, 2006).

of Thuringia's son on the forehead, where the saint herself would have kissed him, on the occasion of a large feast given in the hall at Saumur in 1241 and in the presence of archbishops, bishops, and nobles,[138] shows that Blanche was aware that humility could be staged in the interest of the image of rulership, and that she was laying the foundations for a French royal cult that was to culminate in the canonisation of her son Louis IX in 1297.

As Queen Blanche's case shows, the patronage of a single historical figure could have many faces. Moreover, because it operated through intermediaries, like clerics, institutions, administrators, and the artist, as the Morgan leaf itself suggests (Fig. 1; Color Plate 10), its effects are necessarily diluted and fused with the interests of the other parties involved in the creative process. While Branner's "court style" first drew our attention to the effects of royal patronage, Kimpel and Suckale's "hierarchy of styles" invited us to refine our methods in order to comprehend patronal motivations. Far from exhausting the subject, however, their models provide a platform for future studies of female patronage that will have to question existing categories and tacitly held assumptions in order understand the multi-faceted ways a medieval woman could exert her powers of patronage.

[138] Joinville, *Livres des saintes paroles*, p. 48. See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 235–36.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FEMALE PIETY AND THE BUILDING AND DECORATING OF CHURCHES, CA. 500–1150

Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg

> My grandmother Judith rests in a church which her daughter had constructed with great effort, out of stone, a rare material in this region.
>
> Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 1013–1018[1]

The formative role of women as "makers"—patrons, builders, and decorators of medieval churches—has not received the kind of attention it deserves. Over the years there has been a basic assumption by scholars that churchmen, kings, male aristocracy, and townsmen were responsible for most of the religious building activity in the Middle Ages. However, a close study of historical works such as chronicles, annals, cartularies, and hagiographic texts—saints' lives and miracles—as well as correspondence, inscriptions, donor portraits, and other sources tells us something quite different: they underscore the major contributions of women of wealth and influence to all aspects of the fabric of medieval churches.

This study explores a variety of sources for the period from ca. 500–1150 which provide special insight into women's roles as primary initiators, sponsors, patrons, builders, and decorators of religious buildings. After a brief discussion of foundation narratives and the difficulties involved in interpreting them, it samples a number of cases of women's patronage as primary agents in the initiation and construction of churches, as well as their involvement in collaborative ventures—shared and paired with their husbands.

The Gendering of Foundation Narratives

Foundation narratives are fascinating and invaluable sources in describing women's active involvement in the founding of churches and monasteries and the construction of religious buildings. In some cases they survive as

[1] *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester and New York, 2001), bk. 2, ch. 42, pp. 122–23.

single works, such as Hrotswitha of Gandersheim's *Primordia*.[2] However, they are frequently embedded in cartularies, chronicles, histories, lists of bishops and abbots, saints' lives, miracles, translations of relics, etc. These rich documents represent an intermingling of human and divine history; they are a combination of "historical," as well as miraculous, or supernatural events. Based in some cases on selective and imaginative memory, and invented traditions, they are first and foremost interpretive sources. Their primary purpose was to identify the institution's founder(s) and associate the monastery or church's origins with prominent and powerful figures of the past and present. They were less concerned with verifiable facts or historical inconsistencies than with providing a prestigious and powerful legacy for their new foundation. As pragmatic documents, they were seen to be especially useful for the institution's future protection and financial security.[3] In her work, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*, Amy Remensnyder has noted in regard to monastic foundation legends that "foundation was a process."[4] It extended over time and space and involved a number of people who were considered founders. As sources they, therefore, allow for a variety of interpretations.

Foundation legends also reflected the clerical mindset of the period and the general tendency to favor/credit males over females as primary initiators, donors, and builders of religious foundations. Medieval writers generally assumed a man would be the initiator of any important project. As noted by Penelope Johnson, "Even if a woman conceived the idea of founding a nunnery, supplied much of the endowment, and carried forward the plans, male monastic writers would be apt to name her husband as central to the process."[5] Based on the theory that married women were not able to act independently or on their own in the alienation of their resources and that they were legally subordinate to their husbands, they did not usually show married women as sole founders of churches and monasteries but rather acting together with their husbands.[6] They are, therefore, frequently

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[2] Thomas Head, "Hrotsvit's *Primordia* and the Historical Traditions of Monastic Communities," in *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Rara Avis in Saxonia*?, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 143–47.

[3] Head, "Hrotsvit's *Primordia*." See also Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca and London, 1995), pp. 1–28.

[4] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p. 20.

[5] Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991), p. 37.

[6] Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, p. 37.

portrayed as pious wives serving in an ancillary role as the source of inspiration (with men noted as acting at the instigation and request of their most Christian wives); these women then used their pious influence to persuade their husbands to build a new church or monastery.[7] Thus viewed through the marriage prism, where women were defined by their husbands, their contributions were frequently downplayed, hidden, denied, or forgotten. Similar assumptions can also be seen in regard to the patronage of mothers and their sons, where the mothers were again relegated to a secondary role. However, by contrast, as widows or as dedicated virgins/nuns/abbesses, they often appear as independent agents who exercised control over their fortunes. They initiated and carried out these projects on their own property and with their own resources.[8]

The pragmatic agenda, the imaginative memory, and the apparent ambiguities and inconsistencies often make it difficult to determine the level of actual involvement of the patrons in these projects. The initial

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[7] For example, the mid-eleventh-century legend of the founding of the monastery of Maillezais notes how Emma, the wife of William IV Fierabras urged her husband to rebuild the ruined church as a monastery, Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p. 45, cit. *Patrologia Latina* [hereafter *PL*] 146: 1250–1252. See also in the present volume Mickey Abel, "Emma of Blois as Arbiter of Peace and the Politics of Patronage." Another example is that of Count Baldwin of Guines (d. 1206), who built the chapel of St. Catherine. According to Lambert of Ardres' history, "at the instigation and request of his most Christian wife, Christine, he built and constructed a chapel in honor of the blessed martyr Catherine at La Montoire." Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia, 2001), ch. 75, p. 110.

[8] In general, it has been argued that widowhood provided the potential for women to have a greater concentration of wealth under their control and they were thus able to exercise a greater freedom over their own fortunes. They, therefore, could determine which projects they wished to support with their own wealth. However, there has been some debate over the extent to which widows' control over independent resources actually provided autonomy of action. Some have also argued that widowhood represented for certain women not a dramatic increase in wealth and power but rather continuity in experience, i.e., a continuation of the active powers and roles that they had exercised in marriage. For others, widowhood placed women in a rather vulnerable state. For example, in regard to patronage, their generosity to the church and their funding of certain building projects, which might have been supported or tolerated by their husbands, were now perceived as unnecessarily extravagant and reckless behavior by their children. There have been a number of recent studies on widowhood in the Middle Ages. See for example, Sue Sheridan Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, 1993); Barbara Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, 2007); Marie-Françoise Alamichel, *Widows in Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2008); Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl, eds., *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999); Leigh Ann Craig, "Gender Outside Marriage: Reconsidering Medieval Widowhood and Virginity," *Journal of Women's History*, 12/4 (Winter, 2001), pp. 205–07; June Hall McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA and London, 1996), pp. 7, 9–10, 13.

impression one gets from the sources frequently needs to be revised or corrected when one further examines the documents within the larger context of other entries and sources. For example, in a number of cases husbands and wives might initially be involved in a collaborative venture in the building of a church or monastery; however, with the husband's death, the widow becomes the primary patron, overseeing the actual building of the new foundation. The foundation narrative would then usually highlight the husband's contribution and downplay—perhaps mentioning only in passing—his wife's primary de facto role in the project.

It should also be noted that, during this early period, many of the foundation narratives for major "public churches," that is, cathedrals and some of the male monasteries, frequently mention mainly male involvement—abbots, bishops, kings, princes—in the building campaigns. Although female patrons are clearly associated with these large-scale projects, recognition of their contributions in patronage often seems to be associated with perhaps a different type of church building than that of their contemporary male patrons. For this early period, many of the female patrons founded and built especially family churches and private chapels for the burial of family members, churches and domestic buildings for female and some male monastic communities, and hostels and hospitals for the indigent. These buildings/foundations perhaps expressed a more private religiosity and piety of some of the female patrons.[9] Moreover, these institutions were frequently short-lived, lasting only a generation or two, and left little in the way of documentation. Also following the destruction of religious houses, especially by the Viking and Saracen invasions, along with the reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries, many of the female monastic communities were taken over by male houses.[10] These foundations, therefore, did not have the advantage of institutional continuity and memory, the transmission of traditions that one finds, for example, associated with the more public buildings such as cathedrals or prosperous, long-lived male monasteries.

Many of the early *vitae* of women saints are frequently rich and important sources for the specific information they reveal about women's build-

[9] For a discussion of the religion of home and family for late antiquity, see the important work by Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

[10] See Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500–1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14/2 (1989), pp. 261–92.

ing activities and the foundation of religious establishments. The *vitae* stress the pious women's high social status and access to extensive wealth. And although acting within the context of the family, they describe the primary role they assumed in these projects. As part of their spiritual dossier within the politics of sanctity, they are praised for building churches and monasteries, and family burial chapels, often noting that the initial plans originated with the women, and that the buildings were constructed on their own lands, where they covered all the costs. Moreover these women are often credited with miraculously discovering hard-to-find timber or stone for their projects. They personally supervised the construction sites—some were even said to participate in the building activities by carrying stones or sand—while others provided food and drink (sometimes involving miracles) for the workers. And through their pious influence and encouragement, the buildings are frequently described as completed in record time.

Women's Primary Agency in Building Projects

In some cases it appears that women's building projects were closely associated with their discovery or donation of a relic to a church or monastic foundation. This in turn required the construction of a new and more impressive building that would be suitable to house the precious relic.

One of the earliest and perhaps best-known examples of this pattern is that of the widowed Empress St. Helena (d. 328/329), mother of the Emperor Constantine. She was said to have built churches in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, and Rome. According to a popular tradition established by the end of the fourth century, while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Empress Helena discovered and identified the True Cross as well as the holy nails used in the crucifixion. She then built a marvelous church over the place where the cross had been discovered and placed several pieces of the True Cross there in silver chests. Helena was also said to have brought a large piece of the cross to Rome where she built a basilica called the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. Here she placed fragments of the cross in a special chapel in a cross-shaped reliquary.[11]

[11] Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 1–6, 55–59, 63–71. See also Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth

Contemporary sources note in some detail Helena's special access to extensive discretionary funds which she then liberally directed to her building campaigns. According to a letter by Paulinus of Nola to his brother, Severus (402–403), the Empress was given a free hand in Jerusalem clearing all of the sites associated with Christ. Helena "applied the money of the treasury to her holy tasks, completely draining the imperial purses. With all the expense and all the veneration which the queen could summon, and which piety urged, she covered and adorned by the construction of basilicas all the places where our Lord and Redeemer had fulfilled for us the saving secrets of His love by the mysteries of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension."[12] Eusebius, in his *Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, also notes Constantine's great filial affection for his mother and that "he had even granted her authority over the imperial treasures, to use and dispense them according to her own will and discretion."[13]

Paulinus of Nola describes the marvelously decorated basilica that the Empress built on the site of the Passion: "The basilica, gleaming with gilded ceilings and rich with golden altars, preserves the cross which is placed in a hidden sanctuary."[14] Eusebius tells us that the Empress, acting "in the splendor of imperial authority" and "as proofs of her holy zeal," beautified the scene of Christ's birth, the sacred cave in Bethlehem "with all possible splendor." She also "raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives." Helena then erected "over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance."[15]

Her depiction as a devout builder of churches and generous founder is repeated in later works. For example, *The Ecclesiastical History* by Theodoret (d. 458) has a chapter on Helena's "zeal in the erection of Holy Church." He writes that after her discovery of the Holy Cross and nails, "she then sent everywhere for workmen and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be erected. It is unnecessary

Centuries," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London and New York, 1997), pp. 52–75.

[12] Paulinus of Nola, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh in *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation* (London, 1967), vol. 3, letter 31, ch. 4, p. 127.

[13] *Eusebius of Caesarea: The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine,* vol. 1 of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Edinburgh, 1886–1900; rprt. Grand Rapids, MI, 1955), on-line digital version, ch. 47.

[14] Paulinus of Nola, letter 31, ch. 6, p. 132.

[15] *Eusebius of Caesarea*, ch. 43.

to describe their beauty and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, hasten thither and behold the magnificence of the buildings."[16]

St. Genovefa/Geneviève of Paris (d. 502) was one of the early Frankish women saints recognized for her building activities. According to her *vita*, Genovefa had a special love and veneration for St. Denis and the village of Catalacus where he and his companions had met their martyrdom and were buried. "Blessed Genovefa's devotion was so fervent that she longed to build a basilica in honor of Saint Denis Bishop and Martyr, but she lacked the means."[17] Here Genovefa is rather unique among the women patrons during this early period in her lack of access to substantial amounts of money for funding their projects. She thus asked the priests of Paris to take up a special collection to build the basilica. Although they saw the "awesome quality of the site," the priests told her that they did not have the means to build the church, not even the facilities for boiling lime which was needed to mix mortar. According to the *vita*, lime kilns were suddenly discovered in the area, having been miraculously provided by God. After spending a night in prayer and weeping, Genovefa begged God for his assistance in building the basilica. At dawn she visited the priest Genesius and pleaded with him that they might build the church in honor of St. Denis. After hearing about the lime, the priest was overcome with awe and promised Genovefa that he would do all that he could to assist her. All of the people of Paris also offered her their help. "The basilica honoring the oft-mentioned martyr was soon built to its very roof-tops."[18] The *vita* also notes a miracle involving Genovefa that occurred during the building of the church. Carpenters who were working on the building gathered in the forest where they felled trees, sawed wood, and hauled it away in wagons. When the workers ran out of drink, Genovefa prayed over the empty vessel and soon her prayers were answered. The vessel was filled to the brim and the hired men drank from it until their work on the basilica was completed. According to the Life, "the miracle the Lord performed through her demonstrates the value of the undertaking."[19]

Many of the early *vitae* describe the major roles assumed by the founder-abbesses in building new convents and churches for their communities.

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[16] Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History Historical Writings*, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, bk. I, ch. 17.

[17] *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, eds. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg (Durham and London, 1992), ch. 8, p. 45.

[18] *Sainted Women*, chs. 16–18, pp. 25–26.

[19] *Sainted Women*, ch. 19, p. 26.

According to the *vita* of St. Rusticula, abbess of Arles (d. ca. 632), "prompted by the Holy Spirit," she decided that she should build

> a larger place of prayer for Christ's virgins. Meanwhile, she constructed temples with fortified walls for the saints. At the beginning, while the foundations of the church were being laid, exulting, the blessed mother brought stones to the workmen *with her own hands*. When that work was done, favored and inspired by the Lord, she built a church in honor of the Holy Cross. Then a building of wondrous magnitude constructed in Heaven was shown to her in a vision and she understood this to mean that the Lord was commanding her to build something similar on earth. Joyfully, she hastened to fulfill her Lord's orders faithfully and constructed a temple of sparkling beauty. Then it occurred to her that the Lord's cross should be moved to this building which was higher and that she should consecrate the one built earlier to the Archangel Michael. She convoked Christ's holy priests and established seven altars there . . . For as the Apostle says, the wise architect laid a foundation, what he built on earth he found afterwards in Heaven. For those whom she venerably worshipped with such love on earth prepared starry mansions for her in Paradise by their appeals.[20]

The Life of St. Gertrude of Nivelles (d. ca. 658) notes, "Likewise, she constructed churches of the saints and other special buildings from the ground up . . ."[21] Also St. Gertrude's sister, St. Begga, built a monastery at Andenne. After making a pilgrimage to Rome, she built seven churches at her new foundation in imitation of the seven churches of Rome.[22] The abbess-saint Sadalberga of Laon (d. 670) was said to have built a large monastery with six churches for her nuns. She also constructed a smaller monastery with its own church for the men attached to her community.[23]

In his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, Aldhelm includes an entry "On a Church of St. Mary Built by Bugga." The work provides many interesting details of a seventh-century monastic church built by a woman. Bugga was the daughter of King Centwine of Wessex (676–685), and it has been suggested she might also have been Aldhelm's sister, Osburg. She served as abbess over a double monastery for some thirty-four years. According to Aldhelm, "Bugga, a humble servant of Christ built (this) new church with its lofty structure, in which holy altars gleam in twelve-fold dedication;

[20] *Sainted Women*, ch. 8, pp. 126–27. Emphasis mine.

[21] *Sainted Women*, ch. 3, p. 225.

[22] *Vita Gertrudis: De virtutibus Sanctae Geretrudis, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hannover, 1888), ch. 10, vol. 2, pp. 464–71, esp. 469; Geneviève Aliette (de Rohan-Chabot), marquise de Maille, *Les Cryptes de Jouarre* (Paris, 1971), p. 41.

[23] *Acta Sanctorum* [hereafter *AASS*], Sept. VI (September 22), p. 527.

moreover, she dedicates the apse to the Virgin."[24] He then notes the usage of this sacred space—the singing of antiphons and psalms reverberating from the twin choirs of monks and nuns. "Let each one of us adorn the new church with his singing, and let each lector—whether male or female—read the lessons from Holy Scripture."[25] Thus we see here the nuns of Bugga's double house participating in the Divine Office by reading lessons from Scripture along with the monks. Aldhelm then describes the interior of the church as infused with light and glistening with golden objects. "The church glows within with gentle light on occasions when the sun shines through the glass windows, diffusing its clear light through the rectangular church." The new church is also filled with many decorations and ornaments: the sacred altar is covered with a golden cloth which "glistens with its twisted threads." Also found on the altar is a golden chalice covered with jewels and a large silver paten which are used for communion. In addition, there is a cross made of gold and decorated with silver and jewels. Hanging above the altar is a thurible (censer) which is embossed on all sides.[26] Michael Lapidge and James Rosier have pointed out that despite Aldhelm's claims that Bugga's church was a lofty structure, in reality the Anglo-Saxon churches of this time were small and simple buildings. It was probably a double-celled, rectangular structure with the eastern cell containing an apse and twelve altars.[27]

The abbess-saint Landrada (seventh century) was said to have been directly involved "*working with her own hands*" in the construction of her own church in Munsterbilzen built in honor of the Virgin Mary. According to the sources, she worked "like a man" in preparing the foundations for her new building. After clearing out the briars, she dug up and transported stones. She also set up the altar of her church.[28]

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[24] *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Woodbridge and Dover, NH, 1985), pp. 47–48.

[25] *Aldhelm*, pp. 48–49.

[26] *Aldhelm*, p. 49.

[27] *Aldhelm*, no. 22, pp. 235–36.

[28] Emphasis mine. *AASS*, Iul. II, (July 8), p. 626. "Virgo Dei gavisa de munere; roborata de consolatione; oblita sexus & aetatis, in quamdam virilitatem accingitur; propriis manibus negotium, quod non potuerat, aggreditur, Vepres & spinas extirpare; humum sarrire; ecclesiam in honore & memoria Dei Genitricis & perpetuae Virginis Mariae conari fundare; propriis manibus lapides effodere & comportare, lineam ducere, fundamenta jacere, & in loco sibi destinatae crucis, non alius, quam ipsa collocavit ipsum, quod adhuc perdurat altare. Adfuit indefeffae laboratrici suae manus Omnipotentis usque ad consummationem perfecti operis."

The *vita* of the seventh-century widow St. Eustadiola (d. ca. 690), founder of the monastery of Moyen-Moutiers of Bourges, praises her work in decorating her convent's church. "From the abundance of her treasure" she embellished the walls of the church with magnificent embroidered wall hangings and covered the altar with expensive cloth fringed with gold. These works of art were made by the abbess and her nuns *with their own hands*. In addition, St. Eustadiola commissioned crosses, candelabra, chalices, and reliquaries for the adornment of her monastery's church.[29]

The *vita* of St. Austreberta of Pavilly (d. ca. 703) notes that her convent at Pavilly was "small and modest but little by little it became great thereafter . . . There God's servant built a wonderful monastery dedicated to Mary, God's mother. She also constructed basilicas to St. Peter, St. Martin, and other saints, housing them as saints should be, with all prepared swiftly and properly."[30]

The ninth-century hagiographer of the sisters Harlindis and Renildis (eighth century) describes the construction of the family monastery at Maaseyck which was initiated by their parents. The building utilized the sand and stone from the banks of the river Meuse. According to tradition, the sisters were said to be closely involved in the project, for early each morning they went out to carry sand and stones for the building. One day, when the father saw his daughters transporting immense stones, he wanted to forbid them from doing this as he feared that they might injure themselves; however, in hagiographic mode, the stones were said miraculously to turn into roses. With the saintly sisters' oversight and participation, the building was said to be completed with amazing rapidity. It was then under the rule of Abbess Ava that the early monastery church, constructed in wood, was replaced by a church in stone.[31] Harlindis and

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[29] *AASS*, Iun. II, (June 8), p. 132, see also *Sainted Women*, ch. 3, p. 108. Emphasis mine. "Nam imprimis domos, quas intra moenia Biturigae civitatis possidebat, in honore S. Mariae semper virginis, vel beatae martyris Eugeniae, Basilicas dedicari fecit; & ex abundantia thesaurorum suorum, ex vasis aureis & argenteis; margaretis electis, gemmarumque variis generibus adornavit ecclesias, faciendo cruces, candelabra, calices & reliqua vasa sacro mysterio congrua; sed & libros ac turres construendo. Vestimenta quoque sacra fecit; & altaria palliis pretiosis [cum coenobio virginum] quae manu propria cum suis puellis opere elegantissimo polivit, cum fresiis aureis, & procinctoriis, ac parietes cortinis ornavit. Sed & monasterium atque coenobium dignum aedificavit sibi suisque puellis."

[30] *Sainted Women*, ch. 13, pp. 313–14.

[31] *AASS*, Mar. III, (March 22), p. 385. "Ad cuius operis fabricam citius finiendam atque complendam beatissimae Virgines Harlinda atque Reinila singulis diebus cum certis ancillis mane exeuntes, & usque ad Mosam properantes, inde sabulum ac petras propriis ulnis usque ad monasterium vehebant. His auditis studiosa vicinarum turba gaudens accurrit." Ch. 8, p. 387.

Renildis were also involved in other artistic work. They were said to be highly skilled in spinning, weaving, designing, and embroidering interlace in gold and flowers in silk. For their convent at Maaseyck they wove with their own hands short curtains that were used for the altar. These hangings were "splendidly embroidered with a variety of designs" and depicted God and his saints ornamented with gold and jewels.[32]

The *vita* of St. Edith of Wilton (d. 984), written by Goscelin of St. Bertin, is especially fascinating in its detailed description of the saint's building and artistic activities. According to her saint's Life:

> For a long time Edith, herself the temple of God, had been eagerly planning for a church dedicated to her beloved patron Denis. She constructed it of wooden material, but fashioned it in the form of an elaborate and beautiful temple. She made it broad with a triple side-chapel in the form of a cross, strengthened the foundations with stone and upon these erected posts and walls, covered them all with horsehide, and covered over the whole regal building with wooden vaulting. She had the whole church, arcades as well as walls, decorated with paintings using the full range of colours by the hand of the most learned Benno, the reminders of the Lord's Passion; as she had fashioned them in her heart, he brought forth the pictures. It was his desire to discover, like a bee, the thoughts of the flower-bearing virgin.[33]

We then learn that Edith was also directly involved in all aspects of the building activity:

> She herself, in her purple sleeves, carried stones, was present beside the workmen, lightened their labour with food and cheerfulness, and urged them on with rewards rather than speeches. This house of her own laying to rest was completed: after so many years, through so many storms, unmoved by so many perils of fire, it is still so beautifully painted throughout the whole interior that it is more striking when seen than in any description.[34]

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[32] *AASS*, Mar. III, (March 22), p. 385. See also Mildred Budny and Dominic Tweddle, "The Maaseik Embroideries," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), pp. 65–96. "Simili etiam modo in vniversi operis arte, quod manibus faeminarum diversis modis ac varia compositione fieri solet, honestisssime furerant instructae, videlicet nendo & texendo, creando ac suendo, in auro quoque ac margaritis in serico componendis, miris in modis extiterant perfectae opifices." *AASS*, Mar. III (March 22), ch. 5, p. 387 "Unde accidit, ut & quaedam palliola, quae propriis minibus contexuerant, & quae multis modis variisque compositionibus diversae artis innumerabilibus ornamentis, Deum Sanctosque eius decentibus, ex auro ac margaritis ornata, composuerant Sanctae, illo in loco post se relinquerent." Ch. 12, p. 388.

[33] Michael Wright and Kathleen Loncar, "The Vita of Edith," in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius*, eds. Stephanie Hollis et al. (Turnhout, 2004), bk. 7, ch. 20, p. 53.

[34] Wright and Loncar, "The Vita of Edith," bk. 7, p. 53.

In building this church, Edith thus created her own sacred space where, according to her *vita*, she brought together everything necessary for communion every day in the golden chapel and offered the sacred bread on its altar.

In addition to building and decorating the church at Wilton, St. Edith was also an artist in her own right. Her hands were described "as elegant as they were accomplished in painting and in writing as scribe or as author; the fingers of a goldsmith or jeweler or citharist… These hands were dedicated only to the adornment of the supreme spouse; they gave attendance to the hall and table of the Lord, the altar and the high officials of the Church." Christ was "her theme in writing, ornament, painting… in her mind in weaving… making baskets."[35] She was also an accomplished embroiderer. According to Goscelin "she embroidered with flowers the pontifical vestments of Christ with all her skill and capacity to make splendid."[36] She also embroidered for herself an alb of white cotton

> very striking with its gold, gems, pearls, and little English pearls, woven around the yoke in keeping with her golden faith and gem-like sincerity; around the feet, the golden images of the Apostles surrounding the Lord, the Lord sitting in the midst, and Edith prostrated herself in the place of Mary the supplicant, kissing the Lord's footprints. Her virginal hands worked this valuable piece with such mystical faith that it should give pleasure for its holiness as much as for its rich embellishment.[37]

This work was preserved as one of the saint's relics at Winchester. The theme of the artwork in her chapel and in her audacious self-inscription in her embroidery—where Edith herself takes the place of Mary Magdalene with Christ and the Apostles—underscores the patron's independence and interpretive freedom in determining the iconography without the interference of a male spiritual advisor.[38]

Another brief mention of the decoration of a monastic church can be found in Thietmar's *Chronicon* where he reports that Hathui (1014), niece of Queen Matilda and abbess of Gernrode "adorned the church committed to her with all manner of decoration."[39]

We are especially well-informed of another important female patron and builder, the queen and saint, Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093). In the

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35 Wright and Loncar, "The Vita of Edith," bk. 8, p. 55.
36 Wright and Loncar, "The Vita of Edith," bk. 8, p. 55.
37 Wright and Loncar, "The Vita of Edith," bk. 4, ch. 16, p. 48.
38 Stephanie Hollis, "Introduction," in *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 10–11.
39 *Ottonian Germany*, bk. 7, ch. 3, p. 309.

contemporary life written by Turgot, the queen "erected an eternal monument to her name and religiousness" in Dunfermline.

> She built a noble church there in honour of the holy Trinity, with threefold purpose of salvation; that is to say, for the redemption of the king's soul and of her own, and in order to obtain for her children prosperity in this life and the life to come. This church she decorated with various kinds of adornments; among them are known to have been several vessels of pure and solid gold, for the sacred ministry of the altar . . . She placed there also a cross of incomparable value, bearing the Saviour's image; she had had it all overlaid with purest gold and silver, with jewels set here and there between: even to-day it proves clearly to beholders the devoutness of her faith.[40]

Turgot continues his description of her pious work:

> Similarly also she has left signs of her faith and holy devotion in all other churches; for instance, the church of St. Andrew, as may be seen to-day, preserves a most elegant image of a crucifix, which she herself erected there. Her chamber was never empty of these things (that is, of the things that pertained to the adornment of divine service); it seemed to be a kind of workshop, so to speak, of celestial art. There were always seen copes for the cantors, chasubles, stoles, altar-cloths, and other priestly vestments, and decorations for the church. Some were being prepared by the artist's hand; others, finished, were kept as being worthy of admiration.[41]

This catalogue presents merely a sampling of women from this early period recognized for their primary roles as builders and decorators of churches and monasteries.

One of the patterns that emerges from this survey is the portrayal of the direct or active involvement of these holy women in their building projects, acting as enthusiastic, "hands-on" patrons, makers, or artists. The hagiographers seem to want to make it clear that their involvement was not passive but was rather frequently accomplished "with their own hands." Some might see this designation as a mere trope or a hagiographic topos. Conversely, it might be viewed as a reflection of these women's actual participation in these activities. For example, in looking at early medieval embroideries, a number of saints are said to have made various ecclesiastical weavings or embroideries "with their own hands."[42] Although carried

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[40] Turgot, *Life of Queen Margaret* in *Early Sources of Scottish History: A.D. 500 to 1286*, trans. Alan Orr Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922), ch. 4, pp. 64–65.

[41] Turgot, *Life of Queen Margaret*, ch. 4, p. 65.

[42] See Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Holy Women and the Needle Arts: Piety, Devotion, and Stitching the Sacred, ca. 500–1150," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*,

out by noble or royal women, these activities were viewed as appropriate work for females and thus praiseworthy for these women seeking a holy life.[43] It seems highly likely that they were actually involved in this type of work.

However, descriptions of the direct involvement of noble and royal women in building projects—including the alleged transporting of stones and sand—might perhaps appear as incongruent, extravagant behavior and less credible. Goscelin's description of St. Edith's building activities, for example, portrays the saint's nobility—"she herself in her purple sleeves"—along with her assistance in carrying stones for her new chapel. In the hagiographic tradition, this pious activity might be seen as providing evidence of the saint's humility and willingness to participate in work typically carried out by servants. Perhaps more importantly, it might be seen as portraying the holy woman's heroic disposition—her virile strength –here applied to the building of a church or monastery. In this tradition the *vita* of St. Landrada notes, for example, that she worked "like a man" in preparing the foundations for her convent's church.[44] As we have seen, many of these female patrons were described as highly interested and involved in their building projects. They were closely tied to the construction sites and oversaw the day-to-day progress of the work. It is possible that in this role some also participated in various aspects of the building activities, including, in perhaps a limited capacity or in a symbolic way, the carrying of stones. This enthusiastic support and "hands-on" approach would have provided encouragement for the project, set an example for the workers, and perhaps, in some cases, worked to hasten the completion of the building.

eds. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells (Leiden, 2009), pp. 83–110: see among others, Etheldreda, p. 90; Herlinda and Renilda, p. 91, Richlin, p. 93, Edith of Wilton, p. 94, Christina of Markyate, p. 100.

[43] Many other examples can be found in various female saints' Lives. The *vita* of St. Radegund by Fortunatus notes: "With what piety did she care solicitously for the candles made *with her own hands* that burned all night long in oratories and holy places? . . . She washed the heads of men, acting like a servant. And before she washed them, she would mix a potion *with her own hands* to revive those who were weak from sweating . . . She administered food to pilgrims from her own table and washed and cleansed the feet of the sick *with her own hands*." "The Life of the Holy Radegund" by Venantius Fortunatus in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, bk. 1, ch. 7, p. 73; bk. 1, ch. 4, p. 72; bk. 2, ch 8, pp. 90–91.

[44] *AASS*, Iul. II (July 8), p. 626.

Husbands and Wives as Patrons and Builders of Churches

Other sources mention the independent yet parallel involvement of husbands and wives in the construction of churches. In his *History of the Franks*, Gregory of Tours provides an especially interesting case regarding bishop Namatius of Clermont-Ferrand (d. ca. 462) and his wife (unnamed). He offers some detail on the bishop's church which was built within the city walls. For example, he describes its design, impressive size, mosaic decoration, etc.[45] He then continues:

> The wife of Namatius built the Church of St. Stephen in the suburb outside the walls of Clermont-Ferrand. She wanted it to be decorated with coloured frescoes. She used to hold in her lap a book from which she would read stories of events which happened long ago, and tell the workmen what she wanted painted on the walls.[46]

We can perhaps see here the contrast in buildings—with the bishop's grandiose cathedral situated within the city walls, richly decorated with many varieties of marble—while his wife's foundation was outside the walls, a smaller, less expensive building with wall paintings that served as a *memoria*. The bishop's wife, however, was physically present during the building campaign: she was directly involved in overseeing the project, keeping her eye on the artists as she dictated the iconography of the wall paintings based on stories from her book. The church was then used as a burial place for her husband and also perhaps for the bishop's wife.

According to the Carolingian *vita* of St. Clotilda (d. ca. 544), the queen said to Clovis after his conversion:

> If you wish, lord king, to expand your kingdom on earth and to reign with Christ in his celestial kingdom, build in this place a church in honor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, that with his help you will succeed in subjugating the Arian peoples to yourself and with him as your leader return victorious. The queen's counsel pleased the king. Then the king went forth with a mighty army. *The queen remained at Paris and built the church of the Holy Apostles.*[47] ... The king returned victorious and built a monastery for monks and was buried in the Basilica of St. Peter the Apostle which he and his queen had built.[48]

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[45] Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1974), bk. 2, ch. 16, p. 131.

[46] Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, bk. 2, ch. 17, pp. 131–32.

[47] *Sainted Women*, ch. 8, p. 45.

[48] *Sainted Women*, ch. 8, pp. 45–46.

More detail about this cooperative venture in the foundation process can be found in the Life of St. Genovefa:

> In honor of her [Genovefa's] merits, he [Clovis] began the construction of a basilica which was finished with a lofty roof by his most excellent Queen Clotilda after his death. A triple portico adjoins the church, with pictures of Patriarchs and Prophets, Martyrs and Confessors to the faith in ancient times drawn from pages of history books.[49]

Gregory of Tours notes in his *History of the Franks* that Clovis and his queen Clotilda built the Basilica of the Holy Apostles. He also states that Clotilda was buried in Paris in St. Peter's church at the side of her husband, Clovis: "She herself had this church built."[50] Clotilda oversaw the main project—the construction was her design, as well as the plan of decoration and the organization of the altars and tombs. This church was used as a family mausoleum and Clovis, Clotilda, and other family members were buried there. In addition to the Basilica of the Holy Apostles we learn that Clotilda built churches and monasteries in Tours, Rouen, Laon, Reims, and Chelles.[51] In overseeing the building of the monastery in Tours, she brought drink to her builders and was said to miraculously change water into wine,[52] in a miracle similar to the story told about St. Genovefa.

The empress-saint Cunegunda/Cunegundis/Kunegunde (d. ca. 1033–40) was also remembered for her major building activities. Married to the German emperor-saint, Henry II (d. 1024), together this pious and later canonized couple was very generous and active in their patronage of the Church. They built a number of churches, monasteries, and charitable foundations. Cunegundis and Henry also gave important manuscripts, precious objects including vestments, said to have been made by the empress herself, to their various churches and monasteries.[53] Her advice was sought by the emperor, and she appears in many of the charters of the period concerning ecclesiastical matters. In 1007 Cunegundis used her

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[49] *Sainted Women*, ch. 55, p. 36.

[50] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, bk. 4, ch. 1, p. 197.

[51] *Sainted Women*, ch. 13, pp. 48–49.

[52] *Sainted Women*, ch. 12, p. 48.

[53] *AASS*, Mar. I (March 3), pp. 273–74. Cunegundis was said to have embroidered a sumptuous mantle for her husband. It was believed to have been made for the emperor to wear at the dedication of Bamberg Cathedral. Shortly after Henry's death, Cunegundis presented it as a gift to the cathedral where it remains today. See also C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (New Haven, 1993), p. 28, and Schulenburg, "Holy Women and the Needle Arts," pp. 96–97.

dowry to establish the diocese of Bamberg. She and her husband then built the early cathedral there. It was consecrated in 1020, and Henry died four years later.[54] During this same period Cunegundis also constructed a monastery for nuns at Kaufungen, in the diocese of Paderborn. Built with her own revenues and dedicated to Christ and the Holy Cross, it was founded in gratitude for her recovery from a life-threatening illness. After the dedication of her convent church in 1026, she offered at the altar a relic of the True Cross. She then divested herself of her royal robes and took the veil, becoming a Benedictine nun.[55] Cunegundis lived as a nun at Kaufungen until her death. She decorated the convent and provided it with all of its necessary ornaments and furnishings, including stoles, chasubles, hangings, coverings, and copes embroidered with gold and precious gems.[56] In the convent she worked with the other nuns in decorating many vestments, especially stoles and belts. Despite her great love for her convent, she was buried in Bamberg Cathedral next to her husband. Cunegundis was then especially remembered in the history and artwork of the following centuries for her major role in founding and building the Cathedral of Bamberg.[57]

In her important study, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*, Therese Martin discusses another very interesting example of a partnership in patronage, that of Queen Sancha (d. 1067) and King Fernando I (d. 1065) of León-Castile. Together they built

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[54] *AASS*, Mar. I (March 3), ch. 3, p. 274.

[55] *AASS*, Mar. I (March 3), chs. 7, 9, p. 275.

[56] *AASS*, Mar. I (March 3), pp. 273–75, esp. 273. "Item monasterium in honore Salvatoris, & eius victoriosissimae crucis, in loco, qui Confugia dicitur, magnifice construxit. . .idem monasterium omni ornatu decoravit. Ante principale altare iconam ex auro & lapide pretiosissimo statuit; calices aureos & argenteos, catinos, urceos, pallas, casulas, vela, cortinas, cappas auro & gemmis pretiosis intextas, & cetera utensilia, sive vasa ministerii tanto studio & tam suptuosis impensis eidem ecclesiae contulit, ut, quicum que ea intuentur, regiam munificentiam & miram utriusque. Imperatoris videlicet ac Imperatricis, in Deum devotionem magnopere mirari non cessent."

[57] A number of late medieval art works celebrate Cunegundis and Henry's role as builders of Bamberg Cathedral. For example, manuscripts and sculptures show Cunegundis and Henry together holding between them a model of the cathedral. In a few images each is shown holding up half of Bamberg Cathedral. When depicted alone, Cunegundis is portrayed as the founder of Kaufungen Monastery and is shown holding her monastic church. On their great tomb in Bamberg—designed and executed by Hans Thielmann, ca. 1500–are a number of bas reliefs with scenes taken from the Life of St. Cunegundis. One depicts the empress' direct involvement in the building of the cathedral: she is shown with a money bowl paying the architects and masons who built the cathedral.

a new royal chapel ca. 1055 in León.[58] It was constructed on the site of the royal palace, which was located within the precincts of the double monastery of St. Pelagius and St. John the Baptist. Queen Sancha ruled over the royal double monastery as titular or secular abbess (*domina*)—a position which provided her with substantial lands and income in the form of the *infantazgo*.[59] The *Historia Silense*, written in the early twelfth century, describes Queen Sancha's formative role as patron in the building of this palatine chapel:

> In the meantime, Queen Sancha, seeking an audience with the Lord King [Fernando I], persuaded him to build a church in the cemetery of the kings of León, where also their bodies could be interred reasonably and magnificently. For King Fernando had decreed that his body would be buried now in Oña, the place which had always been beloved by him, now in the church of San Pedro in Arlanza, but because her father, Prince Alfonso [V], of worthy memory, and her brother Vermudo [III], most serene king, rested in Christ in the royal cemetery in León, Queen Sancha worked with all her might so that she and her husband would also rest with them after death. The king acceding, then, to the petition of his most faithful wife, sent stone workers to work assiduously on such a worthy labor.[60]

Her impact on the building of the chapel can also be found on the dedicatory inscription which was originally placed over the west entrance: FERDINANDUS REX ET SANCIA REGINA AEDIFICAVERUNT LAPIDEAM. Thus while the original less-impressive church had been made of "mud and brick," the new construction was built of finely cut ashlar blocks. As Martin has argued, this distinctive style can then be traced back to the

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[58] Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006), p. 31.

[59] Martin, *Queen as King.* The *infantazgo* was the Leonese inheritance which daughters of the royal family received as part of the royal foundation.

[60] Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Rúiz-Zorilla, eds., *Historia Silense* (Burgos, 1959), pp. 197–98. "Interea, domini regis coloquium Sancia regina petens, ei in sepulturam regum ecclesiam fieri Legione persuadet, vby et eorundem corpora iuste magnificeque humari debeant. Decreuerat namque Fernandus rex, uel Omnie, quem locum carum semper habebat, siue in ecclesia beati Petri de Aslanza, corpus suum sepulture tradere; porro Sancia regina, quoniam in Legionenssy regum ciminterio pater suus digne memorie Adefonsus princeps et eius frater Veremudus serenissimus rex in Christo quiescebant, vt quoque et ipsa et eiusdem vir cum eis post mortem quiescerent, pro uiribus laborabat. Rex igitur peticioni fidissime coniugis annuens, deputantur cementarii, qui assidue operam dent tam dignissimo labori." Trans. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 9–64.

tradition of Sancha's Asturian lands, as it had been favored by the queen's ancestors and was unique at this time for León.[61]

In addition to building the new chapel, the couple supplied it with holy relics and property in 1063.[62] Here again Sancha took the lead. They also furnished their church with many precious liturgical gifts including: "three gold and three silver altar frontals, gold and ivory crosses, gold and silver incense burners, reliquaries of ivory with gold and silver, and a chalice and paten made of gold, precious stones and enamel."[63] They provided precious textiles to be used in their new church which included altar cloths and liturgical robes for the clergy.[64] Moreover, they commissioned an ivory-decorated reliquary to hold the bones of their patron saints, Pelagius and John the Baptist, as well as a large silver-gilt reliquary for St. Isidore.[65] The iconography found on this later reliquary included separate scenes of the king and queen in their role as primary patrons.[66] In addition, Sancha and Fernando presented their church with three crowns as votive offerings to be suspended above the altar.[67]

The various sources involved with the building of the palatine chapel all underscore Sancha's primary role in initiating the project, and her decisive impact on the building, decorating, and furnishing of the chapel with precious artworks.[68] And her choice of location for the chapel—in the cemetery of the kings of León—was also related to her concern with securing a proper place of burial, near that of her father and brother, for herself and her husband.

The Life of King Edward the Confessor describes in some detail the king's building of the impressive Westminster Abbey as a place of his burial. However, we learn that Edward and his queen, Edith of Wessex (d. 1075), competed with one another in their pious building activities, including the

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[61] Martin, *Queen as King*, pp. 45–49.

[62] Martin, *Queen as King*, pp. 50–52. For their donation of 1063 (Archivo de San Isidoro de León 125), see María Encarnación Martín López, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León: Documentos de los siglos X–XIII* (León, 1995), pp. 26–29.

[63] Martin, *Queen as King*, p. 52.

[64] Martin, *Queen as King*, p. 56.

[65] See in the present volume Therese Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History," figs. 8 and 9, color plate 2.

[66] Martin, *Queen as King*, p. 55.

[67] Martin, *Queen as King*, p. 56.

[68] Susan Havens Caldwell, "Queen Sancha's 'Persuasion:' A Regenerated León Symbolized in San Isidoro's Pantheon and its Treasures," *Global Publications, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Binghamton, 2000, pp. 1–48.

construction of their special churches. The author relates: "But so that the king should not labour alone, the queen, his worthy spouse, was drawn to emulate that project of his, so pleasing to God. She instantly imitated the king's love with her own and demonstrated her own heart's devotion for the holy church in the place of her up-bringing." Thus at Wilton she found an ancient church made of wood which she wanted to rebuild in stone. According to the author:

> no where did she believe alms better bestowed than where the weaker sex, less skilled in building, more deeply felt the pinch of poverty, and was less able by its own efforts to drive it away. Benignly she planned this herself... and began here royally to build a monastery in stone. Impetuously she urged the workmen to make haste. Thus here the king and there the queen strove in a contest which was pleasing to God and not disagreeable to them. But the prudent queen's building, because it was more modestly planned, was completed more quickly. No delays she wove for this undertaking; and when a few years had slipped by it was finished nobly with all things necessary to and becoming such a work and also royal honour and glory.[69]

Here we see Queen Edith as the winner in this royal competition! As her project was more modest, on a lesser scale than that of the king, she was able to complete her church at Wilton much more quickly than the king.

Orderic Vitalis in his *Ecclesiastical History* describes the team effort of Godiva (d. ca. 1080) and her husband, Count Leofric in the building of the monastery at Coventry.

> Earl Aelfgar (Leofric) built a monastery at Coventry, and endowed it lavishly with revenues for the maintenance of the monks established there. And Godiva, his pious countess, lavished all her treasure upon the church: sending for goldsmiths, she gave them her whole store of gold and silver to work into covers for gospel books, crosses, images of the saints, and other marvelously wrought ecclesiastical ornaments.[70]

However, in describing the foundation process, other sources provide somewhat contradictory remembrances of the relative importance of the roles assumed by husbands and wives in these ventures. An interesting and rather famous example can be noted in the account of the building of the monastery of Gandersheim. *The Primordia*, written by Hrotswitha

[69] *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster, Attributed to a Monk of St. Bertin,* ed. Frank Barlow (London and Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 46–47.

[70] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), bk. 4, p. 217.

of Gandersheim (973–983) describes the ninth-century events surrounding the origins of the monastery.[71] Her pragmatic agenda can be seen at the beginning of her work where she showers enthusiastic praise on the noble lineage of the Liudolfing line with an emphasis on the male members' founding roles:

> Behold, the deep devotion of my humble mind
> Is eager to sing and tell of the founding
> Of our great cloister, the Gandersheim Abbey,
> Built with no small efforts, and care by Saxon dukes,
> Mighty leaders by right: Liudulf the great lord
> And also his son Oddo who completed the task.[72]

However, in the body of the *Primordia*, other details are provided which further clarify the process and the importance of the female line for the monastery. We learn that the founders were Oda and her husband, Duke Liudulf of Saxony. The project was initiated by Oda's mother, Aeda, who had a vision in which St. John the Baptist told her that her famed descendants would build a convent for women. Oda and Liudulf then traveled to Rome where Pope Sergius II gave them the precious relics of SS. Anastasius and Innocent, and blessings for their new foundation. On their return their daughter Hathumoda was made abbess and began building the church and monastery in 856. When Liudolf died prematurely in 866, Oda continued on in her custodial role as the major patron of Gandersheim until her death at the advanced age of 107 or 109.[73] We learn that the abbess Hathumoda wanted to construct an impressive church of stone rather than wood for her community. Unfortunately, due to a shortage of stone in the area, the building project had to be halted. Hathumoda and her nuns prayed that "the building which had been started should not remain unfinished." She was led by a vision of a dove to a stone quarry. Taking with her skilled stone cutters, there they found hidden under some bushes an abundance of huge stones which furnished the required material

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[71] See Head, "Hrotsvit's *Primordia*," and Scott Wells, "The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity in East Francia: The Case of Gandersheim, ca. 850–950," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, eds. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells (Leiden, 2009), pp. 113–35.

[72] *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: A Florilegium of her Works* in *Library of Medieval Women*, trans. Katharina M. Wilson (Woodbridge and Rochester, 1998), p. 108.

[73] *Hrotsvita de Gandersheim* in *Oeuvres Poétiques*, trad. Monique Goullet (Grenoble, 2000), pp. 105–06, 208–13; *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony: The Lives of Liutbirga of Wendhausen and Hathumoda of Gandersheim*, trans. Frederick S. Paxton (Washington, D.C., 2009), pp. 39–47.

needed to complete the church and monastery.[74] We also learn that the plans for the foundation were drawn up by one of Hathumoda's relatives, Bishop Altfrid of Hildesheim. The buildings of Gandersheim were only completed in 881 under the rule of Hathumoda's sister, Gerberga.[75]

While Hrotswitha credits Aeda, Oda, and Hathumoda to a lesser extent for their involvement in this project, and also notes the impressive noble lineage of the female side of the family for the new convent, she stresses the major patronage of the Liudolf family and seems to privilege the role of the male founders in this cooperative venture. The women seemed to occupy a supporting role as spiritual directors and thus serve as sources of inspiration for the male members of the family. Hrotswitha notes that Duke Liudolf, the first founder, was at the origin of the entire building: his zeal responded to "Oda's entreating prayers."[76] However, with his early death, he gave the charge and care of the unfinished work over to his wife and sons. Thus even in the description of the foundation of a women's house and the legend created by a female author, one can see the traditional special privileging of the male founders. By attributing the foundation mainly to the male side of the family, the new monastery would be seen to be provided with institutional status, official authority, and power, along with a certain guarantee of protection from outside threats.[77]

The eleventh-century *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg also notes this pattern of co-actors or shared patronage which favored the male contribution when it appears that the buildings were again actually built and completed by women. He writes that King Henry built "for his own salvation, temples to God," and "he was buried at Quedlinburg which he himself had constructed from the ground up."[78] Later Thietmar mentions that Henry's widow, Matilda, had established a church at Quedlinburg with a congregation of nuns and "with her sons' agreement, she endowed it out of her own property with whatever was necessary for sustenance and clothing."[79] The *Quedlinburg Annales* record that after Henry's death

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74 *Hrotsvita de Gandersheim* in *Oeuvres Poétiques*, pp. 216–17.

75 *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony*, pp. 42–43. See also Fredrick Paxton, "Forgetting Hathumoda: The Afterlife of the First Abbess of Gandersheim," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, eds. Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger (New York, 2007), pp. 15–25.

76 *Hrotsvita de Gandersheim* in *Oeuvres Poétiques*, p. 217.

77 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p. 101.

78 *Ottonian Germany, The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, bk. 1, ch. 18, p. 81.

79 *Ottonian Germany*, bk. 2, ch. 4, p. 93.

Matilda "the celebrated queen, obeying her husband, began to build the convent at Quedlinburg."[80]

This ambivalency, or the contradictory nature of the sources can also be found in *The Ecclesiastical History* by Orderic Vitalis (d. ca. 1142). In his praise of William the Conqueror (d. 1087) for his piety and generosity to the Church, Orderic writes: "At Caen he built two abbeys, one for monks in honour of St. Stephen the first martyr, and the other for nuns in honour of the Holy Trinity."[81] Later, however, he related that two daughters of a nobleman "entered the monastery of Holy Trinity which Queen Matilda built (*construxit*) at Caen."[82] In his description of Queen Matilda's death in 1083, he notes that "her body was carried at once to the abbey of the Holy Trinity, which she had founded (*construxerat*) at Caen for nuns and was reverently buried by many bishops and abbots between the choir and altar."[83] The epitaph on her funerary monument engraved in letters of gold, which still exists at Caen, lists among her many accomplishments: "She gave this site and raised this noble house."[84]

Visual Evidence in Romanesque Churches for Shared Patronage

In addition to the variety of written sources that record women's roles as patrons and builders of churches, a few twelfth-century foundation capitals

[80] *Quedlinburg Annales*, *PL*, vol. 141 (936). "Mechtild inclita regina obeunte conjuge suo, coenobium in monte Quedelingensi, ut ipse prius decreverat, sancta devotione, construere coepit, praefato scilicet rege Heinrico."

[81] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 2, bk. 3, p. 11. "Apud Cadonum duo coenobia construxit, unam monachorum ... in honore sancti Stephani prothomartyris et aliud sanctimonialium in honore sanctae Trinitatis." p. 10.

[82] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 2, bk. 3, p. 129.

[83] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 4, bk. 7, pp. 44–45.

[84] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 4, bk. 7, pp. 44–45. Also William and Matilda's daughter Cécile was a nun and later became abbess of La Trinité. They gave many fine liturgical vestments to the abbey. As noted by McCash, "Cultural Patronage: An Overview," p. 42, n. 68, the couple also gave "golden chains decorated with a cross to be used to suspend a lamp over the altar, great candelabras made at Saint-Lô, a crown, a scepter, a chalice, and other unspecified jewels and vases." They made many major donations to various churches throughout France. McCash also notes the donations made specifically by Matilda: "To Saint-Corneille Matilda herself gave a vase decorated with gold, gems, and precious stones; to Saint-Florent she gave a golden chalice, and to Cluny she gave a liturgical robe that was said to be so rigid with metal, possibly gold, that it could not be bent. Finally, Queen Matilda ... sent gold and silver to Rome for the construction of the sepulcher of the saint, with whom she claimed a family connection. The tomb was constructed of polished stones and encrusted with various colors of marble."

of Auvergne depict husbands and wives in the act of donation. Unfortunately, no written documentation exists that identify these donor figures.[85] These unusual capitals are generally located in a prominent place in the church where they would be clearly visible and serve as perpetual reminders of the patrons' pious actions. In this space their patronage would be remembered and celebrated by the clergy and faithful. While other foundation presentations often portray the founders holding a model or miniature of their church, these capitals present abbreviated scenes of the act of foundation. Here the male and female patrons are shown standing or kneeling on either side of a single column which divides the scene. The column is depicted with a sculpted capital and, as an artistic metaphor, it represents the church that the couple had built reduced to its most basic or minimal architectural form.[86] Hovering horizontally above the capital, the large right hand of God (*dextera domini*) sometimes appears, symbolizing divine intervention in, or approval of, this pious act of shared patronage. The hand of God also linked the church to the sacred world and made the noble man and woman who founded the church appear as types of divine agents. One can perhaps also see in these sculptures an emphasis on the donors' large hands associated with the act of giving and placed prominently on the symbol of their building, along with the superimposed hand of God.

The donation capital from the church of Bulhon (Fig. 1) is found in the choir. Here the patrons are shown kneeling and have their hands around what appears to be a double column with two capitals, with the man having the upper hand.[87] A similar example can be found at the church of Trizac (Fig. 2), where the capital is also located in the choir. Like the capital at Bulhon, the couple is shown kneeling; they each place one of their rather large hands on the capital while the other grasps the edge of their robes. Above the capital is the large right hand of God which emerges out

[85] See Zygmunt Swiechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, trans. Lina Carminati-Nawrocka and Aleksandra Zarynowa (Clermont-Ferrand, 1973), pp. 228, 253, figs. 247, 248, 249, 251, and Avital Heyman, *'That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne:' Laity and Church in Auvergnat Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 2005), pp. 2–6, 141–45, figs. 1–6, 8–13. See also Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 50–51.

[86] For a discussion of the various contexts and meanings of the column, see Heyman, '*That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne*,' pp. 65–73.

[87] Heyman, '*That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne*,' pp. 2, 72, 141–42. On the lower right side of the capital of Bulhon is a great monster swallowing a human head with donkey ears. Heyman, p. 72, suggests that this image of sin refers to the problem of charity and avarice, or worldly temptation and the gift ritual.

Figure 1 Capital, Priory Church of Saint-Vital and Saint-Agricol, Bulhon, 12th c. (Photo: Z. Swiechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973, fig. 248).

of a stylized scalloped cloud.[88] At Thuret (Fig. 3) the foundation capital is located in the south aisle. Here the man and woman are shown with their hands together in front of the column. The woman is depicted wearing a very fashionable dress with incised stripes on the skirt and on the

[88] Heyman, '*That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne*,' pp. 3–4, 143–44.

Figure 2 Capital, church at Trizac, 12th c. (Photo: Z. Swiechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973, fig. 249).

long, flowing, exaggerated sleeves. Behind the woman is a large, round monstrous head with drilled eyes and several snakes emerging from its mouth. It appears that one of the monster's hands reaches out to grab or pinch the woman. It has been suggested that this is perhaps a reference to woman's identity with the sinful nature of Eve or *luxuria*/ lust.[89] By contrast with the example at Bulhon, where the male figure appears to

[89] Heyman, '*That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne*,' pp. 2–3, 142–43. The capital has been identified by Craplet as a marriage scene with the woman representing lust.

Figure 3 Capital, Church of Saint-Bénilde, Thuret, 12th c. (Photo: Z. Swiechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973, fig. 251).

the viewer's left, at both Trizac and Thuret the female figures occupy this more prestigious location.

Another interesting foundation scene is located on a capital in the choir at Volvic (Fig. 4). It represents a male donor and a priest and contains a detailed inscription, which reads "The donation to St. Projectus/St. Priest begins, that Guillelmes de Bezac made, for [the salvation of] his soul and that of his wife."[90] However, only the little abbreviated "co" of "CO[NJUGIS]" can be seen squeezed into the very corner of the capital. Here Guillaume's

[90] Heyman, '*That Old Pride of the Men of the Auvergne*,' pp. 4–6, 144–45. "INCIPIT DONALIA SANCTI PRE [je] CTI: QUE FECIT: GUILLELMES DE BEZAC: PRO ANIMA SUA ET CO [njugis]," p. 4.

Figure 4 Capital, church at Volvic (Photo: Z. Swiechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973, fig. 247).

wife's participation in this act of joint donation is recognized, but she is provided rather minimal or limited visibility through the inscription.

Conclusion

Thus, in assessing women's agency, scholars need to challenge the assumptions and re-examine the various types of foundation narratives within a larger historical context. As interpretive documents, with pragmatic

agendas and imaginative memories, they frequently underrepresented, overlooked, or obscured especially married women's major roles in patronage. In contrast to their somewhat limited appearances in these abbreviated foundation myths, these wealthy and influential queens and noble women were well-placed and exerted impressive influence within their families. They were in charge of major households, managing family estates, holding the purse strings of the family or kingdom, and controlling substantial wealth. Especially as widows and abbesses they had a certain autonomy and independence; they were able to lavish their fortunes on the building and decorating of churches. As early domestic proselytizers, part of their role as pious Christian wives and mothers included the building of new churches. And as generous founders of new family monasteries, especially houses for women, they initiated extensive building programs. They contributed land, financed the ventures, designed the buildings, and perhaps in some cases "with their own hands" carried stones. They also made decorations: wall hangings, vestments, altar coverings, as well as manuscripts for their churches. These queens and noble women were there, from the ground-level up. They also were involved in providing for the health of the souls of family members, as they were charged with the oversight of *memoria*, that is, activities related to building and endowing funerary chapels and churches to promote cults for relatives and themselves. Other women enthusiastically participated in the collection of relics and the establishing of cult centers. In this early gift economy, such generous patrons hoped for some type of reciprocity: a reward in the next life as payment for their pious acts here on earth. As noted in the *vita* of St. Rusticula, they believed that what they built on earth, they would find afterwards in Heaven. And the saints that they worshipped on earth would prepare starry mansions for them in Paradise.[91] In any case, any view of patronage and the construction and decoration of churches and monasteries needs to take into account the large numbers of women actively involved—who initiated, supervised, and truly "owned" these projects—and to see them, alongside the kings, princes, bishops, abbots, and others, as an important element in the impressive religious building campaigns of the early and central Middle Ages.

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[91] *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ch. 8, pp. 126–27.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'PLANTERS OF GREAT CIVILITIE': FEMALE PATRONS OF THE ARTS IN LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND

Rachel Moss

In 1590 Ludolf Von Münchhausen, an aristocratic German tourist, embarked on a trip across Europe which, in the early months of the following year, brought him to Ireland. A Lutheran, Von Münchhausen was intrigued by the repute of some of the holy sites of Ireland, and, together with an interpreter and a boy to carry baggage, he set off for the most famed of these, including Monaincha, Co. Tipperary and St. Patrick's Purgatory, Co. Donegal.

En route he noted his observations in a diary.[1] He commented, for example, on the poor treatment of women, who could be divorced with ease and were often left to bear children on their own. Of standards in accommodation he was less than impressed. He described one nobleman's house in which he stayed as built in the form of a tower surrounded by a wall, but commented that this was kept as a fortress, to which nearby they maintained a poorly built house. He described dinner eaten off a dirty plank and how, when it was time to sleep, a blanket was thrown over some straw. The host and his wife lay down first, and then their guests, who covered themselves with coats. In sum, he declared that Irish houses usually had "a pretty maid and a pretty wind," and that while the Irish had "brains enough for roguery," they were "ignorant of arts and more subtle craftsmanship."

The first pilgrimage site visited by Von Münchhausen was Monaincha, noted, among other things, for the fact that any female, mammal or avian, would meet instant death if she set foot on, or even flew over, the island. Spotting two courting pigeons at the site, the German visitor was sceptical, and decided to test the belief. On his arrival at the port of Waterford, he had observed a recently captured ship of black slaves. He resolved to

[1] The account is preserved in a private collection in Germany. The description of Von Münchhausen's Irish visit is published in Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "A German Visitor to Monaincha in 1591," *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 22 (1998), pp. 223–33.

return there and purchase a female, whom he would disguise as a man and bring back to the island. His interpreter, on hearing the plan, was appalled. The local pilgrims that they had met on the island had never heard of Germany, and for this stranger to introduce another outsider, and a woman to boot, would undoubtedly bring calamity upon them.

As with many European countries, the commentaries of visitors are among the most valuable sources for the social state of Ireland during the late Middle Ages. Von Münchhausen's diary provides a useful summary of some recurring themes of outsiders' views of the country at a point in history when it was finally emerging from what has been termed the "long Middle Ages." Women, it was felt, were held in lower regard than their European counterparts; the Irish domestic space was crude in the extreme; the Irish knew nothing of the finer things in life; and they generally had an innate suspicion and ignorance of the world beyond their shores.[2]

The stranger's gaze, however, is not always the most objective window through which to view the past. In an Irish context particularly, the outsider's view of the Otherness of the "Wilde Irish" is fraught with exoticizing tendencies and colonial agendas.[3] Nevertheless, this impression is, superficially at least, supported by the tangible glimpses that survive of Irish medieval women and of their homes. High-status tombs dedicated to women are far less common than those to men; but where female effigies do survive, the finery in which the deceased had chosen to be depicted is both outdated and of a quality that falls far short of English or Continental contemporaries (Figs. 1, 5).[4] Similarly, surviving domestic architecture is typically dark and austere. Characterized by so-called tower houses—fortified stone structures, with small windows, narrow stairways, and

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[2] For other early accounts of Irish hospitality in a similar vein, see Liam Miller and Eileen Power, eds. *The Historie of Irelande from the First Inhabitation Thereof, into the Yeare 1509 Collected by Raphael Hollinshed and Continued to the Yere 1547 by Richard Stanyhurst* (Dublin, 1979), p. 113 quoting Richard Stanyhurst; William Lithgow, *Travels and Voyages through Europe, Asia and Africa, for nineteen years* [...]. 1619 (Edinburgh, 1770), p. 406; C. Litton Falkiner, ed. *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century* (London, New York, and Bombay, 1904), pp. 231–32 (quoting Fynes Morrison).

[3] Joep Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56/ 1 (Jan., 1995), pp. 25–39.

[4] John Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture c. 1200–1600*, 2 vols. (London, 1974); Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, "The Margaret Fitzgerald Tomb Effigy: A Late Medieval Headdress and Gown in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, eds. Desirée Koslin and Janet Snyder (New York, 2002), pp. 210–20.

Figure 1 Detail of the tomb of Margaret Fitzgerald and Piers Butler, ca. 1500–1550. St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny city (Photo: Edwin Rae/TRIARC, Irish Art Research Centre).

precious little ornament, the domestic environment of the Irish medieval noblewoman seems far removed from that of her European counterparts. Towers such as at Burnchurch, Co. Kilkenny, contained a simple succession of rooms stacked one over the other, accessed by narrow newel staircases, while ancillary buildings, built from organic materials, would have been arranged around it in a relatively random fashion, all encompassed within a defensive bawn (Fig. 2).[5] By the sixteenth century, this would have presented a sharp contrast to the grander scale and more formally planned courtyard house of the English aristocracy, with its hierarchical arrangement of public to private spaces, and move away from the defensive to the purely decorative, most evident in larger areas of glazing and ornate interiors.[6] Perhaps because of this austerity, surviving Irish medieval architecture has tended to be studied very much in the context of military history, and it is only in recent years that scholars have begun to question the degree to which noble women had an input into the design and decoration of the spaces in which they spent a considerable amount of their time.[7]

The impression of an unsophisticated and provincial population conveyed by these surviving monuments is, however, at odds with historical evidence of the degree to which Irish women imported both objects and craftsmen from abroad. Over the past twenty years or so, the contribution of medieval Irish women to the arts ca. 1200–1600 has been acknowledged in a number of texts, with a particular focus on visual expressions of piety and church patronage.[8] This paper will build on existing scholarship of

[5] C.T. Cairns, *Irish Tower Houses: A Co. Tipperary Case Study* (Athlone, 1987); Harold G. Leask, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk, 1951); Rory Sherlock, "The Evolution of the Irish Tower House as a Domestic Space," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, vol. 111 (2011) , pp. 115–40; David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Cork, 1999); David Sweetman, *The Origin and Development of the Irish Tower House* (Kinsale, 2000).

[6] Michael Thompson, *The Medieval Hall: The Basis for Secular Domestic Life c. 600–1600* (Aldershot, 1995); Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House. From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (London and New Haven, 2008); Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London and New Haven, 1987).

[7] Elizabeth McKenna, "The Gift of the Lady: Women as Patrons of the Arts in Medieval Ireland," in *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Christine Meek (Dublin, 2000), pp. 84–94; Mary McAuliff, "The Lady in the Tower: The Social and Political Role of Women in Tower Houses," in *The Fragility of Her Sex? Medieval Irish Women in their European Context*, eds. Christine E. Meek and M. Katharine Simms (Dublin, 1996), pp. 153–62.

[8] This period is typically distinguished from the early medieval period. For the role of women in Irish society prior to ca. 1200 see, for example, Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Women in Early Irish Society," in *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension*, eds. Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Margaret MacCurtain (Westport, CT., 1980), pp. 1–13; Wendy Davies, "Celtic Women in the Early Middle Ages," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, eds. Averil Cameron

Figure 2 Tower house, Burnchurch, Co. Kilkenny, 15th–16th c. (Photo: R. Moss).

this type of patronage and then focus in particular on evidence of works purchased or commissioned for domestic spaces and for personal use, areas which have previously received only scant attention. It will also examine the degree to which women were responsible for introducing new ideas and skills to Irish medieval art.

The ability of women to patronize the arts was of course influenced by their access to funds, or the freedom that they had in deciding how their husband's funds should be spent, and the degree to which their societal roles required, or were augmented by, overt visual display. Although a small island with a relatively sparse population, political, cultural, and social division in late medieval Ireland led to a complexity of different legal, economic, and social circumstances for women that make such roles difficult to unravel.[9] During the later medieval period, the area around Dublin, known as the Pale, was under English rule. Areas that had been colonized by Anglo-Norman settlers, such as parts of the south-east of Ireland and towns such as Waterford and Galway, also followed English custom, although, from the fourteenth century on it can be dangerous to draw clear distinctions between "English" and "Gaelic" custom as a great deal of cross-fertilization existed. Essentially, though, in these areas married women had no right to hold dowries or property independent of their husbands.[10] The use of jointures did afford women some rights, and the court of chancery enabled divorced women to apply for unreturned dowry goods, heiresses to make claims on lands, and widows to have life-time use of their husband's property.

Despite their legal status as minors under the authority of their husbands, some noble Anglo-Irish women played an active role in their

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and Amélie Kuhrt (Detroit, 1993), pp. 145–66; Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, "The *Lex Innocentium*: Adomnán's Law for Women, Clerics and Youths, 697 A.D.," in *Chattel, Servant or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State and Society*, eds. Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert (Belfast, 1995), pp. 58–69; Lisa M. Bitel, "Women's Donations to the Churches in Early Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 114 (1984), pp. 5–23; Lisa M. Bitel, "Women's Monastic Enclosures in Early Ireland: A Study in Female Spirituality and Male Monastic Mentalities," *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1986), pp. 15–36; Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (New York and London, 1996); and in the present volume, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, "Mere Embroiderers? Women and Art in Early Medieval Ireland."

[9] Gillian Kenny, *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women in Ireland c. 1170–1540* (Dublin, 2007).

[10] Kenneth W. Nicholls, "Irishwomen and Property in the Sixteenth Century," in *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, eds. Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 17–32.

husband's political careers.[11] Among the more celebrated examples is Gyle de Burgh, wife of Lord Richard de Mandeville, who was blamed for inciting her husband to murder William, the third Earl of Ulster in 1333 because of the earl's imprisonment and alleged murder of her brother.[12] Equally, Margaret Fitzgerald, Countess of Ormond, was credited with being the political brains behind her husband Piers Ruadh Butler's rise to power in securing the earldom of Ormond, and it was said "that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice."[13]

In other parts of Ireland, particularly the more rural parts of the north and west, older legal systems were followed, and dynastic marriage, including divorce and re-marriage, gave women central political importance in the Gaelic lordships.[14] Under the Gaelic system, women had the right to hold property independently of their husbands, though not the right to inherit or pass on land as it belonged to the kin group. The goods that women brought with them in dowry were recoverable on divorce. Dowries usually comprised livestock and household goods, though some included mercenary soldiers, giving them a degree of political freedom.[15]

Some exceptional women such as Gráinne Ní Mháille[16] and Agnes Campbell[17] led lordships and engaged in piracy and political intrigue. Others engaged in a quasi-independent manner with their husband's political lives, such as Finola, wife of Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill of Tír Conaill, who, in the

[11] Elizabeth McKenna, "Was There a Political Role for Women in Medieval Ireland?: Lady Margaret Butler and Lady Eleanor MacCarthy," in *The Fragility of Her Sex? Medieval Irish Women in their European Context*, eds. Christine E. Meek and M. Katharine Simms (Dublin, 1996), pp. 163–74.

[12] Bernadette Williams, ed., *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyne* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 210–11.

[13] Miller and Power, eds. *Historie of Irelande*, p. 328. See also McKenna, "Political Role for Women," pp. 165–74; Imelda Kehoe, "Margaret Fitzgerald, Wife of Piers Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond and 1st Earl of Ossory," *Old Kilkenny Review*, 4/3 (1991), pp. 826–41.

[14] M. Katherine Simms, "The Legal Position of Irishwomen in the Later Middle Ages," *Irish Jurist* 10 (1975), pp. 96–111.

[15] For a comprehensive exploration of the legal standing of Irish women see Kenny, *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women*.

[16] Hans C. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers for Ireland, 1574–84* (London, 1860), pp. 137, 407, 425; *1588–1592*, 232, 252, 333, 397; *1592–1596*, 133–6, 152, 184, 198, 312; *1594–1600,* 332; Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: The Life and Times of Grace O'Malley, c. 1530–1603* (New York, 1979).

[17] Judy Barry, "Campbell, Lady Agnes MacDonnell, Lady of Kintyre and Dunyveg," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds. James Mcguire and James Quinn (Cambridge, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 76–7; Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, 3 vols. (London, 1885–90), vol. 1, pp. 273, 281–82; vol. 2, pp. 90, 92; Henry Sidney, "Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of His Government in Ireland. 1583," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1st ser., 3 (1855), pp. 33–44.

interests of restoring peace in the lordship, took up with her husband's foe, Aodh Buidhe Ó Neill, while the former was incarcerated in the Isle of Man.[18]

Those of a less ambitious disposition exercised their independence in more cultured ways. Patronage of bardic praise poetry—a peaceable way of disseminating positive (or where required, negative) propaganda was particularly popular. One such example is a poem eulogizing Finola Ó Domhnaill written in the fifteenth century:

> Finola's splendour is so great that no woman
> Can be set above her.
> From her girlhood—high praise!—her mother's nature shows in her;
> 'ere she came to a husband she was pregnant with generosity.[19]

The forums for the performance of such poems were feasts, and hospitality was one of the most admirable of female attributes, frequently singled out by poets and Gaelic annalists. In 1513, Máiréad, wife of Eoghan Ua Ruairc, Lord of Breifne, was celebrated as "of great wealth, hearth of hospitality and maintenance, humanity and charitable entertainment for scholars and *ollamhs* [masters in any art or profession], the weak and the wretched all."[20] Slaine, wife of McWilliam of Clanricard was "a universal protector of the poets of Ireland."[21]

As alluded to in the above poem, however, perhaps most famous of all for this was Finola Ó Domhnaill's mother, Mairgréag an-einigh Ó Cearbhaill, who hosted two great feasts, one in Killeigh, Co. Offaly and one at Rathangan, Co. Kildare in 1433, a year when famine had hit the region. Among the 2,700 guests were "learned men," who ensured that Mairgréag's generosity did not go unrecorded.[22] Although her husband was present, he is described as overseeing the distribution of provisions, with the emphasis very much on Mairgréag as patron.

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[18] Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, "Mairgréag an-Einigh Ó Cearbhaill, 'the Best Woman of the Gaidhil'," *Kildare Archaeological Society Journal*, 18 (1992–1993), pp. 20–38, esp. 34–35.

[19] Lambert McKenna, ed. and trans., *Aithdioghlum Dána*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1939–1940), vol. 1, pp. 73–4; vol. 2, p. 44.

[20] A.M. Freeman, ed., *Annála Connacht: The Annals of Connacht, 1224–1254* (Dublin, 1944), p. 621.

[21] Freeman, ed., *Annála Connacht*, p. 585.

[22] W.M. Hennessy and B. McCarthy, eds. *Annála Uladh, Annals of Ulster; Otherwise Annála Senait, Annals of Senat: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, 431–1131, 1155–1541* (Dublin, 1887–1901), vol. 3, p. 129; John O'Donovan, ed. and trans. *Annála ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616* (Dublin, 1851, rprt. New York, 1966), vol. 3, p. 897; John O'Donovan, ed., "MacFirbis Annals," *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, 1 (1846), pp. 227–28. See also M. Katharine Simms, "Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 108 (1978), pp. 67–100.

Mairgréag was obviously a woman of independent spirit and in the summer of 1445 was one of the leaders of a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.[23] Together with charity and hospitality, piety was a particularly prized attribute among Gaelic women, a fact also often emphasized in contemporary obituaries. Mairgréag's obituary, for example, records that she:

> ... was the best of the women of the Gaidhil, and the one who made the most causeways, churches, books, chalices, and articles useful for the service of the church ...[24]

It is in the patronage of the church that one finds the greatest amount of information relating to female sponsorship of building and fine arts.[25] From the thirteenth century on, women appear with increasing frequency as co-sponsors of the church together with their husbands. This is a trend that is particularly evident in the foundations of the mendicant orders. It is now nearly impossible to know how decisions were made about which order to patronize, or indeed where religious houses should be established, but one suspects that women often played the dominant role. This was certainly the case at Strade, Co. Mayo, where Stephen de Exeter replaced the Franciscan friars at his recent foundation there with friars of the Dominican order at the direct insistence of his new wife, Basilia de Bermingham.[26]

The property rights afforded to married Gaelic women would have impacted, of course, on the exact nature of their involvement. For example, Máire Ní Mhaille and her husband Ruaidhrí Mac Suibhne founded the friary at Rathmullan, Co. Donegal following the death of their son in 1516. However, it is Máire who is credited with actually erecting the monastery herself, together with a number of other churches in Ulster and Connacht, and a great hall for the Franciscan friars at Donegal.[27] This implies that while only Ruaidhrí held the right to supply a site and lands to support the friars, Máire was able to contribute either the money or the raw materials

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[23] J.A. Tremlow, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. 9 (1431–47) (London, 1912), p. 241; O'Donovan, ed., "MacFirbis Annals," p. 211.

[24] Freeman, ed., *Annála Connacht*, p. 493. For more on Margaret, see Fitzpatrick, "Mairgréag an-Einigh Ó Cearbhaill," pp. 20–38.

[25] Mary Ann Lyons, "Lay Female Piety and Church Patronage in Late Medieval Ireland," in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, eds. Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (Dublin, 2002), pp. 57–75.

[26] Ambrose Coleman, ed., "Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry," *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1 (1912), pp. 201–21, esp. 204.

[27] Paul Walsh, ed., *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne: An Account of the MacSweeney Families in Ireland with Pedigrees* (Dublin, 1920), pp. 51, 66–9, 86.

necessary for building. This was probably also the case for Máiréad Ua Ruairc, whose obituary records that she was buried in the church "which she had herself built to the honour of God and St. Francis, namely the monastery of Creevlea [Dromahaire, Co. Leitrim]."[28]

More commonly, female artistic patronage of church architecture was on a much smaller scale, relating perhaps to payment for a particular architectural feature. Thus in the early fourteenth century Isabella Palmer "built the front of the friars' choir" in the Franciscan friary of Kilkenny city and a century later Margaret Fitzgibbon, wife of Cunlaid Ó Dáilaig "the good poet," erected the "great chapel" at Adare Franciscan friary in Co. Limerick.[29] Female donor portraits over inserted doorways at Callan parish church, Co. Kilkenny and Lorrha Augustinian priory, Co. Tipperary (Figs. 3, 4) suggest the female sponsorship of an architectural feature that would have had particular resonance for women, marking the location both of marriage and churching ceremonies.[30] At Lorrha empty recesses on either side of the head would once have contained a heraldic plaque or plaques and possibly an inscription, similar to those on the portal at Dunmore friary in Co. Galway. In the absence of these, and of any identifying marks associated with the Callan figure, one can only surmise that these were both probably local women of some means.

Testamentary evidence suggests that women were also responsible for donating objects to the altar or for adorning particular chapels. Thus for example a citizen of Dublin, Margaret Drewey, (ca. 1511) left a cup to be converted to a chalice for St. Nicholas' Church, Dublin;[31] Joanna Cusack donated a gilt silver image of Mary valued at 10 marks to Christ Church Cathedral on her acceptance to the confraternity of the Holy Trinity there;[32] and Dame Margaret Nugent bequeathed all of her wealth to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in St. Michan's parish church in Dublin, where

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[28] Freeman, ed., *Annála Connacht*, p. 585.

[29] Bernadette Williams, ed., *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyne* (Dublin, 2007), p. 242; Brendan Jennings, ed., "Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus, "De Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci," *Analecta Hibernica*, 6 (1934), pp. 12–138, esp. 63–64.

[30] Rachel Moss, "Permanent Expressions of Piety: The Secular and the Sacred in Later Medieval Stone Sculpture," in *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland*, eds. Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, OSB, and Salvador Ryan (Dublin, 2006), pp. 72–97, esp. 75–78.

[31] Henry F. Berry, "Some Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St Werburgh, Dublin, 1243–1676," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 45 (1915), pp. 32–44, esp. 43.

[32] Colm Lennon and Raymond Refaussé, eds., *The Registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin, 1998), p. 48.

Figure 3 North doorway of St. Mary's Church, Callan, Co. Kilkenny, 15th–16th c. (Photo: R. Moss).

she was to be buried, so that "ornaments and other necessaries purchased be thereout."[33]

The prominent placement of such imagery served as a reminder to both religious and lay congregations of the generosity of the donors during life;

[33] Henry F. Berry, ed., *Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the Time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton 1457–1483* (Dublin, 1898), p. 78.

Figure 4 Detail of western portal, Lorrha priory, Co. Tipperary, 15th–16th c. (Photo: R. Moss).

a generosity to be repaid through the provision of prayers and suitable burial place in death. Whilst driven partly by pious intentions, there was another side to this type of benefaction. The prominent placement of heraldry and noble portraiture makes it clear that perpetuation of the status and good name of the family was of equal and sometimes possibly greater importance than pious intentions.

Perhaps the best examples of this are a group of early sixteenth-century tombs and cenotaphs that display the heraldry of the Butlers, Earls of Ormond. Only one of the tombs retains an inscription, that of Piers Ruadh Butler and his wife Margaret Fitzgerald (Fig. 5; detail Fig. 1), and it is generally accepted that they were the patrons of these eight or so monuments.[34]

Margaret was the second daughter of Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, and her marriage to Piers Ruadh Butler was political, intended to forge alliances between the houses of Kildare and Butler; a marriage, according to the near contemporary *Book of Howth*, "for policy."[35] Piers was descended from a junior and Gaelicized branch of the Butler family, and as such his succession to the earldom was not a given. His alliance with Margaret led to a flourishing of cultural patronage in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, probably in an attempt to legitimize his claims to the earldom.

Margaret had been brought up in a sophisticated household, one in which the concept of dynasty and family image, promoted in part through artistic patronage, was seen as key.[36] Just as her brother sought to promote their dynasty through the concoction of ever grander pedigrees, Margaret's influence doubtless lies behind the commissioning of a number of cenotaphs to long dead members of her husband's family at the old ancestral seat in Gowran, Co. Kilkenny and in the Cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny. While these are sometimes criticized as being quite old-fashioned for the early sixteenth century, this may have been intentional, helping to consolidate her husband's somewhat unstable place within an ancient lineage.[37]

The Butler tombs and cenotaphs were almost certainly commissioned during the couple's lifetime. But similar concerns relating to the preservation of status and territorial rights in stone are demonstrated by the tomb commissions of a number of women after the death of their husbands. For example, at Thurles, Co. Tipperary an elaborate free-standing tomb was erected by the wife of Edmund Archer ca. 1520.[38] The tomb inscription

[34] Nearly all of the monuments have been dismantled and reassembled, making the exact original number difficult to ascertain. Edwin C. Rae, "Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages. Part I: The Ormond Group," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 100 (1970), pp. 1–38.

[35] Terry Clavin, "Butler, Lady Margaret countess of Ormond FitzGerald," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds. James McGuire and James Quinn (Cambridge, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 157–59.

[36] Colm Lennon, "The Fitzgeralds of Kildare and the Building of a Dynastic Image," in *Kildare: History and Society*, eds. William Nolan and Thomas McGrath (Dublin, 2006), pp. 195–212.

[37] Wincott Heckett, "The Margaret Fitzgerald Tomb Effigy," pp. 210–20.

[38] Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture*, vol. 1, pp. 230–31. Unfortunately the wife's name has been too damaged to decipher on the tomb inscription.

Figure 5 Tomb of Margaret Fitzgerald and Piers Butler, ca. 1500–1550, St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny city (Photo: Edwin Rae/TRIARC, Irish Art Research Centre).

records that Edmund was a burgess of Thurles and Lord of Rathfernagh, Galboyle, Corbale, and Killienane. The monument itself is equal in size and quality to the contemporary Ormond monuments, and its quality and epigraphic content suggest a desire on the part of Archer's wife to preserve for posterity the success of this upwardly mobile member of the minor gentry. The record of his territories on the tomb served as a quasi-legal document at a time when territorial ownership was often in dispute and was doubtless included to ensure that his rights would be retained by the next generation.

At the lower end of the artistic scale the cross slab commissioned by Margaret Comyn for her husband Edward Butler (d. 1503) at Cashel Cathedral, Co. Tipperary, is unequivocal in staking out more modest territorial rights—the prized family burial place in the cathedral. After the usual epitaph, it stated "no stranger to be buried here."[39]

Although we have only limited information on the circumstances of manufacture of most funerary sculpture in Ireland, it is of note that the more "exotic" monuments were commissioned by the widows of deceased husbands. One of the most accomplished tombs of the later medieval period, the late fifteenth-century MacMathgamhna monument at Ennis friary, is traditionally attributed to the patronage of Mór Ní Bhriain, who commissioned it as a memorial for her husband Terence MacMathgamhna (Fig. 6).[40] A series of narrative panels depicting the Passion of Christ draw inspiration from iconography that had become standard in Europe at the time, and suggest that the tomb may also have functioned as an Easter Sepulchre. The devotional iconography is framed on either end of the *mensa* by two standing figures—to the west an archbishop, and to the east, and therefore closer to the altar, the figure of a woman in secular dress holding a book (Fig. 7). Hunt suggested that the figure was intended to represent a Virtue, perhaps Wisdom.[41] However, the lack of any of the other Virtues (or Vices) suggests that Westropp's identification of the figure as that of the donor is more likely.[42]

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[39] Rachel Moss, "Piety and Politics: Funerary Sculpture in Cashel 1500–1640," in *Limerick and South-West Ireland*, ed. Roger Stalley (Leeds, 2011), pp. 158–75, esp. 166.

[40] The tradition of Mór's patronage can be traced back to the seventeenth century, to just a few decades after the friary had been abandoned. Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Louvain, 1625–54), vol. 8, pp. 46–47. The tomb was reconstructed and embellished in the 19th century for the Creagh family and so now sometimes bears their name.

[41] Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture*, vol. 1, p. 122.

[42] Thomas J. Westropp, "Ennis Abbey and the O'Brien Tombs," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 25 (1895), pp. 135–54, esp. 146.

Figure 6 Detail of reconstructed MacMathgamhna tomb, late 15th c., Ennis friary, Co. Clare (Photo: Edwin Rae/ TRIARC, Irish Art Research Centre).

Figure 7 Detail of reconstructed MacMathgamhna tomb, late 15th c., Ennis friary, Co. Clare (Photo: Edwin Rae/ TRIARC, Irish Art Research Centre).

The decision to depict the figure with a book is of note. Comparable tomb sculpture of female figures holding books invariably depict female saints, often labelled, flanked by other saints and shown holding closed books.[43] Here the aristocratic lady holds her book open, as if in the act of reading. This was probably intended to demonstrate her piety, showing

[43] See, for example, figures probably depicting St. Brigid at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny and Castlemartin, Co. Kildare. Although depictions of female saints engaged in the act of reading are common in continental art, the predominant depiction of saints carrying, rather than reading, books are more typical to English and Irish art. Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (London and New York, 1997), p. 150.

her in contemplation of a religious text, but the implied book ownership and literacy is also a demonstration of her class.[44]

While such images of women reading are not uncommon, particularly in the book arts of later medieval Europe, the image is a unique survival, in any medium, in an Irish context. Current scholarship of female education in medieval Ireland suggests that literacy levels, even among the upper classes of Gaelic women, were low.[45] Although difficult to measure with absolute certainty, the evidence of book ownership or writing among Gaelic women is also rare, a situation attributed to the exclusion of women from the male-dominated bardic schools.[46]

Literacy among Anglo-Norman women may have been more advanced. Education for the daughters of the Anglo-Norman noble classes was provided in convents, such as Grace Dieu in county Dublin, and there is some evidence too that members of the middle gentry were able to read and write.[47] For example, Johanna Alton, née White, a resident of the Co. Louth town of Ardee, was accused in 1469 of forging charters, but managed to obtain a royal writ of prohibition against the penalties issued by

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[44] On female piety, book ownership and reading, see Anne Hutchinson, "Devotional Reading in the Monastery and the Late Medieval Household," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 215–28; Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 149–87; Andrew Taylor, "Into his Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medieval England," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, eds. James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 41–61; Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, pp. 127–29, 147–81; Michael Clanchy, "Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What Do They Signify?," in *The Church and the Book*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, 38 (Suffolk, 2004), pp. 106–22; Mary Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2006); and in the present volume, Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Portrayals of Women with Books: Female (Il)Literacy in Medieval Jewish Culture".

[45] M. Katharine Simms, "Women in Gaelic Society during the Age of Transition," in *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, eds. Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 32–52.

[46] For book ownership, see Maire Ní Mhaille below. A definite example of a female scribe comes in a marginal exchange in a 16th-century compilation of brehon law where the scribe, Domhnall, wrote 'My curse, and God's into the bargain, I bestow on the women that have muddled up together all that I possessed in the way of ink, of colours and of books. God's curse on him too that shall read this and fail to curse them [the women].' On the following page, in reply to this, another hand wrote 'I'm not the woman Domhnall.' Standish H. O'Grady, ed., *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1926), p. 123; Fergal McGrath, *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1979).

[47] J. Murray, ed., *State Papers: pt. III. Correspondence between the Governments of England and Ireland, 1515–1546* (London, 1834), vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 130–31.

the local ecclesiastical court.[48] While it is not specified that the forgery was carried out by her own hand, it is intriguing that on a land transaction some years later she is referred to as a "widow and painter."[49]

Thus, in choosing to have herself depicted in the act of reading (see Fig. 7), the Gaelic patron at Ennis was apparently exhibiting her intellectual sophistication. This sophistication was further demonstrated by the unusual form and style of the tomb. Its most obvious source of inspiration is an alabaster retable of the type that were being mass-produced for export at the alabaster quarries in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, demonstrating a desire to reflect more fashionable iconography than is usually associated with Irish tomb sculpture.[50]

A similar desire is recorded in the *Register* of Athenry Dominican friary. In the early fifteenth century, Joanna Wffler, wife of the merchant David Wydyr, purchased a sculpted stone tomb in Bristol and had it transported to Athenry for his interment there.[51] At the time of the burial she is also credited with the re-glazing of the main east window of the friary, together with all of the other windows of the choir and the donation of silk vestments and a chest in which to store them. Unfortunately, neither tomb nor glass nor vestments survive.

The functions of tombs as permanent statements of status and boundary demarcation were also fulfilled by wayside and churchyard crosses. Some of the earlier surviving examples of these were apparently sponsored by husband and wife, such as a cross erected at the Plunket family manor at Killeen, Co. Meath, which incorporates labelled portraits of Maria Cruys and her husband Thomas Plunket.[52] However, by the late sixteenth century inscriptions suggest that wayside crosses had become a means by which a wife might commemorate

[48] Mario Sughi, ed., *Registrum Octaviani alias Liber Niger: The Register of Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh 1478–1513* (Dublin, 1999), vol. 1, p. 87; vol. 2, pp. 421–22.

[49] M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé, eds., *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin, 2001), nos. 1100–101.

[50] There are no known examples of patrons in similar stances depicted on English tombs or retables. The most obvious parallel is the possible self-representation of Eleanor of Aquitaine depicted reading a book on her tomb, although this motif has been completely restored. Pierre Prunet and Catherine de Maupeou, "Présentation des Gisants des Plantagenêts, abbaye de Fontevraud," *Monumental* (1992–93), pp. 51–67, esp. 63. Westropp, "Ennis Abbey and the O'Brien Tombs," pp. 145–50; Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture*, vol. 1, pp. 121–27; vol. 2, pls. 235–45.

[51] Coleman, ed., "Regestum Monasterii," pp. 207–8. Together with renovation of the eastern part of the church, Joanna is also recorded as having funded construction of a bridge to the town.

[52] Heather King, "Late Medieval Crosses in County Meath c. 1470–1635," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 84 (1984), pp. 2–114, esp. 99–100.

her husband, and his territory, outside the walls of the church. One prodigious patron was Jennet Dowdall, who commissioned crosses to commemorate her two husbands, William Bathe and Oliver Dowdall, at Annesbrook, Duleek (Fig. 8), Baronstown, and Louth Hall.[53] By the very end of the century the success of these monuments had spread to the Gaelic west. The monument at Skreen, Co. Sligo is one of the few whose erection is noted in the local monastic annals, which record that in 1599 "Benmumhan Óg Ní Duibhgennain, daughter of Maelechlainn, son of Dubhthach Óg, son of Dubhthach Mór, erected the tomb of hewn stones which is over the edge of the great well of the Scrin, for the soul of her husband, i.e., the Vicar MacDomhnaill."[54] It also retains an inscription to the same effect (Fig. 9).

It is, therefore, clear that Irish women, in common with their counterparts across England and Europe, played a significant role in ensuring the longevity of their husband's, and husband's family's, status after death through artistic patronage, and that a wife's pious qualities and artistic sophistication were made tangible through the commissioning of sometimes quite elaborate monuments.[55] If one of the other great attributes of the Irish woman was as provider of hospitality, to what degree did a concern with conveying a husband's status in life translate into artistic patronage within the home?

While a reasonable number of documents survive to shed some light on church patronage, documentation is sparser when it comes to the division of labour, or indeed the processes involved, in the planning, commissioning, and decoration of Irish domestic buildings. Equally, the survival rate of medieval domestic architecture is poor. Irish urban medieval domestic fabric has been all but obliterated, so the best surviving material evidence is rural, where, as described by Von Münchhausen, a common form of "noble" habitation was the tower house, an austere stone structure, with small windows and generally devoid of much integrated stone ornamentation. It is estimated that roughly 3,500 examples of this type of dwelling may once have existed, of which only several hundred survive, dotted irregularly across the Irish landscape.[56] Just as in the late

[53] King, "Late Medieval Crosses in County Meath," pp. 96, 104–108.

[54] Freeman, ed., *Annála Connacht*, vol. 2, p. 517.

[55] See, for example, Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage: From Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 109–122; Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009); John A.A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme* (Aldershot, 2001).

[56] Cairns, *Irish Tower Houses,* pp. 3, 21; Kieran O'Conor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 17–25; Kieran O'Conor, "Castle Studies in Ireland—The Way Forward," *Château Gaillard*, 23 (2008) pp. 329–39, esp. 329–30.

Figure 8 Wayside cross erected by Jenet Dowdall, in memory of her first husband, William Bathe, ca. 1600, Duleek, Co. Meath (Photo: R. Moss).

Figure 9 Wayside monument erected by Benmumhan Óg Ní Duibhgennain in memory of her husband, the Vicar MacDomhnaill, ca. 1600, Skreen, Co. Sligo (Photo: R. Moss).

sixteenth century, when viewed through the eyes of a European visitor, the impression that they convey, at least in surviving elements, is primarily defensive, with comfort and artistic display given little consideration.

If the primary role of the high-status dwelling was defence, then one might expect that planning and construction was a purely male concern. The few references that survive relating to building of this type of dwelling would certainly seem to confirm this. For example, in 1484 it was Sir Tomas Fitzgerald who obtained the grant of £10 and cartage for the building of his castle at Lackagh, Co. Kildare, with every husbandman having ploughland in the county from Naas to Clane to bring a cartload of stones for the habitation.[57] Only in 1507 do we find a reference in the obituary of Catherine, daughter of the Earl of Desmond that "it was by her that [the castles at] Beann-Dubh [Castle Salem, Roscarbery, Co. Cork] and Dún-nambeann [Dunmanway, Co. Cork] were erected."[58]

In the Gaelic west a praise poem, composed to celebrate the thirteenth-century house of the Uí Conchobair at Clonfree, Co. Roscommon, records that Aodh Ua Conchobair, the patron, was involved in the planning of the house and that while "the *saer* [carpenter/ mason] wrought it . . . 'twas Aodh that planned it."[59] It is of note that the subsequent description of Aodh's house makes it clear that while defence was a concern, the hall, and indeed much of the house, was made of timber, wattle and daub. Neither was it devoid of comfort—the inside was furnished with rugs and cloth hangings.

While surviving Irish domestic architecture may now appear austere, this is a reminder that the impression of austerity has much to do with what has survived. It is clear that some dwellings were constructed entirely from "soft" materials such as timber and thatch, and that even defensive stone towers were frequently accompanied by additional buildings constructed of timber or wattle and daub, which have simply not survived the rigours of the Irish climate. The ephemeral nature of these, and indeed the materials used to decorate the interiors of all building types must, therefore, be borne in mind when assessing their internal layout and decoration.

A recent survey of Irish wall paintings, for example, suggests that in some cases these buildings were adorned with mural decoration, the most

[57] Philomena Connolly, *Statute Rolls of the Irish Parliament* (Dublin, 2002), p. 29.

[58] O'Donovan, ed. and trans., *Annála ríoghachta Éireann*, vol. 5, p. 1289.

[59] E.C. Quiggin, "O'Conor's House at Clonfree," in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. E.C. Quiggin (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 333–52, esp. 339.

complex so far uncovered in the tower house at Ardamullivan, Co. Galway, which includes a Passion cycle and devotional images of St. Christopher and an archbishop.[60] Evidence for panel paintings is much more scarce, and these appear not to have become a feature of the domestic interior until the sixteenth century, when, for example, Elizabeth Grey, the widow of a recently deceased Gearóid Óg Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare (d. 1534), is said to have kissed her husband's portrait before retiring to bed.[61] Stucco at Carrick-on-Suir, Bunratty, and at Roscrea castles and timber panelling in Malahide castle, Co. Dublin hint at the use of more plastic domestic arts by the end of the sixteenth century and begin to paint a slightly more colourful picture of the Irish domestic interior than the late medieval and indeed more modern commentators would have us believe.[62]

While the patronage of church buildings tended to be praised and recorded because of its pious intention, evidence for the commissioning and decoration of a residence comes from more disparate sources. Perhaps the most useful source is bardic poetry, which not infrequently personifies the house or castle as a woman, and often alludes to it as the place in which it was fitting for a woman to excel.[63] On occasion a bardic poem might be commissioned to celebrate the construction of a particularly fine house. About sixty-three of these poems survive, many of which remain un-translated and unpublished.[64] Other sources include inventories or account books, but the degree to which women exercised control over design and decoration is seldom explicitly stated.

One poem, possibly commissioned by Sadhbh Ní Chonchobair (d. 1373), draws a clear distinction between the roles of man and wife.

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[60] Karena Morton, "Aspects of Image and Meaning in Irish Medieval Wall Paintings," in *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland*, eds. Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, OSB, and Salvador Ryan (Dublin, 2006), pp. 51–71; Karena Morton, "Medieval Wall Paintings at Ardamullivan," *Irish Arts Review*, 18 (2002), pp. 105–13.

[61] Miller and Power, eds., *The Historie of Irelande*, p. 293. This may have been a portrait by Hans Holbein which still exists, now in a private collection.

[62] Jane Fenlon, "The Decorative Plasterwork at Ormond Castle–A Unique Survival," *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 67–81; Rory Sherlock, "An Introduction to the History and Architecture of Bunratty Castle," in *Medieval Art and Architecture in Limerick and South-West Ireland. Transactions of the British Archaeological Association 34*, ed. Roger Stalley (Leeds, 2011), pp. 202–218; Jane Fenlon, "The Plasterwork in Roscrea Castle," in *Excavations at Roscrea Castle*, ed. Conleth Manning (Dublin, 2007), pp. 67–73; Tom O'Shea, *The Talbots and Malahide Castle* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 27–29.

[63] Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, "Courts and Coteries I; 900–1600," in *A Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing IV: Women's Writing and Tradition*, eds. Seamus Deane, Angela Bourke, Andrew Carpenter, and Jonathan Williams (Cork, 2002), pp. 293–330, esp. 295.

[64] M. Katharine Simms, "Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement: The House Poems," in *Gaelic Ireland c.1250–1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement*, eds. Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (Dublin, 2001), pp. 246–67.

While her husband, Niall Mág Shamhradháin, is engaged in war, Sadhbh is at home arranging finely carved goblets and creating needlework to adorn his house.[65] However, more typically female patronage of secular buildings has lain in the realm of speculation or tradition. For example, Simms has suggested that construction of the house of Rudhraighe Mac Mathghamhna, in the modern county of Monaghan, was possibly influenced by his Anglo-Norman wife, Alice White, whose more international outlook may have been the catalyst to use "craftsmen from every land."[66] If so, it may also have been she who oversaw either the painting or carving of the "oaken boards" with stags, does, huntsmen, hounds, and flocks of birds described by a mid-fifteenth century poet.[67] Equally, across much of county Kilkenny, there remains a popular tradition of Margaret Fitzgerald (d. 1542) as the "builder countess," with tower houses at Ballyragget, Gowran, and Grannagh all attributed directly to her patronage.[68] While no direct evidence for this survives, there are some indications in the historical record that she played a hand in architectural patronage in the early decades of the sixteenth century. In 1525 her husband, Piers Ruadh Butler, was accused by the crown of the illegal imposition of coign and livery on all of the citizens of Kilkenny and Tipperary for his masons and carpenters, an indication of extensive works being undertaken across his territories.[69] Noting the sorry state of the churches in his lordship, it was also stated that divine service was only practiced with the consent of the Earl "or my lady his wife, by whom he is ruled."[70]

The ground is slightly firmer when it comes to an examination of the arrangement of interior space. Contemporary traveller's accounts, such as Von Münhhausen's, imply a lack of private space comparable to conditions of several centuries earlier in the rest of Europe. For example, supporting the German's impressions, the French writer M. Boullaye le Gouz complained that:

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65 Lambert McKenna, ed. and trans., *The Book of Maguaran. Leabhar Méig Shamhragháin* (Dublin, 1947), pp. 130–39, 339–43.

66 Simms, "Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement," pp. 252–3.

67 Simms, "Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement," pp. 252–3; TCD MS 1363, pp. 126, 136.

68 Dáithí Ó hOgáin, *Myth, Legend and Romance: An Encyclopaedia of the Irish Folk Tradition* (New York, 1991), pp. 64–66.

69 Coign and livery was a custom whereby free food and lodging was exacted from tenants for their lord and his followers for a limited period. A later development led to soldiers and other members of the lord's retinue collecting both food and wages from the householders with whom they were billeted.

70 John Sherran Brewer and William Bullen, eds., *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archi-episcopal Palace at Lambeth* (London, 1871), vol. 1, pp. 32–34.

> The castles or houses of the nobility consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but to tell the truth they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer and of straw in winter.[71]

However, by the sixteenth century the provision of multiple rooms, including dedicated chambers for the women of the household, is becoming clear, initially evident in the areas of English influence. One example of this is found in the household accounts of Sir Henry Sidney, who was in Ireland on various occasions from the 1550s in his various capacities as vice-treasurer, treasurer-at-war for Ireland, and ultimately Lord Deputy. Accounts for the establishment of the Sidneys' Irish home include the work of carpenters and builders on Mary Sidney's chamber and chapel, and the construction of furniture including a brushing board for her clothes. Furniture was also brought into Ireland, including tapestries from England and chairs from Flanders.[72]

As an English family with close ties to the English Court, this level of domestic sophistication is to be expected. But close links between some Irish families and the Court may also have had an increasing influence on the complexity, arrangement, and decoration of internal space. One such example is at Maynooth castle, Co. Kildare, the seat of the Fitzgerald, Earls of Kildare. The castle was a thirteenth-century keep set within a curtain wall, but it underwent a number of transformations during the sixteenth century (and later). The ninth Earl, Gearóid Óg, had been educated at Court and had returned to Ireland in 1503 with the first of his two English wives, Elizabeth Zouche, a relative of King Henry VII.[73] His second wife, Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the earl of Dorset, also resided at Maynooth, and by 1575, when a partial inventory of goods was compiled, an insight is given into the division of space. Both the "gentlewomen's chamber" and "My Ladies wardrobe" are mentioned, the latter chamber containing the most luxurious goods, including cushions of cloth-of-silver embroidered with velvet, a tester of crimson velvet and cloth-of-gold, a canopy of cloth-

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[71] T.F. Croften Croker, *The Tour of the French Traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, 1644* (London, 1837), pp. 40–41.

[72] Mary O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland 1500–180* (London, 2005), p. 90 citing Centre for Kentish Studies, De L'Isle Dudley Papers, "Daily Account Book, 1558–9," U1475/025/1. See also C.L. Kingsford, ed., *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de l'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place* (London, 1925), vol. 1, p. 381.

[73] Mary Ann Lyons, *Gearóid Óg, Ninth Earl of Kildare* (Dundalk, 1998).

of-Tynsell, and a chair and stool of black velvet.[74] While the ninth earl, and indeed his son, the tenth earl, were both cultured and had experience of living beyond Irish shores, it is tempting to see at least some influence being exerted by the English ladies of the house.

There is also evidence from an earlier date that women played a role in how the various spaces within the home functioned. Diane Hall has drawn attention to women's involvement in the application for licenses to establish private chapels or altars within the home, noting in the papal records 103 requests lodged between 1344 and 1469 by women with their husbands (75 requests) or alone (28 requests).[75] This reflects the growing trend in establishing private chapels as status symbols, but it is perhaps also an indication of the woman's desire to pray in the comfort and security of her own home.[76] This was particularly pertinent in Ireland, where, especially in the Gaelic west, parish churches, or in some cases the friaries that fulfilled their role, could be located at some considerable distance from one another.

Although little research has been conducted into the positioning or layout of domestic chapels in late medieval Ireland, it is likely that, as elsewhere, these spaces were among the more lavishly equipped. One of the more celebrated survivals of Gaelic female patronage in the context of private devotion is Maire Ní Mhaille's "Book of Piety," which, according to her obituary she had this "copied in her own house."[77] This gives an insight into the kind of devotional texts used by Gaelic noblewomen in a country where other types of private devotional texts, such as books of hours, are practically unknown. Meanwhile, a surviving inventory of goods belonging to a female proprietor at Greencastle, Co. Down, on the southern edge of the earldom of Ulster, reveals "a small psalter and another little book that contains 7 psalms," "a *Placebo* and *Dirige* [text of the office of the dead], wrapped in a silken cloth, and 3 silver cruets for the chapel."[78]

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[74] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Carte Papers LV p. 325, 13 May 1575, transcribed and published in Jane Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels*: *A Survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 10–12.

[75] Diane Hall, *Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland, c. 1140–1540* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 23–4.

[76] Nicholas Orme, "Church and Chapel in Medieval England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), pp. 75–102, esp. 76.

[77] Salvador Ryan, "Windows on Late Medieval Devotional Practice: Máire Ní Mháille's 'Book of Piety' (1513) and the World Behind the Texts," in *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland*, eds. Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, OSB, and Salvador Ryan (Dublin, 2006), pp. 1–15.

[78] Charles McNeill and Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, eds., *Calendar of Dowdall Deeds* (Dublin, 1960), pp. 51–53.

In some cases chapels may have occupied entire rooms, but more frequently they were probably more modest altars located in a discrete area of the dwelling. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these would have been used by elite members of the household and their private chaplains, but following the introduction of Anglican reform in the mid-sixteenth century, many families opened up their houses to recusant worshippers. Colm Lennon has noted that it was the women of gentry households who led the way in withdrawing from worship in the parish churches of the established religion and opened up their homes to Catholic worship in their private chapels, some also supporting chaplain schoolteachers.[79]

At Ballinacarriga Castle, Co. Cork, a window embrasure on the third floor is decorated with a stone carving of a crucifixion flanked by Mary and John and St. Paul with the initials R.H. and C.C. (Randal Hurley and Catherine O'Cullane) and the date 1595. The room's use as a Catholic chapel until 1815 may reflect a continuity in the use of the space as a private chapel when it was first established. It is of note that on the first floor of the castle, another window embrasure is decorated with a female figure flanked by five roses. Though traditionally said to be a "portrait" of Catherine O'Cullane and her five children, it is equally likely to be an image of Mary, the five roses representing devotion to the Five Wounds; the location of this image suggests perhaps a more private devotional space for the lady of the house.[80]

At Dunsoghly Castle, Co. Dublin, construction of a stand-alone chapel adjacent to the castle appears to have been prompted by the marriage of its owner, Sir John Plunket, to Dame Genet Sarsfield in 1572.[81] The pair had married shortly after the death of Genet's fourth husband, Sir Thomas Cusack, and under the terms of his will she managed to retain much of the wealth that she had brought to that marriage from her previous unions, together with a life interest in the estates that Sir Thomas had accrued following the dissolution of the monasteries.[82] Initially Genet and Sir John occupied Cusack's house in the dissolved nunnery at Lismullen, Co. Meath

[79] Colm Lennon, "Mass in the Manor House: The Counter Reformation in Dublin 1560–70," in *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, eds. James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (Dublin, 2000), pp. 112–26, esp. 117–18.

[80] Hanneke Ronnes, " 'A Solitary Place of Retreat:' Renaissance Privacy and Irish Architecture," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8/2 (2004), pp. 101–17; Clodagh Tait, "Irish Images of Jesus 1550–1650," *Church Monuments*, 16 (2001), pp. 44–57, esp. 56, n. 71.

[81] Lennon, "Mass in the Manor House," p. 117.

[82] Brendan Scott, "Career Wives or Wicked Stepmothers?" *History Ireland*, 17/1 (2009), pp. 14–17.

but, following a dispute with her step-son, they moved back to Sir John's home at Dunsoghly in 1573. A date stone over the richly moulded doorway of the chapel, carved with the symbols of the Passion, records its erection at this time.

It was not only the conditions for private worship that were improved by Genet's arrival at Dunsoghly. Court proceedings taken against her and Sir John by Genet's step-son, Edward Cusack, reveal that before leaving Lismullen she had stripped it bare. According to Edward the house which "was best furnished of plate, tapestry, and all manner of household stuff in Ireland of those days" had been ransacked by Genet. "She stripped the house including portals, chests, and glass windows. He was feign to compound with her for the boards of his hall."[83] It is tempting to see the little chapel as the repository of some of these spoils, the moulded doorway and window tracery that formally graced the east end suggestive of spolia from the former Meath nunnery.[84]

Indeed, like today, marriage is likely to have been the main catalyst for the refurbishment of the interiors of many noble dwellings. New household goods would have been introduced as part of the dowry, and it is likely that in some cases these may have been specially commissioned. One possible example of this is a mether, or ceremonial Irish drinking cup, now in private ownership in Dunvegan, Scotland (Fig. 10).[85] This wooden goblet was refurbished with gilt silver fittings by Catriona Ó Neill, wife of John Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, in 1493. It represents the almost unique survival of a piece of ornate secular "tableware" from the period, making it difficult to place in context. However, the quality of the metalwork fittings and prominence of the inscription, which includes part of verse 15 from Psalm 144, suggest that it was a ceremonial piece, perhaps intended to mark the union between two prominent Ulster families, which would subsequently bestow bounty upon them.

The uniquely Irish form of the mether and the style of its metalwork covering imply that it was locally made. However, there is evidence to suggest that the female proprietors of other noble residences in Ulster had more

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[83] Hubert Gallway, "The Cusack Family of Counties Meath and Dublin," *The Irish Genealogist* (1974–1979), p. 674, cit. London, National Archives, S.P. 63/72, 63/73.

[84] For an early description of the chapel see John Sloane, "Antiquarian Rambles in the County of Dublin. II, Dunsoghly Castle," *Irish Literary Gazette*, 1/5–22 (1857), p. 219.

[85] David H. Caldwell, ed., *Angels and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 54–55; Fred T. MacLeod, "Notes on the Relics Preserved in Dunvegan Castle, Skye, and the Heraldry of the Family of MacLeod of McLeod," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 47 (1912–13), pp. 99–129, esp. 102–09; Raghnall Ó Floinn, "Irish Goldsmith's Work of the Later Middle Ages," *Irish Arts Review*, 12 (1996), pp. 35–44.

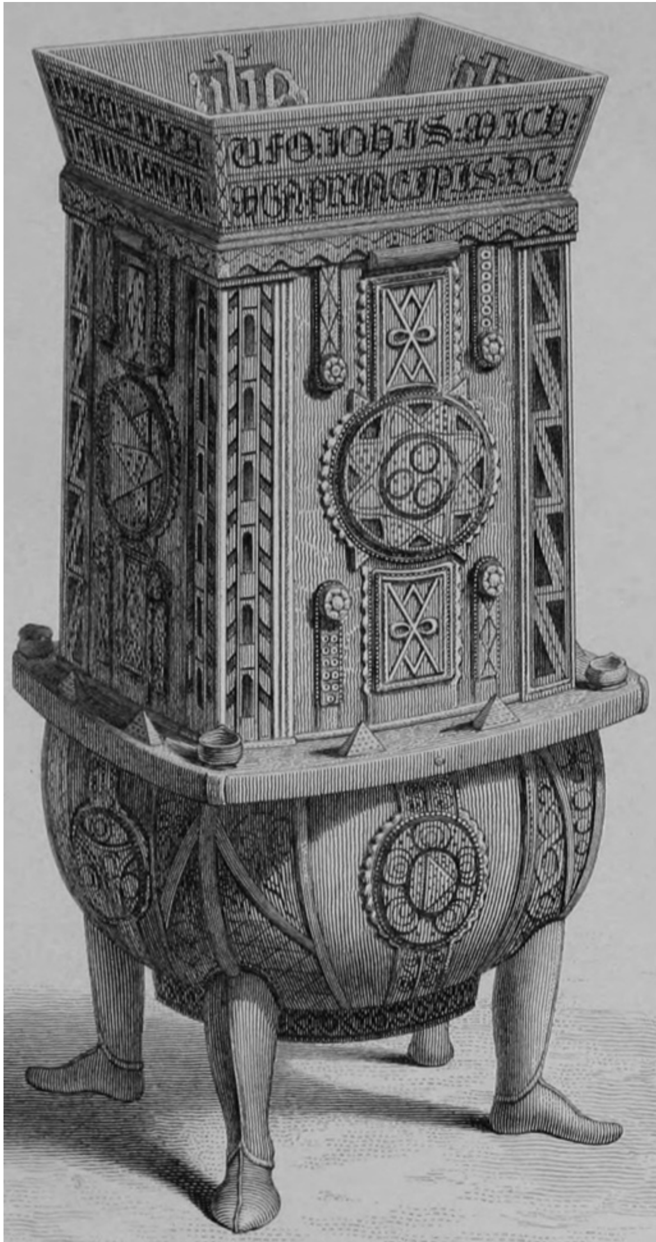

Figure 10 The "Dunvegan" cup, commissioned by Catriona Ó Neill for her husband, John Maguire, ca. 1493 (Drawing: D. Wilson, *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1851, p. 652).

cosmopolitan tastes. Items procured for the chapel of an anonymous lady at Greencastle, Co. Down have already been mentioned. The same ca. 1334 inventory that lists these items also includes a velvet bedspread with the arms of England, Gloucester, and Damory, six green cushions with the arms of Gloucester and Damory, five yellow tapestries powdered with green parrots and scarlet roses, two old hangings of green, fretted with yellow and butterflies, a pillow of scarlet with silk border and letters of pearls, and two horns bound with silver and other metal.[86] Four books of romances, another of surgery, and thirteen other pamphlets of romances, physic, and surgery are also listed. Of note here is the source of these items, sent by Bynde Wydeloc of Florence and the Dominican community at Carlingford to the lady's chaplain, Richard de Newent.[87]

Although not named, reference to the arms of Gloucester and Damory suggest that the patron in question was Elizabeth de Clare, granddaughter of Edward I and daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Greencastle was a possession of the de Burgo earls of Ulster and her presence there presumably stemmed from her first marriage to John de Burgo.[88] Their son, William, third Earl of Ulster, had been killed the year before the inventory is thought to have been compiled. On John's death, Elizabeth had married Theobald de Verdun, Justiciar of Ireland, and her third husband was Roger Lord Damory, who died in 1322. Elizabeth's brother, heir to the Clare fortune, was killed in 1314, so by the death of her last husband she not only had dower and jointure lands from her three marriages but also held a share in the Clare fortunes.

The surviving muniments and will of Elizabeth have provided a rich insight into the cultural patronage of this fourteenth-century noble patron in England.[89] However, the extent of her patronage in Ireland, where she owned substantial lands, has never been explored.[90] There she is credited with the foundation of Ballinrobe Friary, Co. Mayo for the Augustinian

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[86] McNeill and Otway-Ruthven, eds., *Calendar of Dowdall Deeds*, pp. 51–53.

[87] McNeill and Otway-Ruthven, eds., *Calendar of Dowdall Deeds*, pp. 51–53.

[88] "Annales Londonienses," in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Rolls series vol. 1, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1882), p. 156.

[89] Frances A. Underhill, "Elizabeth de Burgh: Connoisseur and Patron," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA and London, 1996), pp. 266–87; Jennifer C. Ward, "Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d. 1360)," in *Medieval London Widows 1300–1500*, eds. C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton (London, 1994), pp. 29–45.

[90] A summary of the Clare estates is listed in G.A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 143–47.

Figure 11 Ballinrobe Friary, Co. Mayo, 14th–16th c. (Photo: R. Moss).

friars in the early part of the fourteenth century (Fig. 11),[91] a reflection perhaps of her close relationship with the same order of friars at Clare.[92] Although indicative of pious motivation, the foundation at Ballinrobe was also political, representing the first foundation for the friars in Connacht, one that was probably intended to help strengthen Anglo-Norman interests in a town that was essentially an Anglo-Norman enclave in the Gaelic west. As principal heiress of the de Clare estates, Elizabeth owned a number of properties, and her furnishings often moved with her.[93] The influence that she and other generations of English noblewomen exerted in Ireland is now hard to quantify, but does help to emphasize that it was

[91] Francis Xavier Martin, "The Augustinian Friars in Pre-Reformation Ireland," *Augustiniana*, 6 (1956), pp. 346–84, esp. 361–2. The friary church is still standing, but has been stripped of all original architectural detailing.
[92] K.W. Barnardiston, *Clare Priory* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 16.
[93] Ward, "Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d. 1360)," p. 40.

not simply limited to Dublin and the Pale, but rather extended across much of the country.

This dissemination of ideas has certainly become clear by the early sixteenth century as noble Irish families maintained contacts with English Court circles, and politically motivated inter-dynastic marriage saw an increased intermingling between Anglo-Norman and Gaelic cultures.

The best-documented example of this is Margaret Fitzgerald, the so-called "builder countess," who has already been referred to above in relation to her political influence on her husband, her strategic patronage of tomb sculpture, and her traditional involvement in the construction of tower houses across county Kilkenny. Both the tombs and tower houses with which Margaret and her husband Piers are associated were not particularly sophisticated. However, this does not mean that Margaret was unaware of current trends beyond Irish shores. As sister of the ninth Earl of Kildare, raised at Maynooth castle, she had a cultured upbringing. A surviving inventory of her brother's library and personal possessions dated 1518 is a testament to the refined background from which she came.[94] This included a vast amount of plate and jewellery, much of it adorned with the Kildare arms and some procured from France and Germany. Although by the sixteenth century Margaret and her husband had become bitter rivals of the house of Kildare, her familiarity with such luxuries doubtless left an impression.

Writing just a couple of decades after her death, Richard Stanyhurst, compiler of the descriptive and historical sections of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577) commented of Margaret that she was the "meanes at those days whereby hir husbande's country was reclaimed from the sluttish and uncleane Irish custome, to Englishe bedding, house keeping and civilitie."[95] In the domestic realm it is clear that Margaret was anything but old-fashioned. Early in the sixteenth century, as she and her husband gained a firmer foothold in Kilkenny, she is reported to have "planted great civilitie in ye countyes of Tipperary and Kilkenny, and to give good example to ye people of that country, brought out of Flanders and other countries diverse Artificers who were daily kept at worke by them in their castle of Kilkenny, where they wrought and made diaper, tapestry, turkey carpets, cushions and other like works."[96] Together

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[94] Gearóid MacNiocaill, ed., *Crown Surveys of Lands, 1540–41, with the Kildare Rental, Begun 1518* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 237–357.

[95] Miller and Power, eds., *The Historie of Irelande*, p. 256.

[96] Robert Roth, "A Register Containing the Pedigree of the Right Honourable Thomas, Late Earl of Ormond and a Storie of his Ancestres etc., 1616," BL Add. MS 4792, no. 47, fols

with accommodating foreign craftsmen Margaret also purchased objects directly from overseas. One of her last and most lavish acts of patronage was her donation of funds to Waterford cathedral for a set of vestments to be bought in Flanders "whereby God's divine service might the more honourably be set forth in the church."[97]

Reconstructing the role of women in shaping domestic space in Ireland is hampered by various factors. The most common surviving contemporary or near-contemporary accounts are written by travellers whose interest is likely to have been piqued by either the unusual, or by scenes that helped to reinforce particular stereotypes rather than by the types of dwelling or interior that might already have been familiar to them in the households of Europe. Similarly, while there was a particular motivation in recording the patronage of art and architecture for the church—a concern with commemoration after one's death—there was no such motivation in recording improving works to one's own home.

Tangible evidence for domestic architecture generally, and for interiors in particular, is also relatively sparse. The durable nature of stone has led to an uneven survival of noble house types with the mild and moist climate having all but obliterated the once equally common timber and wattle and daub structures that would have dotted the landscape.

By piecing together those other fragments of evidence which do survive, however, a picture begins to emerge of a more sophisticated Irish domestic interior than has hitherto been suspected. Teasing out the roles played by husbands and wives in creating these environments is difficult. However, by examining the nature of female lay patronage of the church and the few documented examples of female domestic patronage, it would appear that Ludolf Von Münchhausen's assessment of the Irish was not universally accurate. Women played a sometimes significant role in society, not all Irish were suspicious of foreign things, and they were certainly not ignorant of arts and the more subtle craftsmanship.

241–65. Cit. James Graves and James G.A. Prim, *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1857), p. 248.

[97] Niall J. Byrne, ed., *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin, 2007), p. 10.

CHAPTER NINE

RECEPTION, GENDER, AND MEMORY: ELISENDA DE MONTCADA AND HER DUAL-EFFIGY TOMB AT SANTA MARIA DE PEDRALBES*

Eileen McKiernan González

Elisenda de Montcada i de Pinós (1292–1364), Queen of the Crown of Aragón from 1322 to 1327, crafted an unusual funerary monument at the monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes that deliberately constructed an image of her person for two distinct audiences—one mixed and public, one female and cloistered.[1] Her tomb consists of two effigial monuments that share the wall of the presbytery and cloister in a back-to-back construction (Figs. 1–3). The placement of her body physically within the wall of the church bridges the space of the priests and nuns, yet the duality of the monument's facades presents a rare moment in which an acknowledgement of gendered modes of memorializing the dead is made clear.

* I would like to thank The International Center for Medieval Art whose Kress Award provided resources that allowed me to expand my research for this paper. My thanks also to Anna Castellano i Tresserra and the Clarissan community at Pedralbes for allowing me extended access at the monastery, and to Maureen Quigley and Therese Martin for their thoughtful editorial help and guidance.

[1] Santa Maria de Pedralbes is one of the best-studied monuments in Catalán scholarship. The monastery architecture (church and enclosure) survives along with most of its original stained glass. Its archives have remained within the community and provide a broad view of monastic life in Pedralbes and its connections to the order of Poor Clares, the ecclesiastic hierarchy, laity, city, nobility, and royal circles. Beginning in the 19th century serious art historical attention has been given to the site, and Sor Eulalia Anzizu published a reliable account based on the archives in *Fulles històriques del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes* (Barcelona, 1897; rprt. 2007). She also commissioned Joan Martorell's renovation of the site to its medieval origins by removing the Baroque altarpieces and stucco embellishments. Two doctoral theses have focused on this site, one in history (Anna Castellano i Tresserra, "Origen i formació d'un monestir femení. Pedralbes al segle XIV (1327–1411)," Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1996) and one in art history (Cristina Santjust i Latorre, "L'obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes des de la seva fundació fins al segle XVI: Un monestir reial per a l'orde de les Clarisses a Catalunya," Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2008). Ester Balasch and Francesca Español also edited a volume of essays based on a symposium dedicated to the queen and monastery: *Elisenda de Montcada: Una reina lleidatana i la fundació del real monestir de Pedralbes* (Lleida, 1997). Every major Catalán art historian on Gothic art has devoted some attention to the site as well.

Figure 1 Funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, church front, situated in the apse to the south of the altar. Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes). For details, see fig. 4 and color plate 11.

Figure 2 Funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, cloister front, situated opposite the church front. Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

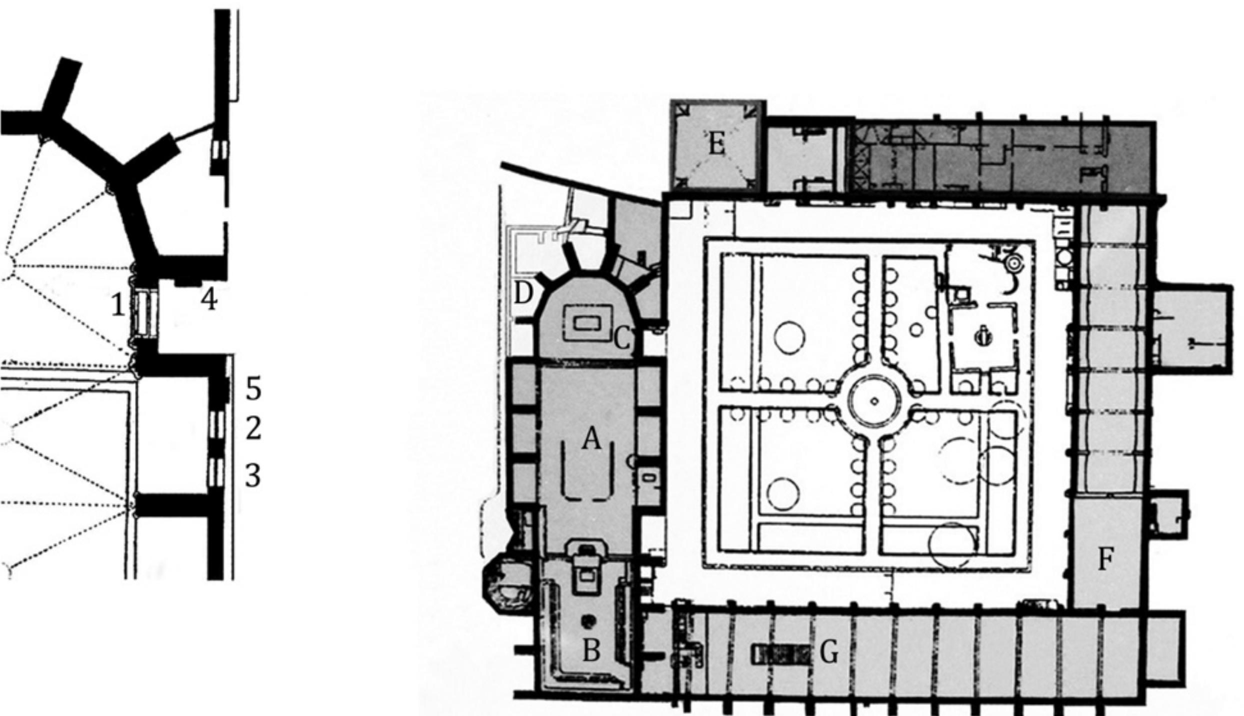

Figure 3 Groundplan of the monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes: A) church; B) choir (upper and lower); C) funerary monument of Queen Elisenda; D) sacristy; E) chapterhouse; F) chamber of Queen Elisenda; G) dormitory. Location of funerary monuments (left inset plan): 1) Queen Elisenda de Montcada; 2) Constança de Cardona; 3) Elionor de Pinós; 4) Sor Francesca Saportella; 5) Beatriu de Fenollet (Groundplan: © S. Calderon-Laiton. Adapted from MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes informational panels and Natàlia Baqué's "Les claus de volta de l'esglesia de Santa Maria de Pedralbes").

Reception and intentionality are ripe for consideration here.[2] Recent scholarship on late medieval funerary practices raises the important consideration of whether, at the most basic level, it is possible to fathom the intentions of a benefactor.[3] Elisenda's tomb, I believe, may provide an ideal case study to answer this question. As a lay woman who co-existed with a community of nuns, this queen was predisposed to create a monument that acknowledged not only the public face of her status, but also the unique situation of cloistered religious women. In an era of increasing papal limitation on the movement of nuns, Elisenda's monument allowed the female community a completely separate viewing experience of a double-facade object. In considering the issues of just what role the donor played in financing and conceiving the physical aspect of the monument and any resulting benefits of the construction (prayers for the dead, remembrance, gifts to the institution, etc.), I would like to acknowledge the specifically gendered readings afforded by the dual nature of the queen's tomb. I will argue that Elisenda's monument adds to our understanding of the nuances of gender, lineage, piety, and power in the representation of self and consideration of audience.

An effigial tomb, such as Elisenda's, consists of a figural representation of the deceased lying upon a sarcophagus chest.[4] This configuration mimics the way a body would have been laid out for viewing during funerary rituals.[5] The effigy appears asleep, theologically suggesting that the

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[2] Madeline Harrison Caviness provides an overview of the approaches to reception of medieval objects and iconography in "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), pp. 65–85. In this article I will approach reception through distinct audiences within the context of a particular monument, Elisenda's tomb, and in a particular structure, the Monastery of Pedralbes. See David Freeberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1991).

[3] Truus van Bueren, "Care for the Here and the Hereafter: A Multitude of Possibilities," in *Care for the Here and Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Truus van Bueren (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 13–34.

[4] Erwin Panofsky continues to be a major source for the development and significance of the effigial tomb. See his *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964), pp. 39–64. Kurt Bauch presents one of the broadest overviews of the effigial tomb in *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin, 1976). In his study, France, Germany, England, and Italy are considered; Spain, unfortunately, is not included. His analysis, however, provides a broad context for the transformation of funerary sculpture in Spain.

[5] Renata Kroos, "Grabbräuche-Grabbilder," in *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich, 1984), pp. 285–353. Kroos argues that the sculptural effigy further served a powerful purpose in the anniversaries of the dead where cloth was placed over the tomb to re-enact the mass of the dead. The effigy provided an eerie and poignant function in conjuring up the body of the deceased under the cloth, making the ceremony more real and less symbolic.

deceased sleeps in anticipation of the resurrection of the body at the end of times.[6] Effigial tombs ranged in size, but royal and noble tombs tended to have a life-sized sculpted "portrait." This affirmed the continuing presence of the dead within the space of the living.

Once the iconography of effigial monuments was well established in the thirteenth century, innovation shifted toward placement of the tomb within religious spaces.[7] The tombs moved first from the narthex and crypts below the altar to designated chapels that functioned as familial necropolises, and then began to advance into the choir, transept, and the presbytery.[8] Monuments moved to areas of higher visibility in juxtaposition with the high altar, the focal point of the church. These shifts placed increasing prominence on the memorializing of patrons, often marking indelibly the identity of the religious community with a particular founder or promoter. A patron's foundation and endowment of a new community could lead to a more prestigious placement of his or her tomb, a visible reminder of the individual and of the intercessory responsibilities of the community.

Elisenda de Montcada's endowment follows this pattern. She founded and built the monastery of Pedralbes for a community of Poor Clares in 1326 with the support of her husband Jaume II, King of the Crown of Aragón (r. 1291–1327).[9] According to the archives, she gathered episcopal,

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See also Ernst Kantorowicz's classic study *The King's Two Bodies: A Study of Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

[6] Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, 2000), pp. 3–6. Morganstern's chronological focus is on the late 13th to 14th century.

[7] Nuns, monks, and friars provided spiritual benefits for their patrons in life and in death. Their dedication to continual prayer provided a natural space for prayers for the dead. The doctrine of purgatory contributed to the growing obsession with these prayers. The Church formally accepted the doctrine in 1274, though based on a practice already in effect for over a century. See Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 77–92. On the issues of purgatory and intercessory prayers for the dead see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 130–33, 362–65; Brian Patrick McGuire, "Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change," *Viator,* 20 (1989), pp. 61–84; and Fernando Álvarez García, "El hombre medieval ante el purgatorio: un tiempo y un espacio en dirección a Dios," *Temas medievales,* 6 (1996), pp. 7–22.

[8] The desire of the faithful to be buried close to the altar and within the church is paired with the problem of space. The church attempted to stop the practice, but succeeding church councils affirming the restriction make clear that burials within continued unabated. See Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, 1991), pp. 101–05; and Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), pp. 72–73.

[9] The Crown of Aragón under Jaume II was a confederation of states that included the kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia, the county of Barcelona, and shortly thereafter Sardinia and Corsica. Jaume's reign has recently been receiving a kind of resurgence in historic

papal, royal, and local privileges for Pedralbes. She provided four ordinances that specified her financial support for each member of the community and their responsibility to care for her memory and soul through prayer.[10] Elisenda retired to a palace adjoining the monastery after Jaume's death in 1327, living the remainder of her life as a lay member of the community. At her death in 1364, she left her entire patrimony to Pedralbes.

When she married Jaume II, Elisenda had been a mature noblewoman of thirty, noted for her beauty, Franciscan devotion, humility, and intelligence.[11] The daughter of Elisenda de Pinós (d. after 1328), a member of one of the wealthiest noble families of this age, and Pere de Montcada (1266/67–1300), who, as the hereditary seneschal of the realm, governed state and military affairs under Jaume II,[12] Elisenda was the first Catalán noblewoman to be queen of the Crown of Aragón.[13] The king moved

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scholarship helmed by two scholars, José Hinojosa Montalvo, *Jaime II y el esplendor de la Corona de Aragón* (San Sebastián, 2006), and David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London and New York, 1997). Both of these scholars emphasize Jaume's expansionist approach toward the Mediterranean. Martí de Barcelona considers the erudite court promoted by Jaume in "La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II," *Estudios Franciscanos,* 91 (1990), pp. 213–95. Jaume's documents reveal a consistent interest in acquiring books, supporting universities, creating autonomous cultural centers in his various regions, along with following medical developments, and a concern for his children's education. The king enabled scholars to travel to different universities to continue their studies. During his reign literature flourished in Latin, Catalán, and Hebraic-Catalán. Francesca Español's section, "El lideratge estètic de Jaume II en l'assumpció del gòtic," in *El gótico catalán* (Manresa, 2002), pp. 39–47, considers the flourishing artistic circles during his reign.

[10] For a complete look at these ordinances, see Anna Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana. Història d'un monestir femení* (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 52–77.

[11] While her humility is celebrated, the documentary record also confirms her role in elevating her family in terms of privileges, particularly clerical offices. Archivist Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Biografía de Elisenda de Montcada* (Barcelona, 1953), and art historian Francesca Español, "Un cert perfil d'Elisenda de Montcada," in *Elisenda de Montcada: Una reina lleidatana i la fundació del real monestir de Pedralbes*, eds. Ester Balasch and Francesca Español (Lleida, 1997), pp. 11–37, provide a broad analysis of the queen based on the surviving archival record. Joan F. Cabestany transcribes six letters directed toward Alfons after the queen retires to Pedralbes in "Aportació a la biografia de la reina Elisenda de Montcada," in *Separata de Martínez Ferrando, archivero, Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (Barcelona, 1968), pp. 107–15.

[12] Pere died when Elisenda was eight, and her brother Ot (1300–1341) took his place in regnal affairs. The Montcadas, particularly her brothers Ot and Gastò, and her nephew Guillem Ramon, received royal protection and favor. Elisenda consistently intervened on their behalf, especially as Gastò and Guillem Ramon climbed the ecclesiastic hierarchy to bishops of Girona and Lleida respectively. The close relationship of this noble family to the king included Ot being named the godfather of Jaume's eldest grandson and heir to the throne.

[13] Previously, two noblewomen, though not Cataláns, had married kings: Marie of Montpellier and the Navarrese Teresa Gil de Vidaure. Marie was the daughter of the Byzantine

quickly and successfully to gain papal dispensation for this marriage, his fourth.[14] Elisenda did not bear any children yet was given the honorific of queen-mother by both Jaume's son Alfons the Gentle (r. 1327–1336), and grandson Pere the Ceremonious (r. 1337–1387).[15] She was consulted and she participated in affairs of state. Her monument commemorates her role as queen clearly and visibly within the public space of the church of Santa Maria de Pedralbes.

The appearance of the church side of Elisenda's funerary monument is conventional for its age: an effigial tomb placed within a polylobal canopy (see Figs. 1 and 4; Color Plate 11). The life-sized queen lies crowned with her hands crossed over her waist. She wears a wimple that covers her neck and chin and a veil that loosely frames her youthful face, allowing her wavy hair to be visible. Her mantle is trimmed and comes together with a floral clasp upon her chest; her sleeves are detailed by a long row of buttons, and a ring is visible on her damaged right hand. Elisenda's head lies on a brocade pillow with her crest, the combined Aragonese bars and Montcada spheres, alternating with the crest of her husband Jaume II. Her feet rest upon two small dogs, barely visible, and censing angels appear at her head and feet. The sarcophagus chest is supported by three lions and decorated with reliefs of six saints within a polylobal arcade.[16] Above, Elisenda appears a second time as angels elevate her soul, represented crowned, nude, and with flowing hair, to the image of Christ in Majesty. Four other sculptures adorn the piers, SS. Francis and James at her foot and head respectively, with slightly smaller figures of SS. Clare and Elizabeth

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princess Eudoxia Comnena and the heir to Guilhem VIII of Montpellier. Teresa's marriage was secret and late in the life of Jaume I, leading to ongoing debate as to its validity.

[14] Consanguinity laws required six degrees of separation between spouses, and both Jaume and Elisenda were descended from Pere the Catholic (r. 1196–1213). Her great-grandmother Constança of Aragón was the natural daughter of the king. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando provides a thorough analysis of Jaume's distinct relations with his wives and children and the geo-political implications of his marital strategies. See Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (Barcelona, 1948). Jaume had four marriages, but only three queens, as his first marriage to Isabel of Castilla, never consummated, was annulled. For this study, I will refer only to the queens.

[15] The numbering of the count-kings of the Crown is complicated by different numberings in their respective realms. Alfons was IV of Aragón, III of Catalunya, and II of Valencia. Where this is an issue I will use their monikers.

[16] The side of the sarcophagus is the most problematic area in terms on conservation. The original reliefs do not survive on either side of the monument and the ones present are part of the restoration work performed for the celebration in 1926 of the 600th anniversary of the monastery's foundation. Contradictory evidence survives for both the present construction (in written descriptions) and for the presence of family crests (in a 19th-century watercolor).

Figure 4 Funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, detail of the queen from the church front. Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes). See color plate 11.

above, both affirming her connection to the Franciscan order and representing the royal couple's namesakes.[17]

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[17] The slightly ambiguous image of Elizabeth (youthful, secular clothing, holding a palm) has been questioned at times, identifying St. Agnes instead. However, the association with St. Elizabeth maintains the strong Franciscan devotion and also had an important familial association for Aragón. Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207–1231) was Jaume's great-aunt and a powerful symbol of royal charity and sanctity. Her confessor did not initially allow her to enter the order, as he considered her duties in the world too important. She would have served as an ideal model for Elisenda's decision not to take vows. The attributes of St. Elizabeth are not completely codified by this period, but she is generally represented as young (she died at 24), beautiful, crowned, in secular clothing, and sometimes holding flowers in a basket or in her robes. (See also the study by Stefanie Seeberg in this volume.) The representation of the saint here is missing only her crown. See for example Simone Martini's fresco of the saint at San Francesco in Assisi. Later representations give St. Elizabeth a habit. The statues of the saints have survived on the cloister side of Elisenda's tomb while the church-side saints are copies in alabaster commissioned by Sor Anzizu for the

The canopy of the monument sweeps upward, filling the space between two shafts in the chevet, and rising to the triforium of stained glass roundels. Elisenda's crest appears twice in relief between the finial and gable.[18] The heraldry deliberately affirms within the church the person of the queen and her connection to the throne. Above the tomb, both monarchs' crests are repeated in each bay of the chevet, underlining the monastery's association with the royal couple (Fig. 5).

The tomb is elevated on the platform of the presbytery, inhabiting the space reserved for priests and deacons.[19] As the founder and builder of the institution Elisenda had access to a place of honor that memorializes her person and her broader identity as a Montcada queen of the Crown of Aragón. Her monument is in full view of the lay population, and she herself would have seen it every time she entered the church, arguably for twenty years after its completion.[20] The primary viewers within the church, though, were the priests who officiated at the daily masses for the benefit of her soul, and the souls of her husband and her family.[21]

Elisenda's effigy was prominently placed on the south wall of the presbytery, the only monument within the privileged male ecclesiastic space. As the priests rose toward the altar and officiated mass she lay at their right, in front of them as they came from the sacristy (across from the monument), and on their left when blessing the community. Her monument breached their space with the sculptures of St. James and St. Francis breaking from the frame of the canopy and extending their attributes outward. This organization fits nicely with the fourteenth-century construction of mausoleum choirs and familial chantries. The dowager queen's monument was a physical reminder of her person to the priests in their role as mediators with the divine, and it would have remained an interesting, yet conventional

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19th-century renovations of the church. The six saints on the chest are later restorations, as is the painting.

[18] All three crests appear on the interior of the cloister, alternating between capitals. Heraldry also identifies benefactors: the chapterhouse and the chapel of St. Peter identifies Constança de Cardona in the ceiling in the combined Cardona and Pinós crest, while the Montcada crest marks the chapel of St. Ursula, for which Ot de Montcada provided the resources.

[19] It is not clear that the platform was part of the original construction; however, the effigial monument is clearly within the presbytery and separate from the chapels that extend on both sides of the church. Further, the cloister-side tomb compensates for the raised presbytery by elevating the sarcophagus.

[20] The dating of the monument to the early 1340s is based on documentary and stylistic grounds, discussed below.

[21] Two daily masses plus anniversary masses were prescribed for the priests in her ordinances. Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana*, pp. 55.

Figure 5 Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, church interior, view from the upper choir, begun 1326. Funerary monument of the queen on the right in the apse (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

example of similar royal monuments had Elisenda and the community of nuns at Pedralbes stopped here; but they did not, as we shall see.

Tombs, Enclosure, and Reception within the Monastic Church

In a male foundation the choir and presbytery were often a continuous space, while aisles and ambulatories allowed the lay population to move around the choir and view the altar.[22] Monks processed across the aisle to the choir in full view of the lay population. This was not the case for nuns in this period. Strict active enclosure denied the nuns proximity to the altar physically and visually.

The desire to protect nuns from public eyes conflicted with the desire for their participation in and viewing of the Eucharistic service. The increasingly strict rules of enclosure for female orders created greater and greater visual distance between the nuns and the celebration of the mass.[23] With *Redemptor noster*, Pope Benedict XII (d. 1342) ordered the reform of monastic communities, the dramatic nadir in a century-long process of restricting the visibility and activities of nuns.[24] Placing the choir at the west end of the church was not unusual in women's foundations, but the building of walls to separate them from the lay community further added to the distancing effect. These rules isolated the nuns visually from the lay community and from the altar. Earlier foundations were altered to meet the new specifications, and over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, experimentation with the ideal placement of the choir continued.[25] The solution tended to locate the choir at the west end with a wall that contained a grill in order to allow nuns to receive the Eucharist during the mass; this is the case at Pedralbes (Fig. 6).

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[22] Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 57–59, 72–73.

[23] Caroline Bruzelius, "Hearing is Believing: Clarissan Architecture, ca. 1213–1340," *Gesta,* 31 (1992), pp. 83–91. In the same volume, Hamburger discusses the development of loft choirs in north central Europe along with other ubiquitous elements of women's monastic communities: Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta,* 31/2 (1992), pp. 108–34.

[24] Anna Castellano i Tresserra, "Les constitucions del Papa Benet XII al Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes (1337–1342)," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 67/1 (1994), pp. 539–50.

[25] Caroline Bruzelius, "Nuns in Space: Strict Enclosure and the Architecture of the Clarisses in the Thirteenth Century," in *Clare of Assisi: A Medieval and Modern Woman* (New York, 1996), pp. 53–74. See also Mary A. Filipiak, "The Plans of the Poor Clares' Convents in Central Italy: From the Thirteenth through the Fifteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1957, pp. 81–82, 256–58; Carola Jäggi, "Eastern Choir or Western Gallery? The Problem of the Place of Nun's Choirs in Köningsfelden and Other Early Mendicant Nunneries," *Gesta,* 40/1 (2001), pp. 79–93.

Figure 6 Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, church interior, view from the apse of the upper and lower choir, begun 1326 (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

This situation also interfered with the practice of burial and memorializing of the dead, as the ideal placement of a tomb restricted access by a primary viewing audience, namely the nuns of the community. Either the tomb could inhabit the choir and lose the proximity to the altar and the priests as they officiated the Mass for the Dead, or it could be in the presbytery and away from the nuns' sight. In either case the visibility of the monument would be restricted for one of the two primary audiences charged with maintaining the memory of the deceased. For royal and noble monuments, where dynastic and political considerations were more at play, the open space of the church was preferred, even if it meant limiting the view by the nuns.

An earlier example with a similarly configured choir in a royal Clarissan foundation can be found at Santa Maria donna Regina in Angevin Naples, reconstructed by Maria of Hungary (ca. 1257–1323) after the earthquake of 1293.[26] The configuration here is of a single nave church with an upper choir at the west end. Maria's son Robert of Anjou (r. 1309–1343) commissioned an effigial niche tomb for her. The iconography is expanded to include representations of her children to affirm her role as the founder of a new dynasty and of the church.[27] The Angevin monument lies in the nave to the north of the altar and presents precisely the problem that Elisenda's monument attempts to solve: the upper choir opens to the stained-glass clerestory of the apse, but does not present a view of the altar or Maria's monument.[28] As the nuns participated in the mass through sound rather than sight, the divine office, sung in their upper choir, would have appeared to the laity to descend from unseen voices.

The chancel at Pedralbes also leads to a single nave with side chapels, and the choir is restricted to the west end, with entry from the north side. Pedralbes has both upper and lower choirs, and the nuns performed the

[26] Tanja Michalsky, "MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS: The Tomb of Maria of Hungary," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 61–78.

[27] This format is consistent with the tombs of kinship found north of the Alps and, as such, fits the model analyzed by Anne McGee Morganstern in *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*.

[28] As discussed below, an awareness of the limited visual access nuns had of the altar and any surrounding monuments is evident as well in the transformation of the royal monastery of Santa Chiara in Naples, founded by Robert and his second wife Sancia of Mallorca (1284–1345). The choir was built behind, that is, east of, the altar. Robert's funerary monument was placed on the wall of the grill that delineated the space. There is no parallel monument on the choir side, but elements of the base are visible through the grill. Caroline Bruzelius, "Queen Sancia of Mallorca and the Church of Sta. Chiara in Naples," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 40 (1995), pp. 41–72.

liturgy of the hours from the raised choir, a location that did not allow easy viewing of the tomb (Fig. 7).[29] In order to resolve the issue of sight-lines, a second front to the tomb monument was conceived for placement within the cloister (see Fig. 2).[30] This image was for the privileged viewing of the nuns of the community. The format of decoration is a duplicate of that within the church, with the exception, however, of significant changes to her effigy (Fig. 8, compare with Fig. 4). In the cloister she does not wear a crown or ring, nor are the heraldic crests upon her pillow. Her veil and wimple completely cover her hair, chin, and neck, and the trim of the mantle and veil are gone. A knotted cord hangs from her waist. Her faithful dogs no longer accompany her. The queen's garb has been replaced by the modest dress of a widow or a nun.[31]

Elisenda never took vows, but this would not have barred her from being buried with the habit of the Poor Clares, or of having her effigy dressed in one if she had so chosen. Both Blanca of Anjou (1280–1310) at Santes Creus and Maria of Lusignan (1273–1322) at Sant Francesc, Jaume's prior wives, were represented in habits, though crowned, in their more traditional effigies (Figs. 9, 10).[32] Elisenda's clothing, however, does not match that of either queen, nor is it identical to the representations of two habited nuns, St. Clare and Sor Francesca de Saportella i de Pinós (d. 1364), who appear in the cloister chapel. The image of St. Clare was

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[29] An altar was later added to both spaces in German examples. The raised choir allowed the laity to enter beneath the nuns. Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*," pp. 111–114. This does not appear to have been the case at Pedralbes.

[30] The two fronts are a single unit with the queen's sarcophagus embedded within the church wall. This double effigial monument was conceived and carried out during the life of the queen, as discussed below. At the time of construction, Elisenda had retired to the palace she built adjoining Pedralbes. Her ordinances and the monastic archive present an active and intimate involvement with the affairs of the community. The queen would have been in the position to oversee the execution of her tomb.

[31] Both nuns and widows used simple clothing, making it hard at times to distinguish. During this period a nun's habit had an undertunic, an overtunic, a wimple, a veil, and could include a mantle. These various pieces were devoid of additional embellishments and avoided the new fashions of cinching the overtunic to the upper torso. Widows maintained the closer fitted garments but used more somber colors and covered their hair completely. They could also use the wimple, which covered the neck and hair and only left the oval of the face exposed. Cristina Sigüenza Pelarda, "La moda femenina a finales de la Edad Media, espejo de sensibilidad: costumbres indumentarias de las mujeres a través de las artes plásticas del gótico en La Rioja," *Berceo,* 147 (2004), pp. 237–38. See also Jill Condra, ed., *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing through World History* (Westport, 2008), pp. 208–12, 235.

[32] The funerary monument of Blanca of Anjou and Jaume II, discussed below, survives in situ. Only the effigy of Maria of Lusignan's monument survives and is currently on view at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

Figure 7 Upper choir of the monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, mid-14th c. (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

created as part of Elisenda's sepulchral monument (Fig. 11), while Sor Francesca, the second abbess of Pedralbes, appears crowned in effigy on her later monument, which was constructed during the life of the queen (Figs. 12, 16). The ambivalence of Elisenda's status appears in that she does have a knotted cord falling from her belt as is present in nuns' habits; yet in both the saint's and abbess' representations their wimples extend over the shoulders and further down the chest.[33] Elisenda's wimple covers her

[33] Cordelia Warr provides the most comprehensive analysis of the habits of Poor Clares in visual and textual sources of this period in *Dressing for Heaven: Religious Clothing in Italy, 1215–1545* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 134–35. The systematization of the habit was not the work of St. Clare, who specified only the number and poverty of the clothing. Cardinal Ugolino's *Solet annuere* of 1223 notes that a scapular must be worn, while Innocent IV's regulations in 1247 first mentions the knotted cord. Urban IV also addresses veils, mantles, and wimples. None of these is so prescriptive as to create an early uniform presentation of the habits of Poor Clares in the first century of their existence.

Figure 8 Funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, detail of the queen from the cloister front. Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

Figure 9 Funerary monument of Jaume II of Aragón and Blanca of Anjou, detail of the queen's effigy. Monastery of Santes Creus, begun 1313 (Photo: E. McKiernan González/Museu d'Història de Catalunya).

head and neck, but does not extend over her shoulders or mantle, which meets in a clasp at the center of her breast. The length of the wimples in the Clarissan images of Maria, St. Clare, and Sor Francesca identifies this item of dress as a scapular. The scapular became an identifying feature of nuns by the thirteenth century, borrowed from the habits of monks and friars.[34] The lack of a scapular suggests a representation of Elisenda as widow, or possibly as a tertiary. The Poor Clares also adopted the use of the knotted cord as a belt, following the friars' model. Elisenda's belt has

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34 Michèle Beaulieu, *El vestido antiguo y medieval*, trans. Elvira Moragas (Barcelona, 1971), p. 100. The representation is not consistent; painting and sculpture reveal variance not only in terms of religious Order, but within the Orders as well.

Figure 10 Effigy of Maria of Cyprus (Lusignan), MNAC 9877, first half of the 14th c. (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MNAC–Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona).

Figure 11 St. Clare, detail from the cloister-side funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

Figure 12 Funerary monument of Sor Francesca Saportella, cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, mid to late 14th c. (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

two knots at her waist, and five knots falling the length of her tunic.[35] The knots present a clear message as to the religious affiliation of the queen, while the combined effect of knotted cord and lack of scapular establishes a degree of ambiguity that affirms her individuality as a pious woman associated with the Order.[36]

Both of Elisenda's effigies present a deliberately modest approach to dress, whereas contemporary noblewomen's effigies tended toward lavish attire. Several important noble families carried out the reformatting of familial pantheons and translation of burials of important ancestral figures in the first half of the fourteenth century following the new royal model of Jaume II.[37] Two monuments contemporary to Elisenda's appear within the two branches of the Montcada family, one at the ancestral Avinganya, the other at the Seu Vella de Lleida, the seat of the county. Elisenda's brother Ot el Vell (d. 1331) translated the remains of his ancestors into four communal sepulchers demarcated by gender and status through effigies of a lady, a knight, a deacon, and a bishop.[38] Of these, the

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[35] The number of knots in the cord was eventually codified into three for friars, representing the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity; nuns came to have a fourth knot representing their additional vow of enclosure. During the 13th and 14th centuries, however, this was not yet established. The knots vary, often numbering five, associated either with the wounds of Christ, or with the Franciscan values of charity, obedience, chastity, penance, and detachment. It is also the case that, on occasion, others may wear a knotted cord. An example of this is Giovanni Pisano's sculpture of the Madonna and Child at the Arena Chapel in Padua from 1305–1306. The knotted-cord belt, however, does come to be ubiquitous to the Franciscan and Clarissan orders, even though neither the rules of St. Francis nor of St. Clare specify a belt of any kind. St. Francis instructed that the garb should be of unbleached, undyed wool. St. Clare only specified that the abbess should provide each nun with three tunics and one mantle. The text, however, clearly recognizes "secular" clothing as distinct from the clothing of the nuns. José Antonio Guerra, ed., *Palabras de Luz. Escritos de Clara de Asís: Cartas, regla, testamento, bendición* (Oñati, 2004), pp. 31–32. Early representations vary in color from grey to brown, an effect of use and age. See also Warr, *Dressing for Heaven*, pp. 135–39.

[36] The length of the wimple and the presence of the knotted cord are only visible from the second floor balcony within the cloister, discussed below.

[37] Francesca Español has studied the funerary programs of several of these families connected to the royal house, and particularly the Urgels, Queralts, and Montcadas. Francesca Español Bertrán, "*Sicut ut decet*. Sepulcro y espacio funerario en la Cataluña bajomedieval," in *Ante la Muerte. Actitudes, espacios y formas en la España medival*, eds. Jaume Aurell and Julia Pavón (Pamplona, 2002), pp. 95–156. See also her "Els comtes d'Urgell i el seu panteó dinàstic," in *El Comtat d'Urgell*, ed. Primo Bertrán Roigé (Lleida, 1995), pp. 149–83; "Los Montcada y sus panteones dinásticos: un espacio para la muerte noble," in *Els Montcada i Alfons de Borja a la Seu Vella de Lleida*, ed. Ximo Company (Lleida, 1991), pp. 37–82; and her collaboration with Anna Rubió i Rodon in "Avinganya i els Montcada: la transformació d'una casa trinitària en panteó familiar," *D'Art,* 13 (1987), pp. 147–82.

[38] Pere Beseran i Ramon, *La memòria dels Montcada. Les tombes gòtiques de la capella de Sant Pere de la Seu Vella de Lleida* (Lleida, 2003), p. 24.

lady and the knight are the only ones to survive, and not in their complete form (Fig. 13).[39] Elisenda's cousin Berenguera de Montcada i de Queralt (d. 1340) provided lavishly to Avinganya's community, a community headed by Sibilia de Montcada (r. 1322–1345), Elisenda's half-sister.[40] Berenguera commissioned a series of effigial tombs, of which her partial effigy survives along with the torso of her father, Guillem Ramon (d. 1275). Berenguera's largesse may have been an attempt to mitigate the influence of Pedralbes to the detriment of the familial monastery.

The effigies of Berenguera and the lady of Lleida (variously identified as Teresa de Ayerbe and Constança de Aragón)[41] are similar in construction and in garb, with the exception of the presence of a barbette in Lleida.[42] The youthful women have flowing hair, floral crowns, cinched bodices that leave their necks exposed, brocade on the trim of the gown, sleeves, undertunic sleeves, and mantle. They rest their heads on brocade pillows with a floral diamond pattern similar to Elisenda's cloister effigy. With their arms crossed over the tunics at their waist, they gather the excess material beneath. The gowns would have been beyond ankle length, a characteristic of elite women's dress of this period. These effigies are contemporary in date, between 1335 and 1340, to Elisenda's tomb, which has been dated to the years surrounding 1341–1343 (she died in 1364).[43] Issues of chronology are discussed in detail below.

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[39] These two effigies are visitable at the Seu Vella de Lleida.

[40] The site was reformed by Elisenda's great-grandmother, Constança de Aragón (daughter of Pere the Catholic). Unfortunately the tomb does not survive. Español and Rubió i Rodon, "Avinganya i els montcada," pp. 151–152. See also Joana Xandri, "Els orígens de l'orde Trinitari a Catalunya: El Monestir d'Aviganya (Serós)," in *I Congés d'Historia de l'Església Catalana des dels origen fins ara* (Solsona, 1993), pp. 615–24.

[41] Anna Castellano i Tresserra and Albert Cubeles, "Els origins d'un llinatge," in *Petras Albas: El monestir de Pedralbes i els Montcada (1326–1673) Guia-catàleg* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 75–77.

[42] The barbette is the band that begins at the chin and is tied at the top of the head. Hair flows freely around it. Condra, ed., *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing*, p. 208.

[43] While no documentation survives that links a particular date or sculptor to Elisenda's tomb at Pedralbes, several artists working in courtly circles have been proposed, including Pere de Guines (active in Catalunya 1337–1341), Aloi de Montbrai (active in Barcelona 1337–1342), Reinard des Fonoll (active in Catalunya 1327–1361), Joan de Tournai (active ca. 1324–1327), and Jaume Cascalls (active 1345–1378). Pere de Guines and Aloi de Montbrai had major court commissions from both Alfons the Gentle and Pere the Ceremonious; they signal stylistically an important influx of French forms in funerary sculpture, a style adopted for Elisenda's effigial monument. Beseran i Ramon, "Noves observacions a l'entorn del sepulcre d'Elisenda de Montcada," in *I Jornades de Recerca Històrica de les Corts. Ponències i comunicacions* (Barcelona, 1997), pp. 89–90. Francesca Español agrees that Pere was one of three sculptors at work on the monument. She used dates surrounding Ot de Montcada's chapel of the 11,000 Virgins as part of her discussion: Español, *El gótico catalán*,

Figure 13 Lady of Montcada, Montcada Chapel, Seu Vella de Lleida, ca. 1335–1340 (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ CTSVL–Consorci del Turó de la Seu Vella de Lleida).

As seen in Jaume's first wives and the examples from Catalán noblewomen, typical effigial representations of this period either represent a woman as nun, emphasizing her piety, or show her in lavish gowns, emphasizing status and power. The two queens blended these types by adding crowns and rings to their habited representations, combining piety with status. Given Elisenda's intimate association with the community, and the standard of the period, her representation seems both surprising and self-aware. There is no way of knowing just how intimately the queen was involved with the details of her monument, as no document survives, but this deviation from standard iconography suggests a deliberate choice, likely by the queen, in relation to her female audience.

The nuns of Pedralbes had two distinct views of the queen in the cloister. The unusual configuration of the monument created a quasi-chapel that extended two floors (Fig. 14). The funerary space has the same depth as the side chapels within the church, creating an obverse relationship. As the nuns walked between their dormitory and the chapterhouse on the ground floor, the most dramatic marker on the wall is Elisenda's tomb. Leading up to it are three non-effigial tombs: two contemporary ones of Constança de Cardona i de Pinós (d. 1325) and Elionor de Pinós i de Montcada (d. 1362) pierce the wall with two plain fronts, one inside the chapel of St. Peter and one facing the cloister (Fig. 15).[44] A third was added later, with

pp. 70–71, 75. Manote i Clivilles and Terés i Tomàs consider Pere de Guines, Jaume Cascalls, and Aloi de Montrai, and privilege Aloi based on style and presence in Barcelona courtly circles. They note, however, that Pere and Aloi collaborated on occasion and have stylistic commonalities. Three masters appear to have worked on the monument. The connection to French sculptors in the region is quite strong. Maria Rosa Manote i Clivilles and Maria Rosa Terés i Tomàs, "El mestre de Pedralbes i l'activitat barcelonina els anys centrals del segle XIV," in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya*, (Barcelona, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 181–82. Josep Vives i Miret considers the possible influence of the English sculptor Reinard des Fonoll, though less convincingly, in *Reinard des Fonoll, escultor i arquitecte anglès renovador de l'art gòtic a Catalunya (1321–1362)* (Barcelona, 1969), pp. 150–63.

[44] This configuration appears in other settings in Catalunya and France. A well-preserved example is that of Bertran de Bell-lloc at Sant Pau del Camp de Barcelona, commissioned by Simò de Bell-Lloc. The single burial has two sides, one in the cloister and one in the transept. While neither side has an effigy, both have the family crest and are inserted into a Gothic canopy. Blanca de Bell-Lloc was a lady-in-waiting of the queen, and was among those mentioned in her will. Pere Beseran i Ramon, "Noves observacions a l'entorn del sepulcre d'Elisenda de Montcada," p. 92. Morganstern discusses a similar configuration for the tomb of Bishop Ulger (d. 1148) at the Cathedral of Anger. The tomb models a reliquary casket (not an effigy) and is embedded in the south wall between aisle and cloister. Anne McGee Morganstern, "Liturgical and Honorific Implications of the Placement of Gothic Wall Tombs," *Hortus Artium Medievalium,* 10 (2004), pp. 81–96, esp. 81–82.

Figure 14 Cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, view of the funerary monument of Elisenda from across the cloister, begun 1326 (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

Figure 15 Corridor of the cloister of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, view of the funerary monuments of the queen's relations. Latticed portal provides entry to the queen's funerary monument, begun 1326 (Photo: E. McKiernan González/ MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

a single front on the cloister side, covering a portion of an earlier mural.[45] All three of these women were related to the queen and died before her. A distinction is made between lay pious women associated with the queen who maintained a dual church and cloister presence, and their religious

[45] Constança died prior to the foundation of the monastery, but left in her will the desire to be buried there along with resources for the construction of a chapel dedicated to St. Peter (4,000 sous) and the chapterhouse (12,000 sous). Carolina Camañes, "Elisenda de Montcada i Constança de Cardona. Una estima i un projecte inoblidables," in *XXXIX Assemblea intercomarcal d'Estudiosos* (Cardona, 1994), pp. 347–53. Elionor, also the queen's first cousin, came to Pedralbes after her husband's death. The third tomb is of another cousin, Sor Beatriu de Fenollet ça Portella (d. 1362). Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana*, pp. 352–55.

cousins who appear solely on the cloister side.[46] Elisenda most surely was involved with the commission of these familial monuments.

Elisenda's monument encompasses the entire wall of the quasi-chapel. She is accompanied in the space by additional smaller burials. The most prominent of these is of her niece, Sor Francesca Saportella, the second abbess of Pedralbes (Fig. 16). Tomb slabs set into the floor bear the heraldry identifying them all as relatives. This extended area, the exterior wall of the side chapel and Elisenda's cloister space, creates a female familial pantheon for the queen. Elisenda had no children, but she clearly had an appreciation of dynasty through the women of her extended family. With all the elaborate tracery and sculpture and grandeur of heraldry, the appearance of the queen herself is one of simplicity and modesty. Here her role is that of mother of the community, rather than queen-mother.

The approach toward Elisenda's funerary chapel on the upper floor of the cloister is free from additional adornment. The Montcada family crests between the gable and finials of the funerary monument are the dominant view. Once the nuns stood in front of the balcony space, though, their sight would turn downward to the image of the sleeping Elisenda, in much the same manner a person looks upon a child in a crib. This representation, devoid of regalia, presented their foundress in a more personal light, one that emphasized her spiritual communion with the Order and her female relatives.

Choirs, Altars, and Tombs: The Problem of Sighting

The combination of two representations of Elisenda in a single monument is highly unusual yet emblematic of the contemporary concern for placement and configuration of tombs. The ideal of multiple audiences is attested to by the movement of effigial tombs from chapels into the crossing and chancel, and from their placement flat against a wall to a canopied niche that could be viewed from two sides.[47] In an abbey of monks, such as Westminster in England, an ambulatory surrounding the presbytery allowed a single effigy to be viewed by lay and religious alike.

[46] This wing of the cloister was designated for nuns' burials. A crypt lay beneath the floor in front of this series of monuments. The tomb slabs engraved with the family crests identifying the nuns were moved later to the chapterhouse for conservation.

[47] Morganstern discusses this shift toward a bilateral tomb in "Liturgical and Honorific Implications of the Placement of Gothic Wall Tombs," pp. 86–89.

Figure 16 Funerary "chapel" of Elisenda de Montcada, early 1340s. Sor Francesca appears on the right (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes).

The incursion into the crossing and chancel at Westminster Abbey began with the burial of Aveline de Forz (d. 1276).[48] This initial tomb between the compound piers of the chancel allowed the monks a view of the monument from the choir; however, she was not visible from the aisle. In 1290, Edward I (r. 1272–1307) began the systematic transformation of this space. Rather than placing the effigy against a wall, a canopy bridged the space between the piers so a single effigy could be seen from both spaces, aisle and choir.[49] Like Pedralbes, the presbytery is raised; the view from the choir side is thus more intimate. Edward's transformation of the

[48] Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 93–94.

[49] This was a format that had already been used in French royal tombs, though they no longer survive.

space included the elevation of a shrine to his namesake ancestor and saint, Edward the Confessor. The placement of the tombs in close proximity to the saint affirmed their relationship. The configuration also meant that the royal tombs at Westminster mediated the space between viewer and saint as the inevitable view of the shrine from the aisle crossed over the tombs, and suggested a *beata stirps*—a holy blood line.[50] While this was not an option at Pedralbes, it was the solution Jaume II used for the double effigial monument he built to share with his first queen, Blanca of Anjou, at the male Cistercian Monastery of Santes Creus.

Jaume, though supportive of the Franciscans, had arranged for his burial at Santes Creus, following the explicit request of his father, Pere the Great (r. 1276–1285), for his own burial there.[51] Upon succeeding to the throne Jaume imported a Roman porphyry tub from Sicily, where he had ruled for six years, for his father's tomb in the crossing of the church, and commissioned a newly made covering and canopy.[52] This monument was completed ca. 1307. Six years later, at the death of Jaume's first queen, Blanca of Anjou, Bertran Riquer was commissioned to create a double-front effigial monument for the queen and king.[53] The funerary program at Santes Creus paired the tombs under large canopies across from Jaume's father's tomb in the crossing of the church (Fig. 17). Jaume and Blanca's twin sarcophagus incorporates their crowned effigies in Cistercian habits, closer in format to the cloister side of Elisenda's tomb. The back-to-back angled construction of this tomb creates the same structure as the twin

[50] Westminster is also intriguing as it has a combination of Italian *opus sectile* marble work and French sculptural style in the effigies. Both Elisenda's and Edward's monuments are linked stylistically to these regions.

[51] Jaume was the second-born son and at Pere's death had been given Sicily to rule; his brother Alfonso the Liberal ruled the Crown of Aragón from 1285–1291 and had no heir at his death. Jaume became king of the Crown in 1291.

[52] Ángela Franco Mata, "Relaciones hispano-italianas de la escultura funeraria del siglo XIV," in *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la edad media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 99–125, and Francesca Español Bertrán, "*Sicut ut decet*," pp. 95–156, consider the implications of these tombs in the transformation of funerary monuments within the Crown of Aragón. Español's focus is on the transformations wrought in noble circles, Franco's on the Italian and French influence on funerary monuments in Catalunya. On Santes Creus see also Josep Vives i Miret, "Els sepulcres reials del monestir de Santes Creus," *Studia Monástica,* 6 (1964), pp. 359–79; Barry Rosenman, "The Tomb Canopies and the Cloister at Santes Creus," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, 2 (Kalamazoo, 1984), pp. 229–40; Francesca Español Bertrán, "Une nouvelle approche des tombeaux royaux de Santes Creus," in *Memory and Oblivion. XXIX International Congress on the History of Art* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 467–74.

[53] Isabel Companys Farrerons and Núria Montardit Bofarull, "Notícia sobre la costrucció de la tomba de Blanca d'Anjou (1313)," *Santes Creus,* 9–10 (1989), pp. 19–29.

Figure 17 Funerary monument of Jaume II of Aragón and Blanca of Anjou, begun 1313. The funerary monument of Pere the Great (completed in 1307) can be seen across the church crossing. Monastery of Santes Creus (Photo: E. McKiernan González/Museu d'Història de Catalunya).

images on Elisenda's tomb, in this case, though, of two different persons. The primary audience, the monks, had the privileged view of the king. The monks viewed the queen, though, as they processed from their dormitory into the choir, and she was more easily viewed by the laity in the aisle as well. The solution balances the different viewpoints, and honors both monarchs, but does not present two perspectives of a single individual for two distinct audiences.[54]

An intriguing parallel to Elisenda's construction is the reliquary tomb of St. Euphrosyne, originally in the Dominican convent of Klingental in Basel.[55] The convent church had a long single nave with a large choir at the west end. The choir was separated from the nave by a substantial walled grill. The double-façade shrine for the saint was located at the grill. Each side had elaborate decoration, and the church side included an effigy and accompanying saints and angels; the only surviving remnants are the tracery of the canopy (Fig. 18).[56] The parallel for Elisenda's monument is the double façade taking into account two audiences. Placing the saint's reliquary monument within the choir assured access for Klingental's nuns, and during the liturgy of the hours, the view toward the altar included St. Euphrosyne. In this case, by adding access to the façade on the nave side, it extended the monument for the laity to visit. The distance, approximately thirty meters between altar and choir, though, did not make it prominent in the priests' view until they moved forward to the grill to transmit the consecrated host. The identification of saint versus patron changes the nature of the experience as well. In these two cloistered environments, however, two distinct solutions for a double-façade funerary

[54] The double-front format was also used for a combined tomb of siblings Margarida and Robert de Llòria at the Monastery of Puig in Valencia. This structure was destroyed in 1936, but documentation provides a date of 1344 and identifies the sculptor as Master Aloi. Robert de Llòria appeared on the church side of the monument, his sister appeared in the cloister. See Beseran i Ramon, "Noves observacions a l'entorn del sepulcre d'Elisenda de Montcada," p. 92. The combined tomb models the physical construction of Elisenda's bridging of the space, but again, not the dual identities of one person.

[55] No documentation survives of the sculptor or date of this monument. The chronology varies from the early 1300s (shortly after the translation of the relics to the convent) to the latter portion of the century based on the detailing of the tracery. Carola Jäggi and Hans-Rudolf Meier, "Eine Heilige zwischen Stadt und Konvent: Das Euphrosynegrab im Kloster Klingental zu Basel," *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz,* 52/1 (2001), pp. 16–26. My thanks to Rocio Sánchez Ameijeiras for bringing this site to my attention.

[56] Emanuel Büchel's 1768 watercolor of the nave façade has the sleeping saint with a floral crown and elaborate wimple. Censing angels and five saints look upon her from the register above the effigy. The only remnants of the monument are in the Cathedral of Basel. Jäggi and Meier, "Eine Heilige zwischen Stadt und Konvent," p. 18.

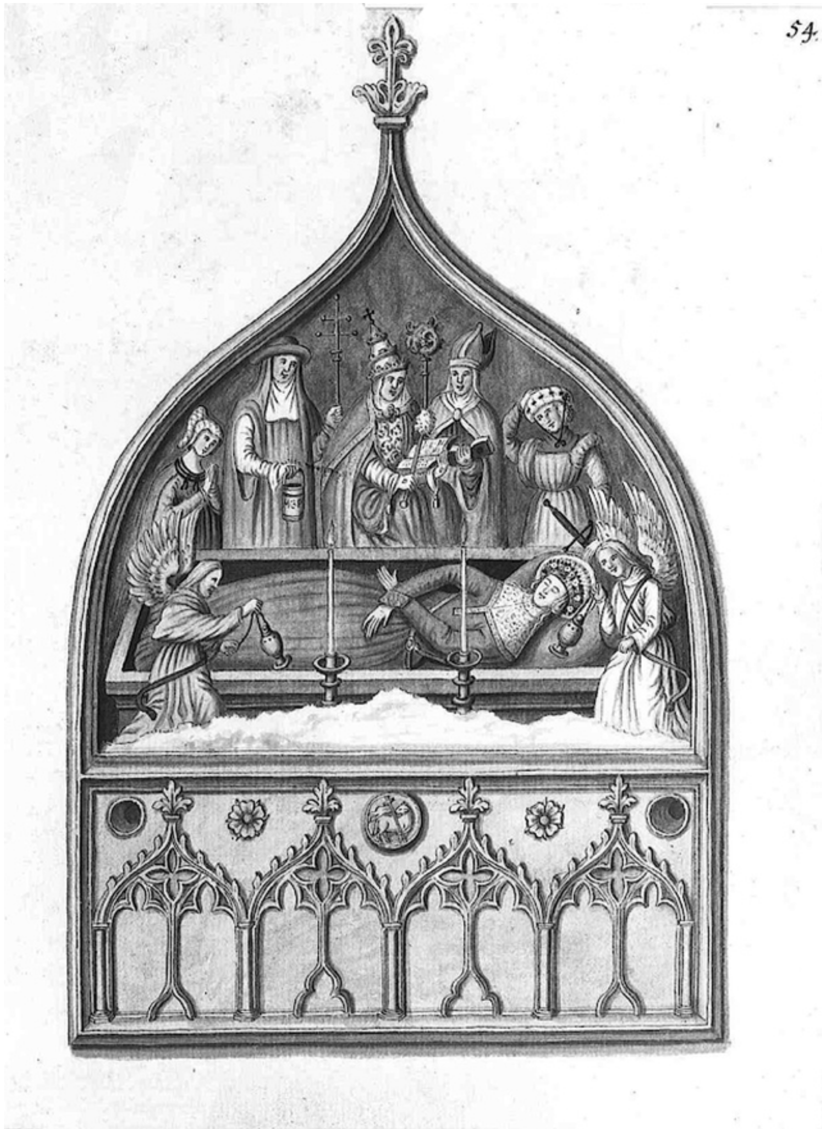

Figure 18 Reliquary monument of St. Euphrosyne, originally in the Dominican convent of Klingental, Basel, 14th c. Drawing by Emanuel Büchel, *Der Kleinbasler Totentanz* (*Klingental zu Basel*), 1768, Bogräbnis der Markgräfin von Baden, Skb. A.48h, fol. 54, Inv. 1886.9a (Photo: Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Martin P. Bühler).

monument appeared that reveal a contemporary concern for sightlines and a recognition of the limited viewing the nuns had of the church space.

Foundation and Pantheon, Independent Burial for Queens and Noblewomen

Elisenda affirmed her independence in her choice of burial location and patronage. She elected to be buried at a site whose primary focus would be her person, and not that of the king, following the precedent set by her predecessors.[57] Established and long-reigning queens of the Crown of Aragón did not choose burial at the side of their spouses (see Appendix).[58] The three most powerful, Sancha of León-Castile (1155/57–1208), Violante of Hungary (ca. 1216–1251), and Constança of Sicily (1247–1300/1302), made specific arrangements for their remembrance and the care of their bodies.

Sancha of León-Castile had followed her familial tradition of establishing a new monastery and pantheon.[59] Her husband, Alfons the Chaste (or the Troubadour, r. 1162–1196), had elected burial at the Cistercian monastery of Poblet. Sancha founded, built, and endowed the female Hospitaller monastery of Sigena and had a pantheon built off the transept arm for herself, her son Pere the Catholic (r. 1196–1214), and her daughters.[60] Next to her pantheon, a pantheon for nuns was also built. While Sigena was an early

[57] Kathleen Nolan has recently presented a similar situation in France. Queens who outlived their spouses chose a separate burial space from them in the process of affirming their independence. Kathleen Nolan, *Queens of Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York, 2009). Sancha's granddaughter Constança de Aragón (natural daughter of Pere the Catholic) followed her example as well in her transformation of Avinganya into the first Trinitarian monastery of the realm, and as a familial pantheon. Español Bertrán and Rubió i Rodon, "Avinganya i els Montcada," pp. 147–82. As noted earlier, Constança was Elisenda's great-grandmother.

[58] For a broad overview of the burials of the royal family in the Crown of Aragón see "El rei immortal: el panteó al servei de la fama," in Francesca Español Betrán's monograph, *Els escenaris del rei: Art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó* (Manresa, 2001), pp. 156–215; Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945).

[59] Eileen McKiernan González, "Monastery and Monarchy: The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Sigena and Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2005, pp. 195–211.

[60] Pere the Catholic's queen, Marie of Montpellier (1182–1213), was buried at St. Peter Apostle in Rome; the tomb does not survive. Pere had sought to annul their marriage after the birth of Jaume I. Marie travelled to Rome to prevent this and stayed after successfully holding off the annulment.

foundation, it was a community that would continue to have an extraordinary impact. Two of Jaume II's daughters took vows at Sigena more than a century later, and the affairs of the nuns appear prominently in the ruler's documents. Elisenda herself was descended from Queen Sancha.

Violante of Hungary (d. 1251), queen to Jaume I (r. 1213–1276), chose burial at the Cistercian monastery of Vallbona de les Monges. Although Jaume I was initially ambivalent in choosing his burial site, having first promised his body to Sigena, following his father's example, he eventually chose burial at Poblet, the location of his grandfather's tomb.[61] Violante and her daughter Sancha were buried in non-effigial tombs in the presbytery of the church.[62]

Constança of Sicily (d. 1300/1302), wife of Pere the Great, was instrumental in the shift in support toward the Franciscan order. She chose her burial at Sant Francesc in Barcelona and was buried in a Clarissan habit. Constança had chosen burial alongside her first-born son Alfons the Liberal (r. 1287–1291), who died without progeny. While his will specifically ordered that he be buried at Sant Francesc, he was initially interred at Poblet. Constança was likely the persistent voice that aided the process of translation to Sant Francesc in 1297.[63] Unfortunately Constança's tomb does not survive.[64]

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[61] Both of these tombs were destroyed when Pere the Ceremonious refashioned the crossing of the church into a dynastic pantheon. New effigies of the kings were raised to parallel those of Pere and his wives. This spatial transformation is akin to the dynastic program carried out at the Abbey of Saint-Denis in 1264. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sepultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), pp. 75–76, 86; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Burying and Unburying the Kings of France," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Binghampton, 1985), pp. 241–66; and Georgia Summers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin,* 56/2 (1974), pp. 224–43.

[62] Josep Joan Piquer i Jover, *Monasterio de Vallbona de les Monges* (Barcelona, 1988), pp. 4–5. Jaume had his first marriage to Leonor de Castilla y Plantagenet (d. 1244) annulled. She returned to Castilla, to the Monastery of Las Huelgas, where she was buried. Her son Alfons (1222–1260) was heir to the throne, but did not outlive his father. Jaume I's third wife Teresa Gil de Vidaure (d. 1285), a Navarrese noblewoman, moved to the Cistercian monastery of Zaidia that she had founded in 1265 when Jaume I repudiated her. She was buried there; an epitaph survives, but not the tomb.

[63] Four other monarchs follow her to different Franciscan houses in Barcelona, Lleida, and Zaragoza: Maria of Lusignan (1273–1322), Teresa de Entenza (1300–1327), Alfonso the Gentle (r. 1327–1335), and Sibilia de Fortia (1350–1406). Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets: The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 92–93.

[64] The only surviving effigy among this group of burials belongs to Maria of Lusignan, Jaume II's second queen. Sant Francesc was destroyed in the aftermath of the governmental

The practice of joint burial of kings and queens was not the norm in the Catalán-Aragonese realm. These queens chose their burial while still married, though as mature women. The queens who were buried by their husbands during the early years of the Crown died young, most during childbirth. Widowhood, however, was not a necessary factor in the ability to designate their own burial location: Sancha and Violante each ordered their future interments during the lifetime of their spouses. Elisenda's decision to found her own community and designate it for her burial was well established in the Crown and supported by Jaume II, who had already built his tomb to lay beside Blanca of Anjou, mother of his heirs.[65]

In addition to following this model of independence in entombment, Elisenda also adopted the new development of a French-Catalán style and iconography. It was during the reign of Jaume II that the effigial niche tomb was adopted in the Crown of Aragón. After his experience ruling in Sicily from 1285–1291 he brought back with him Hohenstaufen organization and aesthetics to the realm. The sepulchral monument for his father Pere is a clear homage to the Sicilian model. Jaume's combined tomb with Blanca of Anjou, less than a decade later, introduced the effigial niche tomb, a form with which Blanca would have been familiar in Angevin Naples. In the decades after the construction of the twin tomb, Catalán nobles created competing sepulchers.[66] Elisenda's monument was both contemporary and innovative in its approach to issues of iconography and style.

The fourteenth century saw an influx of French and Italian craftsmen into the region. Domenec Granyena and Ferrer Peyró oversaw the construction of Pedralbes as treasurer and priest respectively, and used the workshops of the region's newest churches to build quickly.[67] They are

process of confiscation of church property, known as the "desamortización de Mendizábal" of 1836. The bones of the monarchs are now in chests at the Cathedral of Barcelona. The original tombs no longer survive in Zaragoza or Lleida either.

[65] Blanca had herself chosen burial at Santes Creus. She had supported the community during her tenure as queen and designated her burial there in both her will of 1295 and again in 1308. Construction of Pere the Great's funerary monument was still underway when she made her first will. Jaume's instructions for their sepulchral monument were initially to follow the design of his father's tomb. In the end, the format of the effigial monument was used instead. See Companys Farrerons and Montardit Bofarull, "Notícia sobre la costrucció de la tomba de Blanca d'Anjou (1313)," pp. 19–20.

[66] The counts of Catalunya were fierce defenders of their status within the Crown. They maintained that in Catalunya, the king of Aragón was solely the count of Barcelona, *primus inter pares*, if that.

[67] These included Santa Maria del Mar, the Seu de Manresa, and the façade sculptors from the Seu de Tarragona. There is also evidence that "pre-fabricated" columns aided

also likely to have been advisors to the queen in acquiring the best glaziers, painters, and sculptors to complete her foundation. The workshops, derived from the combined workforces of French, Italian, and Catalán artists, created a dynamic approach to form and style.[68]

Stylistically Elisenda's funerary monument is dated to the early 1340s, and documentary evidence suggests 1348 as an *ante-quem*.[69] Part of this timeline follows the close stylistic connection between the figural keystones of the vaults and the funerary monument.[70] The dating for the stone vaulting of the church has been associated with the will of Elisenda's brother, Ot de Montcada (1290–1341), written in the year of his death. At the monastery's foundation, Ot provided resources for the construction of a chapel dedicated to St. Ursula. The language of his will suggests that the chapel was in progress, if not complete. 1341 is also the date of Elisenda's fourth ordinance, which acknowledged the changes brought about with Benedict XII's 1336 monastic reforms in *Redemptor noster*.[71] The queen had enjoyed the privilege of entry into the cloister up until this point. The

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the rapid construction of the cloister, a new expedient approach that appears in Catalán Gothic circles. Francesca Español, "Los materiales prefabricados gerundenses de aplicación arquitectónica (s. XIII–XV)," in *L'artista-artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó,* eds. José Joaquin Yarza Luaces and Francesc Fité i Llevot (Lleida, 1999), pp. 77–127; Eduard Mira and Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, eds., *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea* (Valencia, 2003), section 2.

68 Josep Bracons, "El arte gótico en la Corona de Aragón y el mundo Mediterráneo," in *El mediterráneo y el arte: del gótico al inicio del renacimiento*, eds. Eduard Carbonell and Roberto Cassanelli (Barcelona and Milan, 2003), pp. 63–77; Ángela Franco Mata, *Escultura gótica española en el siglo XIV y sus relaciones con la Italia trecentista* (Madrid, 1978); Francesca Español Bertrán, "Artistas y obras entre la Corona de Aragón y el Reino de Francia," in *El Intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la baja edad media*, eds. Concepción Cosmén Alonso, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Pellón Gómez-Calcerrada (Leon, 2009), pp. 253–94.

69 Beseran i Ramon notes more broadly that all that can be known for certain is that it falls within the years of 1327 and 1364 (foundation of Pedralbes and death of Elisenda). No documents survive that provide an artist's name or a date of commission. Beseran i Ramon, "Noves observacions a l'entorn del sepulcre d'Elisenda de Montcada," pp. 89–91.

70 Natàlia Baqué i Prat further narrows the date to 1341–1343 based on style in "Les claus de volta de l'església de Santa Maria de Pedralbes," in *Elisenda de Montcada. Una reina Lleidatana i la fundació del Real Monasterio de Pedralbes* (Lleida, 1997), pp. 59–105. In 1348 a large fresco was commissioned of Arnau Bassa for the chapel, which seems to indicate that the church along with the funerary monument was then complete.

71 Benedict XII, a Cistercian, set out to reform all of the religious Orders, and in rather deliberate ways expanded the practice of enclosure in Clarissan communities. Elisenda's third ordinance acknowledged the changes required by Benedict XII, reconsidered the size of the community, integrated the *servicials* into the community, limited the number of priests (back to 4 from her expansion to 10 in the second Ordinance), and added a friar. Two daily masses for the remission of her sins and Jaume's continued to be a requisite along with the anniversary masses. For further discussion of the effects of Benedict XII's

reforms, ratified by Pedralbes in 1337, intensified rules of enclosure and ended the queen's privileged access to the monastic area. Losing access may well have prompted her to move forward with her unconventional monument; the new limitations of sight, for herself and the nuns, would have been clearer to her.

Elisenda's foundation of Pedralbes is not surprising given contemporary court culture; founding a community that she could influence was not unusual for a widow, and neither was retiring to it.[72] Elisenda's actions nevertheless appear uncommon in their single-minded dedication to the completion and endowment of this foundation. Her association with the community was intimate, especially in the early years prior to Benedict XII's *Redemptor noster*. This connection is revealed in her four ordinances of 1327, 1334, 1341, and 1363 that clarified her relationship with the community and modified the practice of the rule of St. Clare followed by Pedralbes.[73] The ordinances stipulate how the finances the queen provided were to be allocated, the size of the community (including nuns, friars, and priests), and the masses and observances that must be made for her soul, Jaume's, and her family's. The first ordinance also communicates the intimate nature of Elisenda's privileges within Pedralbes, including her ability to enter the cloister and eat in the refectory three or four times a month while accompanied by three or four of her ladies-in-waiting, privileges she lost in 1337.[74]

On the practical side of these changes, Elisenda would no longer be able to enter the monastery, visitations were limited, and *servicials*, women who took partial vows and had a role outside the community, among them alms-collecting, had to take full vows and enter the enclosure. The reforms were not popular and the preaching orders, in particular, resisted

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constitutions on Pedralbes, see Castellano i Tresserra, "Les constitucions del papa Benet XII," pp. 539–50.

[72] The Franciscans were the popular reform order of the moment: Constança of Sicily, Jaume's mother, founded a Clarissan house in Messina, his sister Isabel, queen of Portugal (and later canonized) re-founded the community of Santa Clara de Coimbra, and both of his prior wives supported convents of Poor Clares. Blanca of Anjou founded Vilafranca de Penedés and Maria of Lusignan was a great supporter of Sant Francesc in Barcelona where she was buried. Manote i Clivilles and Terés i Tomàs, "El mestre de Pedralbes i l'activitat barcelonina," p. 173.

[73] For a complete look at these ordinances see Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana,* pp. 52–77. Pedralbes followed the version of the rule of St. Clare expanded by Pope Urban IV. This modified rule allowed, among other things, the community's possession of property forbidden by the saint.

[74] Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana*, p. 58. For a succinct view of issues surrounding enclosure see Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*," pp. 108–34.

them. Pere the Ceremonious wrote letters requesting dispensation from the reforms for the communities in his lands, and specifically for Elisenda at Pedralbes. He predicted a loss of support for the religious orders if the new rules went into effect. The attempts at dispensation failed, the community ratified Benedict's reforms, and Elisenda lost the privilege of entry into the cloister.[75] She did not, however, abandon the site.

Elisenda's ordinances make very clear the absolute dependence of the community upon her resources during its early years.[76] They also reveal the rapid growth of the community. Pedralbes was founded with twelve nuns and two novices coming from Sant Damian (also known as Sant Antoni), the first Clarissan house in Barcelona.[77] Papal approval of the foundation stipulated that they must never fall below twelve nuns. By the second ordinance (1334), Elisenda provided resources for the upkeep of up to sixty nuns, two friars, ten priests (whom she reserved the right to select), and the necessary staff to support them. At this time thirty-six new nuns appear in the documentation of the community.[78] In her 1363 will, Elisenda left her entire patrimony to Pedralbes, stipulating that the community should consist of forty nuns, six friars, and seven priests.[79]

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[75] Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana*, pp. 70–71. In May of 1363, when Elisenda was quite ill, she once again was granted dispensation of entry. In this case a door was opened between her apartments and the cloister, allowing nuns to visit her in her chamber.

[76] Elisenda's yearly allocation of resources included 100 sous for the abbess, 50 for each nun, 40 for the servicials, additional resources for the care of sick nuns and for the sacristana, who provided the liturgical elements necessary for the mass. She allocated resources for the confessors (200 sous), priests (100 sous), procurator (400 sous), doctor (200), and barber (30). She also stipulates that in addition to anniversary masses, two daily masses were to be said for Jaume's and Elisenda's souls. Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana*, pp. 54–55.

[77] Franciscan communities began to appear shortly after St. Francis' visit to the peninsula in 1213–1214. Foundations of Poor Clares appear close to their male brethren within a decade or so of their establishment. Webster, *Els Menorets*, pp. 220–253. For discussions of the rise of the legislation and expansion of the Poor Clares in Catalunya see José Garcia Oro, "Orígenes de las clarisas en España," *Archivo Ibero-Americano,* 54 (1994), pp. 163–82. For the development focused on legislation and Pedralbes, see Anna Castellano i Tresserra, "Las Clarisas en la Barcelona del siglo XIV. El ejemplo del monasterio de Santa Maria de Pedralbes," *Archivo Ibero-Americano,* 54 (1994), pp. 969–81; Ambrosio de Saldes, "Una version catalana de las clarisas, siglo XIV," *Estudis Franciscans*, 8–9 (1912), pp. 215–23, 372–79 (8), 49–57 (9); and Margarida González i Betlinski and Anna Rubió i Rodon, "La regla de l'orde de Santa Clara de 1263, un cas concret de la seva aplicació: El monestir de Pedralbes de Barcelona," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia,* 3 (1982), pp. 9–48.

[78] The community lost a quarter of its members to the bubonic plague that hit Barcelona in 1348.

[79] Any number of nuns beyond that would need to provide additional support. By this point a convent for the friars, referred to as the Conventet, was underway across from the monastery. The priests lived in separate houses surrounding the plaza of the monastery.

Elisenda's endowment meant that Pedralbes could support all of the nuns, regardless of social status. Anna Castellano i Tresserra has analyzed the demographics of the nuns in Pedralbes during the first century of its existence. Her analysis reveals varied socio-economic backgrounds with a high percentage of noblewomen.[80] Just as the documents reveal a diverse community of nuns, Elisenda sought to create links to all levels of society, not only with royal and ecclesiastic hierarchies, but also merchants and townspeople. She created an unusual connection with the city of Barcelona that has aided the survival of the monastery into the present day. In October of 1357, thirty years after her retirement, daughters of the Consejo de Ciento (Council of One Hundred, who governed the city) entered the community, along with one local girl with no dowry, in exchange for special protection in perpetuity from the council.[81]

Elisenda's concern with the ideals of the order extended to her own space. The year after Jaume's death she had moved into a palace attached to the monastery. While regal associations were important for the longevity of the community, a palace could lead to speculation regarding the austerity of the nuns. As a royal palace it could have served future members of court, a use she would not have been able to control.[82] Elisenda, therefore, ordered the destruction of the palace in her will. The only space that was not destroyed, her chamber, had a door that opened onto the cloister. Given special papal dispensation in 1363, this doorway allowed the nuns physical access to visit the queen in her final illness. Elisenda's

[80] Among the 63% whose background is identified, 26% were noblewomen, 17% "honest" citizens, 15% merchants' daughters, 8% came from the professional class, and 2% were *menestrals* (menial laborers). Castellano i Tresserra posits that it is likely the 37% unidentified were *menestrals* as well. Documents also survive that identify 19 slaves during this same period; most came from Eastern Europe and Russia, 3 were from north Africa (Tripoli). Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes*, pp. 255, 299.

[81] In the 600 years since this agreement, the city of Barcelona has given their protection to the nuns of Pedralbes on multiple occasions, most recently during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Their protection is in great part responsible for the survival of the monastery as opposed to most of the furnishings and structures of the other royal and monastic foundations still standing within the city. A case in point is the destruction of both Sant Francesc and Sant Damian, the two earliest and privileged Franciscan and Poor Clare convents in Barcelona.

[82] Given her long retirement, she may have been aware of the problems that a palace could bring as evidenced at Santa Clara a Velha in Coimbra, refounded by her sister-in-law Isabel of Aragón (1270–1336), Queen of Portugal. The use of the palace by the royal family after the queen's death is discussed in the present volume by Ana Maria Rodrigues, "The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor: The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century."

concern over her reputation and that of Pedralbes was paramount, and was ultimately successful in shaping her memory.

On the Pious Queen of Pedralbes

> Who could sufficiently describe the great honesty and maturity of the queen of Pedralbes, wife of king Jaume of Aragón, who living was always a gracious and continuous intercessor for her peoples, never turned her eyes to dishonorable things, her charity was never denied to the poor, and after the death of said king, completed the monastery of Pedralbes, that in his life she had begun, and in which she chastely finished her days and died?[83]

The major chronicles of this period appear after the death of Jaume II in 1327, but the presence of the dowager queen within them attests to her ongoing participation in courtly circles from her palace adjoining the monastery of Pedralbes. Chroniclers of the period, Ramon Muntaner (ca. 1270–1336), Pere the Ceremonious (r. 1337–1387), and Bernat Metge (ca. 1340/46–1413) refer to Elisenda within their texts and affirm the character of the queen.[84] The above citation appears in *Il Somni,* written by Bernat Metge while imprisoned by Queen Maria de Luna in 1399. In the text Metge writes of virtuous women from antiquity and then turns to the present in order to praise Maria de Luna, who pardoned him after receiving the text. Elisenda de Montcada appears as the first modern queen, following the historic section. Metge completely disregards Jaume's two prior wives, along with the wives of his successor Alfons the Gentle (r. 1327–1336), before moving on to Pere the Ceremonious' consort Leonor de Sicilia under whose patronage he entered courtly circles. As a chronicler who worked for three kings, Metge's homage to Elisenda thirty years after her death speaks to the successful fashioning of her image for the public.

Elisenda de Montcada presents an image of a savvy and careful queen, not only regarding who would be charged with her memory, but also in ensuring that she provided the important visual connection with the Poor

[83] Bernat Metge, 1399. "¿Quien te podría decir suficientemente la gran honestidad y madurez de la reina de Pedralbes, mujer del rey don Jaime de Aragón, la cual viviendo éste fué siempre muy graciosa y continua intercesora para sus pueblos, nunca volvió los ojos hacia cosas deshonestas, su limosna jamás fué negada a los pobres, y después de la muerte de dicho rey, terminó el monasterio de Pedralbes, que en vida de aquél había comenzado, en el cual honestamente murió y acabó sus días?" (my translation). Martín de Riquer, ed., *Obras de Bernat Metge* (Barcelona, 1959), p. 339.

[84] Martínez Ferrando, *Biografía de Elisenda de Montcada*, p. 7.

Clares to maintain her perpetual physical presence within the community. Contemporary concern over sight-lines within the Clarissan Order are clear in the changing location of choirs within monastic churches. The most dramatic of these transformations can be seen at Santa Chiara in Naples, where the nun's choir was moved to the east of the high altar. Sancia of Mallorca (ca. 1285–1345) and Robert of Anjou (r. 1309–1343), rulers of the kingdom of Naples, transformed the organization of the space so that the nuns could see the Eucharistic service; this organization also placed the priest facing the nuns as he performed the service, privileging their sight.[85] While both Elisenda and Sancia created innovative approaches to compensate for the visual restrictions imposed upon nuns by strict active enclosure, neither solution was adopted thereafter; both, however, reveal a deep contemporary concern for what nuns could see.

The gendered aspect of Elisenda's monument articulated not only her need for the nuns to see her image, but also presented a different persona to her sisters. Her intentional construct identified a public and regal persona for a combined audience, and a private, more personal self for her spiritual and temporal sisters. As a childless queen, Elisenda relied on the women of her extended family to take on the role as preservers of her memory and caretakers of her soul in perpetuity. Ten years into her widowhood, just prior to Benedict XII's *Redemptor noster*, Elisenda had presided over the rapid expansion of the community, in both new vocations and in wealth. Her second ordinance in 1334 suggests tremendous aspirations brought on from the privileges and prestige of her foundation. Her niece Sor Francesca de Saportella was elected as the second abbess of Pedralbes in 1336, a position she held until her death in 1364 (see Figs. 12, 16), and the construction of the church was coming to completion. Elisenda was also aware of the dramatic, and arguably competing, new familial pantheons at Avinganya and Lleida her extended family was undertaking. The restrictions brought on by the ratification of *Redemptor noster* challenged the queen's expectations brought from intimate relationship with the community. Elisenda was careful in the construction of her monument to respect the new restrictions, while circumventing the implications of visibility. In doing so, she provided a space where her sisters could visit and commune with her, and a physical reminder to the priests of their obligation to say daily masses for her in perpetuity. Her

[85] Bruzelius, "Queen Sancia of Mallorca and the Church of Sta. Chiara in Naples," pp. 41-72.

regal persona emphasized her authority and queenship to her male ecclesiastic audience; her pious persona, even while surrounded by symbols of her lineage, deliberately constructed simplicity and communion with her female monastic audience.

In the introduction to this volume, Therese Martin argues for an expansion of our understanding of women's patronage and what it reveals of a woman's strategies and actions within the context in which they may act. Elisenda presents a moment where a noblewoman and queen built for herself, her memory, her immortal soul, and her retirement, taking into consideration the restrictions placed upon religious women by the male hierarchy of the church, restrictions not placed upon religious men. Each individual side of her monument fits into the model of niche tombs newly popular during her lifetime in Catalunya. The combined monument, however, with two personas, a single grave embedded within the wall of church and cloister, for two audiences, is highly innovative. I have found no comparable monument in the lands connected to the Crown of Aragón, or beyond for that matter. Elisenda's memorial stands as a remarkable moment in the conjunction of contemporary concern over the sighting/siting of the body in the construction of effigies of the dead, and the deliberate limiting of women religious' view. Elisenda's real awareness of the changes to the nature of the nuns' experience allows us a view of medieval intentionality. Her monument presents the queen's complex understanding of space, of memory, and of identity, and a very personal way of addressing them all.

Appendix: Genealogy and Burial of the Kings and Queens of the Crown of Aragón

Alfons the Chaste or Troubadour (r. 1162–1196), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian, m. 1174 Sancha of León-Castile (ca. 1158–1208), Santa Maria la Real de Sigena, Hospitaller.

Pere the Catholic (r. 1196–1213), Santa María la Real de Sigena, Hospitaller,
m. 1204 Marie de Montpellier (ca. 1180–1213), St. Peter Apostle, Rome.

Jaume I (r. 1213–1276), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian,
m. 1221 Leonor (annulled 1229), Las Huelgas de Burgos, Cistercian;
m. 1235 Violante de Hungria (ca. 1216–1251), Vallbona de les Monges, Cistercian;
m? 1255 Teresa Gil de Vidaure (d. 1285), Zaidia, Zaragoza, Cistercian.

Pere the Great (r. 1276–1285), Santes Creus, Cistercian,
m. 1262 Constança de Sicilia (1247–1302), Sant Francesc de Barcelona, Franciscan.

Alfons the Liberal (r. 1261–1291), Sant Francesc de Barcelona, Franciscan,
m. 1282 Leonor de Inglaterra (not consummated), Westminster Abbey, Benedictine

Jaume II (r. 1291–1327), Santes Creus, Cistercian,
m. 1291 Isabel de Castilla (annulled), Las Huelgas de Burgos, Cistercian (?);
m. 1295 Blanca de Anjou (1280–1310), Santes Creus, Cistercian;
m. 1315 Maria de Chipre (1279–1322), Sant Francesc de Barcelona, Franciscan;
m. 1322 Elisenda de Montcada (1292–1364), Santa Maria de Pedralbes, Clarissan.

Alfons the Gentle (r. 1327–1336), Sant Francesc de Lleida, Franciscan,
m. 1314 Teresa de Entenza (d. 1327) (heir to county of Urgel), San Francisco de Zaragoza, Franciscan;
m. 1329 Leonor de Castilla (1307–1359), Nuestra Señora del Manzano de Castrojeriz (?).

Pere the Ceremonious (r. 1336–1387), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian,
m. 1338 Maria de Navarra (1326–1347), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian;
m. 1347 Leonor de Portugal (1328–1348), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian;
m. 1349 Leonor de Sicilia (1325–1375), Santa Maria de Poblet, Cistercian;
m. 1377 Sibilia de Fortia (1350–1406), Sant Francesc de Barcelona, Franciscan.

PART THREE

COLLABORATION AND AUTHORSHIP

CHAPTER TEN

WOMEN AS MAKERS OF CHURCH DECORATION: ILLUSTRATED TEXTILES AT THE MONASTERIES OF ALTENBERG/LAHN, RUPERTSBERG, AND HEININGEN (13TH–14TH C.)

Stefanie Seeberg

This essay discusses the role of women in sacred art and architecture of the Middle Ages, for which I will argue that illustrated textiles are key.[1] A closer look will show that women played an essential role not just in making these textiles and crafting needlework, which is often seen as a female activity, even today.[2] It will also demonstrate women's roles in conceiving and designing imagery to promote their convents to the

[1] For editorial contributions, I would like to thank most of all Therese Martin, but also Alison Beach, Klaus Schiller, and Jonas Seeberg; I greatly appreciate their help.

[2] On textiles as part of church decoration, there is much research yet to be done. My current research project "*Textile Bildwerke in der Kirchenausstattung des Mittelalters*, Bild- und medientheoretische Studien am Beispiel der Leinenstickereien aus dem Frauenkloster Altenberg/Lahn" deals with this question. On textile frontals as part of altar decoration: Gerhard Weilandt, "Part of the Whole, Medieval Textile Frontals in Their Liturgical Context," in *Iconography of Liturgical Textiles in the Middle Ages*, ed. Evelin Wetter (Riggisberg, 2010), pp. 33–50. On textiles as artefacts of women in the Middle Ages, mostly in sacral contexts, as secular records are rare: Heide Wunder, "Gewirkte Geschichte: Gedenken und Handarbeit. Überlegungen zum Tradieren von Geschichte im Mittelalter und zu seinem Wandel am Beginn der Neuzeit," in *Modernes Mittelalter, Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Henze (Frankfurt, 1999), pp. 324–54; Tanja Kohwagner-Nikolai, *'per manus sororum…' Niedersächsische Bildstickereien im Klosterstich (1300–1583)* (Munich, 2006); Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Holy Women and the Needle Arts," in *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, eds. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells (Leiden, 2009), pp. 95–125; Tanja Kohwagner-Nikolai, "The Use of Tapestries to Create Corporate Identity in Late Medieval Nunneries," in *Iconography of Liturgical Textiles in the Middle Ages*, ed. Evelin Wetter (Riggisberg, 2010), pp. 141–52. For a wide range of textiles in the Anglo-Saxon milieu, see the many works by Gale Owen-Crocker. On the role of women in art in religious comunities in the Middle Ages in general: *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York, 2008); *Frauen—Kloster—Kunst, Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein (Turnhout, 2007); Carola Jäggi, "Wie kam Kunst ins Kloster? Überlegungen zu Produktion und Import von Werken der Bildenden Kunst in den Klarissen- und Dominikanerinnenklöstern der Teutonia," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte*, 27 (2008), pp. 91–109.

outside world. Inscriptions, representations of patrons,[3] the iconographic programs of the textiles, and the context in which these were presented all support this thesis.

My arguments will be based on seven embroideries from female monastic communities in Germany, made in the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. All were important, prominent elements of the decoration of their churches, not in the cloistered areas of the nuns, but in the convent's "outer" church, that is, those parts of the church that were publicly accessible at certain times.[4] As part of the highly visible decoration on principal feast days, when many people, including pilgrims, visited the church, they witness the active roles of women in representing their cloister and in promoting the *memoria* of their families as well as in shaping the iconographic program of their church's decoration.

The embroideries were made and used in the nunneries of Altenberg/Lahn, Rupertsberg, and Heiningen. My particular focus is on a group of five large illustrated linen embroideries (about 1,50 m to 4 m) from the Premonstratensian nunnery of Altenberg in Hessen, which are the central objects of my current research project.[5] In addition, I will discuss a frontal from the former Benedictine nunnery at Rupertsberg and an altar cloth from the Augustinian nunnery of Heiningen—two textiles from the thirteenth century, which although fairly well-known, have not yet been extensively examined in the context of women's contributions to art.[6]

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[3] In the following I will use the term *representations of patrons* for depictions of worshiping men or women, regardless of which role they actually played as patrons, donors, benefactors, or founders, and regardless of what they may have donated, whether money, material, or continuous income from land for memorial feasts.

[4] For the distinction between the inner and outer church see: Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Petra Marx, and Susan Marti, "The Time of the Orders," in *Crown and Veil*, pp. 52ff. Discussion of changes in the accessiblity of churches is currently beginning: Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil*, pp. 191–96; Carola Jäggi, "Klosterkirchen und ihre Nutzer. Räumliche Partizipation im Spiegel monastischer Binnentopographien," in *Altenberg und die Baukultur im 13. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg, 2010), pp. 49–67. Based on architectural remains and written documents, I analyse this division of spaces for the church at Altenberg in my study "Textile Bildwerke," as it is an important condition for the function and reception of church furnishings.

[5] On the results of my project, *Textile Bildwerke* (sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), a monograph is forthcoming.

[6] For both see the exhibition catalog *Krone und Schleier*: *Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, eds. Susan Marti, Helga Willinghöfer, et al. (Munich, 2005), cat. nos. 83 and 202.

The Embroideries from the Premonstratensian Nunnery at Altenberg/Lahn

The large number of historical sources that have survived from the time when the community of Altenberg flourished offers unusually rich evidence regarding the role of women in the architecture of the monastery and its church as well as in its decoration, in wall- and glass painting, treasury art and manuscripts, altarpieces and textiles.

From this Premonstratensian abbey two cloth pieces have survived from the thirteenth century, and three from the fourteenth.[7] The linen embroideries were made for the most prominent sacral and liturgical locations in the church: the high altar and the place of the *memoria* and the veneration of St. Elizabeth (d. 1231), which was essential for Altenberg at that time, as the saint's daughter lived there for over sixty-eight years (1229–1297). The embroideries from Altenberg are done in what is known today as white-on-white technique.[8] The embroideries—figural depictions, ornaments, and inscriptions—are mostly done in colorless linen threads on a white linen ground. However, as my recent investigations have shown, the contours of all depictions and the inscriptions were once embroidered in dark blue or brown threads, which have lost their dye over time. It is important to keep these lost colours in mind when we look at the textiles today. The dark contours originally made the depictions and inscriptions visible and thus much more easily read than they now appear.[9]

One of the earlier two linens, usually said to be an altar cloth, is today in the Museum for Applied Art in Frankfurt (Fig. 1; Color Plate 12).[10] However, judging by its size (136 × 325/28 cm) and the organization of the pictorial

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[7] Leonie von Wilckens, "Hessische Leinenstickereien des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1954–59), pp. 5–20; Leonie von Wilckens, "Zwei hessische Leinenstickereien der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Peter Wilhelm Meister zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Annaliese Ohm and Horst Reber (Hamburg, 1975), pp. 121–26.

[8] For white-on-white embroidery or *opus teutonicum*: Peter Barnet, "*Opus Teutonicum*: A Medieval Westphalian Lectern Cover," in *Hali: Carpet, Textile and Islamic Art*, 79 (1995), pp. 98–100.

[9] On the lost colors of linen embroidery see my contribution in: Birgitt Borkopp-Restle and Stefanie Seeberg, "Farbe und Farbwirkung in der Bildstickerei des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters—Textilien im Kontext der Ausstattung sakraler Räume," in *Farbe im Mittelalter, Materialität—Medialität—Semantik*, eds. Ingrid Bennewitz and Andrea Schindler (Berlin, 2011), pp. 195–207.

[10] Frankfurt, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Inv. no. 5869; Wilckens, "Hessische Leinenstickereien," pp. 9ff.; Wilckens, "Zwei hessische Leinenstickereien," pp. 121–24.

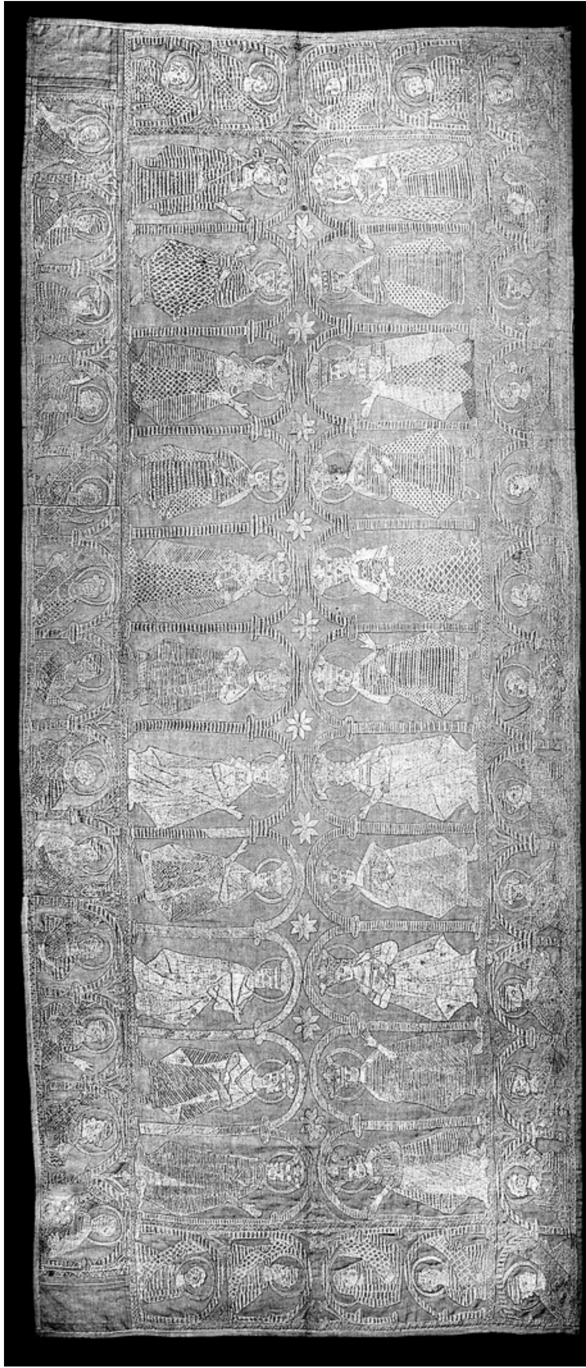

Figure 1 Catafalque cover, Altenberg/Lahn, second half of the 13th c. (Photo: V. Dettmar/ Frankfurt Museum für Angewandte Kunst). See color plate 12.

program, it is more likely a tomb or catafalque cover. On the linen ground, two rows of kings and queens are depicted under arcades. In the border of all four sides, we see prophets and two holy women. The style and fashion of the figures belong to the second half of the thirteenth century,[11] while their arrangement under arcades mirrored in two directions along the middle axis of the cloth reflects shrines and tombs of the time. Only when draped over a catafalque does this design fall into place.

The second embroidery from the thirteenth century (now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg) shows eight scenes from the life of St. Elizabeth (1207–1231), along with a representation of the enthroned saint (Fig. 2).[12] The *vita* is depicted in two registers. In the upper, her life as a noble lady is shown, ending with the embarkation of her husband Ludwig in Italy for the Fifth Crusade shortly before his death. The lower register presents Elizabeth's life dedicated to Christ: taking the simple cloth of a lay sister, working in the hospital, having her hair cut short, and performing various acts of charity. The cycle ends with Elizabeth on a heavenly throne; two women kneel praying at her feet (Fig. 3).[13]

The iconography of both embroideries is unusual, but can be explained by the historic situation of Altenberg in the thirteenth century. The Premonstratensian monastery of Altenberg became important during the time of its Magistra Gertrud (1227–1297), daughter of St. Elizabeth, landgravine of Thüringen.[14] Immediately after her investiture as magistra in 1248, Gertrud, who at that time was twenty-one years old, started rebuilding the nunnery, including the central church and the main parts of the enclosure.[15] Her social background, and especially the events of the

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[11] Wilckens, "Zwei hessische Leinenstickereien," p. 123f.

[12] Inv. no. T-3728, Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia. Stefanie Seeberg, "Leinenstickerei mit Szenen aus dem Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, eds. Dieter Blume and Matthias Werner (St. Petersburg, 2007), pp. 269–72, cat. no. 175.

[13] Seeberg, "Leinenstickerei," p. 269.

[14] Elizabeth, princess of Hungary, was married to Ludwig IV, landgrave (a high ranking count, comparable to a prince) von Thüringen. On St. Elizabeth, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from Her Canonization Hearings* (Oxford, 2010). On Altenberg and Gertrud von Thüringen: Christian Schuffels, "'Beata Gertrudis, Filia Sancte Elyzabet,' Gertrud, die Tochter der heiligen Elisabeth, und das Prämonstratenserinnenstift Altenberg an der Lahn," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, pp. 229–44.

[15] In the Premonstratensian order female convents were affiliated to a male monastery. The magistra was the head of the convent, but subordinate to the abbot of the male house. On the architecture of Altenberg see: Schuffels, "Beata Gertrudis," pp. 231–35 (with further bibliography).

Figure 2 Embroidery with scenes of the life of St. Elizabeth from Altenberg/Lahn, second half of the 13th c. (Photo: Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets and Yuri Molodkovets/ St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum).

Figure 3 Detail of embroidery with scenes of the life of St. Elizabeth from Altenberg/Lahn, second half of the 13th c. (Photo: S. Seeberg).

previous ten years, probably allowed her to develop this plan even before she became magistra.

Gertrud had been given to the small convent of Altenberg by her mother Elizabeth when she was still a young child. Before her birth, her parents had promised to offer the child to God if her father Ludwig should die during the Fifth Crusade. When the landgrave died in 1227 in Otranto, even before the crusade had actually begun, Elizabeth, then just twenty years old, decided that she also would give up her former life and follow Christ.[16] She left the court at Eisenach, founded a hospital in Marburg, and placed her baby Gertrud in the monastery of Altenberg, some seventy kilometers away. Elizabeth died in 1231. Just four years later, in 1235, she was canonized, and in 1236 her relics were translated in an impressive ceremony in which the emperor Frederick II crowned her separated head.[17] Elizabeth's young children—the nine-year old Gertrud, her older sister Sophia (1224–1275), and her brother Hermann (1222–1241)—were probably present for this spectacle.[18] They were, in any case, informed about and involved in it, and it must have been a central and extremely emotionally impressive event for them.

In 1248, both sisters came into leading positions. In that year Sophia was widowed. Her husband, Heinrich II, duke of Niederlothringen and Brabant, had been one of the most powerful princes of the empire.[19] Now, at the age of twenty-four, Sophia had to act as regent for her son, who was just four years old.[20] Half a year later, Gertrud became magistra of Altenberg. For her part, Sophia chose Marburg, not far from Altenberg, as her main residence. Here she had more influence and presence in the political struggles of Thüringen and Hessen, and here she was close to the tomb and relics of her holy mother in Marburg.[21] During the political

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[16] Stefan Tebruck, "Militia Christi—Imitatio Christi, Kreuzzugsidee und Armutsideal am thüringischen Landgrafenhof zur Zeit der Heiligen Elisabeth," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, pp. 137–152.

[17] Viola Belghaus, *Der erzählte Körper. Die Inszenierung der Reliquien Karls des Grossen und Elisabeths von Thüringen* (Berlin, 2005), p. 131 (with further bibliography).

[18] However, no document survives in which the family members present at this ceremony were named. Jürgen Petersohn, "Die Ludowinger. Selbstverständnis und Memoria eines hochmittelalterlichen Reichsfürstengeschlechts," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 129 (1993), p. 30.

[19] On Heinrich II, see Heinrich Neu, "Heinrich II., Herzog von Brabant," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1969), vol. 8, p. 348.

[20] Karl E. Demandt, *Geschichte des Landes Hessen* (Kassel, 1972), p. 179f.

[21] For the grave and relics of St. Elizabeth in Marburg: Andreas Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche. Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1995).

struggles over their father's lands in the following years, both sisters sought to strengthen the position of their family and to promote the veneration and popularity of their sainted mother. Both signed documents as "daughter of Saint Elizabeth."[22]

Architecture and art were important instruments in their efforts to demonstrate power and presence. Sophia, especially, must have been aware of the great importance of art, as she had spent part of her childhood at the Thuringian court in Eisenach, where she seems to have stayed even after her mother's death.[23] The Thuringian court of her parents and grandparents had been one of the most flourishing centers of art in the Middle Ages.[24] We can assume that Sophia exploited the possibilities of art and architecture in her residence in Marburg as well, but her role there is rarely mentioned and has not yet been examined by historians or art historians.[25] Evidence of her use of art for propaganda and as a manifestation of her power is provided by the seals and coins of her regency, in which she is shown, befitting her rank, as an elegant falconer on a noble horse, or together with her son flanking her mother St. Elizabeth.[26] In contrast to Sophia, Gertrud's involvement in architecture and art is better documented and has left many traces in Altenberg. We can conclude from historical sources in Altenberg, however, that the sisters cooperated in their efforts to strengthen the power of their family, the veneration of their mother Elizabeth, and the *memoria* of their father. A look at

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[22] On Sophia von Thüringen, see Werner Goez, *Gestalten des Hochmittelalters, Personengeschichtliche Essays im allgemeinhistorischen Kontext* (Darmstadt, 1983), pp. 378ff.; Ulrich Hussong, "Sophie (Sophia) von Brabant," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Hans Günther Hockerts (Berlin, 2010), vol. 24, pp. 586–88. On Gertrud, see Thomas Doepner, *Das Prämonstratenserinnenkloster Altenbger im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Sozial- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Marburg, 1999), pp. 56–60; Schuffels, "Beata Gertrudis," pp. 229–44.

[23] Hussong, "Sophie," p. 587.

[24] Especially under her grandparents Hermann I (1155–1217) and Sophia v. Wittelsbach (1170–1238) under whom examples of famous poetry, or richly illuminated gospel books as the "Landgrafen-" and "Elisabethpsalter" were made. See Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, "Zur Materiellen und künstlerischen Seite der Hofkultur der Stauferzeit, insbesondere am Landgrafenhof in Thüringen," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, pp. 59ff.; Jens Haustein, "Deutsche Literatur am Landgrafenhof und in Thüringen unter Herman I," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, pp. 60ff.

[25] She is mentioned as responsible for unspecified constructions on the castle of Marburg by Gerd Strickhausen, *Burgen der Ludowinger in Thüringen, Hessen und dem Rheinland. Studien zu Architektur und Landesherrschaft im Hochmittelalter* (Darmstadt/Marburg, 1998), p. 132.

[26] Matthias Kälble, "Reitersiegel der Herzogin Sophie von Brabant" and "Elisabethsiegel der Herzogin Sophie von Brabant," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, cat. nos. 179 and 180.

Altenberg can thus also offer insights into the as yet unknown and unnoticed role of Sophia in the history of art.

Gertrud, supported by her sister Sophia, established Altenberg as an important memorial place for their family.[27] Members of their family were represented through figures, inscriptions, and coats of arms in the windows.[28] The commissioning of the windows was the result of a cooperation between different families, especially the counts of Nassau and the landgraves. However, Gertrud's leading role is clearly visible: images of her father and grandparents appear in the windows, as does a scene showing the leave-taking of her father.[29] This departure was a central subject for Gertrud, as I will show later. We know from a document that Gertrud and Sophia made a donation in 1268 for the *memoria* of their family. We have no details about this *memoria*, but as we know from other examples that it must have included liturgy and the decoration of the church. As there was no tomb at Altenberg, we can hypothesize that on memorial days a catafalque was installed in the church.[30]

As I indicated above, there are strong reasons to suggest that the large linen embroidery, today in Frankfurt, was actually conceived and made for this catafalque, probably by Gertrud, and possibly in cooperation with her sister Sophia (see Fig. 1; Color Plate 12).[31] The twenty-two standing figures of men and women are crowned and nimbed. So far there has been no convincing reading of whom these figures were meant to represent.[32] But they would perfectly reflect the view held by the landgraves of Thüringen who saw themselves as members of the *beata stirps* of St. Elizabeth and proclaimed this heritage to legitimate and strengthen

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[27] For elaboration of this point, see my article "Monument in Linen: A Thirteenth-Century Embroidered Catafalque Cover for the Members of the *Beata Stirps* of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary," in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, eds. Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring (Oostkamp, forthcoming 2012).

[28] These windows did not survive, although we have a description of them from the seventeenth century. On the windows, see Daniel Parello, "Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Marburg und Nordhessen," in *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, Deutschland, vol. 3, part 3: Marburg und Nordhessen (Berlin, 2008), pp. 77ff.

[29] Parello, "Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien," p. 78.

[30] In the Middle Ages it was common to decorate tombs or catafalques on memorial days with rich textiles. Renate Kroos, "Grabbräuche—Grabbilder," in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid (Munich, 1984), pp. 299–304; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 190; Seeberg, "Monument in Linen."

[31] Seeberg, "Monument in Linen."

[32] Leonie Wilckens saw them first as saints and in her later essay as royal couples of the Old Testament. Wilckens, "Hessische Leinenstickereien," p. 10; Wilckens, "Zwei hessische Leinenstickereien," p. 123.

their political position.[33] The embroidery demonstrates this claim in a very self-confident way, one that is not at all common, as there are no such representations of ancestors with crowns and halos known in tomb sculpture.[34] An impermanent decoration like embroidery offered perhaps a better possibility for such daring representations than a permanent monument would have done.

The embroidery with scenes from the life of St. Elizabeth has to be seen in the context of Gertrud's efforts to create in Altenberg a center for her mother's veneration (see Fig. 2).[35] As we have seen, the cycle includes eight key moments of the life, and one representation of the saint seated on a throne. In contrast to the illustration of Elizabeth's life in the stained-glass windows (ca. 1240) and on the shrine (between 1235/36 and 1249), both in her church in Marburg, the embroidery from Altenberg includes several aspects of great personal importance for Gertrud and her convent.[36] Unique for cycles of Elizabeth is the representation of the cutting of her hair while she takes the cloth of a hospital sister. The cutting of hair is an important part of the ritual for young women who become members of a convent.[37] The departure of her father for the Fifth Crusade was a central subject for Gertrud as this event was fateful for her own life in that it led to her dedication as an unborn child to monastic life. Unusually, the embroidery tells this story in two scenes. The first shows Ludwig and Elizabeth embracing for the last time, and in the second scene Ludwig, leaving on his horse, makes a gesture of farewell to his beloved wife. This second episode was also depicted in one of the windows of the nuns' choir, as well as in a manuscript that belonged to Gertrud personally.[38]

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[33] On the importance of being a member of the family of the saint, Doepner, *Das Prämonstratenserinnenkloster*, p. 57.

[34] No examples in the region of Altenberg, Brabant, or France survive from the end of the thirteenth century. For comparison, see the tombs in the volume by Morganstern and the tombs of the landgraves in the south apse of the Elisabethkirche in Marburg. Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park, 2000); Joan Holladay, *The Tombs of the Hessian Landgraves in the Church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg* (Ann Arbor, 1982).

[35] Seeberg, "Leinenstickerei."

[36] On the cycles in Marburg, see Anette Kindler, "Reliquienschrein der Heiligen Elisabeth," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, cat. no. 130; Belghaus, *Der erzählte Körper.*

[37] Seeberg, "Leinenstickerei," p. 269. On the ritual, see Eva Schlotheuber, "Klostereintritt und Übergangsriten. Die Bedeutung der Jungfräulichkeit für das Selbstverständnis der Nonnen der alten Orden," in *Krone und Schleier*, pp. 43–61, esp. pp. 51ff.

[38] Psalterium, Darmstadt, Hess. Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Hs. 2230, fol. 8v; Christian Schuffels, "Elisabeths Abschied von Landgraf Ludwig IV. von Thüringen," in

Even more remarkable, however, is the last depiction of the embroidery, which shows Elizabeth enthroned and blessing (see Fig. 3). With the words on the banderole in her hand, she addresses the viewers and reminds them of her vision of Christ: *ecce q° ocoupivi: ixe vide°* (see what I reached: I see Christ). The blessing gesture may refer to the main relic of the saint in Altenberg: an arm bone preserved in a reliquary in the shape of her right arm.[39] On each side of the throne kneels a woman: a secular figure with typical bound head-dress on the saint's left, and a veiled nun to her right. As is well known, placement on the right was privileged and generally accorded greater prestige. These women may be portrayals of Elizabeth's daughters, Sophia and Gertrud, as patrons of the embroidery under the protection of their mother. However, since the figures are not identified by coats of arms or names, they may as well symbolize lay and religious women in general, as Elizabeth was considered a patron and ideal for both groups. Perhaps there is even an intended ambiguity, allowing both interpretations.

With this pictorial cycle Gertrud made the life of her mother present and vivid for the nuns and visitors to the church in a visual medium that reinforced the need for both *memoria* and veneration. The combination of the scenes demonstrated the personal relationship of the saint to her daughter and her monastery, as well as showing Elizabeth as example and patron of the nuns, who—like Elizabeth—had started their life in aristocratic families, taken the veil, and devoted their life to Christ. As depicted on a textile, this cycle could be presented at different places within the monastery—in the choir of the nuns, as a backdrop for the arm reliquary on feast days in the outer church, or as a wall hanging in the refectory.[40]

Here, as with the catafalque cover, a close relationship between secular and sacral society is expressed, which corresponds to Gertrud's self-image. Despite her life of enclosure, she identified herself strongly as a daughter of the landgraves of Thüringen, as we can repeatedly see in written documents.[41]

Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige, cat. no. 167; Seeberg, "Leinenstickerei," p. 272.

[39] On the reliquary: Stefanie Seeberg, "Armreliquiar der heiligen Elisabeth," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, pp. 247–49. On the presence of saints in their relics in general and with a focus on arm reliquaries: Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 20–31.

[40] About 50 years later one of the two refectories got a wall painting of the life of St. Elizabeth with again eight scenes; Seeberg, *Textile Bildwerke*.

[41] Petersohn, "Die Ludowinger," pp. 38ff.

It is somewhat surprising that neither embroidery has inscriptions or coats of arms that identify their conceivers, patrons, or artists.[42] Evidence that Gertrud was involved in their production is derived mainly from the idiosyncratic iconography. But why did Gertrud and the other women who worked with her to create these pieces not sign their work? We do have other liturgical objects with a dedication by Gertrud: a chalice and paten, bearing the inscription *Gertrudis magistra filia beata Elisabeth me fecit* (Magistra Gertrud, daughter of the blessed Elizabeth, made me) as well as on a piece of lace, probably once part of a liturgical vestment made of such precious materials as silk and silver threads.[43] The reason these objects are signed may lie in their functions: the chalice, and probably the lace as part of a liturgical vestment, were used in mass. These were personal dedications by Gertrud to God, intended to support her own *memoria* and salvation. The catafalque cover and the scenes of Elizabeth, however, served memorial, representational, and educational functions, addressed to members of the convent and visitors to the church. It should be noted that *me fecit* is used on these objects that were donated by Gertrud, but which she was unlikely to have made with her own hands.

Altar Cloths from the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

One generation after Gertrud's death, four large linen embroideries were made for and at Altenberg, providing further evidence of the role of women in decorating and furnishing their church. Dedicatory inscriptions give us the names of the women who donated, conceived, and/or made the pieces.

Two surviving altar cloths, together with a description of a third one in the convent's records, belong to the new furnishing of the high altar that was completed between 1320 and 1330 (Figs. 4, 5). It is a rare coincidence that both these altar cloths and the altarpiece—one of the earliest winged examples—still exist. While the altarpiece, especially the paintings in the

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[42] We find inscriptions of names or arms of donors or conceivers on many textiles from the Middle Ages, as, for example in the embroideries from Altenberg presented here, or in textiles from the nunnery of Lüne, the *Auferstehungs-* and *Osterteppich* (see below). Kohwagner-Nikolai, *"per manus,"* pp. 358, 369ff., 373ff.

[43] The inscription on the textile is the same, minus the word *magistra: Gertrudis filia beata Elisabeth me fecit*. On the textile, see Regula Schorta, "Band mit gestickter Inschrift," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, cat. no. 169. For the chalice: Wilhelm Lotz, *Kunst—Topographie Deutschlands. Ein Haus- und Reise—Handbuch für Künstler, Gelehrte und Freunde unserer alten Kunst* (Cassel, 1862), vol. 1, p. 42.

Städel Museum in Frankfurt, has received considerable attention from art historians, the embroideries are less well known.[44] These fabric works must have been considered an important part of the overall decoration, as the high quality of the drawings and the embroidery, the elaborate iconographic program, and their careful preservation show.[45]

The substantial measurements of the cloths, ca. 125 × 390 cm, correspond to the size of the altar table still existing in the church of Altenberg.[46] On the embroideries we find dedicatory inscriptions with several names. Two groups of women who were responsible for the making of three cloths for the high altar may be distinguished. One cloth is known only from a description by a seventeenth-century prior of the nunnery, Petrus Diederich. He reports the inscription: *Gertrudis Imagina Mechthild fecer(un)t me ihesu benigne opus nostr(u)m sit ti(bi) acceptabile* (Gertrudis, Imagina, Mechthild made me. Benevolent Jesus, may our work be acceptable to you).[47] It seems that this cloth was the most important of the group, as the prior, who describes all three in great detail, lists it first. With Christ in Majesty flanked by the apostles, a common theme for the high altar, the cloth was an essential complement to the altarpiece. The names in its inscription correspond to the names of the magistra and her successors around 1330.[48] To find women in positions of authority as patrons of major textiles for a church is not unusual, as we know from the

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[44] For the altarpiece, with further bibliography: Stephan Kemperdick, "Flügel des Altenberger Altares," in *Deutsche Gemälde im Städel 1300–1500*, eds. Stephan Kemperdick and Bodo Brinkmann (Mainz, 2002), pp. 3–32. For the embroideries: Wilckens, "Hessische Leinenstickereien," pp. 5–20; Wilckens, "Zwei hessische Leinenstickereien," pp. 121–26; James Joseph Rorimer, "Fourteenth-Century German Altar Cloth," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 25 (1930), pp. 10–12.

[45] For a detailed discussion of this ensemble of the altar piece and the altar cloths see Part 3, *Bilder am Altar*, in Seeberg, *Textile Bildwerke*.

[46] The size of the *mensa* of the high altar is 165 × 287 cm. The difference of the width of ca. 38 cm between the *mensa* and the cloth is made up by the corpus of the altarpiece.

[47] Petrus Diederich, *Antiquitates Monasterii Aldenburgensis*, Schloß Braunfels, Fürst zu Solms-Braunfels'sches Archiv, Altenberger Akten, 1653 and 1656–1665, Abt. 1, no. 14, fols. 441ff.

[48] Gertrud von Nassau (not Gertrud von Thüringen) was followed after 1332 by Imagina von Limburg. Mechthild von Ziegenhain (d. 1332), daughter of Heinrich von Hessen, a grandchild of St. Elizabeth, was the mother of Elke von Ziegenhain, who became magistra by at least 1355. Mechthild was never a member of the convent, but had a close connection to it. Her name, arms, and depiction were on the windows as well as on the altarpiece. Around 1330 her daughter probably already was designated the magistra, but she had to wait some 30 years for the appointment. On these persons see Doepner, *Das Prämonstratenserinnenkloster*, pp. 204–206, 394.

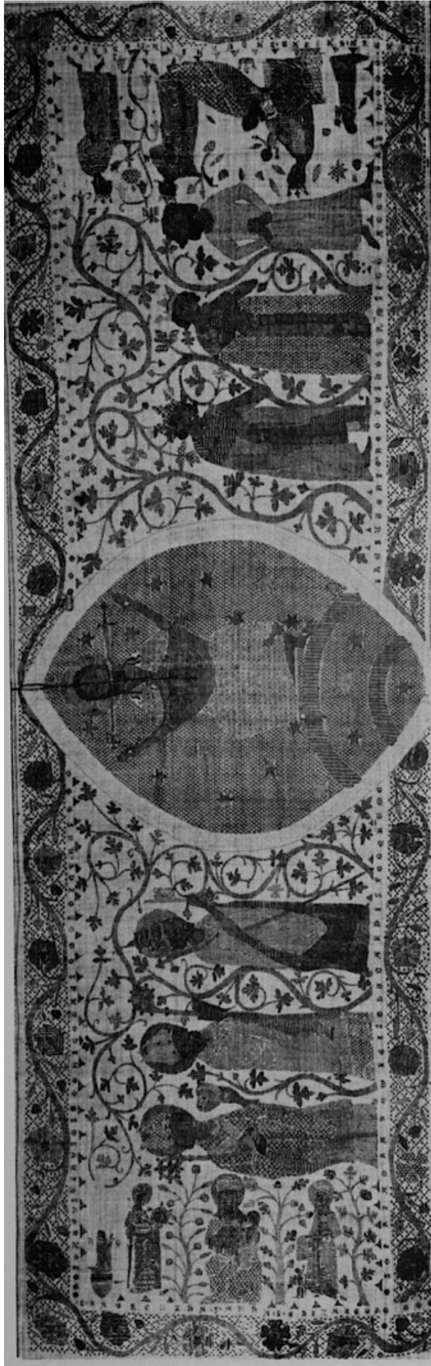

Figure 4 Altar cloth, Altenberg/Lahn, ca. 1320–1330. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.-No. 1929 (29.87), Fletcher Fund (Photo: Marie Schuette and Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *Das Stickereiwerk*, Tübingen, 1963, fig. 160).

Figure 5 Altar cloth, Altenberg/Lahn, linen embroidery, ca. 1320–1330 (Photo: Ulrich Kneise/Eisenach Wartburg Stiftung).

antependium of Rupertsberg (discussed below) or a large-scale tapestry at the convent of Lüne.[49]

The two surviving Altenberg altar cloths are today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 4) and in the Wartburg Collection in Eisenach (Fig. 5). Both pieces are works of another group of women from Altenberg.[50] Unfortunately, their names are not as easy to identify as those on the lost altarcloth. The cloth in the Metropolitan Museum displays the names **Sophia* hadewigis* lucardis**, and on the cloth in Eisenach the same names appear, but their order has been changed to *Hadewigis*sophia* lucardis**. While there are two nuns at Altenberg called Sophia without a precise time specification, the names of Hedwig and Lucardis are attested around 1350 for different women. In addition to these names, there are depictions of patrons at the ends of the cloth: three women in habits and a male cleric (Fig. 6). The cleric with the initials HC appears to be a canon of the city of Cologne: his coat is lined with fur, and he kneels over Cologne's coat of arms.[51] Only one of the three nuns is given a name: Gisela. The other two anonymous women, like the figure of a Premonstratensian nun in the painted altarpiece, probably represent the convent as a whole (Fig. 7).[52]

It is important to emphasize the collaborative nature of the production of these embroideries, as women and men from both within and outside the convent were involved in conceiving, financing, drawing, and embroidering the textiles. It is also significant that we cannot distinguish who

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[49] For the so-called *Auferstehungsteppich* and *Osterteppich* of Lüne: Kohwagner-Nikolai, *"per manus,"* pp. 358, 369ff., 373ff.

[50] Eisenach, Wartburg Stiftung, Inv. no. KT 0018 (121/125 × 387 cm); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 1929 (29.87), Fletcher Fund, (121/125 × 394 cm). Rorimer, "Fourteenth-Century German Altar Cloth," pp. 10–12; Wilckens, "Hessische Leinenstickereien," pp. 10–14; Kristin Böse, "Altardecke aus dem Prämonstratenserinnenkloster Altenberg/Lahn," in *Krone und Schleier*, cat. no. 474.

[51] Aldenkirchen suggested an identification with Heinrich von Cronberg (Joseph Aldenkirchen, "Frühmittelalterliche Leinen-Stickereien," *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in den Rheinlanden*, 79 (1885), pp. 256–72, esp. 268), but this was criticized by Doepner, *Prämonstratenserinnenkloster*, p. 86, n. 136. Until now, scholars have failed to recognize that the coat of arms is that of the city of Cologne.

[52] This is comparable to written documents, in which individual, single nuns do not appear with their name but only the convent as a whole. On the identification of the nun on the altarpiece: Doepner, *Prämonstratenserinnenkloster*, p. 70, n. 66; Kemperdick, "Flügel," p. 22; Anette Kindler, "Altenberger Altar," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen—Eine europäische Heilige*, cat. no. 177, p. 274. For the question of names versus signatures, see also in the present volume Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists' Portraits (9th–12th c.)."

Figure 6 Female patron, detail of the altar cloth in Eisenach (Photo: Ulrich Kneise/Eisenach Wartburg Stiftung).

Figure 7 Female patron, detail of altarpiece of Altenberg, ca. 1320–30 (Photo: Städel Museum—ARTOTHEK).

was responsible for which part of the project. The expression "opus nostrum" was used in a similar open way to the word "fecit." "Opus nostrum" refers to the completed artefact, the result of a working process and not the manual work. This is comparable to an inscription on the dalmatic of the "Gösser Vestments," which refers to the *opus* of the abbess Kunigunde II (1239–1269): *Chunegundis abatissa hoc opus est operata* (This work has been made by Abbess Kunigunde).[53] We cannot know if Sophia, Hedwig, and Lucardis conceived the pictorial program, donated the cloth, or were the embroiderers.[54] The embroideries of both surviving Altenberg altar cloths are very similar in terms of the types of stitches, patterns, and use of colors, but they are not identical. When we compare the drawings of the two cloths, we find differences in style that make it very unlikely that the designs were done by the same woman. Rather, stylistic elements suggest that the drawing of the New York cloth was a commissioned work.[55] This does not, however, answer the question of who carried out the embroidery.

The inscriptions and the representations of patrons on both cloths and on the altarpiece indicate that women played the dominant role in this project to produce the elaborate new altar decoration. Contrary to what we might expect, however, the central part of the New York cloth shows only male figures, in what seems to be a political statement by the women of Altenberg to the world outside the convent. Showing saints as church dignitaries with Peter as pope among the redeemed on Christ's right, while secular figures appear with Nero as emperor on the side of the damned, it makes clear the women's standpoint regarding the situation around 1330, with the confrontation between pope and emperor.[56]

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[53] Barbara Eggert, "Textile Strategien der Grenzüberschreitung. Der Gösser Ornat der Äbtissin Kunigunde II. (amt. 1239–1269)," in *Frauen—Kloster—Kunst*, pp. 285ff.

[54] For the already mentioned "Auferstehungsteppich" and the "Osterteppich" from the nunnery of Lüne (see note 46), the magistra and her successor the prioress with their coat of arms in the outer border can be identified clearly as the donors and commissioners, while there are other women who were concept designers, embroiderers, and spinners. Kohwagner-Nikolai, *"per manus,"* pp. 358, 369ff., 373ff.

[55] The characteristics of the drawing can be seen in the organisation of space, the figures, and the ornaments of high quality. If there had been a woman in the convent capable of the level of sophisticated drawing seen in the cloth today in New York, there would have been no reason to have the drawing of the cloth in Eisenach done by someone else. For more details and further argumentation, see Seeberg, *Textile Bildwerke*.

[56] In 1324 Pope John XXII excommunicated King Ludwig den Bayer. For more discussion of this aspect see Seeberg, *Textile Bildwerke*.

The Rupertsberg Antependium

While the Altenberg embroideries have rarely been the subject of scholarly attention, the antependium from Rupertsberg is one of the best-known German textiles of the central Middle Ages due to its precious materials and its monumental iconographic program with Christ in Majesty and sixteen patrons (six wealthy lay-men and -women, and ten nuns). This antependium (now in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire) is another striking example of a textile as an important key to deciphering the roles of women in art (Fig. 8; see Color Plate 13).[57] Like the embroideries from Altenberg, this piece shows that textiles were an important medium through which nuns could demonstrate their presence and influence in the church of their monastery, and with this, to society beyond the enclosure. Even if it is no longer possible to place it in its exact original context, as neither the church nor any of its other decoration has survived, this altar hanging provides a vivid idea of the furnishings of the church in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The Benedictine monastery at Rupertsberg was founded in 1150 by Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179). Hildegard, who was already a famous abbess during her lifetime, had connections to many powerful and wealthy people.[58] Through her efforts the foundation and construction of a new monastery and its buildings were made possible. The church must have been completed no later than 1165.[59] To judge by what we know of Hildegard's attitude toward decoration from her correspondence with Texwind of Andernach, from the report of Wibert of Gembloux on the new buildings at Rupertsberg, and from surviving Benedictine churches of this time, it is likely that her basilica was well decorated.[60] The antependium, dated

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[57] Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. no. 1784; among others: Marie Schuette and Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *Das Stickereiwerk* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 78–80; Ruth Grönwoldt, "Antependium aus Rupersberg," in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte—Kunst—Kultur*, ed. Reiner Haussherr (Stuttgart, 1977), cat. no. 805; Leonie von Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium aus Kloster Rupertsberg," *Pantheon*, 35 (1977), pp. 5–10; Robert Suckale, "Antependium aus dem Kloster Rupertsberg," in *Krone und Schleier*, p. 313; Tanja Michalsky, "Antependium aus dem Kloster Rupertsberg," in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland, Romanik*, ed. Susanne Wittekind (Munich, Berlin, London, New York, 2009), pp. 400–401.

[58] On Hildegard von Bingen: Ines Koring, "Hildegard von Bingen 1098–1179," in *Hildegard von Bingen: 1098–1179*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz, 1998), pp. 2–24.

[59] Koring, "Hildegard," pp. 8–15. Dethard von Winterfeld, "Der Rupertsberg," in *Hildegard von Bingen: 1098–1179*, p. 74.

[60] For the letter see: Ep. LII, "Textwindis ad Hildegardum (Andernach)," in *Epistolarium Hildegardis Bingensis*, I-XC, vol. 1, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis*, 91, ed.

Figure 8 Antependium of Rupertsberg, ca. 1220 (Photo: Fototheek, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels). See color plate 13.

around 1220, some forty years after Hildegard's death, is the only object of Rupertsberg's medieval decoration that remains.

The lavishly worked, richly colored altar frontal centers around a *Maiestas Domini*; to Christ's right stand Mary, Peter, and John the Baptist, accompanied by a smaller female figure, whom an inscription identifies as "S. Maria M"—Mary Magdalene.[61] On Christ's left Rupert, Hildegard, and Martin—all with their names embroidered above them—are represented. While a program with Christ in a mandorla flanked by saints is not unusual for the decoration of the high altar at this time, this particular combination, reflecting local veneration, is singular.[62] The imagery underlines, with a twist, the dedication of the main altar in Rupertsberg to Mary, the apostles Philip and James, and the confessors Rupert and Martin.[63] Yet rather than a depiction of these apostles on the antependium, we see the figure of Hildegard.

Even more singular is the appearance of sixteen patrons on the antependium. The most prominent ones, whose position in the hierarchy is indicated both by size and by proximity to the *Maiestas* in the center, are the archbishop of Mainz, Siegfried II von Eppstein (1165–1230) to the right of Christ, and Agnes, wife of Friedrich II, Duke of Lothringen (1170/74?–1226) to Christ's left. Also to his right are three other noble lay-men arrayed with fur coats: Godefridus, a second unnamed man, and Cunradus. Below St. Martin on Christ's left, a nun designated as Adelheid is set in a symmetrical position to Godefridus. These two may represent the abbess who served until 1210 and the legal counsel of the convent, Godefried of Weiler.[64] In the border below are ten nuns, with one lay-man just outside their ranks. They are labeled *Guda, Sophia, Ida, Agnes, dna Elisb—, Ida, Sophia, Mehtild, Adelhedis, Gertrudis*, and *Cunradus*. The latter holds a

L. Van Acker (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 125–27; Adelgund Führkötter, *Hildegard von Bingen, Briefwechsel* (Salzburg, 1965), pp. 200–203. The report of Wibert of Gembloux is quoted in Koring, "Hildegard," p. 12. The church and its furnishing were destroyed in 1632 during the Thirty Years' War. Von Winterfeld, "Der Rupertsberg," p. 74.

[61] Mary Magdalene is shown as an example of life in penance next to St. John the Baptist. Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 6.

[62] For example, the Antependium of Basel, the retables of St. Walpurgis Soest and of Aschaffenburg, or the altarcloth from Heiningen (see below). Kemperdick, "Flügel," p. 70; Klaus Krüger, "Das Aschaffenburger Tafelbild. Überlegungen zur Funktion und Deutung," in *Das Aschaffenburger Tafelbild, Studien zur Tafelmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1997), pp. 293–306.

[63] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 6.

[64] They can be found together in documents around 1200. Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7.

place of honour next to the abbess Elisa. Very likely, he may be Cunradus of Münster who in 1219, together with his wife Berta, donated all of his property to Rupertsberg.[65]

Both the iconography and the measurements of the work (230 × 96,5 cm) suggest that the antependium was made for the high altar.[66] This is also indicated by its very material: the fabric is Byzantine silk dyed with expensive purple extract of coccids—a fabric which, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was even more valuable than gold.[67] The embroidery is done in gold and silvertwine and silk threads. In addition, the signs of sanctity such as the nimbus and the cross have been outlined with pearls.[68] Such exquisite materials, unavailable to most, emphasize the high social and political positions of the donors. Only rich and powerful personalities like the archbishop of Mainz, who had close connections to the royal or imperial courts, or the duchess of Lorraine would have been able to make such a donation of Byzantine silk for the high altar.[69]

The striking number of patrons merits further discussion. There must have been a significant reason behind the creation of the antependium for so many individuals to be involved. Leonie von Wilckens argued that the context may have concerned the efforts of the convent to have Hildegard canonized.[70] However, other scholars have held that the *memoria* of the main patrons to the monastery was the primary reason for the donation.[71] They emphasize the elaborate system of saints and benefactors with their hierarchical differentiation in the various zones of the antependium, comparable to a written document, showing them as a community of the

[65] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7; Grönwoldt, "Antependium," p. 638.

[66] This was first proposed in 1977 by Leonie von Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium."

[67] For the value of Byzantine silk in western Europe in the Middle Ages: Annemarie Stauffer, "Bestaunt und begehrt: Seide aus Byzanz," in *Byzanz, Pracht und Alltag* (Bonn, 2010), p. 94. For the dying with coccid: E. Janssen, "Antependium," in *Hildegard von Bingen: 1098–1179*, p. 104.

[68] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 6.

[69] Leonie von Wilckens has suggested that the silk may have been acquired in the sacking of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 5. This would have given the very material a status approaching that of a relic.

[70] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p 7.

[71] Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria, Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild* (Göttingen, 1993), p. 313; Wunder, "Gewirkte Geschichte," pp. 334ff.; Suckale, "Antependium," p. 313; Michalsky, "Antependium," pp. 400–401.

living and the dead.[72] While a memorial aspect was no doubt intended, it was not the only function of the piece. With its normative iconographic program centered around Christ in Majesty, matched to the saints to which the high altar was dedicated, as well as with the numerous patrons, it is unlikely that the frontal was intended to be used only on the annual memorial days of the donors.[73] For such prominent patrons as the archbishop and the duchess, an individual donation or foundation for their *memoria* would have been more appropriate than a collective foundation within a group of fifteen other people of different social backgrounds.

Historical circumstances suggest that the antependium was made shortly before Duchess Agnes' death in 1226.[74] In 1220 Agnes' endowment for the *memoria* of her mother and herself is documented.[75] One year earlier, in 1219, Cunradus and his wife had donated their property to Rupertsberg. In 1210, Siegfried II von Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz, had installed Elisa as abbess against two other candidates nominated by the convent.[76]

If we accept that the altar frontal was made around 1220, the donors, patrons, and members of the convent who figure in it were alive at that time. The only deceased would have been Godefried and the former abbess, Adelheid. In the selection of ten individually-named nuns and in the omission of important persons from the period of the foundation of the monastery (such as Bishop Heinrich I of Mainz, 1080–1153), the embroidery can not be seen as a document representing the entire monastic community. We must, therefore, address the question of why these individuals were brought together here. Probably the most important goal at the time was to effect the canonization of Hildegard, which required a concerted effort among various promoters of the monastery from different social groups. After Hildegard's death in 1179, the circumstances at Rupertsberg were

[72] Wunder, "Gewirkte Geschichte," pp. 334ff.; Michalsky, "Antependium," pp. 400ff.; Janssen, "Antependium," p. 106; Sauer, *Fundatio*, p. 313.

[73] As suggested by Wunder, "Gewirkte Geschichte," p. 335.

[74] Wilckens ("Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 8), Grönwoldt ("Antependium," pp. 638ff.) and Sauer (*Fundatio*, p. 312) assumed that it was made around 1230; more recently Suckale ("Antependium," p. 313) and Michalsky ("Antependium," p. 400) have dated it to around 1220.

[75] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7; Adam Goerz, *Mittelrheinische Regesten: oder chronologische Zusammenstellung des Quellenmaterials für die Geschichte der Territorien der beiden Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier in kurzen Auszügen* (Göttingen, 1879), vol. 2, no. 1479.

[76] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7; Goerz, *Mittelrheinische Regesten*, p. 310, no. 1127. Since its foundation, the archbishops of Mainz exercised the privilege of installing the abbesses of Rupertsberg. Von Winterfeld, "Der Rupertsberg," p. 74.

similar to the situation that would arise in Altenberg after Magistra Gertrud's death: one generation later, it was deemed necessary to strengthen the presence and veneration of a famous abbess, in order to preserve the attractiveness of the monastery for patrons and pilgrims, and for women as a place to spend a religious life. Quite soon after Hildegard's death, perhaps even under her immediate successor, Adelheid (1179–1209), together with the legal counsel Godefridus, the convent of Rupertsberg began to work on her canonization. Their efforts only intensified in the first half of the thirteenth century.[77] Around 1220, the embroidery is the earliest known public statement by the convent in its campaign to canonize their late abbess. In January 1228, Pope Gregory IX responded to the request of the nuns and ordered an interview of the witnesses to the life and miracles of Hildegard as one important stage in the process.[78] Completed five years later in 1233, the report mentions four members of the convent who are depicted in the lower border of the antependium: the abbess Domina Elisa and her sister Agnes, who was prioress, the singer Sophia, and the nun Guda.[79] Not represented on the antependium are the sacristan Beatrix or the cellarer Odilia. One possible reason for their absence from the antependium may be that they were not yet in these positions when the hanging was made, about ten years before the interview.[80]

These canonization efforts were surely supported by Archbishop Siegfried II of Mainz; his representation as the main patron on the antependium indicates as much.[81] But after a promising start to the process in 1227 under the benevolent eye of Pope Gregory IX, dissenting opinions arose in Mainz.[82] The efforts toward the canonization were still not

[77] On the canonization: Helmut Hinkel, "Nachleben," in *Hildegard von Bingen*, p. 148; Winfried Wilhelmy, "Protokoll zur Heiligsprechung Hildegards," in *Hildegard von Bingen*, pp. 156ff.

[78] Goerz, *Mittelrheinische Regesten*, no. 1853.

[79] Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7; Goerz, *Mittelrheinische Regesten*, no. 2081.

[80] There are another 7 nuns who appear on the antependium, but not in the report: Ida (twice), Adelheidis and Gertrudis, and another Sophia, Guda and Mechthild. List of names after Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 7. Evidently the group of nuns being interviewed was smaller than the group of nuns involved in the antependium 10 years earlier. Some of them might already have died in the intervening time.

[81] This would be obvious during the time when he supported Frederick II as king around 1214. Frederick himself pointed out his close connection to Hildegard to strengthen his own reputation. See also the second early depiction of Hildegard as a saint in the chronicle of the kings (after 1238). Suckale, "Antependium," no. 201.

[82] Hinkel, "Nachleben," p. 148; Wilhelmy, "Protokoll," p. 157.

concluded even in 1243, and ultimately they failed.[83] But during these arduous endeavors, the presence and veneration of the significant *fundatrix* were visibly manifested and supported by the pictorial program of the main altar, evidenced today only by the antependium, with the earliest known depiction of Hildegard as a saint.

On this altar frontal, Hildegard is shown with a halo, as though her future canonization was not in question (see Fig. 8; Color Plate 13). This representation, in which Hildegard occupies a prominent place close to Christ on the mensa of the high altar, was anything but self-evident at this time, since the request for Hildegard's canonization was controversial within the diocese of Mainz.[84] Standing to the left of Christ, together with the local saints Rupert (as patron of the church) and Martin (as patron of the diocese of Mainz), there is no doubt that she belongs to this close-knit, territorial grouping. The sacred sphere in which Hildegard is included is heightened by the extremely costly material, which had a sanctifying effect.

One curious detail of the antependium's imagery continues to puzzle art historians: the figures of Mary and Rupert wear imperial crowns, rather than a royal crown for Mary and the typical princely cap ("Fürstenhut") for Rupert.[85] Prior scholarship has credited this oddity to a change in concept or simply a mistake.[86] I would like to propose a different explanation: could not this imperially crowned couple be explained by the fact that Archbishop Siegfried was one of the cloth's main patrons, and by the historic events occurring at the time? The key may be found in the message of the inscription within the mandorla surrounding Christ. The inscription reads: *qui me diligitis mea sit benedicto vobis rex ego sum regum statuens moderamina rerum* (You who love me, I bless you. I am the king of the kings and determine the course of things/the state).[87] In this text, the pastoral function of the pictorial program becomes evident. However, the political position of Archbishop Siegfried and the events of state in which he was involved provide further clarification. He crowned three kings—two in Aachen and one in Mainz—and supported the imperial coronation of Frederick II in Rome in 1220, the year around which the antependium

[83] Wilhelmy, "Protokoll," pp. 156–58; Hinkel, "Nachleben," p. 148.
[84] Hinkel, "Nachleben," p. 149; Wilhelmy, "Protokoll," p. 157.
[85] For an early depiction of Rupert of Bingen with *Fürstenhut* on a seal of the monastery of the twelfth century, Staatsarchiv Koblenz 164; A. Thomas, "Rupert von Bingen," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1976), vol. 8, p. 292.
[86] Suckale, "Antependium," p. 313; Michalsky, "Antependium," p. 400.
[87] Latin text after Wilckens, "Das goldgestickte Antependium," p. 6.

was made.[88] On the tomb of Siegfried's successor (and nephew), Siegfried III von Eppstein, the archbishop is depicted crowning the anti-kings of the Emperor Frederick II, Heinrich Raspe von Thüringen and Wilhelm von Holland (Fig. 9).[89] The tomb shows the archbishop of Mainz's self-understanding: he was a *Königsmacher*, king-maker, who through crowning created the earthly kings by himself.[90] However, while the tomb of Siegfried III shows this fact literally, the antependium donated by his uncle recalls the true maker of Kings: the King of Kings, Christ, who directs all things, as the inscription emphasizes. It is Christ who has given Mary and Rupert the highest-ranking crowns, depicted in the embroidery as the imperial crowns.[91] And it is Christ who decides who is elected as saint—among them Hildegard. Neither the depiction of Hildegard with a nimbus and a shining white silk veil nor of saints with imperial crowns followed the standard iconographic conventions.

In contrast to the tomb of Siegfried III, the antependium shows the intention of a diverse group of patrons and conceivers: with Christ as King of Kings, the imagery carries a message of the convent's independence from earthly powers, showing Christ as the only and just master of the community. It is significant that the crowned saints are Mary and Rupert, the patrons of the monastery, and not Martin, the patron of the archdiocese. I would suggest that the conception of the pictorial program was—analogous to the donation—the result of cooperation between the nuns within the convent and the male and female patrons from outside. The embroidery itself, mostly in splitting-, satin- and stem-stitch, is accurately done, but not highly complicated, and it was probably the work

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[88] The archbishop of Mainz had the honor of crowning the kings of the German empire in Aachen. After being installed in Mainz Siegfried crowned Otto IV in Aachen at Chrismas in 1200. During the conflict between Otto and Pope Innocent he took the pope's part: in 1212 he crowned Frederick II king in Mainz and then in 1215 again in Aachen. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, *Das Bistum Mainz. Von der Römerzeit bis zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 96–101.

[89] Gerhard Lutz, "Tumbaplatte des Erzbischofs Siegfried III. von Eppstein (gest. 1249)," in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, vol. 3, *Gotik*, ed. Bruno Klein (Munich, Berlin, London, and New York, 2007), p. 349.

[90] Kathryn Brush, "The Tomb Slab of Archbishop Siegfried III von Eppstein in Mainz," in *Grabmäler, Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Wilhelm Maier, Wolfgang Schmid, and Michael Viktor Schwarz (Berlin, 2000), pp. 33–50.

[91] On Christ as the heavenly crowner with examples from the second half of the twelfth century showing Christ crowning saints such as the altarpiece of the jube of Sint Servas Maastricht: Joachim Ott, *Krone und Krönung. Die Verheißung und Verleihung von Kronen in der Kunst von der Spätantike bis um 1200 und die geistige Auslegung der Krone* (Mainz, 1998), fig. 242.

Figure 9 Tomb of Siegfried III of Eppstein (d. 1249) (Photo: Mainz Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum).

of the women within the monastery.[92] The extremely precious material, however, is not typical of what we expect from a monastic production. In contrast to the monasteries of Altenberg and Heiningen, which embraced an ideal of poverty close to that of the Cistercian order, Hildegard tolerated some luxury for her nuns in Rupertsberg, as we know from her letters to Texwind of Andernach.[93]

In any case, the canonization efforts at Rupertsberg, culminating in the application to the pope in 1227 and the following interview, were central events that will certainly have been among the most important factors motivating the making of the antependium. This valuable textile documents the sponsors of the canonization process as promoters of both the monastery *and* the veneration of Hildegard. Their efforts were inseparably connected, and this cooperation is made visible through the embroidered names and figures of the patrons.[94] But at the same time they promoted their own *memoria* of this group of people, as the canonization of Hildegard would considerably enhance their own chances of salvation. They, who are documented with written names and bodily portrayals on the antependium and shown in close association with Christ and the saints "elected" by him, pleaded for Hildegard and could in return count on her support.

With Christ in Majesty at the center, the antependium shows a common motif for the decoration of the high altar, which could be used on high feast days when the church was decorated for prominent visitors. On these days, when the nuns were not allowed to take part in the mass at the high altar because of enclosure regulations, the embroidery continued to make them present.

The Altar Cloth of the Augustinian Convent in Heiningen

By contrast, the altar cloth of the Augustinian canonesses in Heiningen shows neither names nor representations of the nuns, but nevertheless serves as an important document for the association of textiles as a medium with women and thus women's contribution to the artistic

[92] Grönwoldt, "Antependium," pp. 638ff., cat. no. 805.
[93] Führkötter, *Hildegard von Bingen*, pp. 203ff.
[94] In this aspects the function of embroideries is comparable to tapestries of late medieval nunneries: Kohwagner-Nikolai, *"per manus."*

furnishings of churches (Figs. 10a, 10b).[95] A report from a visitation in 1240 recommended working with textiles, especially linen, to the nuns of Heiningen.[96] Some twenty years later, a linen altar cloth was made for Heiningen, bearing inscriptions with the names of the founders and the local patron saints. Very likely, this piece is the work of the nuns as both patrons and embroiderers, following the advice of the report.[97] We cannot know, however, whether they also conceived the iconography. While early scholars assumed a male designer,[98] recent studies postulate that the women were responsible both for concept and production.[99] The nuns' names were not included on the piece, perhaps because it was judged unnecessary: following the visitation report of 1240, the linen embroideries themselves "recommend and show the pious attitude of those who made them."[100]

The altar cloth is in a fragmentary state, as parts of each side were cut off and are now lost. Although most scholars call it an antependium,[101] it is clear that the textile was an altar cloth, since the borders on each side have fragmentary inscriptions perpendicular to the existing central part. Today the cloth measures 106 by 236 cm, and we can assume that it was originally made for the main altar, like the examples of Altenberg and Rupertsberg.[102] Again the imagery shows Christ in a mandorla flanked

95 Today in Helmstedt, Evangelisches Damenstift Marienberg. Renate Kroos, *Niedersächsische Bildstickereien des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1970), cat. no. 55; Grönwoldt, "Antependium," pp. 631ff., cat. no. 798; Michael Wolfson, "Antependium aus dem Kloster Heiningen," in *Krone und Schleier*, pp. 225ff., cat. no. 83.

96 *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Hannover and Leipzig, 1901), vol. 2, no. 583; August Fink, "Das weiße Antependium aus Kloster Heiningen," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 1 (1959), pp. 168–78, esp. 177; Kroos, *Bildstickereien*, p. 160, no. 12.

97 Fink, "Antependium," p. 178.

98 Fink, "Antependium," p. 170.

99 Sauer, *Fundatio*, p. 205.

100 "*religionem in eis commendent et exhibeant que fecerunt.*" *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim*, no. 583. Falk Eiserman, *Die Inschriften auf den Textilien des Augustiner-Chorfrauenstifts Heiningen* (Göttingen, 1996), p. 236.

101 Kroos, *Bildstickereien*, pp. 131ff., no. 55. Fink argues that it was first an antependium, then an altar cloth, and then cut again for use as antependium: Fink, "Antependium," pp. 174–76. Wolfson takes the formal organization with arcades as an argument for its original conception as an antependium. Wolfson, "Antependium," p. 225. In studies on altarpieces it is known as antependium: Krüger, "Tafelbild," p. 296; Stephan Kemperdick, "Gemalte Altartafeln vor 1300. Formen und Schicksale," *Aschaffenburger Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Landeskunde und Kunst des Untermaingebietes*, 27 (2009), pp. 65–90.

102 The central field, which is intended to lie on the *mensa*, is about 106 × 228 cm. This size fits perfectly with the historic *mensa* in the church of Heiningen (which is reused for the high altar), measuring about 106 × 230 cm. In its original size with the missing figures restored to each side, the cloth would have been much too large for an antependium.

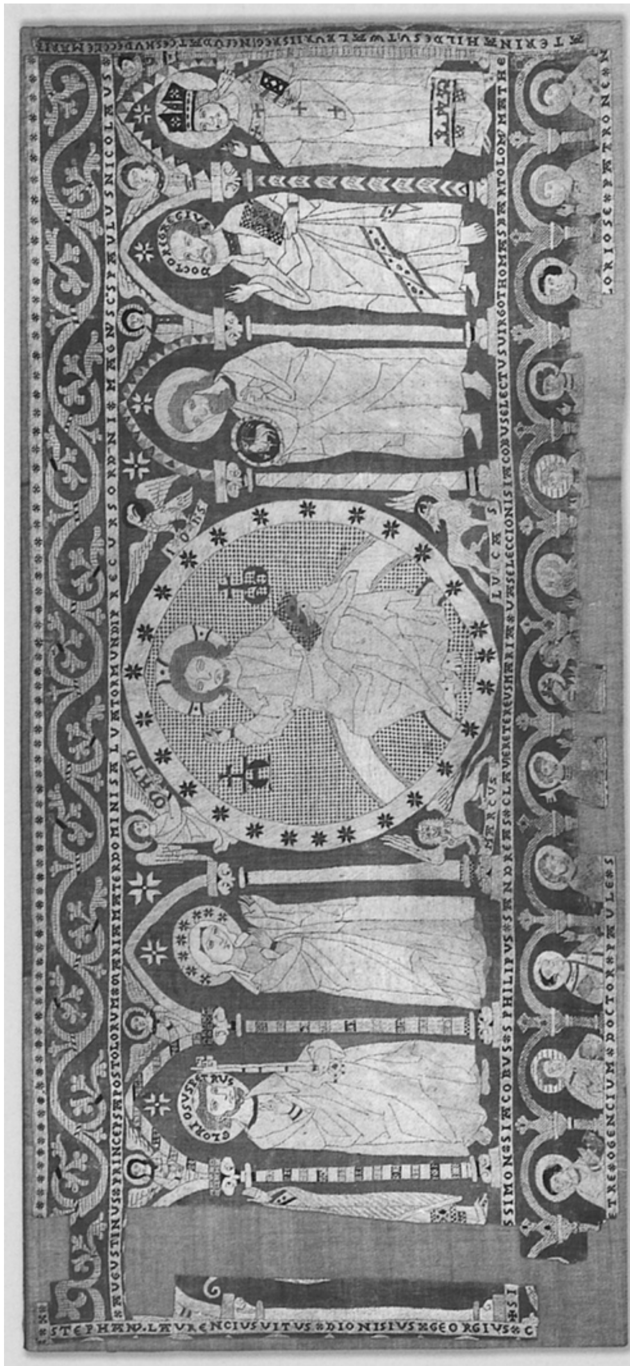

Figure 10a Altar cloth, Heiningen, ca. 1260 (Photo: Kloster St. Marienberg in Helmstedt).

Figure 10b Detail, altar cloth, Heiningen, ca. 1260 (Photo: Kloster St. Marienberg in Helmstedt).

on each side by three standing saints under arcades: to the right of the *Maiestas* are Mary, Peter, and Augustine, according to whose rule the convent lived. On Christ's left side are John the Baptist, Paul, and Nicholas. Additional saints once were depicted at the now-missing ends. Still visible are the inscriptions of some of their names: at one end a name starting with C, then *Stephanu*(*s*)*, Laurencius, Vitus, Dionisius,* and *Gregorius*, while at the other extreme we see the names of female saints: (*K*)*atharina, Hildesvit, Walburis regine fundatrices huius ecclesie, Maria* (Magdalene).[103]

Once again, the making of this textile should be seen within the context of efforts to strengthen the veneration and *memoria* of the convent's female founders. But while a still-vivid memory of the strong personalities of Hildegard and Gertrud existed in Rupertsberg and Altenberg, the cult of the founders had to be manufactured in Heiningen. At some point in

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[103] Fink, "Antependium," p. 175.

the thirteenth century, the legend of the foundation was written down for the first time: the Saxon duchess Hildesvit, wife of the German king Alfrid, founded the monastery together with her daughter, Walburgis, who became the first abbess.[104] At about the same time as the legend was put into words, around the year 1260, the nuns worked on the altar cloth on which Hildesvit and Walburgis were also represented visually, in a campaign to promote the veneration of mother and daughter, their legendary founders. As in Rupertsberg, this cloth for the high altar embroidered by the nuns is an early monument presenting the female patron of a convent, designed to be viewed in a part of the church that was accessible by the public. Shortly afterwards, during the second half of the thirteenth century, a tomb for Hildesvit and Walburgis was created to be placed in front of the main altar (Fig. 11).[105]

As some scholars have pointed out, Heiningen endeavored at this time to launch the tradition of its foundation by royal protectors because of competition with other monasteries in the region.[106] Through works of art located strategically in the outer, accessible areas of the monastic church, the support of royal patrons was made concrete and visible. The royal stock of Hildesvit and her daughter Walburgis was manifested for every visitor through their crowned figures on the newly erected tomb. In contrast to Rupertsberg, however, no attempt was made to canonize Hildesvit and Walburgis, yet through the medium of the altar cloth the nuns did present them as holy patrons, flanked by the royal saint Katharina and Mary Magdalene. The nuns of Heiningen did not go so far as to locate their founders in the central sacral area on the mensa of the high altar, which was reserved for Saints Mary and John, Peter and Paul, and Augustine and Nicholas, but placed them on the end of the cloth

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[104] Historic evidence survives only from a document of 1013, in which both women are named as patrons. Gerhard Taddey, *Das Kloster Heiningen von der Gründung bis zur Aufhebung*, *Studien zur Germania sacra*, vol. 4 (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 13–14.

[105] From a description of the sixteenth century; Taddey, *Kloster Heiningen*, pp. 15–16. Of this tomb only the plaster figures have survived. *Kunstdenkmäler, Landkreis Goslar*, pp. 114ff., table 47. Ute Römer-Johannsen, *Die Augustinerinnenchorfrauen-Stifte Heiningen und Dorstadt* (Munich, 1978).

[106] Taddey, *Kloster Heiningen*, pp. 45–71. Sauer, *Fundatio*, pp. 203ff. Especially in the second half of this century, economic difficulties and political struggles are known: twice the convent had to deal with excommunication (1275), and after 1277 there was a bitter fight over economic resources with the monastery of Wöltingerrode. Taddey, *Kloster Heiningen*, pp. 58–62.

Figure 11 Figures from the former tomb of Hildesvit and Walburgis, Klosterkammer Hannover, 13th c. (Martin Hoernes, ed., *Hoch- und Spätmittelalterlicher Stuck*, Regensburg, 2002, p. 16, fig. 5).

that would have draped over the south side of the altar.[107] Like the antependium of Rupertsberg, this altar cloth with a normative program of Christ in Majesty and standing patrons on each side could be used on high feast days, not only on the anniversary of Hildesvit and Walburgis.[108] In a critical situation of economic and spiritual difficulties the convent made a focused, deliberate attempt to improve its position by writing down history, making an impressive altar cloth, and creating a memorial monument in the church. This textile, made by the hands of the canonesses, gives evidence that these activities were initiated and, at least in part, carried out by women.

Conclusion

The textile artefacts discussed here show that embroideries, as part of church furnishings, were an important medium through which women were able to express their place in the world. As a temporal decoration for the high altar, outside of the cloistered areas, textiles made by the nuns represented them in the church during mass when they were not allowed to be present personally because of strict rules of enclosure. The embroideries were designed for high feast days and, as such, they addressed the different groups of people who used the church, among them clerics, patrons, wealthy visitors, or pilgrims, and, of course, the women themselves.[109]

These works should not be seen within an exclusively memorial context, as scholarship in the past decade has tended to do. The objects discussed here, in addition to their sacral, pastoral, and memorial functions, also had representational and propagandistic meanings. In all three examples—Altenberg, Rupertsberg, and Heiningen—the textiles formed part of an artistic production that aimed to strengthen the veneration and power of the founders as patrons of their monasteries. In addition, most were the products of collaboration between women and men, as

[107] The imagery on the cloth is oriented to the west, visible to everyone who faces the altar. On the visibility of images on altar cloths and different groups of viewers, see the conclusion to the present study and in more detail Seeberg, *Textile Bildwerke*.

[108] Its use on their anniversary was suggested by Heide Wunder, "Gewirkte Geschichte," pp. 325ff. and Krüger, "Tafelbild," p. 304.

[109] I examine both accessiblity by different groups of visitors and varying uses of the church within a female monastery in a detailed case study for the nunnery of Altenberg/Lahn in my book *Textile Bildwerke* (forthcoming). On this question, see also footnote 4 in the present article.

documented by names and figures of patrons. The textiles performed the important function of creating corporate identity. As removable decoration, works in cloth offered more varied possibilities for communication than did permanent decoration such as wall- or glass painting. Most of all, textiles—especially embroideries, even more than weavings—were ideal in material and technique for the women to contribute to the pictorial furnishing with works by their own hands.[110] They offered an important additional space for subjects that were not part of the permanent decoration and even allowed sometimes unofficial iconographic language. In the Rupertsberg antependium and the altar cloths from Altenberg, they provided the space for inscriptions and images of female patrons, donors, and benefactors of the monastery and its furnishings. Most significantly, these examples are part of complex, often lost, ensembles of church decoration. With the names and figures of the donors and as works by the hands of the nuns, these embroideries acted as witnesses to the women's participation in the ensemble as a whole. Textiles gave women voice through a visible language; more often than is realized, pieces survive to offer unparalleled evidence to women's presence in society and to their roles in the making of art and architecture.

[110] On tapestries as works of nuns see: Jane L. Carroll, "Woven Devotions: Reform and Piety in Tapestries by Dominican Nuns," in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jane Carroll and Alison G. Stewart (Aldershot and Burlington 2003), pp. 182–201.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WOMEN IN THE MAKING: EARLY MEDIEVAL SIGNATURES AND ARTISTS' PORTRAITS (9TH–12TH C.)[1]

Pierre Alain Mariaux

The role of women as patrons of culture during the Middle Ages is recognized and valued without any doubt, to the extent that we are able to distinguish women as "arbiters of medieval culture."[2] Like their male counterparts, women who sponsored or commissioned works of art identified and represented themselves in clearly-defined and conventional ways. Could the same be said of women artists, especially before the twelfth century?

Aside from textual evidence, most of what we know about medieval artists, whether they were male or female, is based on the inventory and analysis of signed works and "self-portraits." My purpose is to study some of these portraits and signatures, i.e. visual and textual self-presentations, in order to suggest ways for analyzing works that we know were "made" by women. To undertake such an analysis is to transverse the fields of lexicography, art history, history, and theology. Signatures give ambiguous information about the authorship of the work of art, since the artist, the designer, the contractor, and the patron all were engaged in the process of "making," and thus all may rightly be characterized as the creators of the work. A key part of my study, therefore, is to look closely at the implications of the verb *facere* (to make) when it was used to describe art production.

Women are named most consistently as makers of books and textiles, so it is in these genres that we can best explore women's roles in producing art. But even in those arts most associated with women, the ways in which women artists sign or represent themselves pose a significant

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[1] I dedicate this essay to Therese Martin, whose patience and learning has greatly contributed to what it has become since the 2010 conference in Madrid. Translation by Elaine Beretz.

[2] Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages: 'The Dark is Light Enough'," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (Chicago, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 3–21.

problem. From the eleventh century on, the creative gesture was considered a performative one, which was copied from the (sacerdotal) gesture of benediction. This is seen most clearly when the medieval artist represents him- or herself in the act of making, where he/she most frequently stages him-/herself in the act of putting the finishing touches on the work. Two portraits, even "self-portraits," of artists at work provide good examples of this: that of the illuminator Rufillus of Weissenau found in a Passionary from the end of the twelfth century (Fig. 1);[3] and that of the noble (*clarus*) Gerlachus (Fig. 2), a glass painter, who beseeches for himself the benevolence of the King of Kings on a stained glass window of Moses and the Burning Bush from Arnstein an der Lahn Abbey.[4] Sometimes it was even understood, or so it would appear, as analogous in function to the act of transubstantiation, the creation of the body of Christ at the altar.[5] Yet women were excluded from the priesthood, and this very fact should disqualify them (except for the Virgin) from acting as teachers or as mediators of the spiritual, such as their male counterparts did.[6] How then are the signatures and portraits of women artists to be understood within the larger dynamic of artistic gestures as sacerdotal ones?

[3] Solange Michon, "Un moine enluminateur du XIIe siècle: Frère Rufillus de Weissenau," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 44/1 (1987), pp. 1–7; Walter Berschin, "Rufillus von Weißenau (um 1200) in seiner Buchmalerwerkstatt," in *Mittelateinische Studien II*, ed. Werner Berschin (Heidelberg, 2010), pp. 353–56.

[4] For Gerlachus, see Francesca Dell'Acqua, "Gerlachus: l'arte della vetrata," in *Artifex bonus. Il mondo dell'artista medievale*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Bari, 2004), pp. 56–63.

[5] See my "The Bishop as Artist? The Eucharist and Image Theory around the Millennium," in *Genus regale et sacerdotale: The Image of the Bishop around the Millennium*, ed. Sean J. Gilsdorf (Münster, 2004), pp. 155–67, and "'Faire Dieu?' Quelques réflexions sur les relations entre confection eucharistique et création d'image, IXe–XIIe siècles," in *Die Aesthetik des Unsichtbaren*, ed. Thomas Lentes (Berlin, 2004), pp. 94–111.

[6] Although she may bless: see Jean Wirth and Isabelle Jeger, "La femme qui bénit," in *Femmes, art et religion au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Claude Schmitt (Strasbourg, 2004), pp. 157–79.

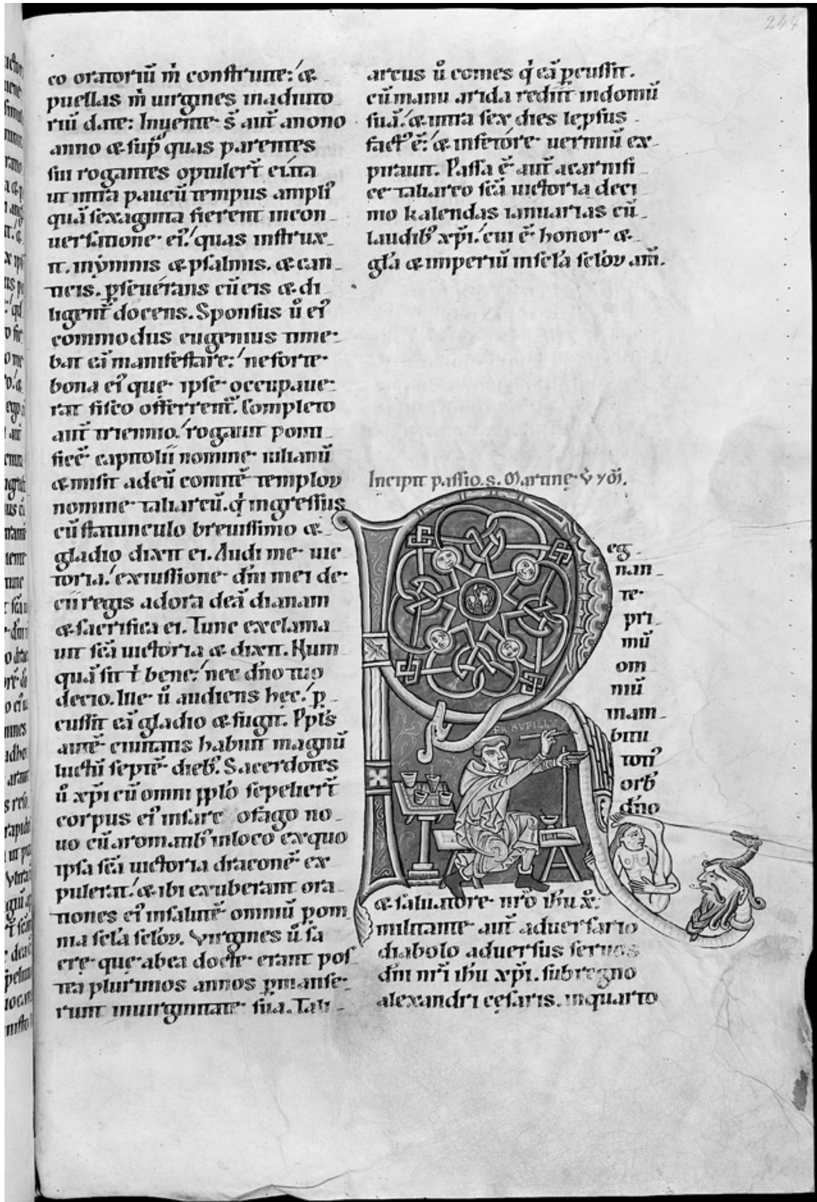

Figure 1 Self-portrait of Rufillus, Weissenau Passionary, Weissenau, ca. 1200. Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, Codex Bodmer 127, fol. 244r (Photo: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny).

Figure 2 Detail, stained-glass window depicting Gerlachus, from Arnstein an der Lahn Abbey, ca. 1150–1160. Münster, LWL-Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (Photo: LWL-Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum).

Earlier studies by Peter Cornelius Claussen,[7] Albert Dietl,[8] Anton Legner,[9] Enrico Castelnuovo,[10] and Piotr Skubiszewski,[11] among others, have brought about a gradual change in our conception of the medieval artist. This work has called into question the image Virginia Egbert or Andrew Martindale (to name but two) once gave of a subordinate craftsman, limited by the mechanical dimension of his work merely to executing the orders of his patron.[12] Most recent studies show in particular that signatures were more frequent than had been suspected earlier.

Evidence for women artists prior to the twelfth century is scanty and thus is hard to evaluate. As mentioned above, women are most consistently named as makers of books and textiles, and their association with textiles, especially with needlework, is attested from the beginning of the Middle Ages. The Anglo-Saxon sources are particularly rich in this regard, naming many women of various social levels who were expert in the textile arts, in all likelihood as designers and as makers.[13] But even here, there remain many difficulties in distinguishing patronage from an active role in the production of the works. Queens, abbesses, prioresses, women of noble lineage who were not necessarily nuns, all are credited with the creation of embroideries in gold and precious gems, or of large wall coverings. But a deeper insight into the nature of this creative activity is limited, since extant examples of their work are so scarce.

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[7] Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Früher Künstlerstolz. Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie," in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, eds. Karl Clausberg, Dieter Kimpel, et al. (Giessen, 1981), pp. 7–34; Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Nachrichten von den Antipoden oder der mittelalterliche Künstler über sich selbst," in *Der Künstler über sich und in seinem Werk*, ed. Matthias Winner (Weinheim, 1992), pp. 19–54.

[8] Albert Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 2009). On signatures, see also Tobias Burg, *Die Signatur: Formen und Funktionen vom Mittelalter bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2007).

[9] Anton Legner, *Der Artifex: Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung: eine illustrierte Anthologie* (Cologne, 2009); Anton Legner, "Illustres manus," in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 187–230.

[10] Enrico Castelnuovo, "L'artiste," in *L'homme médiéval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1989), pp. 233–66; Enrico Castelnuovo, *Artifex bonus. Il mondo dell'artista medievale* (Bari, 2004).

[11] Piotr Skubiszewski, "L'intellectuel et l'artiste à l'époque romane," in *Le Travail au Moyen Âge. Une approche interdisciplinaire*, eds. Jacqueline Hamesse and Colette Muraille-Samaran (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990), pp. 263–313.

[12] Virginia W. Egbert, *The Mediaeval Artist at Work* (Princeton, 1967); Andrew Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (London, 1972).

[13] See, for example, the many studies by Gale Owen-Crocker, including *Medieval Textiles of the British Isles c. 450–1100: An Annotated Bibliography* (Oxford, 2007).

As an instructive exception, let us turn to the so-called battle flag of Gerberga (Fig. 3), dating from ca. 960 and now preserved in the treasury of Cologne Cathedral.[14] Figures of a victorious Christ, archangels, and saints are embroidered in gold and colored thread on a piece of silk. A prostrate figure, labeled RAGENARDUS COMES (Count Ragenardus), is

Figure 3 Gerberga's battle flag, ca. 960. Cologne, Domschatzkammer (Photo: Dombauarchiv Köln, Matz und Schenk).

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[14] Leonie Becks and Rolf Lauer, *Die Schatzkammer des Kölner Domes* (Cologne, 2000), p. 96; *Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich, 2005), cat. no. 176, p. 292; Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Text and Textile," in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, eds. Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 187–207. For Gerberga's involvement with palatine architecture, see in the present volume Annie Renoux, "Elite Women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France (ca. 850–1100)."

paying homage to the heavenly figures. Beneath Ragenardus is inscribed: GERBERGA ME FECIT (Gerberga made me). The Gerberga (ca. 913–968) in question was a sister of Emperor Otto the Great (d. 973) and Archbishop Bruno of Cologne (d. 965). It is likely that this flag celebrated Gerberga's victory over her nephew, Count Reginar III, in a dispute over possessions in the duchy of Lotharingia. Reginar was banished by Otto in 958. The flag probably was given to Gerberga's (and Otto's) brother Bruno of Cologne, who himself was also duke of Lotharingia. Upon Bruno's death, the flag became part of the cathedral treasury, since it was used to wrap the relics of St. Gregory of Spoleto, which were kept within the Shrine of the Three Kings.

The battle flag of Gerberga makes clear that women were extensively involved in the creation of fine textiles and that they not only mastered the craft but that they also were credited with creative authority over it. One way of verifying the hypothesis is to compare the Gerberga flag, and other of the rare examples we have from the period under consideration, with what we know about medieval artists in general. To do so, I begin with a careful re-appraisal of "Claricia," whose representation in a twelfth-century psalter is generally taken to be a self-portrait. As such, hers is the key figure one finds in every study devoted to medieval women artists; the image thus merits a detailed examination in context.

Claricia

Since the 1970s, such pioneering scholars as Dorothy E. Miner looked for evidence of women artists and concentrated their attention mostly on images.[15] In the early days, this search resembled more of a quest for

[15] See her seminal *Anastaise and Her Sisters: Women Artists of the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1974). The 1970s were very prolific, if uneven, for work on women artists: Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker, eds., *Art and Sexual Politics: Women's Liberation, Women Artists, and Art History* (New York, 1973); Eleanor Tufts, *Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists* (New York, 1974); Hugo Munsterberg, *A History of Women Artists* (New York, 1975); Karen Petersen and J.J. Wilson, *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1976); Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women Artists in the Middle Ages," *Feminist Art Journal*, 5 (1976), pp. 5–9 and 26; Donna Bachmann and Sherry Piland, *Women Artists: A Historical, Contemporary and Feminist Bibliography* (Methuven, 1978); Elsa Honig Fine, *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (London, 1978). Reprints of pioneering studies were also issued at that time: Clara Erskine Clement, *Women in the Fine Arts: From the 7th Century BC to the 20th Century AD* (Boston, 1904, rprt. New York, 1974); and Walter Shaw Sparrow, *Women Painters of the World, From the Time of Caterina*

heroines than for artists, and they gathered their evidence in order to fill the gaps in a long genealogy before the Renaissance. The case of Claricia, the presumed creator of the so-called "Claricia Psalter" in the Walters Art Museum (Fig. 4; Color Plate 14), was evoked both by Dorothy E. Miner and for the great 1976 exhibition on "Women Artists, 1550–1950" as an ancestor of all women artists.[16] Claricia's status has not been questioned since.

According to this theory, Claricia was believed to have been a lay woman active in a convent scriptorium in Augsburg during the late twelfth century. On folio 64r of the Psalter, she portrays herself swinging from her own letter, her body providing the tail for the Q[uid], and her name making a kind of halo above her head. Is this "charming portrait," as Germain Greer has called it,[17] really the portrait of an artist? Let us look at the details: she lies down; she holds tightly to the body of the Q; and she dreamily (or wistfully as Christiane Klapisch-Zuber termed it)[18] raises her eyes. She is definitely not a nun: her long, blond hair is braided and she wears a dress with flowing sleeves that does not look like a monastic gown. Even so, does any of this make her the illuminator of the manuscript? Clothing style and uncovered hair point instead to a "femme de mauvaise vie," a woman who may be a certain "Claricia (brilliant one)" the scribe had in mind.[19] The Q she holds with her out-stretched arms opens Psalm 51, which is a decisive condemnation of vanity. Here the Psalmist criticizes those who use their talents for evil: "Why (Quid) do you glory in spite, you who are powerful in injustice? All day long you ponder injustice. You have done deceit with your tongue as a sharp razor. You have chosen to speak malice over kindness; injustice rather than justice."[20]

Vigni, 1413–1463, to Rosa Bonheur and the Present Day (London, 1905, rprt. New York, 1976). See also Chris Petteys, *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born before 1900* (Boston, 1985); Nancy G. Heller, *Women Artists: An Illustrated History* (New York, 1987). To my knowledge, Elizabeth F. Ellet's *Women Artists of All Ages and Countries*, first published in 1859, has never been reprinted; see Sandra L. Langer's review in the *Woman's Art Journal*, 1/2 (1980), pp. 55–58.

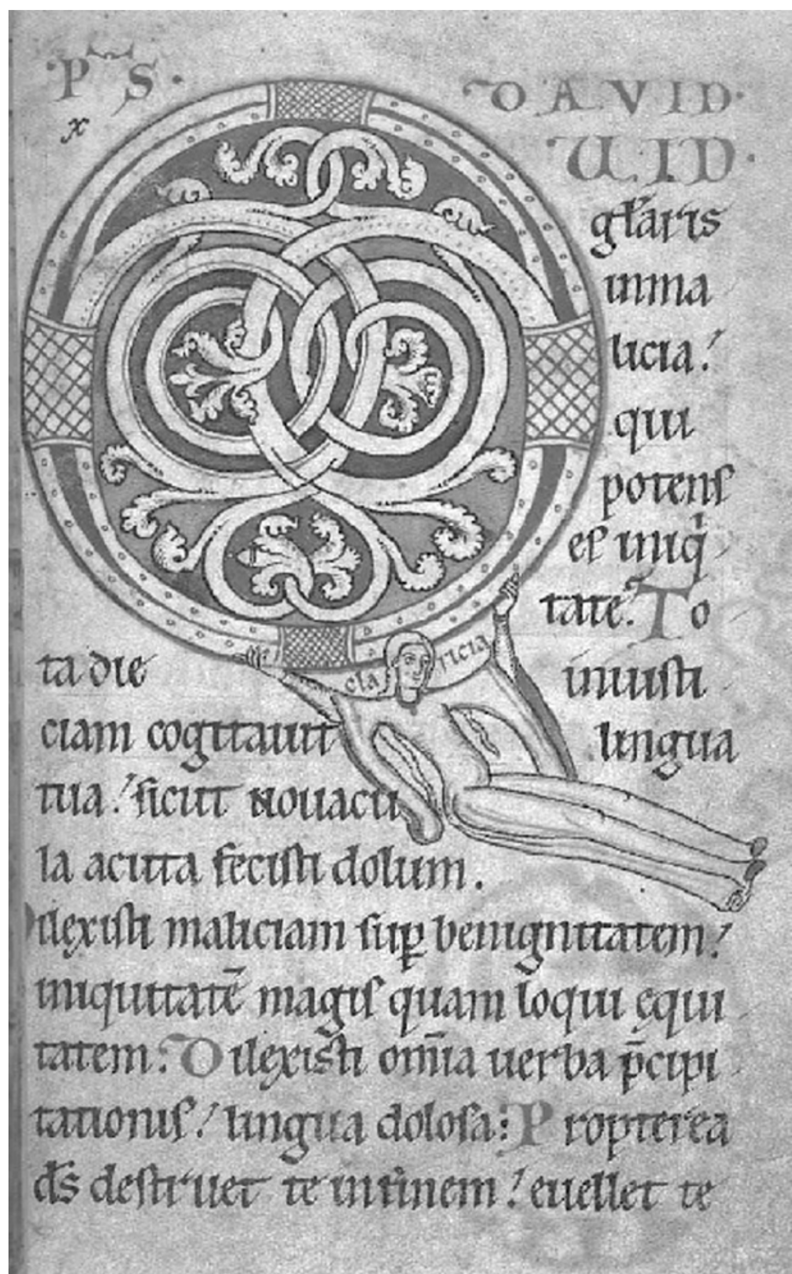
[16] Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists, 1550–1950* (New York, 1976).

[17] Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (New York, 1979).

[18] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Guda et Claricia: deux 'autoportraits' féminins du XIIe siècle," *Clio*, 19 (2004), pp. 159–63.

[19] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 19–20.

[20] "Quid gloriatur in malitia qui potens est iniquitate tota die iniustitiam cogitavit lingua tua sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem iniquitatem magis quam loqui aequitatem [...]."


PS.
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la acuta fecisti dolum.
Dilexisti maliciam sup benignitatem.
iniquitatē magis quam loqui equi
tatem. Dilexisti omnia uerba pcipi
tationis. lingua dolosa. Propterea
ds destruet te in finem. euellet te

Figure 4 Claricia, *Claricia Psalter*, Augsburg(?), late 12th c. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS W26, fol. 64r (Photo: The Walters Art Museum). See color plate 14.

Lacking a clear attribute, the image does not allow us to determine the role of Claricia. Is she the illuminator? Is she a negative *exemplum* of vanity? Here, only the context can inform us of the meaning of this representation. In the case of the Claricia Psalter, the contextualization must work in two directions: internally, within the network of decoration and ornament throughout the manuscript itself; and externally, by placing the image of Claricia within a series of similar images.

In the first instance,[21] an attentive analysis of the Psalter itself allows us to gain an impression, or so it seems to me, of a systematic program. The manuscript opens with a calendar (fols. 1v–7r), where the text unfolds in two columns surmounted by a two-bayed arcature, the tympana of which are decorated with a Zodiac cycle. Four full-page miniatures follow: the Annunciation (fol. 7v); the Nativity (fol. 8r); the Virgin and Child enthroned (fol. 8v); and a double full-length portrait of the Apostles Peter and Paul (fol. 9r). On folio 10, a later hand painted a scene of the Baptism of Christ. The Psalter proper begins at folio 11, signaled by the initial B[eatus]. This is one of four large foliated initials in the manuscript: the others are the Q[uid] at Psalm 51 (fol. 64r); the D[ixit insipientis] at Psalm 52 (fol. 64v); and the D[omine] at Psalm 101 (fol. 115v). Note that three of these initials mark out the tri-partite division of the Psalter. Four additional illuminations liven up the reading of the Psalms: another image of the Virgin and Child enthroned at the end of Psalm 50 (fol. 63v); St. Nicholas enthroned at the end of Psalm 100 (fol. 115r); St. Michael striking down the dragon (fol. 131r). At folio 131v, we find full-length portraits of a holy bishop and a virgin, probably Ulrich and Afra, in an architectural framework.

Since the images emphasize the major divisions of the Psalter, it is difficult on that basis alone to assert that the decoration of the Psalter follows a specific iconographic program. But the two-page spread on which Claricia appears (Fig. 5) reinforces the impression that she ought to be interpreted in a negative sense. The young woman occupies the page opposite the Virgin and Child, to whom she pointedly turns her back. This signals a disrespectful attitude, to say the least.[22] Even more, this representation

[21] I will return to the iconographic program of the Claricia Psalter and give a complete analysis in my contribution to the Mélanges Jean Wirth, to appear in 2012. I am most grateful to Dr. William Noel, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum, from whom I gained permission to use the images of the Psalter. I thank equally Lynley Anne Herbert and Nathania Girardin for their very valuable help; both have greatly facilitated my work.

[22] On the necessity of considering the double page when dealing with books, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Ouvertures. La double page dans les manuscrits enluminés du Moyen Âge* (Dijon, 2010).

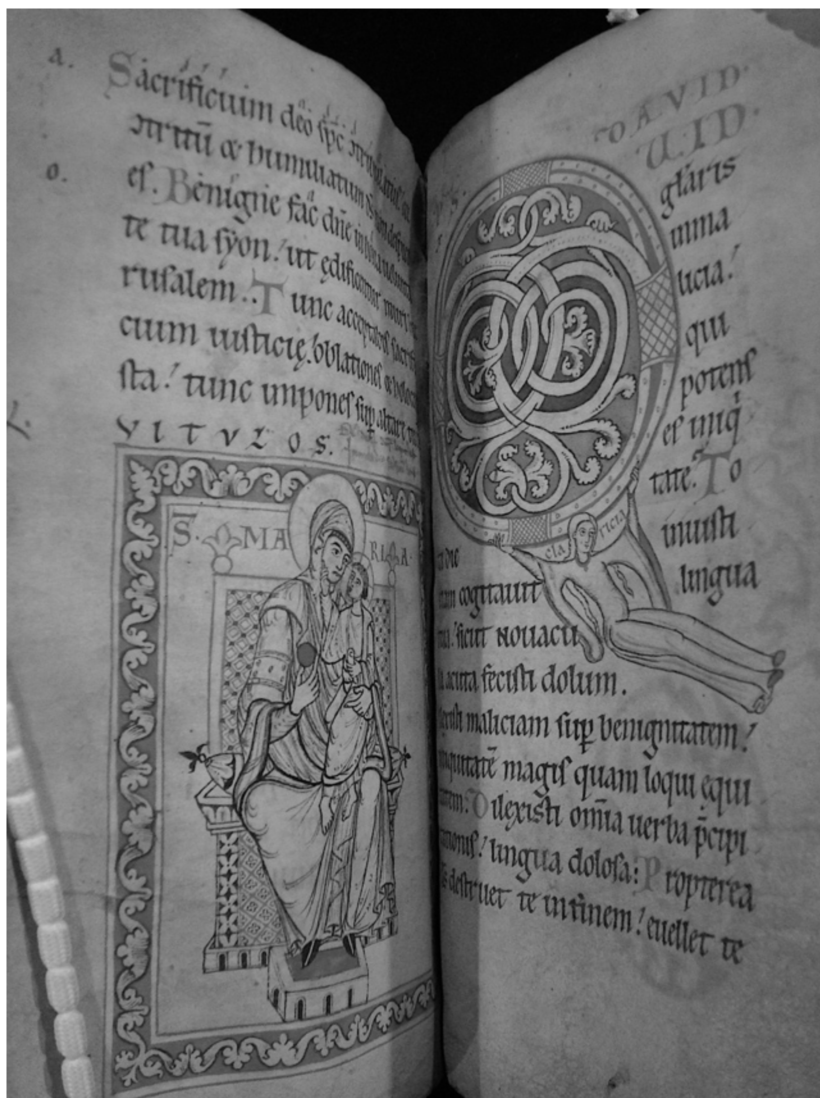

Figure 5 Claricia and the Virgin, *Claricia Psalter*, Augsburg(?), late 12th c. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS W26, fols. 63v–64r (Photo: The Walters Art Museum).

of Christ Incarnate and his mother as mediatrix closes Psalm 50 (Fig. 6), in the course of which David recognizes that he had sinned with Bethsheba and begs divine mercy for himself. More particularly, the prophet exhorts "O God, open my lips and my mouth will proclaim your praises (Psalm 50:17),"[23] in a petition that contrasts radically with the condemnation of Claricia, who has "chosen to speak malice over kindness." Lastly, an additional detail reinforces this interpretation: the Psalter presents a second female figure in a historiated initial (Fig. 7; Color Plate 15). The initial (fol. 115v) signals the last major division of the Psalter, marking the beginning of Psalm 101, the fifth of the seven penitential Psalms. A field, bi-colored in green and sky-blue, covers the whole surface of the letter. Against that field, the figure of a nun is captured in a position close to proskynesis. Indeed, in contrast to Claricia, she does not grasp the edge of the initial but occupies its center, as if she has been merged totally in the body of the heavenly Dominus. In this case, the visual strategy employed places the figure entirely within the body of the initial. The fact that she is not named allows us to understand that the representation here is one of status or function, not of an individual. These two images thus make visible to an exaggerated degree the two opposing moral characters for women that are based on speech: the speech of the nun is a cry that climbs up to God (Psalm 101:1); that of Claricia consists of words that kill, offered from a wicked tongue (Psalm 51:6).

This interpretation is further reinforced if we analyze a series of images outside the Claricia Psalter. In the case of Claricia, it has been believed that she appears in her own creation, supporting the initial according to the *topos* of humility. The placement of the name, as the placement of the image—under the gaze of God or even in close proximity to Him—has the effect of enrolling the author in the spiritual plane, as it is understood in prayer and in mystical vision.[24] In this way, the author (or the artist)

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[23] "Domine labia mea aperies et os meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam."

[24] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La mort, les morts et le portrait," in *Le portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIIIe–XVe siècles*, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009), pp. 15–33, esp. 23: "Ces images de 'présentation de soi' sont nombreuses au Moyen Âge à témoigner en même temps de la volonté d'instaurer une identité et de faire valoir ses mérites en vue du Salut et du Jugement. Toujours le cadre conceptuel de ces images, où les finalités sociales éventuelles sont inséparables des finalités eschatologiques, dépasse la simple personne. Ce cadre conceptuel est habité d'une profonde tension, qui d'un côté tend à refuser toute considération à la singularité charnelle, accidentelle, de l'individu, mais qui d'un autre côté, le pousse aussi, bien qu'il vive dans l'imperfection de la chair et dans le péché, à s'adresser à la divinité, à lui offrir son 'labeur,' à lui rendre un voeu, à lui consacrer son visage ou son image [. . .]."

Figure 6 Virgin and Child, *Claricia Psalter*, Augsburg(?), late 12th c. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS W26, fol. 63v (Photo: The Walters Art Museum).

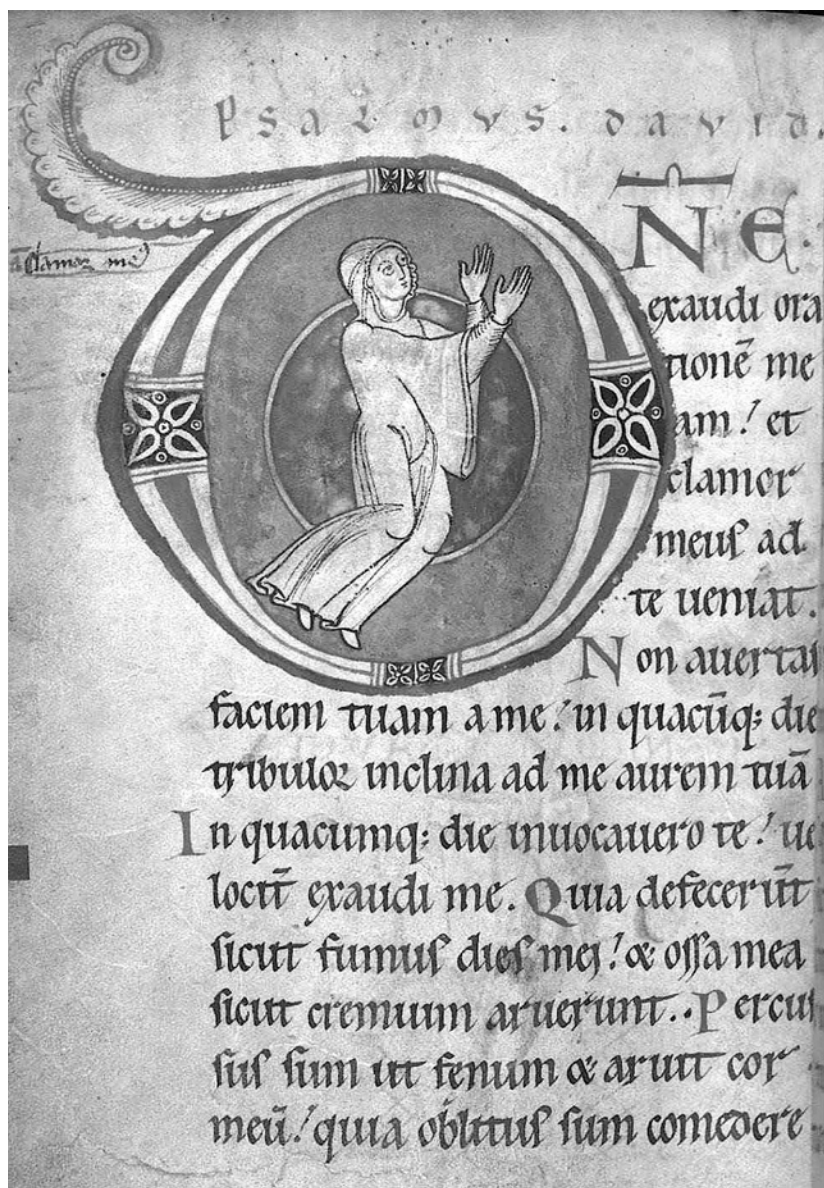

Figure 7 Nun, *Claricia Psalter*, Augsburg(?), late 12th c. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS W26, fol. 115v (Photo: The Walters Art Museum). See color plate 15.

enters into the ensemble of symbolic players, in this case of mediators, and within that framework achieves recognition.

In that case, it would be possible to compare the position of Claricia with that of Engilbertus (Fig. 8), a layman who presents himself as the *pictor et scriptor* (painter and scribe) of a homilary produced at Springiersbach in ca. 1160–1170.[25] The figure of Engilbertus also forms the tail of the letter Q[uod], and he prostrates himself before an image of the Risen Christ. Clearly identified through his name and his position, Engilbertus had the power to prostrate himself: that mark of devotion places him in the visual field of Christ. We cannot say as much for Claricia, who presents herself as a caryatid and whose gaze shrinks away from the Virgin. The examples of Engilbertus and Claricia show the pressing need to consider images in context. In addition, it allows us to look into the basis of medieval identity and thus to investigate the question of the author.

In the Middle Ages, a social identity substitutes itself for an individual identity, where a medieval *identitas* designates conformity to a group, not a uniqueness. The multiplication of "portraits" and of signatures grafts itself onto a general tendency to identify with, and belong to, a group. In this regard, men and women artists participate in the same "systems of visibility" through name and image. Markers of individuality—such as a name, a signature, a portrait (or even a self-portrait), coats of arms, seals—signal uniqueness, as they could also signify deviance. In effect, the marker raises the issue of a subject, an author. It is in that context that it is necessary to re-situate the greater visibility, by signature and inscription, of medieval artists from the second half of the eleventh century on. But where we might have a hope of recognizing the affirmation of a creative individual by means of these markers, the Middle Ages presents instead membership in a group and designates the individual as a member of that group. The spread of modern conventions of naming in two elements—a given name followed by a surname—in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as also the appearance and diffusion of coats of arms during the twelfth century throughout Western society, results from a taxonomic practice designed more to situate than to identify the individual.[26]

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[25] F.J. Ronig, ed., *Schatzkunst Trier. Kunst und Kultur in der Diözese Trier* (Trier, 1984), cat. no. 63.

[26] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat, eds., *L'individu au Moyen Âge: individuation et individualisation avant la modernité* (Paris, 2005). On seals, see Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France, 1150–1350," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens,

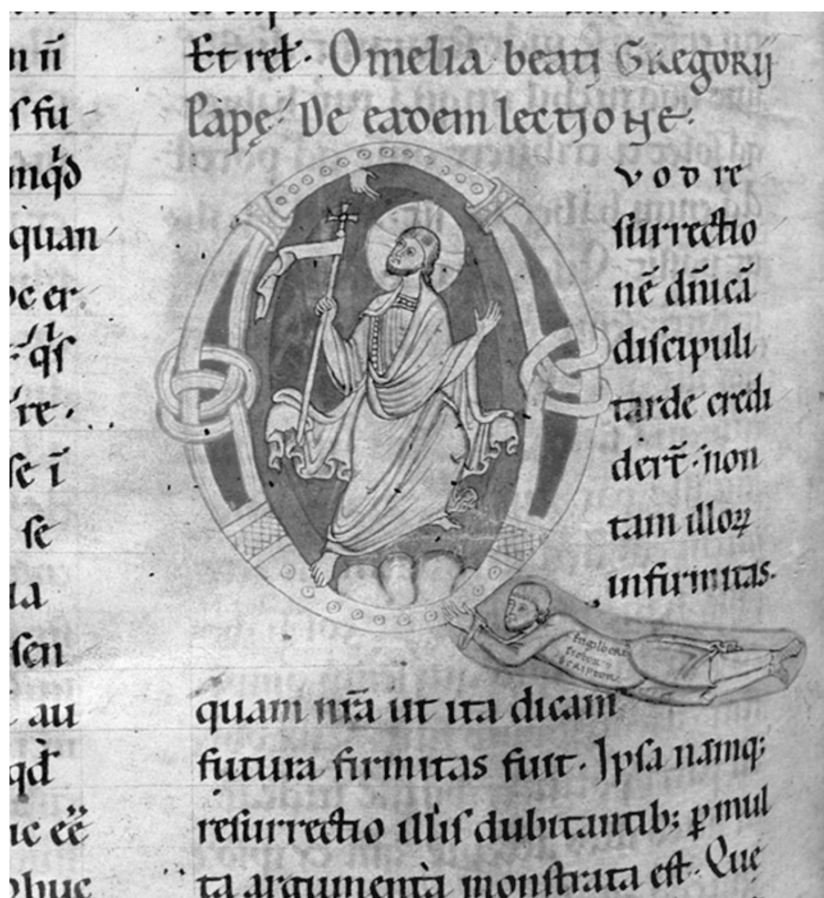

Figure 8 Self-portrait of Engilbertus, Homilary, Springiersbach, ca. 1160–1170. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 261–1140 2°, fol. 153v (Photo: Anja Runkel, Stadtbibliothek/Stadtarchiv Trier).

Each individual in effect is placed into a group and this group into a larger whole: the markers of individuation, which we also find in clothing, had no other function than to anchor the individual in his/her group. Artists—painters, illuminators, sculptors, goldsmiths, etc.—were not an exception to this rule, at any rate not in the period we are considering.

GA, 1988), pp. 85–97, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review*, 105/5 (2000), pp. 1489–533, and *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2010).

It is significant to point out that once we might have interpreted the portrait or self-portrait as one of the indices of the emergence of the individual during the Romanesque period.[27] Now the portrait or self-portrait ought to be analyzed by taking into account a context that allows the production of a "portrait effect." Indeed, there are some images which represent a person and even designate him/her by name. Still, it is not a portrait in the sense that we understand it today. The idea that a portrait is intended to convey the particular physical appearance of an individual and to render him/her recognizable, in the manner of the Roman bust, disappeared at the end of antiquity. It re-emerged only during the last quarter of the thirteenth century in a funerary context, within which the evolution of issues of commemoration as well as the question of the body were decisive.[28] Indeed, physiognomic characteristics are not the criteria for identifying the individual. The portrait would be all the more a likeness as it would be all the more admirable, because the *similitudo* (resemblance) is founded in the relation that the creature maintains with the Creator. The medieval portrait is related to a promotional image or an image of display. If the portrait is a self-portrait, it would have to be a "presentation of self" which remains iconographically anonymous. In the case of Claricia, her mere naming thus does not suffice; no iconographical attribute authorizes us to also speak of her as an illuminator. Obviously, we must set aside the idea that Claricia was the artist.

Just Names, or Signatures?

The inscription, as Robert Favreau has said,[29] has as its function the conveying of information to a general public over a very long period of time. It assures communication with a view to a universal and lasting advertisement. Through that advertisement, and to the extent that it is well

[27] Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York, 1973); Carolyn W. Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), pp. 1–17; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Y avait-il un 'moi' au Moyen Âge?" *Revue historique*, 633 (2005), pp. 31–52.

[28] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth, eds., *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu*, Micrologus Library, 17 (Florence, 2007); Dominic Olariu, ed., *Le portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIII*^{e}*–XV*^{e} *siècles* (Bern, 2009); Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009).

[29] Robert Favreau, *Epigraphie médiévale*, L'atelier du médiéviste, 5 (Turnhout, 1997), p. 31.

situated, one could achieve in that way a perpetual memorial. If we trace inscriptions celebrating patrons, we can distinguish two approaches. The most ancient privileged the act of offering, which was inspired by the eucharistic liturgy and more particularly the canon of the mass. The more recent highlighted the person of the donor and conveyed a more individual piety. In both cases, however, the donors hope to earn salvation and, through their actions, to gain the rewards of the future life. In a more general sense, we can say the same thing about the "signatures" of artists. More precisely, the "signatures" resemble a dedication and consequently signal the active participation of the signatory.

As I have noted, the signature is a sign of identity in the Middle Ages. It belongs to a category that also includes coats of arms, legal signatures, seals, and insignia. We can speak of medieval "signatures" in the sense that their principal function is to validate and then to identify. But with the stipulation that, in the first place, signing does not mean being able to read or write, and, in the second place, that it is quite improbable in any case that the signatures were autographs. One generally prefers the Latin term *subscriptio* (something written down) to "signature," but the Middle Ages used that term in an essentially juridical sense. The meaning of "to write under statues" (*sub-scrivere*) seems to have been lost in the course of time. Further, it gives the unfortunate impression that the artist placed his or her name on the work as one would sign a charter.[30]

The subscription opens with a sign, which is a symbolic invocation, not a name proper. Most inscriptions, as subscriptions, begin with a cross. This is an essential detail. Besides the fact that it inevitably evokes the Cross of which it is a sign, the epigraphic cross, which comes before an indicator of identity or involvement, is the equivalent of the sacred name (for example, *Deus, Christus, Spiritus*). On diplomas and charters, the cross often stands in for the sacred name at the beginning. And in the same

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[30] See P. Thubeuf, as quoted in Béatrice Fraenkel, *La signature. Genèse d'un signe* (Paris, 1992), pp. 34–35: "La souscription est une phrase, rarement un nom seul, écrite au-dessous de l'acte, soit par l'auteur de cet acte, soit par les personnes ayant concouru à sa rédaction, soit même par les témoins ou d'autres personnes, pour confirmer le titre, fournir ou faciliter la preuve de son authenticité, en assurer ou en certifier la publication. Ce qui constitue la signature, c'est d'abord et principalement le nom du signataire, apposé séparément du contexte, c'est ensuite le fait que ce nom a été écrit de la main de la personne désignée par ce nom [...], c'est enfin l'intention, par cette signature, d'énoncer son consentement au contenu de l'acte ou la reconnaissance de l'authenticité de cet acte." Robert Favreau in addition characterized as improper and less satisfactory the use of the expression "lapidary charter" to describe a sculpted program with epigraphs mixed in: Favreau, *Epigraphie médiévale*, p. 32.

way as it opens a charter, the evocation of the sacred name also opens an epigraph when the epigraph begins with one of the signs that replace the divine name (such as the monogram of Christ, the cross, etc.). Placing the writing under the protection of God from the very start establishes the act in the name of God. Doing so both increases its power and affirms its legitimacy.

To place one's subscription under the sign of the cross is in effect to inscribe what one has said or written *in* God. As Béatrice Fraenkel has rightly pointed out, the sign of the cross "gives notice of the individual's filiation with God and functions as a sort of family name in a society where [...] everyone had for a name only his/her baptismal name."[31] An exemplary instance, the complex epigraphy of the tympanum of Autry-Issards, is discussed below.

The subscriptions of the goldsmith Gicelin, who signed ten or so swords in the twelfth century, repeat the same pattern. On one face, engraved between two crosses, is an invocation of the divine name: + INOMINEDO-MINI + (+ In the name of God +). On the other face, as if a mirror image, is the signature proper: + GICELINMEFECIT + (+ Gicelin made me +). On each side of the blade, therefore, two crosses frame the inscription and register it under the authority that is the "name" of the Lord.[32]

There are many types of signatures found in connection with artists, as Fraenkel has shown. The most common is the signature in a self-portrait, which is specific to scribes[33] and illuminators,[34] but which is also found among sculptors and metalworkers. Like a colophon, the signature in a self-portrait is an act of self-designation, an "onomastic act" in which the purpose of the author is "to install in the midst of a work the kind of display reserved for the ostension, or the ostentation, of its creator ."[35] That

[31] Fraenkel, *La signature*, p. 65, "notifie la filiation individuelle à Dieu et fonctionne comme une sorte de nom de famille dans une société où [...] chacun n'a pour nom que son nom de baptême."

[32] Numerous swords from the 10th through the 12th centuries are signed. Besides Gicelin, the names of Benno, Ingelred, and Ulfbehrt have come down to us. We find the name of the last, who was active around 900, on examples of swords dated to the 12th century. This allows us to suppose that the signature was copied for strictly commercial purposes, as a means of affirming the quality of the product. See *Das Reich der Salier, 1024–1125* (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 102–106.

[33] For instance, San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Guarneriana, ms. 42, fol. 255r, end of 12th c. See *La Miniatura in Friuli* (Milano, 1972), p. 27.

[34] Padua, Bibl. Capit., (unnumbered) ms., fol. 85v, around 1170. See Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, fig. 27.

[35] Fraenkel, *La signature*, p. 108, "à installer, à l'intérieur d'une œuvre, une sorte de présentoir réservé à l'ostension, voire à l'ostentation, de son créateur."

double pun finds striking use among notaries from the thirteenth century on. When it was a matter of authenticating an act by means of a signature, they used rebus signatures or signature-monstrances, which were as good as signs of monstration.

The signature possesses a metonymic power based on proximity when it inscribes the subject in the blank space of a margin. A good way to see this is with a second type of signature: the colophon or marginal signature, which is held within the confines of the work. There are examples of goldsmiths who sign along the edge of the foot of a chalice, or on the socle of a portable altar, for instance.[36] There are illuminators whose signatures occupy the margin of a manuscript page, the frame of an image, or the end of a text.

The medieval signature possesses the double status as a sign of identity and a sign of validation.[37] So we might rightly understand the artist's signature as a mark that guarantees the quality or authenticity of the product, and not simply as a sign of pride on the part of the person who signed it.[38] Since signatures in the first person are rare, we might speculate a viewer who possessed the eye which permitted him/her to judge the quality of the work. The double pun of ostension/ostentation results from the metonymic power of the signature, which inscribes the subject into a signed work. Using the phrase that comprises the signature transforms the work into an enunciative subject, at least as far as the context permits us to be even more precise about what it is. Rare are the cases in the Middle Ages when someone stands in for the work in order to pronounce the act. One of those cases is a pier at Notre-Dame in Chantemerle-les-Blés that preserves an epigraph, engraved before it was set in place, which announces: A Ω ERMEFREDUS TE FECIT (A Ω Ermefredus made you).[39] In this instance,

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[36] On the marginal signatures of goldsmiths and other metalworkers, see in particular Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, "Signatures iconiques et graphiques d'orfèvres dans le haut moyen âge. Une première approche," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 137/1584 (2001), pp. 1–17.

[37] Fraenkel, *La signature*, p. 194.

[38] Peter Burke, "L'artista: momenti e aspetti," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 1: *Materiali e problemi*, 2: *L'artista e il pubblico* (Turin, 1979), pp. 83–113, esp. 87. The signature (and in some cases, the portrait) of an artist borders on publicity: Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Künstlerinschriften," in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, vol. 1, pp. 263–76, esp. 263–64. Since artistic creation was a collective act in the Middle Ages, we might ask ourselves if the frequency of signatures did not also indicate a desire to mark out the individuality of the master (as principal artisan or the one in charge) in relation to the others.

[39] The church of Notre-Dame de Chantemerle-les-Blés (between Vienne and Valence) dates from the first third of the 12th century. The inscription runs along the plinth of the north pilaster, which supports the triumphal arch. The pier, therefore, stands at the entry to the choir. For the inscription itself, see *Corpus des Inscriptions de la France Médiévale*, vol. 16, no. 3, p. 106, pl. 30, fig. 63.

nothing indicates whether it is the artist who speaks *in propria persona*, rather than the work speaking, as is often the case, or whether it is the author reminding his work that he is its author. If a medieval signature is impersonal, that does not mean that it could not stage an act of enunciation, however. In most cases, it is the work that proclaims its filiation: "Someone made me." But there are some extreme cases in which the metonymic power of the signature gains the upper hand. Since the signature was not an autograph in the strict sense, one could play with it.

There are cases in which the contextualization is explicit and gives important clues about the function of the actors involved. Madalberta, a scribe from Meaux who was active around 800, puts her name in the initial I[n libro superiore] that opens Book 13 of Augustine's *De trinitate*. This section of the text is conveniently entitled "De sapientia et scientia (On Wisdom and Knowledge)," and it is devoted to an analysis of the *exordium* (introductory passages) to the Gospel of John.[40] A text reminding its reader that "*in principio erat verbum* (in the beginning was the Word)" is a most appropriate place for a scribe to commemorate herself. Male scribes did the same thing. In the Gellone Sacramentary, the scribe's name David is inscribed in the initial B[eati].[41] Once again, the context is decisive for appreciating the significance of the signatures of these scribes. Even though it is very hard to generalize with so few examples, we still might draw parallels between female and male artists. There are no gendered distinctions in the context or the visual conventions that accompany these signatures.

The first category of figures we have considered shows the artist present in the work or in the process of creating it. To that category, we add a second type of portrait or self-portrait, in which the artist beseeches a favorable judgment for him-/herself after the work is completed.

Guda

Such is the case with the famous signed self-portrait of Guda (Fig. 9; Color Plate 16), who represents herself within a collection of homilies in an initial D[ominus] for the octave of the Pentecost. The inscription reads: "Guda peccatrix mulier scripsit q[ue] pinxit h[un]c librum (Guda,

[40] Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 300, fol. 155.

[41] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12048, fol. 99. Other examples are given by Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 7.

Figure 9 Self-portrait of Guda, Homilary, Frankfurt, second half of 12th c. Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Ms. Barth. 42, fol. 110v (Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main). See color plate 16.

a sinful woman, wrote and painted this book)."[42] Of the seven initials in the manuscript, this D is one of only two that contain figures. The other historiated initial comes at folio 196, the opening of the *Assumptio Mariae*, and contains a portrait of the Virgin identified as *maria virgo*. The other five initials display dragons, interlaces, ribbons, or spirals.

Guda represented herself firmly grasping the initial with her left hand and raising her right in a gesture of salutation and expectation. I would

[42] Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, ms. Barth. 42, fol. 110v. See Gerhard Powitz and Herbert Buck, *Die Handschriften des Bartholomäusstifts und des Karmeliterklosters in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1974), pp. 84–88. See also Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 129.

argue that Guda carefully and consciously chose to be here. The initial opens the ninth homily of St. John Chrysostom, the *Sermo beati iohannes episcopi de david ubi goliad immanem hostem devicit* (Sermon of the blessed Bishop John, on when David overcame the monstrous enemy Goliath),[43] which explains the election of David. The homily also offers an occasion to meditate on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and its role in comforting the soul. In short, Guda has chosen the perfect spot in which to await the Second Coming of Christ, and this is why she represents herself as a sinner, whose activity as an artist should count in her favor at the end of time.

Guda's self-representation in this way is analogous to the scene the scribe Swicher has staged (for the reader?) in the frontispiece of his copy of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.[44] Swicher's author portrait is most original. In the upper register, Isidore of Seville is depicted in conversation with Bishop Braulio of Zaragoza, the patron of the *Etymologies*. In the lower register, Christ *in propria persona* presides at the scribe's last judgment. Two angels busy themselves at a balance in which is weighed the very manuscript Swicher copied. The work of the scribe counts as a work of virtue: a third angel takes Swicher's soul away through a thick cloud, whereas the devil turns around empty-handed. The *titulus* attests to this: "O God, deign to have mercy on this wretched scribe. Do not consider the weight of my faults. Small though the good things may be, let them be exalted over the bad. Let night give way to light; let death itself give ground to life."[45]

Guda and Swicher make use of the same patterns of visibility and those patterns are not gender-specific. In both cases, the artists stage their humility and represent their belief that they might reach the Heavenly Kingdom through the artistic work they have done.

Maria

This same could be said of Maria, who made the so-called stole of St. Narcissus. A long inscription embroidered on the stole explicitly, and

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[43] Réginald Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980), no. 56, p. 463. John Chrysostom, Homilia 9, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, Supplementum*, ed. Adalbert Hamman (Paris, 1958–1974), vol. 4, cols. 687–90.

[44] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13031, fol. 1r. See Elisabeth Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* (Wiesbaden, 1980), no. 89, pp. 64–65.

[45] "Scriptoris miseri dignare Deus misereri. Noli culparum pondus pensare mearum, parva licet bona sint super exaltata malis sint. Nox luci cedat vite mors iste recedat."

perhaps anxiously, expresses her desire to be remembered in the prayers of the community so that she might merit God's benevolence.[46] Probably made for the altar of St. Narcissus in the parish church of Sant Feliu of Girona, the stole is now kept in the Museu d'Art of Girona (Fig. 10). Formed by assembling different pieces, the stole's imagery is composed of three embroidered fragments: one decorated with a portrait of the Virgin (*s[an]c[t]a maria ora pro nobis* [Holy Mary, pray for us]) embroidered in gold and richly colored thread; the second showing the Baptism of Christ; and, on the third, the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. These fragments are attached to the stole proper, which is a band of linen embroidered with white and red silk threads. A long inscription, which preserves the memory of its author, Maria, runs along the center of the stole and on the margins of its two pendants (Fig. 11).[47] This Maria likely was the abbess of Sant Pere de les Puelles in Girona during the second half of the tenth century, and the text of her epitaph is also preserved:

> ...Maria of venerable memory and consecrated to God, working with great effort all the days of her life in holy works and the commandments, wholeheartedly persistent in alms, very devoted to the memories and prayers of the saints, conserving with elaborate care the rule of the monastery, remains in the virginity of God.[48]

By signing her work, Maria made the stole an instrument in preserving her memory, and in that way she gave validity to the holy works and devotion to the saints recorded in her epitaph. The Virgin Mary is reputed to have woven vestments for the High Priest and the veil for the Temple, according to the apocryphal Gospels. It should not, therefore, be astonishing that the abbess would consider textile work fitting for herself, as it was for her illustrious patron.[49] So Maria created the stole perhaps for the new

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[46] The complete inscription is given by Milagros Guardia and Carles Mancho, "Consideracions a l'entorn dels teixits brodats catalans de l'alta edat mitjana," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 38 (1996–1997), pp. 1455–479, esp. 1457–458.

[47] Javier de Santiago Fernández, *La epigrafía latina medieval en los condados catalanes (815—circ. 1150)* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 180–82.

[48] Fernández, *La epigrafía*, p. 318, no. 35. "[+I]N HOC TVMOLO CONDITA REQVIESCIT [IN] PACE VENERANDE RECORDATIONIS [ET] DEO SACRATA MARIA HABBAT STVDENS [IN] DIEBVS VITAE SVAE SCIS OPERIB IN MANDANTES [—] PERSISTENS IN ELEMOSINIS OMNINO [—] MTA MEMORIIS ET ORATIONIBVS SCRM VALDE DEVOTA REGOLA MONASTERII INSTANTISSIME OBSERVANS MANET IN VIRGINITATE D[—]." The epitaph is lost but still known thanks to a photograph kept in the collections of the Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Girona.

[49] Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Cloth-making and the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Tribute to C.R. Dodwell*, eds. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester, 1998), pp. 8–25.

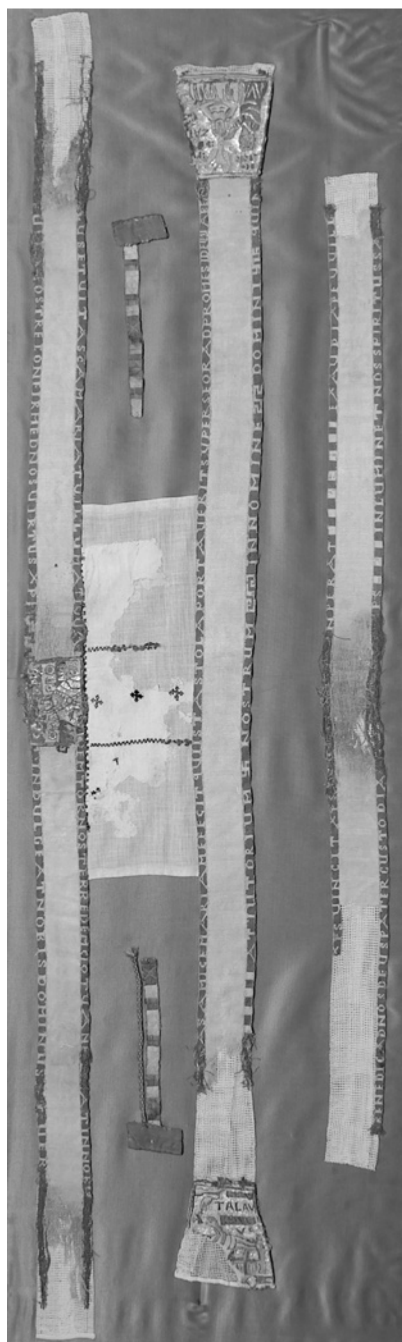

Figure 10 Stole of St. Narcissus, Girona, late 10th c. Girona, Museu d'Art (Photo: Bisbat de Girona).

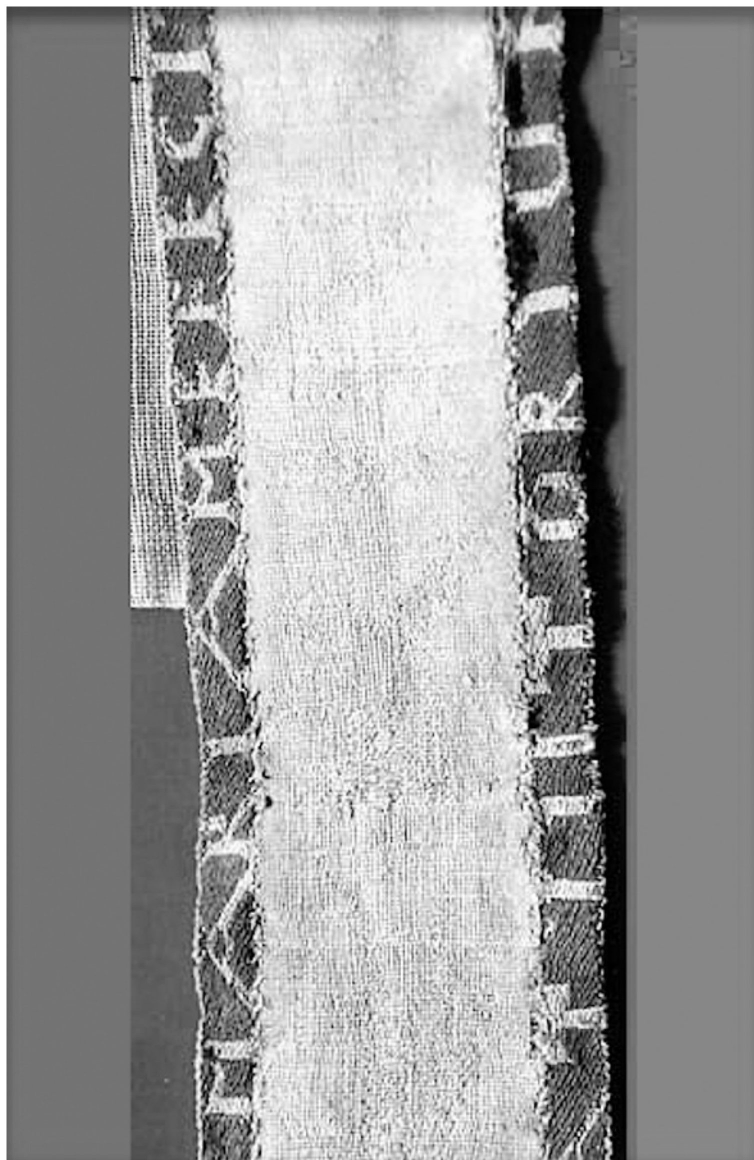

Figure 11 Detail: *Maria me fecit*. Stole of St. Narcissus, Girona, late 10th c. Girona, Museu d'Art (Photo: Bisbat de Girona).

tomb of Sant Feliu, which was built at the time of Bishop Miró Bonfill (d. 984), or for the tomb of St. Narcissus, with whom the stole is most often identified.

The unusually long inscription on the stole deserves closer inspection, since it quotes parts of the Lauds sung for the coronation of the Carolingian king and queen and also parts of the episcopal blessing pronounced at the end of the mass. Of particular interest is the portion that reads: "[Remember], friend, Maria made me, the one who wears this stole on himself pray for me if he wants to have God as his assistant."[50] It is not clear exactly what was meant by Maria's "making" of the stole, since the three parts with embroidered scenes appear to be from an earlier date. Milagros Guardia and Carles Mancho use stylistic and iconographical arguments to attribute the manufacture of the three figured pieces to a Byzantine workshop in Rome before the second half of the ninth century.[51] It makes sense, therefore, to define Maria's "making" as the assembly of the stole from diverse fragments. The abbess' creation thus compares with that of Abbot Bégon III of Conques, who around 1100 fashioned reliquaries out of diverse fragments.[52] In these two cases, creation consists of forming an ensemble from parts.

Elisava

The so-called Standard of St. Ot was also created by a woman (Fig. 12). Made of silk on a linen cloth, the form of this embroidered banner recalls an imperial *vexillum* or a votive gonfalon. It derives its name from the reliquary of Bishop Ot (or Otto), where it was discovered during the seventeenth century in the cathedral of the Seu d'Urgell. It thus is possible to date the standard to his episcopacy (1095–1122), or maybe slightly after the death of the bishop in 1122.[53] The picture field is framed with *rinceau* ornamentation and is backed with a purple-dyed cloth, while the image

[50] [. . .]AS, AMICE, MARIA ME FECIT;/QVI ISTA STOLA PORTA-VERIT SVPER SE/ORA PRO ME SI DEVM ABEAD ATIVTOREM.

[51] Guardia and Mancho, "Consideracions," in particular pp. 1457–464.

[52] Such is the case with the so-called Reliquary of Pépin, the so-called Lantern of St. Vincent or of Bégon, the reliquary of Pope Pascal II, and the A of Charlemagne. For the most recent study, see *Le Trésor de Conques* (Paris, 2001). Along the length of the downstroke of the A of Charlemagne, the inscription specifies (among other things): "abbas formavit bego reliquiasque lo[cavit] [. . .]", where the verb *formare* signifies "to take form" equally in the sense of "to arrange," "to organize," "to fashion."

[53] Guardia and Mancho, "Consideracions," pp. 1464–479.

Figure 12 Standard of St. Ot, Urgell, first quarter of 12th c.? Barcelona, Disseny Hub Barcelona—Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària (Photo: MTIB).

itself has a *Maiestas Domini* with the Four Living Creatures arranged in the corners. Christ, enthroned in the mandorla, holds a closed book on His knee with His left hand, while He blesses with the right. His right hand also holds a small circular or spherical object, which can be interpreted either as the globe of the world, as in the Beatus of Girona, or the Eucharistic wafer. Directly under John's eagle and to the right of Christ, we can read the subscription or "signature" of the artist: ELISAVA ME F[E]CIT (Elisava made me). The inscription/signature is positioned to look as if Christ Himself is uttering those words as a continuation of His blessing, since the gesture of benediction also is a gesture of "speaking." Three pendants hang from the banner, embroidered with female figures praying or making an offering. The two figures to each side hold a book, although it is very difficult to make out what the figure in the center holds. Whatever the case, all three figures twist their heads to look towards God. The positions of the figures and the absence of haloes suggest donor portraits, something that has led some historians to conclude that the central figure, with its distinct garment and position, represents Elisava, who commissioned the embroidery.[54] Elisava (a form of Elizabeth) was a very common name in the region of Urgell during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, so it is rather difficult to identify this Elisava specifically with the family of the counts of Urgell.

Natalis

The frequency with which artists represent themselves, through both text and image, allows us to conclude that, from approximately the second half of the eleventh century on, artists assimilated their creative actions to those of God. More particularly, when an artist "makes" something, he/she is situated in relation to Creation and to the Incarnation, and in this way she/he declares himself to be a mediator, just as a priest is. On a capital in Saint-Pierre in Chauvigny (Vienne), Gofridus placed his signature in such a way that it seems as though God Himself was uttering the words. In a more elaborate epigraph at Autry-Issards (Allier), Natalis included

[54] Fernández, *La epigrafía*, p. 193: "Se trata de un pendón bordado, con la figura de Cristo en el centro rodeado por los cuatro evangelistas con la fórmula de donación a la izquierda de Cristo, ELISAVA ME FECIT, identica a la ya referida en otros objetos que tiene la intención de señalar, a mi juicio, la persona que donó el objeto más que el autor físico del mismo."

his own name while using the exact same verb, *facere*, to characterize his own, God's, and the Son's creative activity (Fig. 13). Here is the perfect example of the aforementioned issue of subscription under the sign of the cross, as all three components that make up the epigraph open with a cross. In the center of the tympanum, just over the summit of the mandorla, two moldings in relief form a canopy inside which are engraved the following words, marked at the beginning by a cross to indicate that they are pronounced by Christ as Judge: + PENAS REDDO MALIS: PREMIA DONO BONIS (I render punishments to the evil; I give rewards to the good). A cross again signals the beginning of an inscription that runs along the lintel: + CUNCTA DEUS FECI HOMO FACTUS CU[N]CTA REFECI (I, God, made all things; being made man, I remade all things). Completing the inscription on the right side of the lintel, a cross yet again introduces the signature of Natalis: + NATALIS ME FEC[IT] (Natalis made me). The use of a cross to mark the beginning of these three inscriptions means that one and the same person pronounced the words there. This allows us to conclude that artistic creation in the twelfth century engages the Trinity, more specifically the Holy Spirit, in the process. Medieval artists are "theodidacts" (1 Thessalonians 4:9); literally, they are taught by God.[55]

The priory church of Autry-Issards is in addition a good way to illustrate two ideas usually associated with artistic creation before the end of the Romanesque period: that making a work of art counts as a work of virtue, and that it is made with God's help. The epigraph at Autry-Issards goes even further by asserting a direct relation between the Incarnation and artistic creation. Built between 1120 and 1140, Autry-Issards' western portal as a whole presents an original program within which epigraphs play a leading role. This is not the place for more than a brief iconographic analysis; my focus is rather on the inscriptions. In the center of the lintel, two angels support a mandorla. It is now empty, but more than likely it once held an image of Christ in Majesty. Inscriptions on the archangels' nimbuses identify the one to the left as S[ANCTUS] MIC[H]AEL and the one to the right as S[ANCTUS] RAFAEL. On the far ends of the lintel,

[55] The medieval artist worked with the help of God and in turn assisted Him in the acts of making visible and of showing. It is in this sense, or so it seems to me, that the illuminator, Ende, who took part in the decoration of the Beatus of Girona, could declare herself *pintrix et d*[*omin*]*i aiutrix* (*painter and helper of the Lord*). See Pamela Patton, "Ende," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol. 1, pp. 456–57; María Rosa Ferrer Delgá, "Una miniaturista en tierras de repoblación," in *Repoblación y reconquista. Actas del III Curso de Cultura Medieval*, ed. José Luis Hernando Garrido (Aguilar de Campoo, 1993), pp. 267–72.

Figure 13 Detail of the portal, Priory of Ste. Trinité, Autry-Issards, France, ca. 1140 (Photo: P.C.).

to each side of the angels, three sculpted arches are surmounted by an architectural decoration. Hanging from the summit of these arches are decorative elements, to the left in the shape of globes and to the right in the shape of bags or purses, which are usually interpreted as lamps. Along the base of the lintel runs the inscription, cited above: + CUNCTA DEUS FECI HOMO FACTUS CU[N]CTA REFECI + NATALIS ME FEC[IT]. If we separate the signature of the artist, as the cross after REFECI invites us to do, the result is a rich hexameter, which, together with the epigraph engraved on the tympanum, forms part of a poetic convention known as a leonine elegiac distich. Three persons are named in the inscription: God; the one who "is made man," namely Christ; and Natalis. Four recurrences of the verb *facere* indicate the actions that characterize the three persons named: for God, the Creation; for Christ, the Incarnation and, through it, the Redemption or "remaking;" for Natalis, artistic creation. On the tympanum of Autry-Issards, text and image evoke the general theme of good works, without which salvation is impossible. The repetition of the verb *facere* is indeed a powerful device to tie together divine Creation, the Incarnation, and artistic creation in a schema that looks like this:

- The Creation and the Redemption through the Incarnation, which are the works of the Trinity;
- The *bona opera*; that is, works of faith that perhaps encompass works beyond those of mercy or charity;
- The work of Natalis the sculptor.

By placing his name after those of God and Christ, Natalis registers his own work in a continuum that proceeds from God's own creating and re-creating activity. We may suppose in addition that Natalis deliberately chose to substitute himself for the Holy Spirit to form a trinity of a particular kind. The placement of his signature in this specific place thus builds a progression. Perhaps even better, since we are after all speaking in a trinitarian context, the placement of the signature authorizes us to see relations of equivalence or reciprocity among the various persons who compose this trio and their particular work. Indeed, the epigraph accords to each of the protagonists—God, Christ, Natalis—an important part in the *ordo creationis* bound together with the four occurrences of the verb *facere*. "To make everything" are words attributed to God at the end of the sixth day (Genesis 1:31). "To redo everything" are the words pronounced by Christ (Revelation 21:5), just before the Evangelist is transported in spirit to contemplate the Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21:9ff.). By listing his

work after those acts of making, Natalis places his artistic creation in the same category. The artist asserts not simply that he works or he makes, but that he creates, just like God, and that his activity has a close affinity with the spiritual. In the same way as *cuncta facere* (to make all things) indicates the completion of God's work and *cuncta reficere* (to remake all things) the completion of Christ's, Natalis announces the completion of his own work. Since his work has been accepted as a "good work," he obtains his salvation through it. Could it be possible that divine Creation, Incarnation, and artistic creation appear as three manifestations of a single reality? By placing his signature immediately after the hexameter, Natalis likely plays consciously on a confusion of voices which inevitably occurs in the course of reading it. Thus, the ambiguity of the pronoun *me* can be seen to refer to God, which allows one to add a new layer to the meaning of the inscription as a whole: "I, God, made all things; being made man, I remade all things. Natalis made me." By putting his name after that of God and Christ, Natalis deliberately indicates a privileged relationship, which places him on an equal footing with them, and Natalis "substitutes himself" in this way for the Holy Spirit. At the same time, we must recognize that since God the Father cannot be created, it can only be Christ who pronounces the stony inscription. The pronoun *me* thus refers to the incarnate Christ, now missing from the mandorla above. The epigraph confirms it: it mentions not the Son or Christ, but insists specifically on God HOMO FACTUS; that is, a "fabricated" or a "made" god.[56]

Epilogue

Natalis is not the only artist of the period to assert this. Earlier, Rotbertus at Clermont-Ferrand, Gofridus at Chauvigny, and Nicolaus at Verona had already signed their work in an equally ambiguous way, taking advantage of the context. All imply that in the act of depicting God, they "make" God. That artistic activity was seen as a virtuous work allows some additional insights into these ideas. As Jean Wirth has stressed, scenes of donation took on a strong self-referential character from the beginning of the eleventh century on.[57] An example of this can be seen in the donors' portrait

[56] Although we cannot know whether Natalis was literate in Latin, it seems clear that he intentionally chose to frame his *subscriptio* in this ambiguous way, since inscriptions on the tympanum play such an authoritative role, both figuratively and as content.

[57] Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1999), pp. 303–27.

on the Processional Cross of Mathilda and Otto, in which the representation of the siblings at the base of the cross shows them holding a processional cross.[58] In certain cases, God's hand blesses the work, a sign that the donation is approved. The "works" of both patrons and artists thus associate themselves with works of virtue and take their place within the central moral values of Christianity. This association led to the multiplication of artists' representations, especially those emphasizing the process of artistic production and showing the artist in the act of working. This led in turn to the spiritual valuation of the very work itself, which is visible not only in the increased numbers of signatures, but also in what the signatures say. A good number of works indicate who made them, going so far as having the figures "claim" to be produced by a named artist, as we have seen in examples presented here. Such signatures elaborate on the kind of self-reference evident in donation scenes. We might say that the work of art, in this way, stages itself. A result of making the work speak in the first person is that the image shows itself both as made object and as living being, as something material and as a *persona*. The image thus presents a duality whose probable origin is to be found in the Eucharistic debates. The signatures of Rotbertus in Notre-Dame-du-Port in Clermont-Ferrand or Gofridus in Saint-Pierre of Chauvigny are situated in the work in such a way as to create a connection between the Incarnation and artistic creation. Such a relationship gives rise to ambiguity, suggesting that the artists not only have made the visible representation, but in a sense also the real body of Christ. Does the progressive importance of the hand of the priest from the second half of the eleventh century on have as a consequence a similar valuation of the hand of the artist? Both seem to take for a model the *dextra dei*, by which all the things are created: "... omnia haec manus mea fecit ..." (my hand made all things, Isaiah 66:2).

The use of a portrait or of a subscription is a powerful means of ensuring a continuous presence in the collective memory and in the prayers of the living. Since the *memento* of the Mass reinforces social ties within the community of the living, and also between the living and the dead, the primary place to fix one's memory would be in proximity to Christ, or more specifically in proximity to His real body in the Eucharist. The modalities of these appearances can sometimes be spectacular, but they

[58] *Gold vor Schwarz. Der Essener Domschatz auf Zollverein*, ed. Birgitta Falk (Essen, 2008), pp. 64–65.

do not vary in the case of a female artist or her male counterpart. At least in the period under consideration, patterns of visibility (and their symbolic implications) for men and women give every appearance of being the same, except that we have not yet found the names of women as sculptors carved in stone, despite their presence in documentary evidence.[59]

[59] Carr, "Women as Artists," pp. 13–14.

CHAPTER TWELVE

MELISENDE OF JERUSALEM: QUEEN AND PATRON OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE CRUSADER KINGDOM

Jaroslav Folda

Melisende of Jerusalem inherited the crown of the Crusader Kingdom from her father, King Baldwin II, and she became queen, together with her husband, Fulk of Anjou, the new king, in a coronation ceremony held on 14 September 1131 (Fig. 1). For the next thirty years, Melisende played a major role in the political and cultural affairs of the kingdom, until her death on 11 September 1161.[1] Our main concern here is to discern Melisende as art patron. This study will first outline what can be established about her life in order to make a case for the important roles she played as patron of major works of art and architecture. It will also examine the well-known psalter that bears Melisende's name to demonstrate that it was specifically created as a gift for her. I will argue that her role of recipient should not be seen as passive but rather determinant in the design of the manuscript. As the daughter of a king (Baldwin II, r. 1118–1131), the wife (and widow) of a king (Fulk of Anjou, r. 1131–1143), and the mother of two kings (Baldwin III, r. 1143/1152–1163 and Amalric, r. 1163–1174)—in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem she occupied a prominent place in the

[1] The most useful summary of Melisende's life is by Bernard Hamilton, "Queens of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 147–57. The most recent consideration of Melisende is found in Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Rochester and Suffolk, 2007), who discusses Melisende, among others, as daughter, wife, mother, and widow. Sarah Lambert, "Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118–1228," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge and Rochester, 1997), pp. 153–72, addresses the political role of Melisende. Both Hodgson and Lambert refer to the basic publication of Hans E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), pp. 93–182, who scrutinizes the political career of the queen in some detail in its more significant stages, but not her art patronage. Hans Mayer also published a detailed study of the political situation into which Melisende was thrust in, "The Wheel of Fortune: Seignorial Vicissitudes under Kings Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem," *Speculum*, 65 (1990), pp. 860–77. There is also an excellent recent dissertation on Melisende, including discussion of her patronage, by Helen Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem's Queen Melisende," Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 2005.

Figure 1 Coronation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende by Patriarch William of Jerusalem. London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson MS 12, fol. 82v (Photo: British Library, London).

Crusader Levant comparable *mutatis mutandis* to Eleanor of Aquitaine in western Europe.[2] Furthermore, an important part of her role as queen, only partly described by William of Tyre in his *History of Outremer*, was to stimulate and support the artistic development of the new capital city of the Latin Kingdom. It was Melisende who played a substantial role in

[2] Eleanor was born in 1122 when Melisende was about 12 years old. Eventually she became queen consort of France (1137–1152), and then queen consort of England (1154–1189). She died in 1204, long after Melisende, who died in 1161. Eleanor, however, never reigned in her own right, in contrast to Melisende, Queen Urraca of León-Castile (d. 1126), or Queen Matilda of England (d. 1167). See Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 1134–71. See also the case of "Queen" Teresa of Portugal, analyzed in the present volume by Miriam Shadis, "The First Queens of Portugal and the Building of the Realm."

making Jerusalem, with its unique and preeminently important Christian holy sites, its rich multicultural Christian population, its new significance as a political and economic center of the Latin Kingdom, and its incomparable situation at the symbolic center of the Christian world, the source of a new "Crusader" art starting in the 1130s (Fig. 2).

Melisende, for all her importance as queen in the Latin East, never received a biographer in the Middle Ages, and compared to the celebrated Eleanor of Aquitaine—whom she met once, during the Second Crusade—she is little known despite her extraordinary power and influence. But she does figure prominently in the most important historical work written about the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. This work by William II, archbishop of Tyre, was commissioned by King Amalric, Melisende's younger son, and written in Latin. William started writing it in about 1167, and he left it incomplete when he died in 1184; it is known as the *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea.*[3] Sometime after William's death in 1184,[4] in the years leading up to 1223 this *opus magnum* was translated into Old French in France, and later also received continuations taking the story up into the second half of the thirteenth century. Known as the *History of Outremer*, the French translation was a work of great popularity for which we have over fifty-five illustrated manuscripts dating from the 1240s to 1500, some done in the Latin East before 1291.[5]

Recent studies have begun to address Melisende as art patron.[6] William of Tyre celebrates the queen's rule as strong, wise, and judicious, and he provides limited but very important biographical information about her

[3] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens with H.E. Mayer and G. Rösch, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, vols. 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986); William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, Records of Civilization, 35, 2 vols. (New York, 1943). For the life and career of William of Tyre, see Peter Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 13–31.

[4] The date remains controversial. See Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 22.

[5] For the Old French translation, also known as the *Estoire d'Eracles*, see Paulin Paris, ed. *Guillaume de Tyr and ses continuateurs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–1880). For the illustrated manuscripts, see Jaroslav Folda, "The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre," 3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1968, vol. 2: Catalogue. The translation and its continuations are discussed by Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 27–30, with other bibliography.

[6] Besides Hamilton, "Queens," pp. 151, 156–57, see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 119–328; and, Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen." Two dissertations have also addressed this issue: Deborah Gerish, "Shaping the Crown of Gold: Constructions of Royal Identity in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara, 1999, pp. 223–31, and see now especially, Gaudette, "The Piety," pp. 137–223.

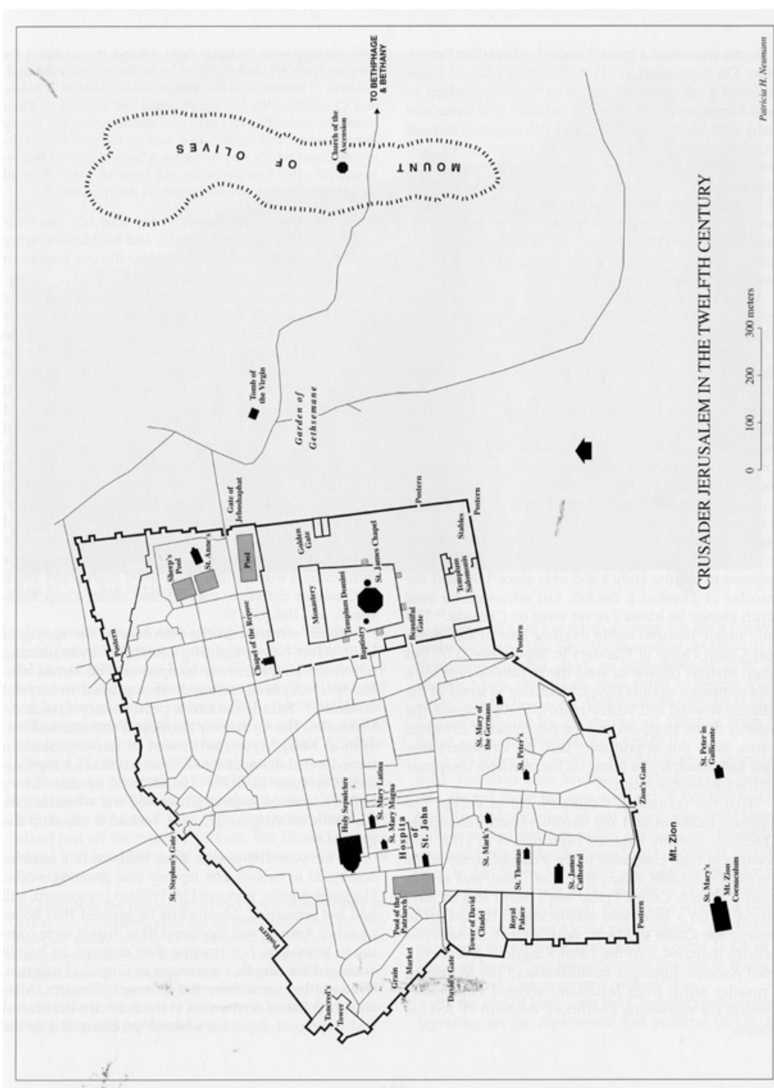

Figure 2 Map of Crusader Jerusalem in the 12th century (Map: J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 411).

and her political activities. But for much of the story of her life as queen and patron, we must attempt to piece the facts together from various other sources, including extant works of art.[7] One question we wish to keep in mind as we go along is what factors shaped the story of Melisende as presented by William of Tyre?[8] And why did he discuss fully only one of her major projects as art patron?

The Basic Facts of the Life of Queen Melisende: Who Was This Remarkable Woman?

Melisende was one of four daughters in the family of King Baldwin II and his wife, Morfia. Her sisters were Alice,[9] Hodierna,[10] and Yveta.[11] William of Tyre does not provide a birthdate for Melisende, but we know she was Baldwin's eldest daughter and she must have been born in Edessa before he became king. Baldwin II, who was French born, had married Morfia when he was count of Edessa, before he became king of Jerusalem in 1118. So we can think of Melisende as born at least by ca. 1110, or perhaps a little earlier. Morfia, her mother, was Armenian, the daughter of Gabriel of Melitene, who was, however, Greek Orthodox. Morfia was also Greek Orthodox and, while married to Baldwin, she was not particularly active in politics or government—perhaps as the result of her eastern upbringing.[12] Since Baldwin's wife Morfia gave birth to four girls but produced no

[7] Hans Mayer makes it clear that the two most important written sources for the life of Melisende are, first, the *History* of William of Tyre, and second, the royal charters (H.E. Mayer, "Studies in the History," pp. 96 and 98) edited by Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (*1207–1291*). *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893 and 1904). Each charter cited is given as RRH plus number. Other written sources of more marginal interest include the *Continuatio Praemonstratensis Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia*, discussed by Krijnie Ciggaar, "The Abbey of Prémontré: Royal Contacts, Royal News in the Context of the So-called *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts and Confrontations III: Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle, September 2000*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule (Louvain, 2003), pp. 21–33.

[8] Lambert, "Queen or Consort," pp. 155–56, summarizes the uneven coverage William of Tyre gives to Melisende. She comments (p. 155) "… one can see that William was deeply uncertain about the role of the queen in political society and the nature of the relationship between succession and rulership for a queen."

[9] Alice married Count Bohemond of Antioch in 1127.

[10] Hodierna married Count Raymond II of Tripoli in 1133.

[11] Yveta (b. 1120) was the youngest sister, and, having spent a year of her early childhood as a hostage with the Muslims, never married, but instead entered the Convent of St. Anne in Jerusalem ca. 1130. Then in 1143 she entered the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany, where she eventually became abbess.

[12] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 148.

male successor, King Baldwin II chose his eldest daughter Melisende as his heir. As the offspring of a French-born king and an Armenian-born Orthodox mother, Melisende admirably reflected the diverse Christian population of the Latin Kingdom which she was called on to rule.

To facilitate Melisende's political role in the kingdom, the king carried out two important duties. First, Baldwin II began to associate her with himself in official documents in the late 1120s. And in one important document from early 1129 she was characterized as "*filia regis et regni Jerosolimitani haeres*" (daughter of the king and heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem).[13] Baldwin's other important duty was to find a suitable husband for Melisende. To this end he requested that King Louis VI of France select an appropriate noble for this role, one on whom he and the aristocracy of the Latin Kingdom could agree. Count Fulk of Anjou was chosen, a well-connected and substantial member of the French aristocracy whose first wife had died. He was aged about forty at the time (1128–9). Fulk was endorsed not only by Louis VI, but also by the pope, Honorius II. As part of the offer to Fulk, Baldwin indicated that, as Hans Mayer presents it, "he would rule not only as prince consort but as king in his own right."[14] When everyone had agreed to these arrangements, Fulk came to the Latin Kingdom in the spring of 1129, and he and Melisende were married there.[15]

By the time she was married, Melisende's mother, Morfia, had died on 1 October. We know the day but not the year; it had to be before 1129, and most likely Morfia died in 1126.[16] Extant documents make it clear

[13] Charles Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108–1291). Analyse et Extraits," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 7 (1899), no. 21, p. 128, as cited by Hamilton, "Queens," p. 149. Mayer discusses this document at some length: "Studies," p. 99 and n. 15, referring to RRH no. 137a. Even though Melisende is not referred to explicitly in this manner after her marriage to Fulk, her status as heiress continued along with her new role as co-ruler.

[14] Mayer, "Studies," p. 99.

[15] There is ambiguity about where the marriage took place. William of Tyre is unspecific (William of Tyre, Book 13, ch. 24, in *A History*, vol. 2, p. 38, *Chronicon*, LXIII, pp. 618–19), but his text leaves open the possibility that the marriage took place in Acre, in the Church of the Holy Cross (cf. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 4, *The Cities of Acre and Tyre* [Cambridge, 2009], p. 35). Runciman thought the marriage took place in Jerusalem, presumably in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 [Cambridge, 1952], p. 178), but most recent historians prefer not to speculate on the location. Mayer, "Studies," p. 99; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 98; Hamilton, "Queens," p. 149.

[16] Mayer, "Studies," p. 99, n. 15, and "Wheel of Fortune," p. 873, based on Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 26 (1970), pp. 220–24, n. 27.

that arrangements for her burial place in the Shrine of Our Lady at Jehoshaphat (also known as the Tomb of the Virgin) were drawn up with the king's approval (Fig. 3). We do not know what role the young Melisende—she would have been about 16 at the time—may have played, if any, in this process, but she well may have worked with her father on the project. Meanwhile King Baldwin II had given Fulk the two important coastal cities of Tyre and Acre as dowry for his daughter, Melisende.

Three years later in August of 1131, Baldwin II became seriously ill. Hans Mayer characterizes what happened then:

> He summoned his daughter Melisende, his son-in-law Fulk, and his little grandson Baldwin—born of the marriage of Fulk and Melisende and then in his second year—to his bedside, ... [Then] the King unilaterally altered the agreement he had with Fulk to the disadvantage of the latter by now conferring the *cura regni* and the *plena potestas*, that is the kingdom and the government, on three persons: Fulk, Melisende, and the little Baldwin, whereas in 1129 Fulk had been promised the succession without any limitations.[17]

Shortly thereafter, Baldwin II died, on 21 August 1131. William of Tyre then reports:

> On September 14, the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, Count Fulk and his wife Melisende were solemnly crowned and consecrated, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of happy memory.[18]

This process explains how the inheritance was organized to stay in the family of Baldwin II and specifically how Melisende was given the opportunity to take power.[19] And between 1131 when she became queen and 11 September 1161 when she died, Melisende displayed remarkable political acumen in ruling the kingdom. She established her power in essentially a two-phase process. In phase one, as she understood it, she began with Fulk as co-ruler until he died in 1143, although at the start of their joint reign, from 1131 to about 1135, Fulk attempted to rule individually without her consent. This situation in the early 1130s became her opportunity.

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[17] Mayer, "Studies," p. 100.

[18] William of Tyre, Book 14, ch. 2, in *A History*, vol. 2, p. 51. "... Idem comes [Fulk] cum predicta uxore [Melisende] octavo decimo Kalendas Octobris, in die Exaltationis sancte crucis, in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri a domino Willelmo, bone memorie Ierosolimorum patriarcha, sollempniter et ex more coronatus et consecratus est." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 634.

[19] Hans E. Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), pp. 139–47; see also Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 76–77.

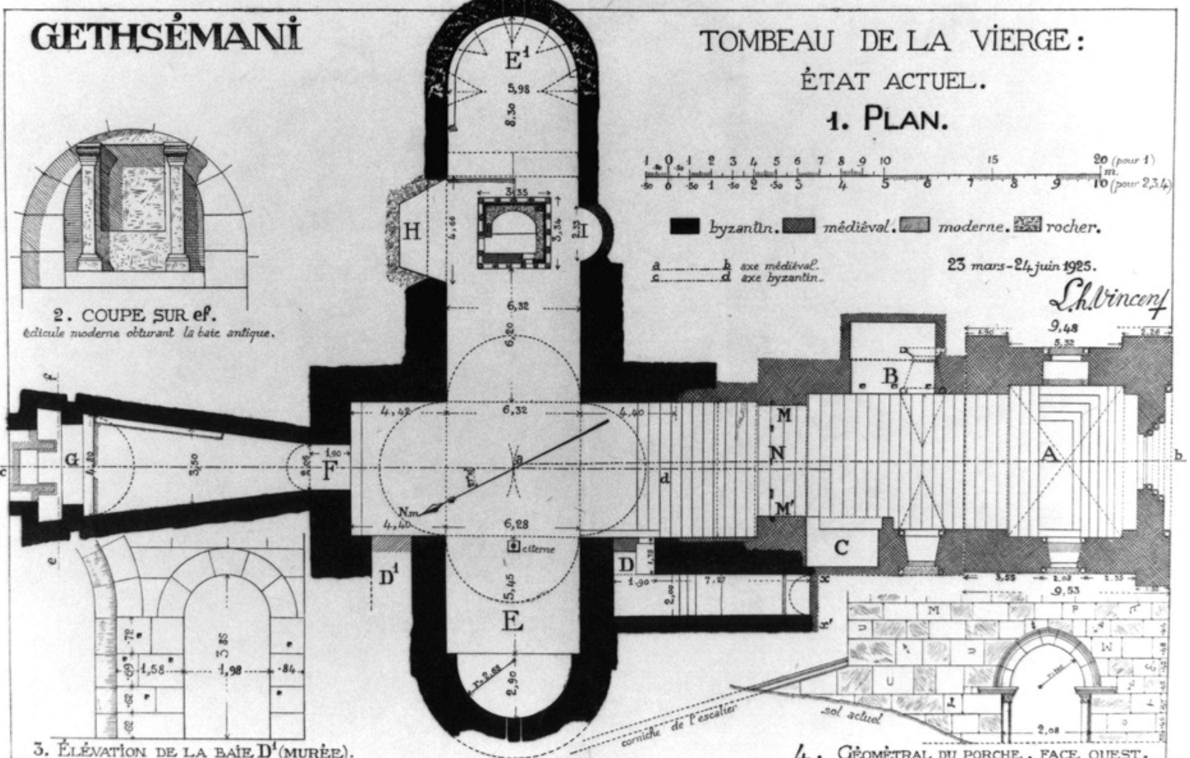

Figure 3 Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane with the tomb chambers of Morfia (C) and Melisende (B). After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 326 (Plan: H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris, 1926, pl. 81).

What happened was that, at first, despite the arrangements lately made by Baldwin II, Fulk essentially excluded Melisende from power. As a result, there was a celebrated revolt led by Hugh II of Le Puiset, count of Jaffa, against the king in 1134. Hugh was a second cousin of Melisende with whom she was very close and who was, as Hamilton puts it, "the natural leader of the queen's party." The issue was "not simply a matter of protocol, but also one of patronage: unless the queen had some effective share in the affairs of state she could not reward her supporters with appointments and land."[20] In this troubled situation peace was negotiated by the patriarch, at which time Melisende asserted her power. But even though the king had given Hugh lenient terms for his opposition, there was nonetheless an assassination attempt on Hugh's life. Despite the fact that officially the king's name was cleared of any responsibility, William of Tyre reports that Melisende bitterly resented the treatment Hugh had been given, and she was outraged at the unwarranted attempt by Fulk to deprive her of her proper role as queen, that is, as co-ruler. As a result, the king's supporters—and even the king himself—felt unsafe in the face of her wrath. In 1135 *Fulk energetically sought reconciliation with Melisende* (my emphasis) and thereafter, as William of Tyre puts it, the king "did not attempt to take the initiative, even in trivial matters, without her knowledge and assistance."[21] Eventually her wrath was appeased, Fulk gained her pardon, and they ruled jointly together. As we shall see, this political situation was likely the catalyst for the creation and gifting of the illuminated manuscript now known as the Melisende Psalter. And so it was that Melisende could be characterized in the texts—accurately or positively otherwise—on the one hand as Fulk's "beautiful, wise, sweet, and compassionate" consort, and on the other as the "vigorous, proud, and ambitious" co-ruler of Frankish Jerusalem.[22]

Melisende then increased her power again when Fulk died in 1143. Phase two of her establishment of power lasted from 1143 to 1152. William of Tyre remarks:

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[20] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 150.

[21] William of Tyre, Book 14, chs. 15–18, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 70–76, esp. 76. "... Quod nec in causis levibus absque eius conscientia attemptaret aliquatenus procedure." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 651–56, esp. 656. For the dating of these developments, see Mayer, "Studies," pp. 104–06.

[22] Cited by Andrew Palmer, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem: Part Two: Queen Melisende and the Jacobite Estates," *Oriens Christianus*, 76 (1992), pp. 74–94, esp. 76, the former from the Old French text of William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, and the latter from Hans E. Mayer, reflecting the thoughts of William of Tyre.

> King Fulk left two children who had not yet attained the age of manhood: Baldwin, the eldest, then thirteen years old, and [Amalric], aged seven. The royal power passed to the Lady Melisende, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right.[23]

At this critical juncture, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, wrote a letter to Melisende to encourage her in this time of trial and transition. Starting off by speaking of himself, he says,

> No one can give you more loyal advice than one who loves you and not your possessions. The king, your husband, being dead, and the young king still unfit to discharge the affairs of a kingdom and fulfill the duty of a king, the eyes of all will be upon you, and on you alone the whole burden of the kingdom will rest. You must set your hand to great things and, although a woman, you must act as a man by doing all you have to do "in a spirit prudent and strong."[24]

Melisende had done her duty well, supplying not one, but two male heirs to the kingdom. But now she would rise to the occasion: until the older one came of age, she became queen *regnant*—not just the regent—for her minor son, who was thirteen at the time. Baldwin III and his mother were crowned together on Christmas Day, 1143.[25]

The remarkable fact was that Melisende, having aggressively taken the reins of government in 1143 when Fulk died, maintained her controlling power well beyond 1145 when, at fifteen, Baldwin III came of age. Melisende was in charge even though many royal charters were issued jointly, but Baldwin III played a leadership role in June 1148 at the Council of Acre where the decision was taken that the Second Crusade should

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[23] William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 27, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 135. "... regia magnificentia ... duobus superstitibus liberis adhuc inpuberibus relictis, Balduino videlicet primogenitor, annorum tredecim, et Amalrico, annorum septem, reseditque regni potestas penes dominam Milissendem deo amabilem reginam, cui iure hereditario competebat." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 711.

[24] *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James and intro. Beverley M. Kienzle (Spencer, MA, 1998), p. 346, letter 273. "Nullus siquidem tibi fidelior ad consilium esse potest quam qui non tua, sed qui te diligit. Mortuo rege viro tuo, et parvulo rege adhuc minus idoneo ad portanda negotia regni et ad prosequendum regis officium, oculi omnium in te respiciunt et in te solam universa regni moles inclinata recumbit. Opus est ut manum tuam mittas ad fortia et in muliere exhibeas virum, agens ea quae agenda sunt in spiritu consilii et fortitudinis," *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. vol. VIII, eds. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1977), p. 298, esp. CCCLIV. The editors date this letter to 1143–1144.

[25] Even though we do not know his exact date of birth, he apparently had to have been born after March and before August, 1130. See Hamilton, "Queens," p. 152, n. 50, and Mayer, "Studies," p. 100, n. 17. For the years 1143 ff., see Hamilton, "Queens," pp. 152–54, and Mayer, "Studies," pp. 114 ff.

attack Damascus.[26] In fact Baldwin III ultimately had to resort to military action—indeed, there was a brief civil war—to wrest control of the kingdom away from his mother in 1152.[27] At that point Melisende effectively left Jerusalem to take up residence in her newly acquired town of Nablus, fifty miles north of the holy city. For the next ten years the queen-mother lived away from Jerusalem, and her political role and control of government was greatly diminished.

It was during this new phase of her life that St. Bernard wrote Melisende another important letter in 1153. The gist of this communication was to encourage her anew, now that Baldwin III was in charge, and to say that Bernard's uncle, Andrew, had told him the following about her:

> ... you are providently and wisely meeting the dangers which threaten the Holy Land with sound counsels and help. These are actions which become a strong woman, a humble widow, a great queen. It is not beneath your dignity as a queen to be a widow, and you need not be one if you do not wish it. I believe that it is much to your honour, especially among Christians, to live as a widow no less than as a queen. You are a queen by succession, but a widow by virtue. You are the former by reason of your lineage, the latter by the grace of God. You have the former by the good fortune of your birth, the latter you have obtained by courage. A double honour is yours, the one according to the world, the other according to God: but both are from God.[28]

In addressing the importance of her widowhood, Bernard was counseling her wisely and helping her see the wisdom of her choice. Whereas she could have attempted to remarry, this would have done serious damage to her older son, Baldwin III, currently in power, and to her younger son, Amalric, who stood to succeed him by inheritance, by factionalizing

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[26] The kings of Jerusalem came of age at 15 according to the *Assises de Jérusalem*. See the reference to the 13th-century *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* in Mayer, "Studies," p. 114, n. 41. Mayer discusses a number of jointly issued charters by Melisende and Baldwin III, in "Studies," pp. 115 ff. Mayer also discusses the decision to attack Damascus in 1148; see Mayer, "Studies," p. 127. Both Baldwin III and Melisende were present at the council, but it was Baldwin III who took the role of military leader between them.

[27] Mayer, "Studies," pp. 144–70, discusses aspects of this civil war in great detail.

[28] *Letters of St. Bernard*, p. 347, no. 274. "... salutaribus consiliis et auxiliis provide et sapienter occurras. Talia prorsus, talia decent opera mulierem fortem, humilem viduam, sublimem reginam. Neque enim, quia regina es, indignum tibi viduam esse, quod, si voluisses, non esses. Puto quod et gloria tibi est, praecipue inter christianos, non minus vivere viduam quam reginam. Illud successionis est, hoc virtutis: illud tibi ex genere, istud ex munere Dei; illud feliciter nata es, hoc viriliter nacta. Duplex honor: alter secundum saeculum, alter secundum Deum, uterque a Deo," *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. vol. VIII, p. 205, esp. CCLXXXIX.

power and undermining the political situation. Melisende was, therefore, eventually willing to step back and, as Fulk's widow, to allow Baldwin III his chance to rule.

And indeed, after 1152 she was continually associated with Baldwin III in many public documents.[29] Furthermore, her influence was felt in certain political and military actions in 1156 and in 1157.[30] For example, she played an important role in choosing the successor to Fulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem, who died in 1157, namely Amalric of Nesle.[31] On 30 November 1160, King Amalric made a gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the document records that he was joined in this by Melisende.[32] Shortly afterwards, she suffered what seems to have been a stroke, ending her participation in political and cultural activity. Lovingly nursed by her sisters Yveta and Hodierna, she died at age fifty-one on 11 September 1161.[33] Her body was brought to Jerusalem where she was buried with great honor in the Shrine of Our Lady in Gethsemane in a tomb more magnificent than any king of Jerusalem ever received.[34] This tomb is very likely the last commission she made in the Holy City.

Melisende as a Patron of Art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

In light of this review of some of the main points of her life, pieced together with the help of various documents and the work of other historians, two issues arise concerning her involvement with the development of Crusader art and architecture. First, we want to know exactly what aspects of this record William of Tyre provides, as well as those he does not mention, since his is the most important narrative account that includes the deeds of Melisende as queen. Second, we want to know what evidence there is for the summary assertion made by Bernard Hamilton in his study of

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[29] Mayer, "Studies," pp. 172–74. He concludes by saying that "on the whole, it may be said that after 1152, Baldwin III allowed his mother just enough influence to prevent her feeling totally excluded, without, however, allowing her actually to share in his rule." The fact is however, as we shall see, that Melisende continued to be active in her artistic patronage in Jerusalem after 1152, something Mayer does not discuss.

[30] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 155, ns. 61–63.

[31] Hamilton, "Queens," pp. 155–156, n. 64.

[32] See below, n. 72.

[33] Assuming Melisende was born ca. 1110, she was 51 at her death, which was relatively long-lived among Christians in the Holy Land at this time. See Josiah Russell, "The Population of the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 5 (Madison and London, 1985), pp. 295–314, esp. 297–98 and n. 6.

[34] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

Queen Melisende as follows: "Melisende must be given credit for being an important patron of the artists of the young Latin kingdom."[35] What art is he thinking of and what was Melisende's role in commissioning it? How important an art patron was she?

Art Patronage Mentioned by William of Tyre

First, the evidence that is provided by William of Tyre is limited but very important. He describes one, and only one, major commission of hers, but he does so at some length. In chapter 26 of Book 15, William tells the story of Melisende's foundation of a convent at Bethany for her youngest sister, Iveta (Fig. 4).[36] Iveta had entered the religious life in the Monastery of St. Anne in Jerusalem ca. 1130. Melisende, however, thought—in the words of William of Tyre—"that it was unfitting that a king's daughter should be subject to the authority of a mother-superior, like an ordinary person."[37] From Melisende's point of view it was also a case of intense family devotion; she was exemplifying the greatest care and solicitousness for her sister. So the queen

> mentally surveyed the whole country and made a careful investigation to find a suitable place where she might found a convent. After much deliberation, she finally decided on Bethany, the home of Mary and Martha and Lazarus their brother, whom Jesus loved … This village is 15 furlongs from Jerusalem … The property belonged to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, but the queen gave to the canons Tekoah, the city of prophets and in exchange received Bethany as her own …
>
> Since the place lay on the edge of the desert and thus might be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the queen at great expense caused to be built a strongly fortified tower of hewn and polished stone. This was devoted to the necessary purpose of defense … When the tower was finished and a place prepared … for carrying on the offices of religion, [Melisende] established consecrated sisters there. …

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[35] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

[36] William includes a detailed description of this project, and this is confirmed as Melisende's by charter evidence. But it is notable that in one of the important Old French texts, *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, the author edits the role of Melisende out completely and attributes this foundation to King Baldwin II! See Lambert, "Queen or Consort," pp. 158–59.

[37] William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 133. "… Indignum enim videbatur ei, ut regis filia tanquam una ex popularibus in claustro alicui subesset matri." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 709.

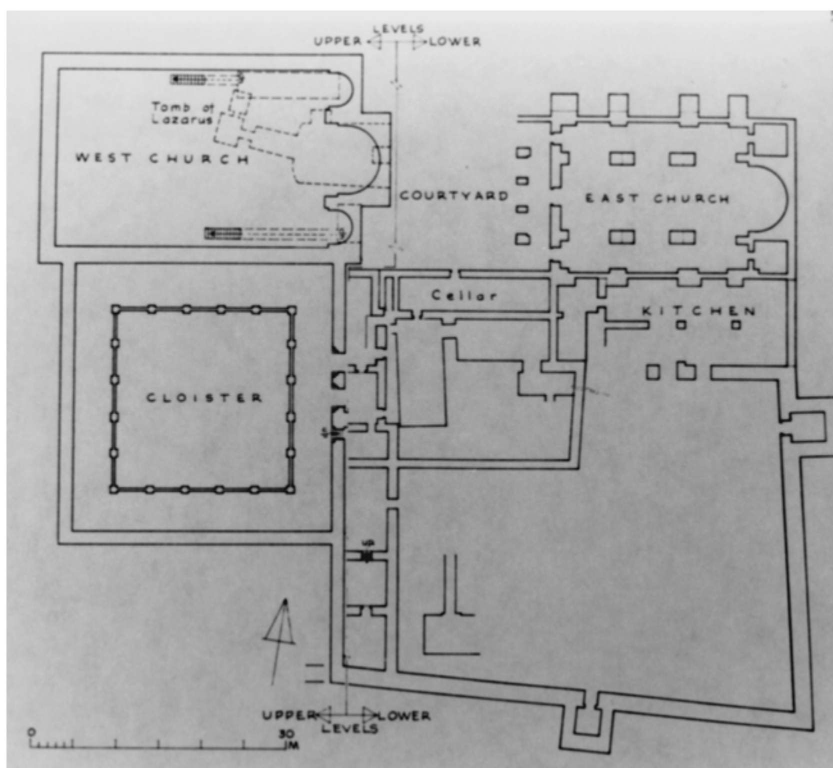

Figure 4 Ground plan of the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany: plan at upper level with west church over the tomb of Lazarus, the cloister, and the fortified conventual buildings indicated. After D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1993, vol. 1, p. 129 (Plan: R.D. Pringle © and the Cambridge University Press).

She endowed the church with rich estates, so that in temporal possessions it should not be inferior to any monastery, either of men or women; or rather, as it is said, that it might be richer than any other church ... She also presented to the convent a large number of sacred vessels of gold and silver adorned with gems. She likewise gave it silken stuffs for the adornment of the house of God and vestments of every description ...

On the death of the venerable woman to whom she had entrusted the charge of this convent, the queen put her original intention into effect. With the sanction of the patriarch and the willing assent of the holy nuns, she made her sister the superior of the convent. On that occasion, she made many additional gifts, such as chalices, books, and other ornaments pertaining to the service of the church. As long as she lived she continued to enrich

> the place by her favor, in the interests of her own soul and that of the sister whom she so tenderly loved.[38]

This remarkably detailed record of Melisende's patronage at Bethany is the *only* major commission William discusses fully in his *History.* And it is the only direct narrative description we have of Melisende as patron in writing by anyone. Nonetheless, what it tells us about Melisende is important, and even if William says nothing in similar detail about other major patronage in which she was involved, we should not overlook what those commissions were. So, let us begin with what we learn in this chapter 26.

It is clear that Melisende operated at the very top level of art patronage both in the planning and implementation of the project, but also in the sense that money was no object. We also see that she operated with the full cooperation and support of the church, in particular with the patriarch of Jerusalem. We understand that Melisende's resources were immense and she was prepared to use whatever assets were necessary to meet the standards she had set. Furthermore, her access to artists and works of art by master metalworkers, sculptors, scribes and painters, textile workers, and embroiderers—including very likely some of the same array of artists who had worked on her luxury Psalter—was clearly well established. Finally, it is evident that Melisende's family ties were

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[38] William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 133–34. "Transcursa ergo mente universa regione et diligenter investigato quisnam inveniretur aptior ad fundandum monasterium locus, tandem post multam deliberationem placuit Bethania, castellum Marie et Marthe et Lazari fratris earum, quem dilexit Iesus, familiare domini diversorium et domicilium Salvatoris. Is autem locus ab Ierosolimis distat stadiis quindecim iuxta verbum evangeliste, ultra montem Oliveti ad orientem situs in declivo eiusdem montis. Erat autem idem locus ecclesie Dominici Sepulchri proprius, pro quo domina regina tradens canonicis urbem prophetarum Thecuam locum in proprium recepit. . . . Ubi, quoniam quasi in solitudine erat et hostium patere poterat insidiis, turrim munitissimam quadris et politis lapidibus, officinis distinctam necessariis, multis sumptibus edificari precepit . . . Turri ergo constructa, loco ad aliquem modum ad cultum religionis preparato sanctimoniales induxit feminas . . . multa ecclesie conferens predia, ita ut in bonis temporalibus nulli monasteriorum virorum aut mulierum inferior haberetur, immo, ut dicitur, plus aliarum qualibet ecclesiarum habundaret . . . Contulit etiam eidem monasterio sacra utensilia ex auro, gemmis et argento ad multam quantitatem simul et oloserica ad decorum domus dei . . . Defuncta quoque illa venerabili matrona, quam eidem prefecerat loco, ad intentionem rediens sororem suam de consensu domini patriarche et sororum sanctimonialium conviventia eidem prefecit monasterio, cum qua etiam adiecit plura in calicibus, libris et ceteris que ad ecclesiasticos respiciunt usus ornamenta, locum non cessans, quamdiu vixit, intuitu anime sue et sororis, quam unice diligebat, gratia ampliare." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 709–10.

exceedingly strong and that she was prepared to care for her younger sisters in every way she could.

If we ask the question, why might William have singled out this particular example of her artistic patronage to present in his *History*, we can point to several reasons. First, the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany was Melisende's initial major project as patron, and it was a project that was entirely her own individually; most of her other major undertakings were done jointly with others, as I shall discuss below. Second, this example demonstrates both Melisende's personal piety and her devotion to her family. Third, this example reflects Melisende's faithful support of and devotion to the church as a most pious queen. And fourth, this project illustrates the enormous personal, political, and financial resources which Melisende marshalled for her commissions, with great confidence and efficiency, clarity of purpose, and with a true sense of accomplishment from start to finish.

There are additional important factors to consider. William, who became William II, Archbishop of Tyre (ca. late 1120s/1130–1184), was absent from the Holy Land for a period of twenty years while he was in Western Europe pursuing his higher education. These years, 1145 to 1165, were momentous in the life of Melisende and Baldwin III. It is notable that Melisende's foundation of the convent of Bethany took place just before William left to go West; so even though he was extremely young at the time, it was something he could have personally known about and even witnessed. By contrast, much other major patronage by Melisende that took place after 1145 was not mentioned by William, as we shall see below. As noted, William is thought to have written his *History* starting in 1167, after he returned from the West in 1165.

In fact, the process by which William wrote his *History* is also an important factor here. Edbury and Rowe discuss the complexities of this issue at some length,[39] and Deborah Gerish provides a useful summation as follows. She identifies two major campaigns of writing for William, as distinct from note-taking, gathering information, and first drafts. The first is the period 1170–1174, where William covered the period 1098 to 1143; the second, 1180–1184, where he covered the years 1143 to 1184.[40] By splitting the actual writing about the reign of Melisende with 1143 being the pivotal year, William shifts his focus on her, reflecting the difference between the time she was at the peak of her power in the early 1140s and her reputation after her death in 1161.

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[39] Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 24–31.
[40] Gerish, "Shaping the Crown of Gold," p. 102.

Set against this schedule, what exactly was the dating of Melisende's commission at Bethany? This project has been variously dated but presumably it was accomplished shortly before King Fulk died on 10 November 1143. So it is likely that the undertaking began in the late 1130s and was completed by autumn of 1143.[41] As such it falls in the early part of Melisende's active public life. In that period she had fully established herself and her political power as heiress of the kingdom as designated by Baldwin II before he died in 1131. By 1135 she had forced Fulk to recognize her fully as co-ruler through adroit and impressive political actions, in keeping with her father's stated wishes. In the meantime she magnificently fulfilled her royal wifely duty by giving birth to two male heirs to the kingdom. Indeed, I suggest that the birth of her younger son, Amalric, in 1136 may be taken as a dynastic sign of her reconciliation with Fulk immediately following their falling out! Meanwhile she began to associate her older son, Baldwin, with royal acts taken by herself and Fulk, starting in 1138. In this way her power grew, and at the time the project to found and build the convent at Bethany for her sister was underway (1138–1143), Melisende was becoming more powerful and influential.

Nonetheless, as Bernard Hamilton perceptively points out, her power was to grow greater. When Fulk was accidentally killed while on a chevauchée[42] outside of Acre on 10 November 1143, Melisende and her child son, Baldwin III, were then crowned. William of Tyre wrote, "The royal power passed to the Lady Melisende, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right."[43] And, in fact, Melisende was not a regent, but the queen *regnant*.[44] This means that Melisende was not willing to be just a passive caretaker for her son, letting prominent men in the kingdom wield the decisive power; she took the reins and was an active, aggressive ruler, a dominant ruler in her own right. Not only this, but

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[41] See, Sylvester J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany (1949–1953)* (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 67 ff., esp. 71–73, and the archaeological finds from the abbey, pp. 99–116. Helen Gaudette's new article on Melisende reached me after I submitted my text to Therese Martin. She states that the Bethany project "was begun in 1138" with no specific evidence for the date. See her "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen: Melisende of Jerusalem," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 135–48, esp. 139–42.

[42] Queen Melisende and King Fulk were riding out on horseback from Acre when this accident occurred. It was a promenade for recreation that tragically ended in the king's untimely death.

[43] William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 27, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 135. ". . . reseditque regni potestas penes dominam Milissendem deo amabilem reginam, cui iure hereditario competebat." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 711.

[44] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 152.

Melisende's public life as a powerful queen *regnant* continued from 1143 to 1152. Baldwin III was a minor in 1143, but when he came of age in 1145, Melisende maintained her grip on power as queen *regnant*. Indeed it was only in 1152 that she finally relinquished power to her son; by that time Baldwin III had not only attained the age of twenty-two, but he imposed his legitimate claim to be king in his own right on his mother by force of arms. In sum, Melisende's period of greatest power and patronage, both political and artistic, spanned a period from 1135 to 1152, during which she founded the convent at Bethany (ca. 1138–1143).

In light of the above, I have proposed that William of Tyre presents this example of Melisende's patronage in his historical narrative because it was the first major example she accomplished on her own. But far from being the only major act of art patronage she performed, I suggest that for William of Tyre it is meant to be representative of her important activity in this sphere, that is, art patronage in support of the church and those Christians, whether family or otherwise, with whom she personally was related, linked to by religious ties, or responsible for. I argue this partly because of the large number of major projects that she obviously must have been involved with in her active role as queen, and partly because of her vigorous and forthright concerns about political patronage, noted above, as well as art patronage. I also argue this because of what William of Tyre has to say about her art and political patronage otherwise. When we consider these points in relation to those major art projects about which William of Tyre has nothing to say, I submit that we can clearly see how William's narrative is selective and not comprehensive, how it is focused on political developments, and how it is essential for us to bring together those other art patronage activities known indirectly from other sources in order to establish Melisende's full record as patron more accurately, both before and after 1143.

First of all, what other patronage does William of Tyre include in his narrative that can further illustrate her artistic and political activity in this regard based on the evidence of his *History*? The one other, albeit much lesser example of Melisende's art patronage that William explicitly mentions is in 1160 near the end of her life. It occurs when Queen Melisende, together with her sister Hodierna and other friends, prepares gifts for the dowry of Melisende of Tripoli, daughter of Hodierna and namesake of her aunt, who had been selected to become the bride of the Byzantine emperor, Manuel. This is what William of Tyre reports:

> ... an enormous array of ornaments, surpassing those of royalty itself, was prepared at infinite expense by the mother [Hodierna] and aunt [Queen Melisende] of the maiden destined for this exalted position, and by her brother and her many friends as well: bracelets, earrings, pins for her headdress, anklets, rings, necklaces, and tiaras of purest gold. Silver utensils of immense weight and size were prepared for use in the kitchen and for the service of the table and the toilet, besides bridles and saddles—in short, every kind of furnishing. All these things were prepared at vast expense and with great zeal; the workmanship alone was evidence of their exceeding great cost and easily surpassed the luxury of kings.[45]

This account of Queen Melisende's participation in sponsoring the dowry of her namesake is interesting because it documents her continued activity in the aristocratic life of the Crusader States, long after she had been forced from power in 1152, and only one year before her death in 1161. Furthermore, the details of the objects that are commissioned for this dowry indicate the high level of wealth involved, the richness of the jewelry, and the fine quality of the metalwork. Clearly the Crusaders wished to impress the Byzantine Emperor very favorably with these gifts; the participation of Melisende, no doubt at the request of her sister, Hodierna, showed the queen's continued stature and importance in the royal family.

Queen Melisende's importance to the family, and specifically how she was held in high regard by her son, Baldwin III, even after he had forcibly removed her from power, is indicated much earlier by his action in 1153. After Baldwin III had finally and triumphantly succeeded in taking Ascalon on 12 August, the last major coastal city held by the Muslims in the Latin Kingdom, William says the following:

> The king and the patriarch, accompanied by other princes of the realm and the prelates of the church, together with all the clergy and the entire people, then entered the city with hymns and spiritual songs, led by the Cross of the Lord.... Within a few days thereafter the patriarch organized the church in Ascalon.... By his mother's advice, the king distributed possessions and the

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[45] William of Tyre, Book 18, ch. 31, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 288–89. "Preparantur interea virgini tanto culmini destinate a matre et amita, fratre et amicis omnibus inmensorum sumptuum ornamenta et modum descientia, supra vires regias, morenule, inaures, spinteres et perischelide, anuli, torques et corone ex auro purissimo, vasa quoque argentea inmensi ponderis et magnitudinis inaudite ad usum coquine, escarum et potuum et lavacrorum obsequium preparantur, exceptis frenis, sellis et ut breviter dicatur omnimoda suppellectile. Que omnia tam infinitis preparabantur impensis et tanto studio procurabantur, ut ipsa etiam opera suum predicarent excessum et regium luxum facile superarent." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 856.

> lands dependent thereon both within and without the city to those who had well deserved them; to some, also, for a price.[46]

With the taking of Ascalon, Baldwin III had achieved his greatest military success against the Muslims. But he still recognized his mother's importance in matters of political patronage, patronage in which she had been active since the time of the episode pitting King Fulk against Count Hugh in 1134–1135,[47] and patronage which she had more recently exercised, for example, in her gift of the city of Jaffa to her younger son, Amalric, in 1150, and her gift of the lordship of Ramla and Mirabel to her constable, Manasses of Hierges in 1151.[48]

The only other major artistic project of Melisende's that William of Tyre mentions is her tomb in Jerusalem, built in 1161/1162, which will be addressed below.

Artworks Not Mentioned by William of Tyre: The Psalter of Melisende

Set against this picture of the powerful Queen Melisende presented by William of Tyre as active in political and artistic patronage, with what other major artistic commissions was Melisende involved that we know about, and what evidence do we have to link her with these projects directly? There can be no doubt that the single most famous artistic project with which Melisende's name is associated today is the luxury psalter and prayerbook now in the British Library (Egerton MS 1139), a codex known widely as the Psalter of Queen Melisende.[49] There can be little

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[46] William of Tyre, Book 17, ch. 30, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 233. "Dominus autem rex, dominus quoque patriarcha cum ceteris regni principibus et ecclesiarum prelatis una cum universo clero et populo, previo ligno dominice crucis cum hymnnis et canticis spiritualibus urbem ingressi, ... Infra paucos autem dies dominus patriarcha orninans ecclesiam, ... Rex autem tam in urbe quam in suburbanis, matris consilio, bene meritis, et quibusdam etiam precii interventu, possessionibus et agris in funiculo distributis." *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 804.

[47] Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 134–35. For a detailed study of this episode, see Mayer, "Studies," pp. 95–182. Hamilton summarizes his view of this episode, "Queens," pp. 149–51.

[48] Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, p. 186.

[49] The bibliography on this codex is quite long and varied, but the following studies are essential: Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 1–14; Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 137–63, 523–28, ns. 88–140; Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 67–125; Barbara Zeitler, "The Distorting Mirror: Reflections on the Queen Melisende Psalter (London, B.L., Egerton 1139)," in *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, eds. Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot and

doubt that this handsome book was done for Melisende, and it survives as the most beautiful illuminated manuscript produced in Jerusalem in the scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the twelfth century. It is also remarkable as the earliest decorated, luxury codex extant from Crusader Jerusalem. The irony is, however, that Melisende's name does not appear in the manuscript, and it is very likely that she herself did not commission the book. Rather, it seems probable that her husband, King Fulk, ordered the codex to be lavishly painted and given sumptuous carved ivory covers with a silver-embroidered silk spine as a special gift from him. What is the evidence for this interpretation?

We have already summarized the story of the confrontation between Fulk and Melisende over political rule in 1134 and 1135.[50] I continue to interpret the commission of the Melisende Psalter as an important example of Fulk's energetic attempts at reconciliation with his queen in 1135. As evidence for this, I submit the unique personal character of this prayerbook and its lavish production. That is, I invite you to consider the ways in which the powerful personality and the individual spirituality of the recipient, Melisende, were reflected and expressed in the texts and the magnificent decorative program commissioned by King Fulk. It was a royal book executed by the best artists available in the Latin Kingdom, setting the highest possible standard for luxury manuscripts in Jerusalem at the time, and destined for a recipient of the most refined taste and artisitic sensibilities. Furthermore, it was done without regard to expense, in a campaign carried out as expeditiously as possible under the circumstances, in the interests of enabling Fulk to regain peace, harmony, and power together with his queen!

The extraordinary artistic program of decoration for this manuscript includes the work of four excellent painters, at least one ivory sculptor (and possibly two), one embroiderer, and an accomplished scribe for the text—a total of seven or eight artists, demonstrating that no effort was spared to make this a luxury manuscript of the very highest quality for which money was no object. When the queen held this book in her

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Burlington, 2000), pp. 69–83; Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 13, 63–64, 104, 121–23, 126, 131, 139, 162–66, 253–66, 331; Janet Backhouse, "The Case of Queen Melisende's Psalter: An Historical Investigation," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, eds. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London and Turnhout, 2006), pp. 457–70.

[50] See also Jaroslav Folda, "A Twelfth-Century Prayerbook for the Queen of Jerusalem," *Medieval Perspectives*, 8 (1993), pp. 1–14.

hands, what she saw on the exterior is a special program of decoration consisting of the front and back ivory covers and the silver-embroidered silk spine. This program expresses a clear message of Crusader royal presence in the Holy Land where Jesus died on the Cross, as the culmination of ancestral dynastic rule from the House of David.[51] On the top cover, the ivory is carved in a style reminiscent of luxury textiles in the Levant from Byzantine and Muslim sources (Fig. 5). The six main medallions tell the story of King David, including his anointing as king and his triumphal victory over Goliath. Imagery of the Psychomachia, that is, the battle of the Virtues and Vices, is interspersed around the medallions to provide a moralistic and militaristic context for these pictures of Old Testament kingship. The fact that the victorious Virtues are mostly depicted as armed women (an unexceptional iconography) but with one central image of the figure of Humility crowned like a queen, only reinforces the link to Melisende as a virtuous Crusader queen. On the bottom cover, the royal program is expressed in terms of medallions containing a "modern," that is, a Crusader king—like Fulk—dressed in Byzantine-style regalia and performing the corporal works of mercy taken from Matthew's Gospel, chapter 25. Interspersed around these medallions is a decorative program of birds and animals, among which a large bird centered at the top has the

[51] See, e.g., Bianca Kühnel, "The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter," in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Joseph Engemann*, eds. E. Dassmann and K. Thraede, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband, 18 (1991), pp. 340–57. These ivories have come under intense scrutiny in recent years, being the subject of a doctoral study by Jean Brodahl, "The Melisende Psalter and Ivories (BL Egerton 1139): An Inquiry into the Status and Collecting of Medieval Art in Early Nineteenth-Century France," Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1999, and several M.A. theses. Brodahl raises many important questions about the ivories and doubts the authenticity of the lower cover (chapter 1, pp. 1–93), but despite the undoubted presence of some 19th-century modifications, her arguments are ultimately unconvincing. Anthony Cutler continues to harbor doubts, however. In a recent article, "Problems of Ivory Carving in the Christian East (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)," in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Proceedings of the First International Byzantine Studies Symposium*, eds. Nevra Necipoglu et al. (Istanbul, 2010), pp. 486–94, esp. 486, n. 4, he comments: "The covers . . . are always assumed to have been carved in Jerusalem at the same time as the manuscript was prepared. This is by no means certain. . . ." Nonetheless for myself, Frederick Madden's assessment in 1845 for the British Museum Trustees remains in force: "The ivory covers of the volume . . . being undoubtedly coeval with the volume, are of the highest interest and value . . ." (cit. Brodahl, "The Melisende Psalter and Ivories," Appendix, "Madden's Description of the Melisende Psalter and Ivories," November 7, 1845 [BL Add.MS 62026], p. 239.) Janet Backhouse reaffirms this view by saying, "Everything that we can discover about the Psalter of Queen Melisende supports the accepted view that its famous ivory covers were already of great antiquity at the time of its purchase by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1845." See Backhouse, "The Case of Queen Melisende's Psalter," p. 465.

Figure 5 Ivory cover (front) of the Psalter of Queen Melisende with scenes of the life of David. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139 (Photo: British Library, London).

greatest importance. Labelled "Herodius," this conspicuous falcon is also known in the Bestiaries as "fulica," and this appears to be a rebus for Fulk, a subtle way for the king to convey his hand in this project symbolically to his queen. The two ivory covers are joined to each other by a beautifully silver-embroidered silk spine on which blue, red, and green equal-armed crosses, symbolizing the True Cross of Christ in the Holy Land, have been added.[52] The silk itself is Byzantine, but the embroidery must have been done by a Crusader artist for this book. And such a cross symbol on the spine, in association with David and the Crusader king on the covers, can only refer to Jesus Christ, spiritual king of Jerusalem.

When Melisende opened the book to begin her prayers, she first encountered a handsome set of prefatory miniatures spelling out the life of Christ in twenty-three episodes followed by a final image of Jesus enthroned as ruler, joined by the intercessors Mary and John the Baptist. Psalters with full-page prefatory miniatures like this were a new development in the twelfth century in western Europe, derived from England.[53] Presumably because of Fulk's links to the West, this book provides the earliest such example in the Crusader East. But the most striking feature of these miniatures is their obvious ties to the Byzantine artistic tradition, a visual language that Melisende, raised in the Greek Orthodox Church and a woman of deep piety, would especially appreciate. The twenty-three scenes are inspired by the Byzantine *Dodekaorta*, the great Orthodox festival cycle, simultaneously visualizing the life of Christ in terms of the liturgical year. In addition to the basic Byzantine iconography in each image, some images are purely Byzantine, such as the twenty-fourth miniature mentioned above, which depicts the Deësis prayer with Mary and John interceding with Christ. It is this scene which also carries the name of the artist, Basil, on the top of the footstool at Christ's feet.[54] Basil is clearly a first-rank painter who has been trained by Byzantine masters, but some of his images also include western imagery—demonstrating that he is probably a Greek-trained artist from western-born parents in the Holy Land.[55] His link to the Holy Land is also underlined by iconography

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[52] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 156–57, 525–26, ns. 108–16. Analysis of the embroidered silk was done at my request by Hero Granger-Taylor in 1989, and her detailed report is available in the British Library Manuscripts Department pamphlet no. 3338.

[53] See, e.g., the St. Albans Psalter in England: Otto Pacht, C.R. Dodwell, and Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London, 1960), pp. 52–53.

[54] The inscription reads "Basilius me fecit" in red letters.

[55] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 1–14, discusses the imagery in detail.

in certain miniatures that evokes specific details of the holy sites now under Crusader control. One particularly important example is the image of the Anastasis (Fig. 6), the patronage icon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which the artist has included two hovering angels each with a labarum inscribed "SSS" for "Holy, Holy, Holy," iconography drawn directly from the Byzantine apse mosaic in the rotunda of the church.[56]

As Melisende continued leafing through her book, the next element she would find, on fols. 13v–19r, was the calendar.[57] This calendar appears to have been based on an English model and it is secular, that is, not monastic or ecclesiastical; it is not, in other words, based on the standard Jerusalem calendar done for the Augustinian canons in the holy city and known from other extant twelfth-century manuscripts.[58] Indeed, there are a striking number of English saints commemorated and also St. Martin of Tours is given special prominence. In fact, this calendar appears to reflect the patron of this book, Fulk, who as count of Anjou, had obvious English connections through his family in the West. But the book was done for Melisende and there are two specific entries in the calendar that relate directly to her personally. On 1 October, the death of her mother, Queen Morfia, is commemorated. On 21 August, the death of her father, King Baldwin II, is also commemorated. The only other explicit Crusader reference in this calendar is for 15 July, commemorating the taking of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099.[59] The western character of this calendar is otherwise clearly expressed by its decoration with a series of medallions containing the signs of the zodiac.[60] The painter is clearly different from Basil; he is presumably a westerner trained in the Romanesque style of France and thereby reflecting the homeland whence Fulk had come. Taken together then, the introductory miniatures and the calendar strike

[56] On the program of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mosaic, see Alan Borg, "The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," in *The Vanishing Past*, eds. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford, 1980), pp. 7–12. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is also known as the Church of the Anastasis or the Church of the Resurrection.

[57] Francis Wormald, "The Calendar of Queen Melisende's Psalter," in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 122–34.

[58] See Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 13, 62–64, 104, 121–23, 162–66, 253–66, and Nigel Morgan, "Notes on the Post-Conquest Calendar, Litany and Martyrology of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester with a Consideration of Winchester Diocese Calendars of the Pre-Sarum Period," in *The Vanishing Past*, pp. 157, 162, n. 17.

[59] For these commemorations see Wormald, "The Calendar," pp. 125–26, and Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 162. Conspicuously, there is no entry for the death of King Fulk, who died in 1143. Therefore the manuscript must have been done before 1143. I am proposing that it was commissioned by Fulk and given to Melisende in 1135.

[60] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 14.

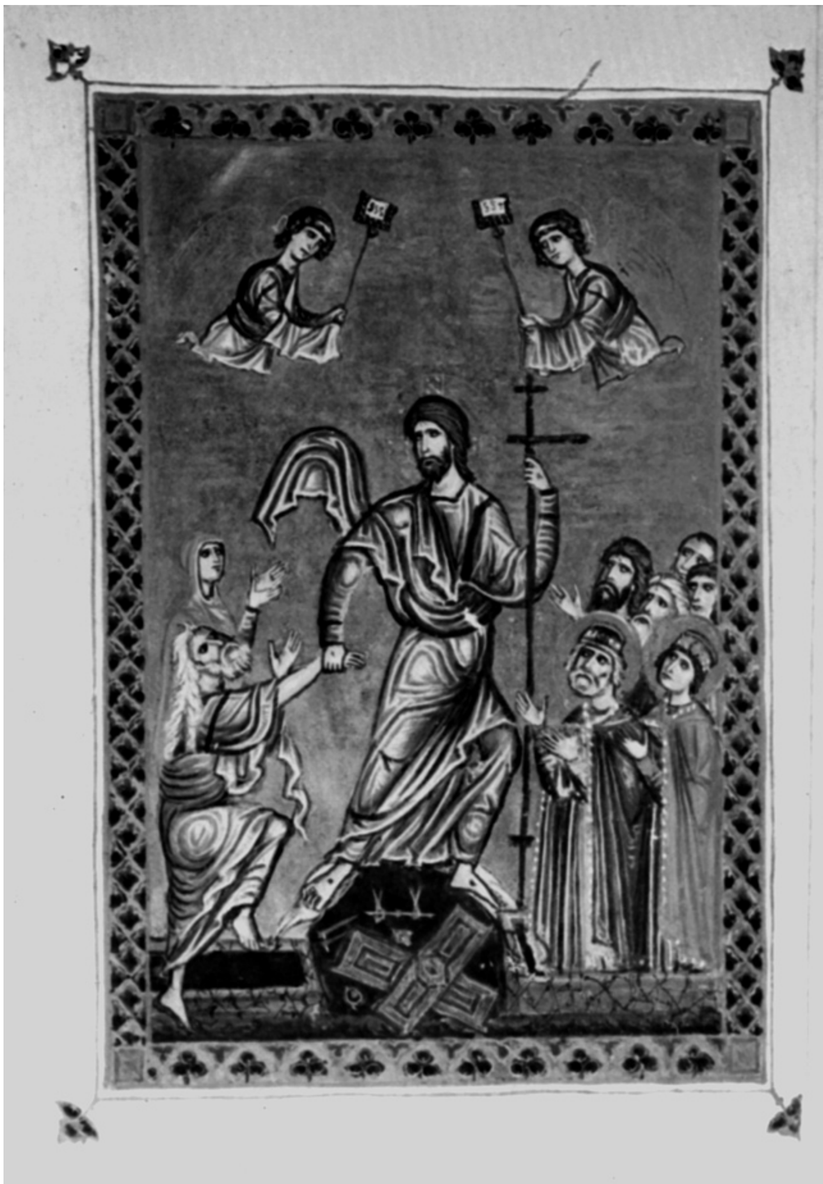

Figure 6 Anastasis with Angels. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 9v (Photo: British Library, London).

a balance of Byzantine and Western content that mirrored the reality and cultural background of Melisende and Fulk as royal figures in Jerusalem.

Following the calendar, Melisende found a set of prayers to prepare her to read the Psalms, fols. 21–22, and then she arrived at the text of the 150 psalms, which form the core of this prayerbook, on fols. 23v–177r.[61] The psalter was divided into eight sections, reflecting the canonical hours of the day, and a handsome full-page decoration was executed by a third artist at the start of each division. These introductory pages are done entirely in gold on which the initial letters are set out in black pen-drawing. The text that follows immediately is done in gold capitals on strips of purple. These exquisite and impressive pages begin with the "B" of the *Beatus vir* at the start of Psalm 1 (Fig. 7). The figural decoration with King David in the "B" combined with complex interlace inhabited with birds and animals reminds us of Anglo-Italian mosaic work and perhaps Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but the repertory of geometric forms found on the other seven introductory pages suggests inspiration from the Muslim Levantine world of ornament. It is a decorative ensemble that expresses a Mediterranean ambiente, even though the text of the Psalms is of course in Latin, and the scribe appears to have been trained in northern France.

What follows the Psalms is the canticle of Isaiah (fols. 177v–192), a litany (fols. 192v–197), and a series of private prayers on fols. 197v–218r.[62] The litany has mostly French saints, in contrast to the calendar, and the prayers themselves are directed to the Virgin Mary and other major saints such as Michael, Peter, and Mary Magdalene. It is important to note that the texts of these prayers are expressly written for a lay-woman of high rank, and the inclusion of special prayers to the Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene suggests a link with the confraternity of the abbey of St. Mary Jehoshaphat. Of the four royal sisters, Melisende was the only laywoman who was also a member of the confraternity of the abbey of St. Mary Jehoshaphat. Her mother, Morfia, was buried there at the entrance to the Tomb of the Virgin, and later she herself would also be buried in a special funerary chamber across from that of her mother. Finally it is notable that yet a fourth artist, no doubt a recent arrival in Jerusalem, painted

[61] Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 162–63.

[62] Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 163–64, and Adelaide Bennett, "Commemoration of Saints in Suffrage: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 54–78, esp. 54–55.

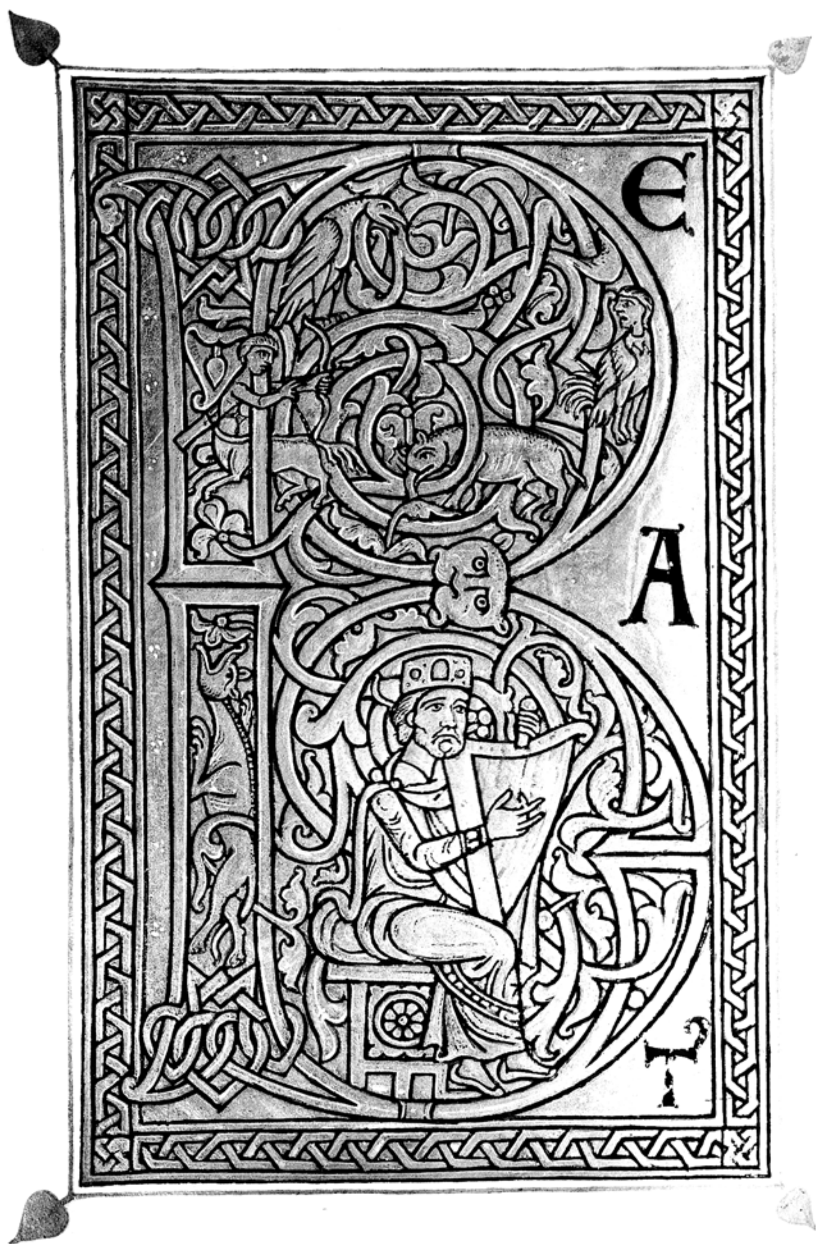

Figure 7 Initial B(eatus vir) for Psalm 1. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 23v (Photo: British Library, London).

the nine headpieces that mark the beginnings of these prayers.[63] This artist is clearly trained in the Romanesque style, but he has attempted to emulate Byzantine images of these saints. The resulting figures are frontal, monumental, dressed in saintly garb, and in standard poses as we might find them appearing in Byzantine images. But they have large simplified heads and hands, and the drapery is in an ornamental, decorative strap fold style that is flat and colorful. With this artist, the Byzantine figure style is essentially a surface decoration very much in harmony with the lovely border decorations of these headpieces. And note that the image of the Virgin and Child enthroned with angels as Queen of Heaven on fol. 202v (Fig. 8; Color Plate 17) provided Melisende with an icon of her role model in the Byzantine tradition that she, as Queen of Jerusalem, would have readily recognized and related to.[64]

In sum, this program of decoration, together with its four painters, ivory carver(s), and embroiderer, expresses vividly the richly multicultural kingdom that Melisende ruled over with Fulk in Jerusalem. Furthermore, this prayerbook has been given an intimate personal link to Melisende through the calendar and the prayers, which together with the lavish program of decoration, could not fail to appeal to and impress the great queen. The function of this prayerbook is crucial in assessing the evidence relevant to its commission. I propose that all aspects of the program of its text and decoration are more meaningful as a sumptuous and personal gift to Melisende from Fulk in the circumstances of their 1135 reconciliation than simply as an expensive commission by Melisende for her own use.[65]

Given that, as I am arguing here, it was Fulk, not Melisende, who commissioned this work, what can this outstanding manuscript tell us directly

[63] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 9–11.

[64] This miniature stands as one of the two early examples of this imagery executed by Crusader artists for special patrons. See Jaroslav Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 122–45, esp. 124–25.

[65] Most scholars agree this book was done for Melisende; the question is, who commissioned it? The argument for Fulk as patron of the Melisende Psalter as a gift for his queen is still controversial despite its merits, and certain recent scholars continue to claim that Melisende is the patron, without providing any new or definitive evidence. See, e.g., John Lowden, "The Royal/Imperial Book and the Image or Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 213–40, esp. 226–29, with great emphasis on the book's ivory covers; Gaudette, "Piety, Power and Patronage," pp. 169–81. I still maintain it was an important personal gift, *un cadeau expiatoire*, for Melisende ordered by the king for the reasons explained above. The fact that William of Tyre says nothing about this luxury prayerbook does nothing to diminish the likelihood that Fulk commissioned it for his queen.

Figure 8 Virgin and Child enthroned with angels headpiece. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 202v (Photo: British Library, London). See color plate 17.

about the queen as an art patron? Clearly the king conceived this commission to appeal directly to his wife's sophisticated artistic taste and aesthetic standards in an effort to express his highest regard and deepest admiration for her person and her position as queen. In doing this, he designed the program to reflect Melisende's individual and royal interests, along with her sensibilities as co-ruler of a diverse population, and as a representative of her people linking Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Armenians, Syrian Melkites, Syrian Jacobites and Arab Christians—hence the multiple artists with their different styles. Fulk also wanted this book to reflect her concerns for Jerusalem and the Holy Sites, hence the introductory miniatures with the life of Christ and the Virgin. And finally, he wanted this book to appeal to the queen because of her devout and sincere piety. For Melisende, a great patron of the arts, these were the values and concerns that the contents of this lavish prayerbook were meant to, and do, express.

Other Major Examples of Melisende's Art Patronage that William of Tyre Does Not Mention

William of Tyre was present in the Holy Land during the early public life of Queen Melisende, but having only been born in the late 1120s at the earliest, he would not have started his church career for many years after this, and would not have begun writing about the events of Melisende's reign until well after 1165, over thirty years later, that is, long after the events themselves and nearly five years after the death of the queen. Besides the case of the Melisende Psalter, which William does not comment on, there were other early instances of her patronage which he also does not include. One example pertains to Melisende's support of the Knights Hospitaller; her involvement with Fulk in the gift of the castle of Bethgibelin in 1136 is worth mentioning here. Following the reconciliation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende in 1135, in addition to the birth of Amalric, their joint gift to the Hospitallers was another symbolic sign of their revitalized co-rulership. Melisende indeed supported the Hospitallers faithfully throughout her reign, but this was the first major example, and although William of Tyre says nothing of her involvement, we learn of her participation from a royal charter, which she confirmed.[66] Here we should mention

[66] William of Tyre, Book 14, ch. 22, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 81, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 659–61. For the charter, see RRH no. 164, and Joseph Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre des Hospitallers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1894), no. 116.

the important categories that Helen Gaudette establishes for Melisende's gift-giving relative to these charters: exchanges, donations, and confirmations.[67] And here is a perfect example of an important gift the royal couple made jointly to the Hospitallers, the one which effectively began the militarization of their order,[68] that William decided to refer to only with regard to the king. Other charters in which she participated in supporting the Hospitallers are known later, for example, in 1147 in which she was jointly involved in confirmations or exchanges, where again William of Tyre, operating selectively, does not mention her role in them.[69]

Another, very different set of circumstances pertains to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. When Fulk and Melisende were crowned as the new king and queen on 14 September 1131, they chose with the consent of the patriarch of Jerusalem, William I, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as their venue. Whereas earlier coronations had been conducted in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the great sixth-century pilgrimage site, the shift to Jerusalem marked several important changes in the kingdom.

1. The king could be crowned by the patriarch in the Crusader capital city in the patriarchal church.
2. The ritual of the coronation now expanded to include certain holy sites in Jerusalem, including the *Templum Dominum*.

And 3, perhaps the most important: the installation of the coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre meant that new emphasis was being placed on the site as the state church, where not only the Crusader kings were buried, but also now Crusader rulers were crowned. Most significant is the fact that with this new role to be played, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would have to be renovated and expanded to meet its major functions. It was, of course, the greatest holy site in all of Christendom—the place of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection—to which pilgrims flocked in ever-increasing numbers. Ecclesiastically it was the seat of the patriarch of Jerusalem. And under Melisende and Fulk, it also became the state church for the Crusader kingdom.[70]

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[67] Gaudette, "Piety, Power and Patronage," p. 140.

[68] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 123, and ns. 17, 20. Gaudette discusses the Bethgibelin project in some detail: "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen," pp. 137–39.

[69] RRH nos. 244 and 245 respectively.

[70] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 177–203.

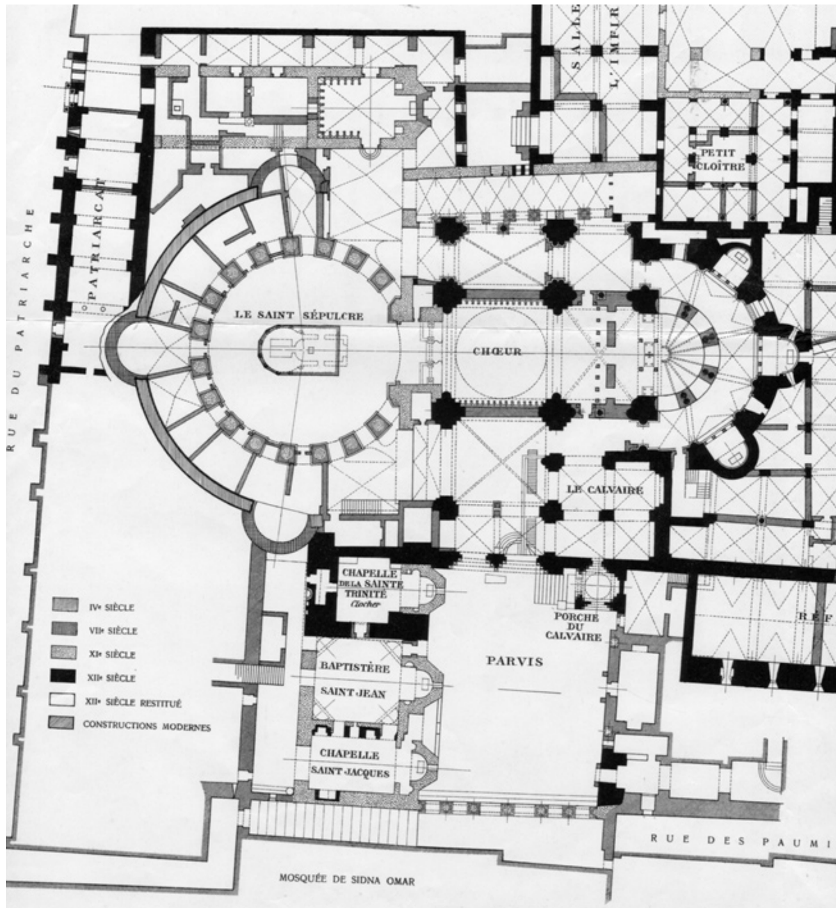

Figure 9 Historical plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at ground level, showing the new crossing, choir, apse, ambulatory, radiating chapels, and the south transept entrance dedicated in 1149 (After A.W. Clapham, "The Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1 (1921)).

Plans may have begun following this coronation ceremony in 1131, but it was probably not until after 1143 when Baldwin III and Melisende were crowned here on 25 December that work had gotten underway to significantly enlarge the church itself. The architectural concept was ambitious, and the result would be worthy of this unique church (Fig. 9). The apse of the rotunda was opened up into the courtyard of the *triporticus*, which was closed in and the main piers were covered with a dome. The

east end of the church was given a western Romanesque plan of the type found in churches on the pilgrimage road with the old apse and its mosaic integrated into a new ambulatory with radiating chapels. A new two-storey, double portal entrance, partly inspired by the Golden Gate in Jerusalem and partly inspired by the Platerías portal at Santiago de Compostela, was configured, giving onto the courtyard off the south transept. A major program of sculptural and mosaic decoration was incorporated on the entry portals, and on the interior of the church as well.

Scholars mostly agree that there was copious royal support by Melisende and cooperation with the patriarch to see this project through.[71] Indeed her support for the Holy Sepulchre continued throughout her life.[72] Our problem is that no one, including William of Tyre, discusses the role of Melisende in its realization. In fact, William has very little to say at all about this huge and important project, no doubt because he had left Jerusalem to go west in 1145. His only specific observation was the event of a lightning strike on the church at Epiphany, 6 January 1146, an event he mentioned not so much because it referred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but more because he saw it as a portent of disaster.[73] It is truly mysterious why William has so little else to say, but we can be sure of one thing. If, when the then current patriarch of Jerusalem, Aimery, died in 1180, William had been selected to succeed him instead of Heraclius of Caesarea, William would no doubt have made it his business to tell us a great deal more about the patriarch's church in Jerusalem. As it was, William was crushed with disappointment not to have been made patriarch and he chose not to chronicle the transformation of the church, even though it is, of course, the greatest dominical holy site in Christendom.[74]

Meanwhile, what might Melisende's role have been in the planning and construction of the new Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre in conjunction with the patriarchs William (d. 1145), Fulcher (d. 1157), and Aimery (d. 1180)? It is not without significance that it was Queen Melisende

[71] Eugène de Roziére, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, first series, 5 (Paris, 1849), nos. 32, 48, pp. 58–60, cited in Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156, n. 68.

[72] Near the end of her life in 1160, Melisende affirmed a gift her son King Amalric gave to the Holy Sepulchre. See de Roziére, *Cartulaire*, no. 58, pp. 115–17.

[73] William of Tyre, Book 16, ch. 17, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 162, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 738. See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 178–79. See also Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 3, *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 20.

[74] A dominical holy site is one directly connected to the physical presence of Jesus Christ during his time on earth.

who had nominated Fulcher in 1145 to succeed William.[75] And although Fulcher was well known to have stood his ground when it came to ecclesiastical appointments, even in the face of Melisende's assertive wishes, it is not too much to see the aged Fulcher and the vigorous Melisende jointly discussing the ongoing planning and execution of the program for the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Melisende was after all a staunch supporter of the church politically, a personal advocate for the various patriarchs elected during her rule, a devout and pious queen as the leader of her people, known and respected by the Christian clergy in Jerusalem, and a great benefactor of the church. As Hans Mayer points out:

> She had always behaved lavishly toward the Church, to such an extent that her gifts soon became legendary. Because of these gifts, she was considered a devoutly religious person, which she may have been. But she also was a shrewd politician and her gifts to the Church must be viewed as an attempt to buy its political support.[76]

In sum, it is clear that she wanted to be in a position to wield influence. In this case, she had also been a principal figure in major state rituals and observances in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from 1129 to the 1150s. With these experiences she would have clearly understood the needs of space and organization for the purposes of the liturgy, pilgrimage access to the holy places, and special state ceremonies. Melisende was at the height of her powers in the years from the mid-1140s to 1149, and Fulcher, no matter how old he was, was determined to run the church according to the highest standards; together they apparently made a formidable team to collaborate on the all-important project of renovating and expanding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It was dedicated on 15 July 1149, the day celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Even though the projected church program of renovation and expansion may not have been fully completed by that day, certainly the main features must have been done very soon thereafter, including the mosaics and sculpture on the south transept façade (Fig. 10). I have argued elsewhere that the program of this façade is a remarkable statement of ecumenical Christianity.[77] First, it is one that uses the sculptural medium to express the authentic history

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[75] Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 72–73.
[76] Mayer, "Studies," p. 131.
[77] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 228–29; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 20 ff., 68.

Figure 10 Church of the Holy Sepulchre: south transept façade viewed from the parvis. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 183 (Photo: J. Crook/ Cambridge University Press).

of this church rooted in Early Christian and Byzantine origins. Second, it is one that articulates the façade with sculpture derived from diverse Christian traditions including Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Arab Christian sources. Third, it is one that situates the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the context of its associated holy sites and places of pilgrimage.[78] Indeed, I hold that Melisende must have had a hand in formulating this remarkable program in conjunction with the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself, despite the fact that William of Tyre found nothing to say about it. One possible direct indication of this link may be seen in the program for the figural lintel over the left-hand door of the main entry (Fig. 11). The first two scenes selected for this lintel represent the Raising of Lazarus and the sisters Mary and Martha imploring the help of Jesus (John 11: 20–39). The events not only occupy a remarkably prominent position on this lintel, they also pertain to the holy site of Bethany, that is, the site of the very convent which Melisende established by 1143 for her sister Yveta.[79] In addition to this, the south transept façade of the Holy Sepulchre, with its rich program of architectural sculpture, is linked very directly in design and sculptural execution to the façade of the Church of St. Anne.

Today as one of the most impressive of the Crusader churches to survive in Jerusalem, St. Anne's was closely linked to Melisende's royal family. Her youngest sister, Yveta, entered this convent in the late 1120s, shortly after she was liberated as a Muslim hostage, and resided there until 1144, at which time she transferred to the newly opened convent at Bethany. St. Anne's had significant royal patronage from early Crusader times because Baldwin I placed his first wife, Arda, there. However, with regard to Melisende, we can suggest that her greatest attention and benefactions were lavished on St. Anne's while her sister was there. It is my proposal that St. Anne's was rebuilt with royal support at least partly derived from Melisende's patronage during the 1130s. However, because during the early years of that decade Melisende was not mentioned on royal charters with Fulk for reasons discussed above, her patronage appears to have been effected privately. As evidence for this proposition, I would draw attention

[78] Jaroslav Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of Rebuilding Zion," in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Studies Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France (London, 1998), pp. 239–57; Alan Borg, "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), pp. 25–40.

[79] On the convent plan, fig. 4, the west church of the convent covers the holy site of the tomb of Lazarus.

Figure 11 Figural lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: detail, left side with scenes of the Raising of Lazarus and Mary and Martha imploring Jesus. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 220 (Photo: Archive of the British Mandate/Israel Antiquities Authority).

to the close architectural links between the façade of the Church of St. Anne and the Holy Sepulchre, and the later support given by Melisende to St. Anne for which documentation exists in the royal charters.

First, there is the close relation that the façade of St. Anne's enjoys with that of the larger and more complex south transept façade of the Holy Sepulchre. We observe that the west façade of St. Anne's offers a set of components and an overall design which includes heavy setback voussoirs over deeply splayed doors and windows as western features, along with pointed arch openings and godroons from Arab sources,[80] and a decorative repertory found in other early Crusader churches in the kingdom. St. Anne's also is important as an example of Crusader builders taking over Byzantine characteristics for Latin use, such as a domed crossing integrated with the western longitudinal plan, and the rich eastern decorative repertoire. Indeed, it is likely that the atelier assembled to work on St. Anne's could have moved, in whole or in part, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre when their work was done at the much smaller building. St. Anne's was likely being finished at a point when the mason's yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was getting organized and starting that project.[81]

Second, we see Melisende's support in the royal charters from 1152. St. Anne's was an important example of an establishment in the fabric of the city which rented shop space to Frankish burgesses in the downtown markets of Jerusalem.[82] The income from their rentals helped to fund the needs of the convent. It is likely that some of these shops were a gift to St. Anne's from Melisende, who, according to Denys Pringle, "is recorded completing a 'new street' adjoining the Latin exchange in 1152."[83] In making her donation in this royal charter, Melisende enabled the city of Jerusalem to configure three new streets, the Malquisinat (or street of bad cooking) and two side streets. By doing this she accomplished several

[80] Godroons consist of ornamentation in a convex configuration, the opposite of fluting. Here they appear as voussoirs of an arch in a cushioned shape, found frequently in Arab architecture after c. 1000.

[81] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 136.

[82] Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), pp. 82, 410, n. 135. The burgesses were Frankish commoners who were neither members of the aristocracy nor members of the Italian communes.

[83] See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 103–105, no. 36, RRH 70–71, no. 278, and Mayer, "Studies," p. 167. In this street shops can still be seen inscribed "SCA ANNA," indicating they belonged to the convent. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 154–55.

goals including sustainable support of St. Anne's convent, satisfying the need for public services (access to cooked food for pilgrims and travelers), and greater success in good government of the city.[84]

Once again we note that whereas William of Tyre wrote detailed commentary about the commission of the convent at Bethany for which Yveta was destined, he has little to say about the Convent of St. Anne, other than the fact that it was a holy place located where the immaculate Virgin Mary was said to have been born. William comments that the first wife of Baldwin I was placed there, and as a result, the king "enlarged their possessions and extended their patrimony."[85] The brevity of his narrative cannot be surprising because again, the building of St. Anne was very early and not something he witnessed or to which his attention was drawn; his clear focus was on the major project at Bethany, which he used as his major example for Melisende's art patronage.

What other benefactions can we identify with Melisende in and around Jerusalem? Bernard Hamilton summarizes his views on Melisende as a patron by saying that

> throughout her life she had been a great benefactor of the church. In addition to founding the convent of Bethany she had also given endowments to the Holy Sepulchre, our Lady of Josaphat (= the tomb of the Virgin), the *Templum Domini*, the order of the Hospital, the leper hospital of St. Lazarus, and the Praemonstratensians of Saint Samuel's, Mountjoy.[86]

Hans Mayer independently refers to the reputation she enjoyed among the citizens of Jerusalem for "all she had done to embellish their city."[87]

With regard to these benefactions cited by others I would like to focus on one final, special aspect of her patronage and her interest in the population of the city of Jerusalem that can be related to the scope of the programs in her luxury prayerbook and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, specifically to the program of the south transept façade. I refer to the interest which Melisende took in the Eastern Christians in the holy city and

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[84] See Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 151–52, and the discussion in her new article, "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen," pp. 142–44.

[85] William of Tyre, Book 11, ch. 1, *A History*, vol. 1, p. 461. "... ampliavit possessiones et patrimonium dilatavit," *Chronicon*, LXIII, pp. 495–96.

[86] Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

[87] Mayer, "Studies," p. 169.

its environs, that is, the Orthodox Greeks,[88] the Armenians,[89] the Syrians,[90] the Jacobites,[91] and others. It is an interest that flowed out of her own family background, and it was manifested in her sponsorship of these various churches of the Eastern Christians in Jerusalem. The problem is that no written evidence survives for most of these projects. Melisende's interest in and beneficent connection with them seems probable, however slender our documentation, based on other types of evidence.

We can see this interest expressed in the architectural links between the Church of St. Anne and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the one hand, projects for which Melisende is known to have made substantial endowments, and a series of other buildings owned by Eastern Christians in Jerusalem. When the mason's yard of the Church of St. Anne sent some or all of its masons to help sustain the mason's yard of the Holy Sepulchre, it is also possible that some of these stone-workers were subsequently hired or loaned out from time to time to other projects at institutions for which Melisende had given substantial financial endowments. The link that these masons created, I submit, can be seen in the style of the architecture they produced at these other churches. What I am referring to as style, as seen in the portals of St. Anne's and the south transept portals of the Holy Sepulchre, is in fact a conceptualization of what a church should look like with regard to its entry portal. It is this element of the church that after all proclaims clearly the nature and function of the structure behind it. So, for example, we find the same elements in the portals of the Eastern Christian churches which Melisende helped sponsor in Jerusalem as we find in St. Anne's and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Compare the south portal entry to the Armenian Church of St. James to the portals of St. Anne's and the Holy Sepulchre with their godrooned

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[88] Melisende gave an endowment to the important Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem. St. Sabas maintained a metochion with the same name in the Kidron valley in Jerusalem. See the discussion by Helen Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 202–208. See also Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 258–64, nos. 216–217.

[89] Melisende gave an endowment to the Armenian patriarchal Church of St. James in the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 168–82, no. 318.

[90] Melisende gave an endowment to the Syrian church in Jerusalem adjacent to the Armenian quarter. Today it is known as St. Mark's, but it was originally dedicated to St. Mary. For the church of St. Mark, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 322–26, no. 343.

[91] Melisende gave an endowment to the Jacobite Monophysite church of St. Mary Magdalene in the quarter near Herod's gate. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 327–35, no. 344.

arches on the south entrance to the church (Figs. 10 and 12).[92] Similarly, compare the godrooned arches on the main entry portal to the small Armenian Church of the Angels in the Armenian compound and the main entry portal to the precinct of the Syrian Church of St. Mark in Jerusalem to those same examples.[93] I consider these godrooned arches as a distinctive aspect of Melisende's architectural patronage in Jerusalem in the 1140s and 1150s.

Nurith Kenaan-Kedar has made a forceful case that, in fact, the Armenian characteristics of the Cathedral of St. James, which was built mainly by Armenian masons on the site of an earlier Georgian church in the time of Melisende (after 1141, completed by the early 1160s), were largely due to the queen's support and influence. She points to the distinctive dome with its six ribs, so different from the domes in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which she argues is twelfth century, not a thirteenth-century alteration as some have held. This dome is combined with a Byzantine-style centralized church and a Byzantine-type esonarthex—the south narthex—and what she calls an Armenian decoration system including the godroons, "a frieze accompanying the arches and cut on the surface; and 'elbow colonnettes'."[94] Kenaan-Kedar would have us see the godrooned arches as distinctively Armenian, as well as being related to Melisende's patronage.

There were other commissions in and around Jerusalem with which it is likely that Melisende was involved. In 1141, at the time of a papal legate's visit to Jerusalem as reported by William of Tyre, the Dome of the Rock was officially renamed as the church of the *Templum Domini*.[95] Austin canons had already started building a priory on the north side of the platform, and for the refurbishment of the *Templum Domini* it is likely that Melisende sponsored the great ironwork screen or grille that enclosed the rock on the interior under the dome (Fig. 13). There is no direct evidence

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[92] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 247–48, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture in Twelfth-Century Crusader Jerusalem," *Assaph*, Section B, Studies in Art History, 3 (1998), pp. 80–86.

[93] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 136–37; Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," pp. 84–86.

[94] Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," p. 83.

[95] William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 18, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 699–700.

Figure 12 Cathedral of St. James, view of the entrance portal to the main nave from the south porch (Photo: J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 248).

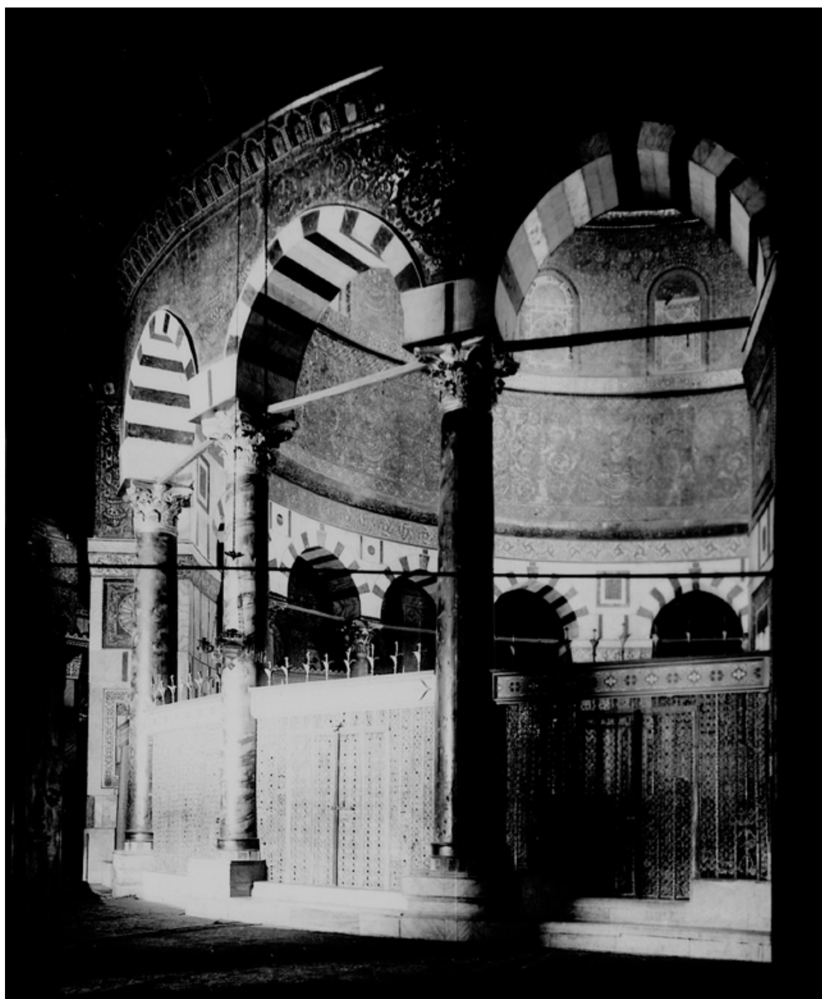

Figure 13 Dome of the Rock, interior view with the Crusader iron grille in situ. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 250 (Photo: Archive of Savignac/École Biblique).

for her link to the grille, but her documented endowments to the *Templum Domini* suggest she well may have been a sponsor.[96]

Similarly, it is not clear what specifically Melisende may have had to do with the Premonstratensian Church of St. Samuel on the site of "Montjoie," the hill from which pilgrims coming to Jerusalem first saw the holy city.[97] We know that St. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Melisende ca. 1150 to encourage support for the Premonstratensians, which comprehended the rebuilding of this site.[98] We also know that they did build a church and a cloister here by about 1150, and that a charter of the Holy Sepulchre refers to this church in 1157.[99] Melisende's substantial role at the leper house of St. Lazarus just outside the walls of Jerusalem is also known, although this building is now destroyed. Denys Pringle mentions that

> it was evidently endowed by the king and queen, for in 1144 Baldwin III and his mother [Melisende] confirmed his parents' donation "to the leprous *confratres* of the church of St. Lazarus that is in Jerusalem" of a piece of land, which the royal pair had purchased from a certain Syrian . . .[100]

These activities, along with the major endowments and commissions discussed above, make clear the extraordinary interest and activity which Melisende took in all aspects of the spiritual and physical well-being of the diverse Christian people she ruled in the Latin Kingdom, and especially those in Jerusalem and its environs.

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[96] Hans E. Mayer, "Zur Frühgeschichte des Templum Domini in Jerusalem," *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH, 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 222–29. Pringle has a detailed discussion of the *Templum Domini*, but does not comment on Melisende's possible link or on Mayer's discussion. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 397–417, no. 367.

[97] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 246–47, and see the discussion in Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 187–93.

[98] *The Letters of St. Bernard*, pp. 345–46, 348, nos. 272–73, 275. In the Leclercq and Rohais edition, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. vol. 8, they are letters CCCLIV, CCLXXXIX, and CCCLV respectively, pp. 297–98, 205–06, 299.

[99] See Hans E. Mayer, "Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekannten Diplom König Balduins V," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 44 (1964), pp. 35–71, esp. 38–39, 55, 59–61, 68–69. See also Bernard Hamilton, "Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), pp. 105–16, esp. 113–14, and n. 74. For the charter of 1157, see Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, no. 121, pp. 244–45.

[100] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 215–17. Helen Gaudette discusses Melisende's interest in the Order of St. Lazarus at some length in "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 193–201.

When we come to the end of her life, her tomb in the valley of Jehoshaphat is the culmination of her artistic contributions to Jerusalem, in a major holy place. William of Tyre reports that she

> was buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the right as one descends to the sepulcher of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of the Lord. Her body rests in a stone crypt with iron gates. Nearby is an altar where mass is celebrated daily for the healing of her soul and for the souls of all Christians who had died in the Lord.[101]

William mentions her death but does not discuss her patronage here, possibly because she had died in 1161, four years before he returned to Jerusalem from western Europe, and he did not start writing his history until 1167. Nonetheless, given the fact that Morfia, Melisende's mother, was buried here, Melisende was intensely interested in this foundation.[102] With this in mind and the fact that Melisende was to be buried in a tomb across the stairway from Morfia,[103] and given the solicitousness of her son, Baldwin III, and especially her sisters, Yveta and Hodierna, for her well-being as she came to the end of her life, it is likely that Melisende's wishes regarding this tomb were sought out and followed. The site of the Virgin's tomb, at the Abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, came to be identified as the place of choice for the tombs of the queens of Jerusalem in the reigns of Baldwin II, Melisende, and Baldwin III.[104] And certainly one can say that whereas the tombs of the kings of Jerusalem were located in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre near the place of Calvary and the Anointing Stone, Melisende's tomb was accorded special prominence by the presence of its own separate chamber, the size of the chapel, and the

[101] William of Tyre, Book 18, ch. 32, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 291. "Sepulta est autem inclite recordationis domina Milissendis, angelorum choris inserenda, in valle Iosaphat, descendentibus ad sepulchrum beate et intemerate dei genitricis et virginis Marie ad dexteram, in cripta lapidea ianuis ferreis presepta, altare habens vicinum, ubi tam pro remedio anime eius quam pro spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum acceptabiles cotidie creatori offeruntur hostie," *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 858.

[102] Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 181–87, discusses Melisende's documentation here including a charter on which her personal seal was attached. The charter in question is RRH no. 359, and it is discussed by Gustav Schlumberger, et al., *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 5–6.

[103] Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," p. 87, suggests the possibility that Morfia, Melisende's mother, was also buried in the same chamber with her. Given Kenaan-Kedar's identification of Armenian characteristics for this tomb chamber and for the dome, I think it is more likely Morfia was buried in a chamber on the opposite side of the stairs and that this chamber was solely designed for Melisende (pp. 86–89).

[104] On this church, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 287–306, no. 337.

architecture of the round tambour with domed vault and windows over the main space near the tomb of the Virgin Mary (see Figs. 3 and 14).[105]

We conclude with the impressive encomium of William of Tyre:

> Melisende, the king's mother, was a woman of great wisdom who had had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She had risen so far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake important measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself in no wise inferior to them. Since her son was as yet under age, she ruled the kingdom and administered the government with such skillful care that she may be said truly to have equaled her ancestors in that respect.[106]

Bearing in mind that these words were written about Melisende at the start of her "regency" in 1143, not at the end of her life in 1161, what William has to say is truly remarkable.[107] He himself states that she emulated "the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes," which I interpret to mean that she sought by the power of her rule and by the generosity and abundance of her patronage to equal the greatest kings. To that end we might ask, what was the scope of her patronage? First it is clear that her patronage was wide-ranging, encompassing the political and the artistic world of the Latin Kingdom, but largely focused on Jerusalem and its environs, on the major churches and religious orders of the Latin Kingdom, and, of course, on the royal family. Second, her patronage was lavish and it was more or less continuous from the 1130s until her death in 1161, but was most concentrated in the period from the late 1130s through the 1140s and into the early 1150s. Third, primarily it was focused on the churches,

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[105] On the tomb of Melisende, see Albert Prodomo, "The Tomb of Queen Melisenda," in *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, ed. B. Bagatti et al., trans. L. Sciberras (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 83–93, and Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," pp. 86–89. See also Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 324–28.

[106] William of Tyre, Book 16, ch. 3, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 139–40. "Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam, sexus feminei plane vincens conditionem, ita ut manum mitteret ad fortia et optimorum principum magnificentiam niteretur emulari et eorum studia passu non inferior sectari. Regnum enim, filio adhuc infra puberes annos constituto, tanta rexit industria, tanto procuravit moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur…" *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 717.

[107] At the time he was writing his account of the 1160s, other than noting the death of the queen, clearly William of Tyre saw no reason to return to a further encomium and summary of the achievements of Melisende. In the early 1140s she was at the height of her political power, whereas by 1161 she had receded from power and influence, but not from beloved memory. William of Tyre states, Book 18, ch. 32: "Queen Melisende of illustrious memory, thenceforward to dwell with the angelic host, was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat…" (*A History*, vol. 2, p. 291, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 858). See above, n. 101.

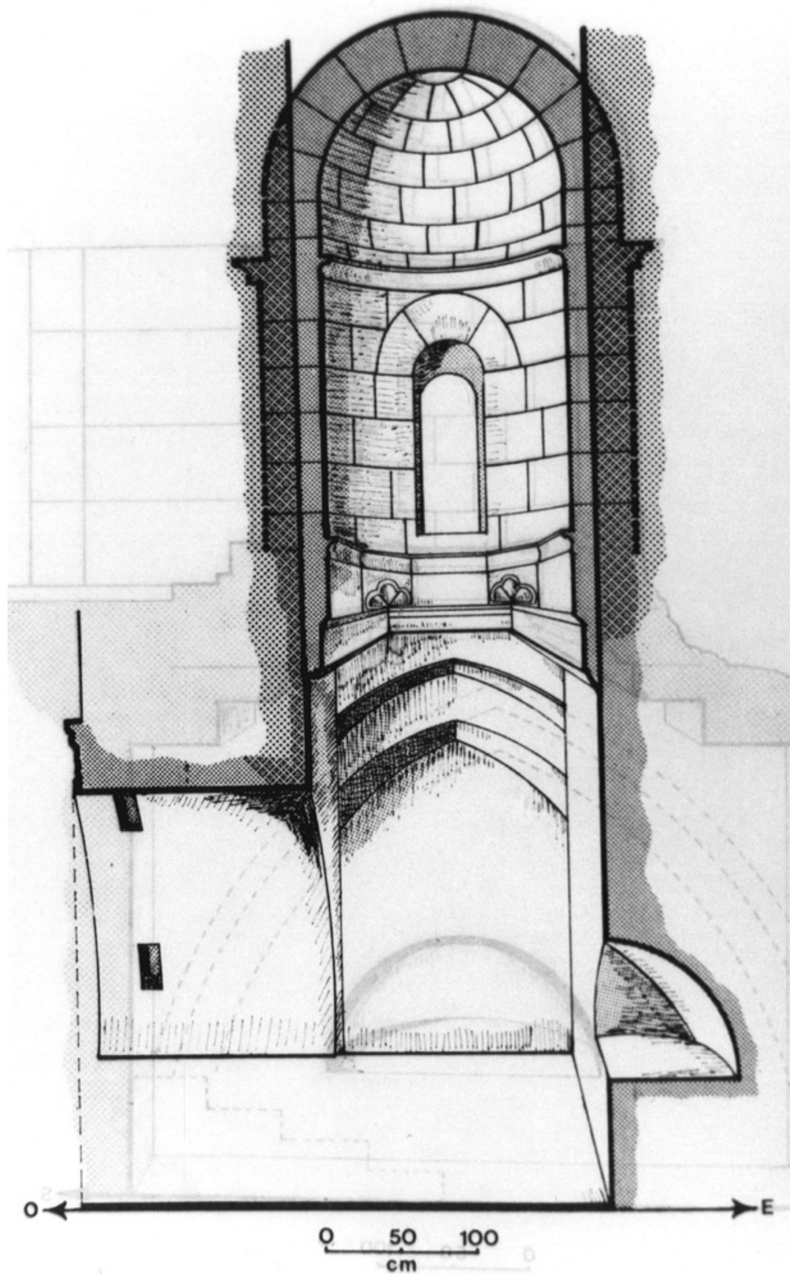

Figure 14 Tomb of Queen Melisende: east-west section reconstructed by A. Prodomo. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 325 (Drawing: A. Prodomo).

convents, and monasteries that were associated with the Christian peoples of her kingdom and with major Christian holy sites, and it centered on those ecclesiastical organizations and institutions that serviced and protected the sites.

In the words of William II, Archbishop of Tyre, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Melisende was a great queen. But how important finally was her patronage? I propose that her sponsorship was crucial and essential as a major stimulus to the new art and architecture of the Crusaders and that Melisende used her patronage to enhance, strengthen, and unify the people and the religious institutions in her kingdom. Looking carefully at the written and material evidence we have for documentation, I think it is fair to say that Melisende was the greatest art patron in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century.

Postscript

Hans E. Mayer's magnificent new publication, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Koenige von Jerusalem: Diplomata regum Latinorum Ierosolymitanorum*, ed. Hans E. Mayer (Monumenta Germaniae Historica) 4 vols. (Hanover, 2010), arrived too late to be incorporated into the documentation for my article. Readers who wish to compare the Roehricht editions of documents cited in the notes above may find the new editions with commentaries and bibliography in Mayer's magisterial publication by utilizing the "Konkordanz" at the end of vol. 4, pp. 1809–12.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

WOMEN AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF AL-ANDALUS (711–1492): A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS[1]

María Elena Díez Jorge

Introduction

This article addresses a period and place for which, even today, little is known about the types of architectural patronage performed by women or about the spaces that were designed for them and occupied by them. This is largely due to the fact that architecture has frequently been analysed from biased conceptual and methodological viewpoints, resulting in a lack of analysis of gender relations. In order to further our knowledge in this field, I present an in-depth critical review of the historiography and methodologies to date, together with suggestions for applying a gender perspective to the documentary and material sources. Gender is a concept that refers to the construction of social differences between men and women which are learned; they both change over time and vary a great deal from one culture to the next, and indeed within the same culture. I use a gender perspective to consider and focus on the differences that were established or assigned when it came to commissioning, designing, and occupying different architectural spaces in al-Andalus, the parts of Spain under Islamic rule between 711 and 1492. My study also addresses Mudejar art, a field covering all artistic expression in the areas of al-Andalus that were conquered by Christian kingdoms.[2]

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[1] I would like to thank Madeline Caviness and Therese Martin for their comments on the first draft of this paper. This article is dedicated in particular to Manuela Marín Niño, the leading figure and guiding light in research on this subject. The dates mentioned in the text are for the Christian era (A.D.). Translation by Nigel Walkington.

[2] The dates covered by the Mudejar art period vary according to the different kingdoms but it is usually considered to have begun in 1085 with the conquest of Toledo and to have continued beyond the fall of Granada in 1492. The use of the expression "Christian kingdoms" outside Spanish historiography can lead to confusion. It is, however, the most frequently used in the historiography to refer to the various kingdoms that occupied the non-Islamic territories of the Iberian Peninsula in the time of al-Andalus. It is well-known that they did not form a unified block in either a political or a cultural sense.

The active participation of women in the architecture of this area has traditionally been ignored or overlooked by historians. This applies to both palaces and religious buildings, and surprisingly also to the domestic realm, in which the role of women as makers and transformers of this space has rarely been analysed, although they have been acknowledged as its "preferential users." The social reality of al-Andalus encompassed not only Islamic architecture but also the buildings constructed by Spanish Jews, Mozarabs (Arabic-speaking Christians living first in Islamic territories, who maintained many of their traditions later under Christian rule), and others. In this article I will be focusing particularly on the architecture produced under Islamic patronage, as the Muslims were both the political and the religious power at the time. It is important, however, to treat this subject from a multidisciplinary perspective that addresses the influences, differences, and similarities with regard to women and architecture of the other social groups that came together in al-Andalus. When one addresses the al-Andalus period, from the first landings of the Muslims on the Peninsula in 711 to the fall of Granada in 1492, care must be taken not to lose sight of the substantial political and social changes that occurred during the different stages, and the historicity of gender, its constants, and its variables. To this end, detailed research must be carried out on each period, so that effective comparisons can then be made among them.

My study will run from the earliest descriptions by medieval travellers to the latest contributions of specialists and academics, highlighting the aspects most relevant from a gender perspective. As such, my objective is to offer a state of the question and to express the need for very specific studies that make clear that gender has been and indeed remains a key factor when it comes to thinking, planning, and designing the spaces in which we live, work, and worship.[3] In this article I would like to place special emphasis on making the women of al-Andalus visible, given the neglect shown in existing historiography to their contributions. Gender, however, cannot be identified exclusively with women. My aim is to work towards a broader, more inclusive perspective, but to do so we must first rediscover the roles played by women.

This analysis springs from my own interest and specialization in Mudejar art, which by definition does not "belong" to the history of al-

[3] See the now classic study by Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review*, 91/5 (1986), pp. 1053–75. Rprt. in *Historia y Género: las mujeres en la Europa moderna y contemporánea*, eds. James S. Amelang and Mary Nash (Valencia, 1990), pp. 23–56.

Andalus, but it would obviously not have been possible without its Islamic predecessors. One of the clearest links between the two lies in the fact that the new Christian rulers made use of the architectural legacy bequeathed to them by the Muslims, a legacy accompanied by a more intangible acquired knowledge of techniques, organization, and formal solutions that continued to be applied during the Mudejar period from 1492 onwards.[4] This provides us with a better base from which to study its subsequent transformation and analyse the aspects that joined or divided the two societies from an architectural point of view. From a gender perspective, they had a great deal in common, as both were patriarchal societies that diverged only on minor questions such as specific roles assigned.

Methodological Questions in the Study of Women and the Architecture of al-Andalus

Despite the limitations of the available written sources concerning the women of al-Andalus, this should not be taken to mean that they played a minor role as active subjects. At times certain assumptions take over, such as doubting the capacity and indeed the very status as poet of some of the women poets of al-Andalus, even when paradoxically they produced more and better poems than some of their male counterparts.[5] This historiographical devaluation also applies to architectural patronage, as that exercised by women has often been regarded essentially as a quest for power and consolidation of the family line (an aspect that must certainly be borne in mind). Patronage by men, however, was seen as having additional qualities and dimensions, such as an innovative capacity or a love of the arts. Nonetheless recent methodological advances and broad epistemological shifts enable us now to query the traditional sources from a gender perspective, while also exploring alternative types of documentation.

It is well-known that there are few archival records for al-Andalus, especially when compared with the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. This means that "accurate" knowledge of certain aspects of al-Andalus is well-nigh impossible. For example, the fact that we have no

[4] See, for example, María Elena Díez Jorge, "El espacio doméstico: lo femenino y lo masculino en la ciudad palatina de la Alhambra," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 38 (2002), pp. 155–81.

[5] Celia del Moral, "Poesía de mujer, poesía de hombre: la diferencia del género en la lírica andalusí," in *Árabes, judías y cristianas. Mujeres en la Europa medieval*, ed. Celia del Moral (Granada, 1993), pp. 173–93.

detailed accounts-books for building sites, a common practice in some Christian kingdoms, means that we cannot aspire to precise knowledge of the master craftsmen and artisans in the buildings of al-Andalus. As regards the documentation, various scholars have pointed out that the lack of historical records does not make other sources less credible, nor does it prevent knowledge from being acquired by other means.[6] When different sources are compared, analysed, and placed within their particular contextual framework, highly valuable information can be obtained.

A variety of written evidence has been used for al-Andalus, such as biographical dictionaries, chronicles, poems, treatises, and legal documents, along with material sources such as epigraphy, iconography, archaeological remains, and architecture. There is, however, a long-standing division between Arabists, in particular philologists, and those who specialize in material culture.[7] Works of art and other objects of visual culture are historical documents that must be studied, analysed, and inter-related with the information provided by written sources. Fortunately, there are researchers who, although they normally work with documentary evidence, also accept the validity of these other sources.[8] Writing can, of course, also be works of fiction. As Joaquín Lomba pointed out, written texts can tell us the truth, but they can also present a false version of reality, in the sense that they emanate from an educated, powerful social stratum prone to the use of hyperbole.[9] With an eye to both exaggeration and obviation, it is absolutely essential to compare and contrast different sources. The *written*

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[6] Randi Deguilhem and Manuela Marín, eds., *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources* (London, 2002).

[7] There has also been something of a divorce between art historians and archaeologists working on this subject, although nowadays cross-disciplinary teams and joint publications have tended to reduce the distance between the two fields, as noted by Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, *Cómo y qué investigar en historia del arte. Una crítica parcial de la historiografía del arte española* (Barcelona, 2001), p. 111 onwards.

[8] Manuela Marín, for example, cites as sources for the study of women in al-Andalus both written evidence (archival, epigraphic, and iconographic documents, although she does not include architecture or material culture) and literary sources (historical chronicles, biographical dictionaries, or legal texts). Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres en al-Andalus: fuentes e historiografía," in *Árabes, judías y cristianas*, ed. Celia del Moral, pp. 35–52. In other more recent publications, edited by Marín, she includes texts based on less frequently used sources such as epic poems, proverbs, and paintings. See Deguilhem and Marín, eds., *Writing the Feminine*. A very clear commitment to different disciplines working together (historians, numismatists, archaeologists, and art historians) can be found in Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Desde el Sinaí de su arábiga erudición. Una reflexión sobre el medievalismo y el arabismo recientes," in *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste. Siglos XVII–XXI*, ed. Manuela Marín (Madrid, 2009), pp. 213–30.

[9] Joaquín Lomba, *El mundo tan bello como es. Pensamiento y arte musulmán* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 19.

evidence from al-Andalus, for example, does not regard architecture as a major art. Although there was a wide diversity of thought and theories in al-Andalus, in general architecture was considered a necessary, practical science that fell within the manual arts, and was therefore not worthy of much attention. The *material* remains, however, suggest that in practice architecture was of fundamental importance for the governing elites, who used it to demonstrate their authority. These elites were made up of both men and women, but we have yet to study the possible differences and/or similarities in the ways architectural patronage was practised by the different sexes.

The important methodological issue of applying gender to architecture in al-Andalus begins with the recovery of roles played by women. It is necessary to make comparisons with the architecture that was chronologically and spatially closest to al-Andalus, i.e. the architecture of the Near East (especially at the beginning of the Emirate, 8th–10th c.), North Africa (especially during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, 11th–13th c.), and the medieval Iberian Christian kingdoms.[10] The differences between kingdoms and periods within al-Andalus must be taken into account not only in the traditional stylistic terms, but also in the gendered approaches taken to patronizing, designing, and thinking about architectural spaces. Gender relations varied over these eight centuries, sometimes very subtly, and this led to changes in the customs of the court and the way space was distributed. However, this historicity and variability of gender relations has not received much scholarly attention, with the result that little information on this question has so far come to light. For example, the Almoravids of the eleventh to twelfth centuries were criticized by the Almohads in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries because their women did not wear veils, and some accounts make it clear that elite Almoravid men and women shared certain spaces.[11] We must also begin to establish

[10] For other geographical and historical contexts of Islam see also R. Stephen Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Muqarnas*, 11 (1994), pp. 35–54; Gavin R.G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York, 1998); D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany, 2000); Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders. The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2006).

[11] I refer to the anecdote of the Almoravid general who was with his wife when she was combing her hair, which has been mentioned by various authors. José María Fórneas, "Acerca de la mujer musulmana en época almorávide y almohade: elegías de tema femenino," in *La mujer en al-Andalus. Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, ed. María Jesús Viguera Molins (Madrid, 1989), pp. 77–103; Manuela Marín Niño, *Mujeres en al-Ándalus* (Madrid, 2000), p. 245.

as accurately as possible which spaces were occupied or sponsored by women because uncertainty on this question impedes our efforts to recover the roles played by women as subjects in history.

Although there is a historiographical void when it comes to analysing the architecture of al-Andalus from a gender perspective, there are a number of valuable studies of the role of women in other arts. After poetry, calligraphy was probably the art most practised by women in al-Andalus. Interesting research on this subject has been produced by José Miguel Puerta Vílchez.[12] Special mention must be given to his section on women calligraphers, which includes their names, ranging from the time of the Umayyads in Iraq, moving on to the School of Qayrawān, of Baghdad, and the calligraphers of al-Andalus, the Maghreb, Syria, Egypt up to the Turkish calligraphers of the nineteenth century. He balances the role he attributes to women by providing a broader view throughout the book of the inter-relation between men and women. When Puerta Vílchez discusses Córdoba, for example, he does not forget the role of scribes nor the women who were part of the Prophet's circle in the initial stages of Islam, and he acknowledges the role of some women as innovators at the vanguard of contemporary calligraphy. He explains that there were no treatises on calligraphy written by women because of their position in society, as they did not hold senior positions in the administration of the state in the way that their male counterparts did, and because men rather than women were expected to establish the rules and conventions of art. The fact, therefore, that he was able to recover a number of women calligraphers does not hide the reality of patriarchal power.[13] A comparative study of these women calligraphers and the female manuscript illuminators working in Christian Spain would help to bridge the historiographical divide that has been established between the Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus.[14]

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[12] José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *La aventura del cálamo. Historia, formas y artistas de la caligrafía árabe* (Granada, 2007).

[13] See María Elena Díez Jorge, "Reseña del libro *La aventura del cálamo. Historia, formas y artistas de la caligrafía árabe*," *Al-Qantara*, 29/2 (2008), pp. 510–12.

[14] For bibliography on the 10th-century illuminator Ende from Christian Spain, see, in the present volume, Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists' Portraits (9th–12th c.)."

Constructed Images about Women and Architecture in al-Andalus

Frequently, Islamic poetry and literature, including that created in al-Andalus, defined the palace and similar architecture as a place of rest for the ruler, a symbol of his political power, and the place where the beloved wife awaited her lord and master. We are presented with the *topos* of a woman who jealously guards her honour; and just like female beauty, the beauty of architecture was to be displayed on the inside. Doors and windows, for example, were positioned in such a way as to protect the privacy of those within, as though distrustful of the outside world. These characteristics of static, formal beauty and interior space explain the comparison drawn between architectural features and the passive model of woman, an idealized view quite different from the more dynamic realities in which women "made" architecture.

Of all the correlations, that between architecture and the bride, especially during the Naṣrid Dynasty (1231/37–1492), was one of the most frequent. Attention to this trope has been drawn in traditional historiography by Arabists, including Emilio García Gómez in his various works on the poems of the Alhambra (Figs. 1, 2), and María Jesús Rubiera Mata on the poets of the palace-city.[15] An analysis of these texts reveals that in the poetry written for the Alhambra and carved on its walls, there are specific mentions of certain rulers but so far no individualized references to women have been found.[16] They are mentioned only as an abstract entity, dominated mainly by the image of the bride, with some references to daughters and female slaves, but these are always general and form part of a clearly metaphorical exercise. An association between the bride and the beautiful building is the most frequent: women with rich bridal dresses on raised litters appear like an ornately decorated *miḥrāb*; the *tacas* (elaborate niches) are likened to the throne in which the bride was displayed during long wedding celebrations; the dome-shaped roofs are compared with the brides when they are taken before the groom (Figs. 3, 4); the lounges are newly-wed brides who offer their beauty to the wedding party. A marvellous game of words and sensations, such analogies

[15] Emilio García Gómez, *Poemas árabes en los muros y fuentes de la Alhambra* (Madrid, 1985); Emilio García Gómez, *Foco de antigua luz sobre la Alhambra* (Madrid, 1988); María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *Ibn al-Ŷayyāb. El otro poeta de la Alhambra* (Granada, 1994).

[16] Work is still continuing on the epigraphic corpus of the Alhambra. A CD-ROM relating to the Palace of Comares has recently been published in Spanish and English: *Corpus epigráfico de la Alhambra. Palacio de Comares* (Granada, 2007).

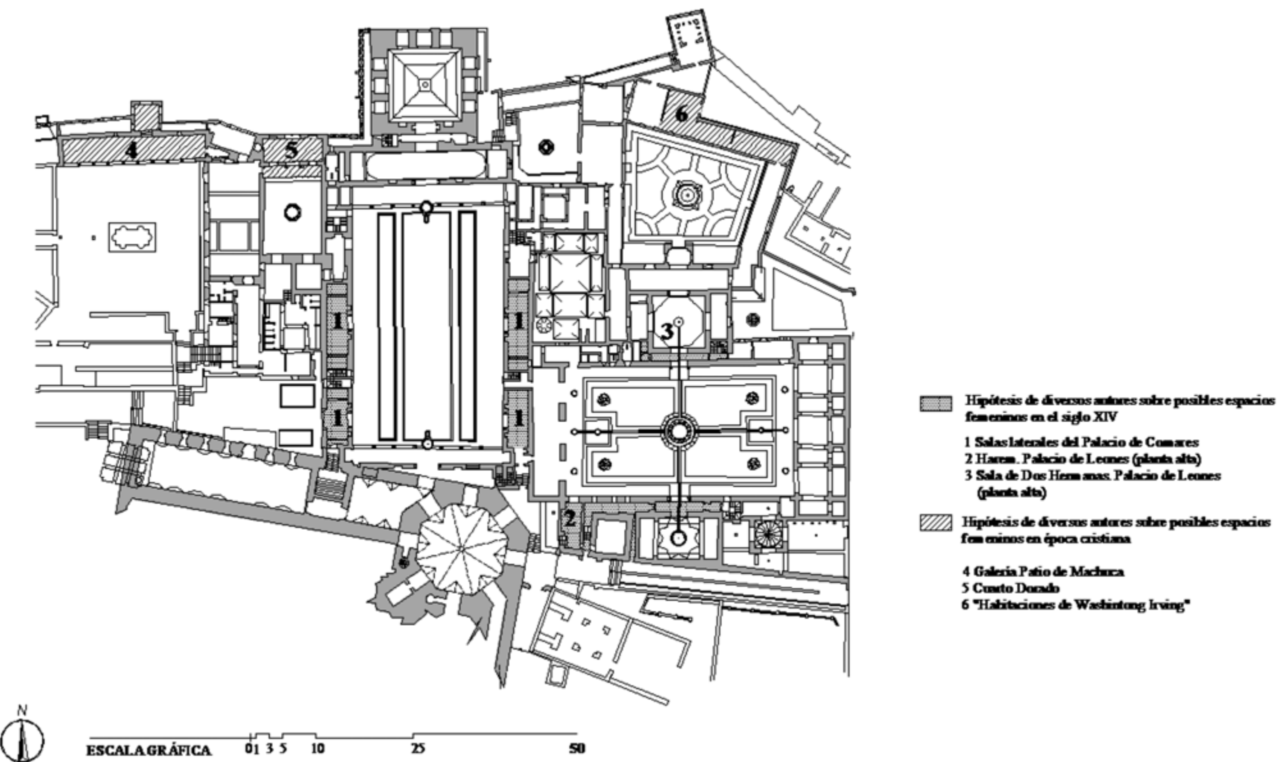

Figure 1 Plan, Palace of Comares and Palace of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada. Hypothetical women's spaces, 14th–15th c. (Nasrid period) and 16th c. (Mudejar/Christian period). (M.E. Díez Jorge).

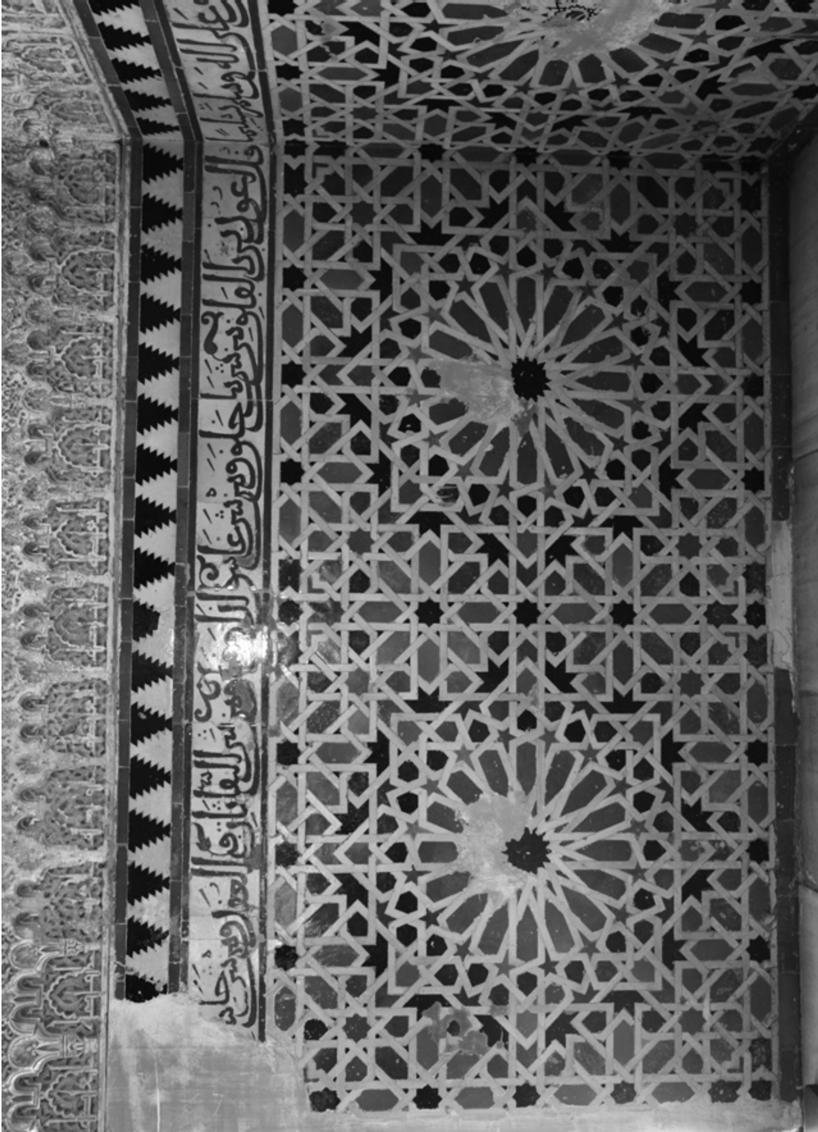

Figure 2 Inscriptions, Tower of the Captive, Alhambra, 14th c. (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

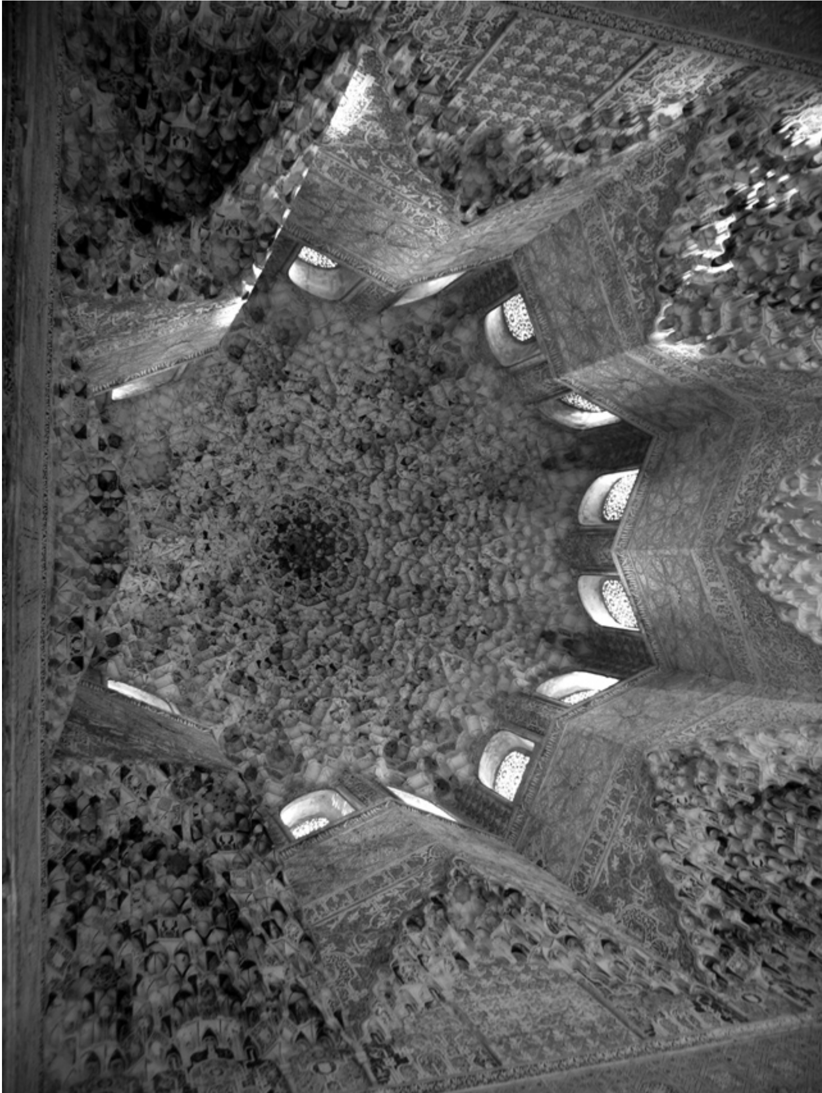

Figure 3 Dome decorated with *muqarnas*, Hall of the Abencerrajes, Palace of the Lions, Alhambra, 14th c. (Photo: Vicente del Amo).

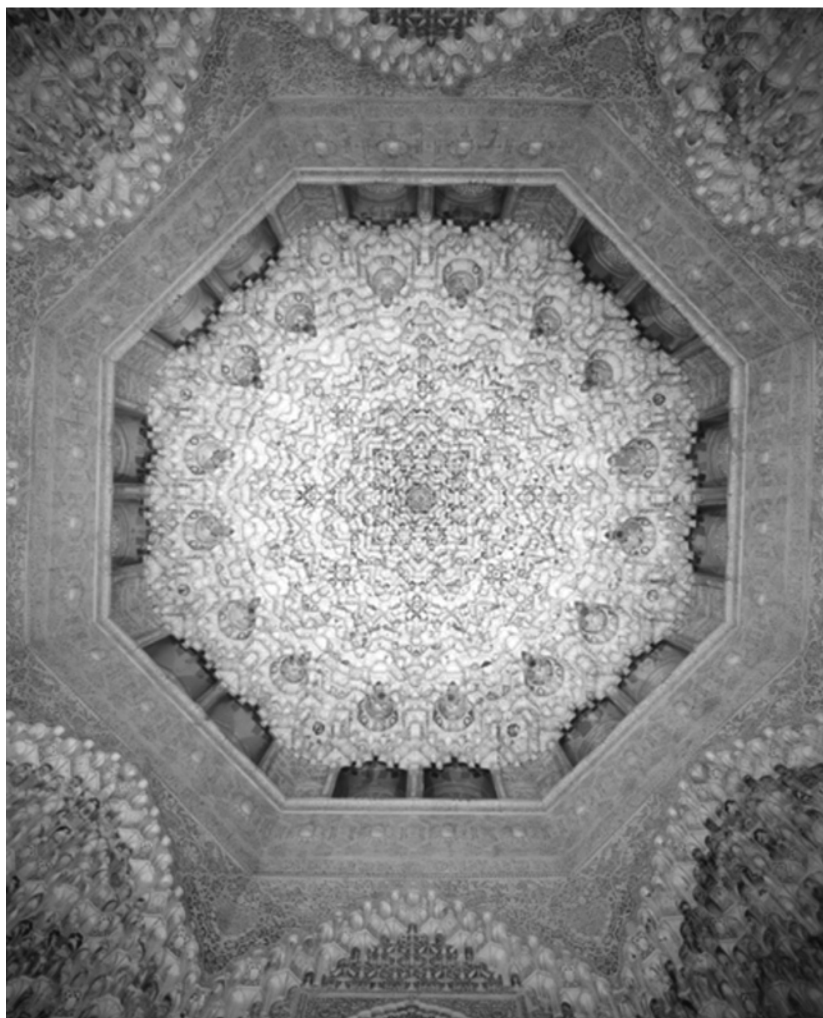

Figure 4 Dome of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, Alhambra, 14th c. (Photo: Vicente del Amo).

consolidate the image of subjugation with a peculiar symbiosis between the masculine and the feminine.[17]

In the Arabic poetry of al-Andalus, buildings are often compared with the image of a young woman: the arches are like a maiden's eyebrows, the rivers in a landscape are like her wrist, and the bridges her bracelets, while palaces are as a beauty spot on her cheek. The beauty of a building is like a young woman blessed with vitality and fertility. This frequent, repetitive association should not prevent us from contextualizing the concept of beauty in all its varied dimensions, as there are other cases in which, without the subject of reference being clear, the translator or the person interpreting the piece has presented it as a woman. José Miguel Puerta Vílchez refers to the criticisms made by some scholars regarding the historiographically common view of pre-Islamic aesthetics, for example the *Jāhilī* poetry in which attention has been paid to the association of beauty with women, when in reality their concept of beauty was much richer and also included men and nature.[18] This author cites various references to masculine beauty and presents other cases in which it is impossible to know whether a beautiful face refers to that of a man or a woman, an aspect that was also highlighted in Henri Pérès' classic work.[19]

We can compare the metaphors produced by male poets with those of their female counterparts. According to Celia del Moral, in poems attributed to women, there is a striking absence of physical descriptions of their beloveds, or even of their vestments.[20] The anthologies so far compiled of the works of female poets in al-Andalus reveal few descriptions of the object of their love: little more than a cherry mouth, a face like the sun, bewitching eyes, a cheek like a rose.[21] In general these female poets did not indulge in metaphors comparing their beloved to striking architectural features, although they do mention the places designated for romantic rendezvous.

These comparisons between architecture and female beauty in Arabic sources from al-Andalus contrast starkly with contemporary descriptions

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[17] Interesting reflections were made by José Miguel Puerta Vílchez in his analysis comparing architecture with the bride, with specific references to the Alhambra: *Los códigos de utopía de la Alhambra de Granada* (Granada, 1990), pp. 148–54.

[18] José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe. Al-Andalus y la estética árabe clásica* (Madrid, 1997), p. 56.

[19] Henri Pérès, *Esplendor de Al-Andalus. La poesía andaluza en árabe clásico en el siglo XI. Sus aspectos generales, sus principales temas y su valor documental*, trans. Mercedes García Arenal (Madrid, 1983; first ed. Paris, 1937).

[20] del Moral, "Poesía de mujer, poesía de hombre."

[21] María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *Poesía femenina hispanoárabe* (Madrid, 1989).

by poets from the Christian kingdoms. These have little in common with the characterization of Andalusi architecture as "effeminate" or "feminine" bandied about so often in the works of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century western writers. This definition of Andalusi architecture was often used in a derogatory sense, as a result of their supposed love of ornamental follies, of the luxuries and the pleasures enjoyed in their rooms and halls, and because of their alleged architectural irrationality that was hidden under so much ornate decoration.[22] Many examples could be quoted but a frequently repeated comparison was between the sensual, feminine architecture of al-Andalus and the more "virile" architecture of the Christian kingdoms.[23]

Another interesting aspect of these contrasting images of men and women lies in the compendium of tales, legends, and stories about al-Andalus in which men are the ones who found cities and palaces, while women, real or imaginary, have merely passive roles. At best they are announcers or inspirers of events, but never makers or performers. The theoretical horizon for the construction of buildings lay in the mythical example of the Temple of Solomon, which Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) claimed was erected in honour of Venus.[24] The active force is the ruler (a man), but the impulse that drives him to create is a woman. Some work has been done on this question, but it is still necessary to carry out a comparative analysis of the legends of al-Andalus, such as that recently

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[22] Discussed further in María Elena Díez Jorge, *El arte mudéjar: expresión estética de una convivencia* (Granada-Teruel, 2001), pp. 52–58.

[23] García Gómez, *Foco de antigua luz*, pp. 66, 199–200, proposed that the changes made by King Carlos V in the area of the Lindaraja and the Peinador de la Reina (Queen's Boudoir) in the Alhambra of Granada were part of his desire to neutralize and feminize the Naṣrid palaces as he wanted this area to be regarded as the "harem or sensual residence." There are, however, other connotations of the "femaleness" of Andalusi architecture for which more research is required, as, for example, a description of the Alhambra by Matilda Betham-Edwards, who travelled to Spain in 1866. She states: "What never ceases to amaze me is the wealth and delicacy, one could almost say, femininely worked and finished, of each of its parts." Extracts from the works of this English traveller can be found in María Antonia López de Burgos, *Viajeras en la Alhambra* (Seville, 2007), pp. 163–173. Having said that, in works from the Mudejar period I have yet to find a direct characterization of the art of al-Andalus as "feminine." See María Elena Díez Jorge, "Algunas percepciones cristianas de la alteridad artística en el medioevo peninsular," *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada*, 30 (1999), pp. 29–47.

[24] There are a number of other mythical tales that appear in Arabic sources but do not appear in those from al-Andalus, such as the Persian palace of Shīrīn, the wife of Parwīz, who asked her husband the king to build her a palace like none other ever built before. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *La arquitectura en la literatura árabe: datos para una estética del placer*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1988), p. 42.

proposed by Christine Mazzoli Guintard of the astrological associations linking the city of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ with Venus and Cairo with Mars.[25]

It is important to search through the sources at the time these legends appear so as to understand how they came about and were maintained. A case in point is Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, which was founded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. 912–961) at the behest of his beautiful lover al-Zahrāʾ (Figs. 5, 6). The legend told that the city was paid for with the money of a concubine and that rather than an act of power, it was a demonstration of the Caliph's love. This tale also served as an example of the extravagances to which a ruler would go when he let himself be advised by a woman. Today the construction of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ is generally viewed as an exercise of power on the part of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, as was the addition of a grand minaret to the Great Mosque of Córdoba. It is, however, undeniable that the evocation of the feminine and the supposed inspiration by a woman are present in the constructive poetry of this space. It has been suggested that the name itself, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (the Resplendent One), and the choice of the site, a "virgin" hill that was going to be fertilized, signified an attractive "nuptial and feminizing metaphor for the place," to be compared with the anecdote about the sowing by al-Muʿtamid (r. 1069–1091) of almond trees in the fields of Seville for his beloved Rumaykiyya (Iʿtimād).[26] The images constructed around Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ are perhaps the most representative associations linking architecture and women, a link that was beautifully yet harshly reflected in an eleventh-century text, which described the decline of this palace-city, once a splendid bride but now abandoned like a decrepit hag.[27]

This foundation story of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ is one of the best-known legends in which a woman inspired a great building. When explaining the origins of other constructions, generally pre-Islamic, the Arabic sources on al-Andalus often resorted to stereotypes in which princesses organized a test for their suitors, linked to some form of architecture like bridges

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[25] Christine Mazzoli Guintard, "Récits de fondation de Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: la construction d'un mythe des origines en terre d'islam," in *Ab urbe condita. Fonder et refonder la ville: récits et représentations* (*second Moyen Âge-premier XVI*^e^ *siècle*), ed. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan (Pau, 2011), pp. 77–90.

[26] José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, "Ensoñación y construcción del lugar en Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ," in *Paisaje y Naturaleza en al-Andalus*, ed. Fátima Roldán Castro (Granada, 2004), pp. 313–38.

[27] A translation of the Qalāʾid by Ibn Khāqān, which was transmitted through the work of al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, can be found in Puerta Vílchez, "Ensoñación y construcción," p. 334.

Figure 5 Madīnat al-Zahrā', 10th c., near Córdoba (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

Figure 6 Virtual recreation of part of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (Antonio Almagro Gorbea, image by M. González, LAAC, EEA, CSIC).

or aqueducts. The women set the "construction" test and the men had to show their wisdom and their ability to carry it out successfully.[28] This idea of the woman as a source of inspiration continued later in al-Andalus in certain *textos aljamiados* (Romance language written in Arabic script), such as *El Baño del Ziryāb* in which the wife of a rich man from Córdoba in the time of al-Manṣūr (r. 981–1002, known in Christian writings as Almanzor) is the muse for the construction of a bath. On other occasions women announce or act as "messengers," bringing news of the construction or the foundation of a city, as in the case of the old woman who announces to al-Ḥakam II (r. 961–976) the site on which she had heard,

[28] Julia Hernández Juberías, *La Península Imaginaria. Mitos y leyendas sobre al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1996), p. 259 and following. According to Hernández Juberías, these stories were popular folk tales, the intention of which was to explain the origin of the building, which required wisdom rather than physical strength.

in the distant past, that a palace would be erected, the future Madīnat al-Zāhira (the Flourishing, Shining one) built by al-Manṣūr.[29]

No doubt most of these tales are the product of pure invention, although at a certain level they may contain some truth. They all form part of a set of images constructed in order to socialize and educate by providing models of behaviour. They present us with a woman who does not execute or manage architectural constructions, an oft-repeated image in patriarchal societies. But this image is not universal. The picture painted in Arabic sources differs from that provided by the Romantics and Orientalists who, in their nineteenth-century western versions of history, showed the excesses of the courts of al-Andalus, which they considered to be replete with luxuries and where women were the centres of the despotic pleasure of men, although eunuchs were also represented to add a touch of exoticism and as an example of Arabic cruelty.

Assessments of the situation of women in al-Andalus had already been made prior to the nineteenth century. These were normally critical of the supposed tyranny of the "Arabs" over women, based on the view that men held the dominant position in Islamic society. In reality, the orientalising views by westerners about architectural spaces such as the harem were themselves examples of a "colonial" masculinity, of a patriarchy that dominated not only women but also other cultures regarded as inferior. One example is the bath or *ḥammām*. In Andalusian culture baths were lauded because they helped users to achieve both the inner pleasure of the soul and the external benefits of a clean body. For many western travellers, however, baths such as the one in the Palace of Comares in the Alhambra were temples of sexual pleasure for men over women (Fig. 7). Western engravings and written descriptions associate this area with women merely as the object of male desire. More detailed research can help us to change this image of women. Several years ago I published a study based on archival documents that spoke of a sixteenth-century woman who was working on the renovation and maintenance of the

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[29] See Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, p. 171. There are other tales from different periods and different parts of the world in which the figure of a woman can be discerned. These include the legend about the foundation of Fez in which the inscription on the sculpture of a woman announced that a temple would be erected on this site. This tale is referred to in José Antonio González Alcantud, "Al-Andalus y las ciudades meridionales. Intemporalidad y transformación de los mitos de fundación," in *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste. Siglos XVII–XXI*, ed. Manuela Marín (Madrid, 2009), pp. 21–50.

Figure 7 Bath of Comares, Alhambra, 14th c., redecoration 16th c. (Photo: Vicente del Amo).

Comares bath.[30] In this case, it could be shown that a woman formed part of the history of this space, but now as an active participant in building work rather than an object of desire. The story of Isabel de Robles will be discussed in greater detail below.

It should also be noted that the western historical studies which we have tended to group together under the common categories of colonialist or Orientalist were not a totally homogeneous group. Firstly not all the opinions, writings, and literature produced by western writers after the fall of al-Andalus in 1492 can be considered "colonial."[31] What is more, many of these travellers and scholars, including those who can be strictly

[30] María Elena Díez Jorge, "Purificación y placer: el agua y las mil y una noches en los Baños de Comares," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 40 (2004), pp. 123–50, and "Mujeres en la Alhambra: Isabel de Robles y el Baño de Comares," *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada*, 37 (2006), pp. 45–55.

[31] In other contexts see the interesting work of Bernadette Andrea, who argues that 16th-century England was not a colonial power, although many authors have talked of colonialism in its relations with the Ottoman Empire. She also highlights the significant

defined as nineteenth-century Orientalists, raised new questions: possible spaces occupied by women, the use of methods for comparison with other parts of the Islamic world, and a new interest in the study of everyday life, in which the rise of archaeology and the analysis of material forms of culture played an important part.

Distinctions must, therefore, be drawn among the different written sources. The descriptions set out in the first histories of cities, which began to proliferate in Spain at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, had objectives unlike those in the accounts of travellers. Further, an untapped line of study would be to trace the process of construction of the imagery prevalent in the literary genre of the historical novel, which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. While novels create stereotypes, they can also cut away myth to present a distinctive vision of the past. In the same way, we can explore the spaces assigned to and built for the women of al-Andalus through the eyes of photography, cinema, and painting.[32] These legends, tales, studies, or travel books should be examined from the viewpoint of gender. Although in some cases men and women adopted similar approaches in their writings, in others there were notable differences. Many architectural studies were written by men, from the earliest academic interest in the artwork of al-Andalus (late 18th to early 19th c.) to the famous tales written by foreign travellers. At an academic level it was not until well into the twentieth century that the first scholarship on al-Andalus was written by women. We do, however, have good literary examples of women travellers who committed to paper their ideas on some of the most significant buildings of al-Andalus and who until recently had hardly ever been mentioned, with the exception perhaps of *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* written by the Countess D'Aulnoy in 1679.[33] The patriarchal system established in western societies prevented many of these female travellers from publishing their works in academic journals, but travel writing, despite being considered a lesser literary genre, offered them a means to present rigorous historical and artistic analyses of the places they visited. It has been

differences among the various texts depending on author, era, and purpose. Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2007).

[32] There is a great deal of bibliography on this question, but I would particularly like to note the valuable comments, especially regarding painting, made in the chapter on women and the harem by Lily Lituak, *El jardín de Aláh. Temas del exotismo musulmán en España, 1880–1913* (Granada, 1985), pp. 100–08.

[33] Marie Catherine D'Aulnoy, *Viaje por España en 1679* (Barcelona, 2000).

asserted that the writings on the Orient by some of these women broke with the stereotypes produced by male writers and offered an alternative vision.[34] A careful reading of the work of these female travellers shows, for example, that there were very few references to the stereotypical views of the harem and the despotism of Muslims. While it is true that their works retold legends and anecdotes about women from al-Andalus, it is also a fact that they largely eliminated the Orientalist opinions about the *ḥūrī* and slavery.[35]

The Involvement of Women in the Building and Buildings of al-Andalus

The title of this section seeks to emphasize the fact that on many occasions the frontiers between the physical making of a building and the patronage required to bring it about are not always clear; it can be difficult to know exactly where the specifications of the patron end and those of the material executor of the work begin. As is well known, the patron did not always play a passive role. On the contrary, donors could be deeply involved in the projects that they were funding. If we focus specifically on women, given the advances that have been made in historiographical terms in recent years, we can state unequivocally that they were indeed patrons of architecture in al-Andalus. However, they are generally cast as passive subjects in the building process: they occupy the house or the palace, but they do not construct, design, or create.

The time has come to investigate architectural patronage in al-Andalus in greater depth, exploring individual and gender-based peculiarities. Some women may have promoted transgressions of conventional artistic

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[34] Some of these female travellers chose to highlight elements that Eastern and Western women had in common, as presented in Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, 1991), and Susan Morgan, *Place Matters*: *Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1996). Other works defending the idea that female travellers produced a different kind of literature include Alberto Egea Fernández-Montesinos, ed., *Viajeras Románticas en Andalucía. Una antología* (Seville, 2008), p. 17. He cites, for example, Katharine Lee Bates, an American who travelled to Spain in 1899 and was a good example of how women were not interested in the Orientalist stereotypes about al-Andalus. He also cites (p. 79 onwards) the women created by Washington Irving or Richard Ford. In contrast, others claim that there were no significant differences between male and female authors, including Elena Echevarría Pereda, *Andalucía y las viajeras francesas en el siglo XIX* (Málaga, 1995), p. 12.

[35] These writings have been collected by María Antonia López de Burgos, *A Portrait of Spanish Women in Travellers' Literature* (Melbourne, 2000), and *Viajeras en la Alhambra* (Seville, 2007).

models, while others favoured continuity by following the styles in vogue. For this reason, the best way to analyse the roles played by women in architectural patronage is to correlate them with the roles played by men, and then apply a gender perspective in all its dimensions. The roles assigned to women on the basis of their gender, for example, could have influenced the types of buildings they commissioned. An analysis of current bibliography shows that in al-Andalus women's architectural patronage revolved especially around pious works. This information drawn from written sources would benefit from a comparison with surviving structures in order to analyse specific cases from a stylistic point of view. No research has as yet been done into possible stylistic traits that might result from women's patronage.

Although such questions have not been raised in relation to architecture, research with similar ends has been conducted for poetry, with the general conclusion that there were more differences in terms of content than style.[36] In poetry the possible influence of female slaves and Christian women on certain types of poems has also been proposed. It is thus not unreasonable to imagine that these *Rūmiyya* (Christian slave-girls who had embraced Islam), for whom there are quite a number of connections with the sovereign families of al-Andalus, could also have influenced aesthetic and architectural tastes.[37] Eunuchs, who likewise were not Arabs, may also have played a part.[38] We must find out more about the patronage of the arts by women in al-Andalus by exploring their possible participation in decisions about aesthetic aspects of architecture and art in general. These decisions have often been attributed by historians to the monarch alone on the basis of documentary evidence that cites him as the patron

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[36] del Moral, "Poesía de mujer," has noted that the women poets of al-Andalus did not write about the subject of war, they paid less attention to physical aspects than men, and focused less on sensuality.

[37] See especially D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34/1 (2004), pp. 65–94.

[38] Cristina de la Puente, "Sin linaje, sin alcurnia, sin hogar: eunucos en al-Andalus en la época omeya," in *Identidades marginales*, ed. Cristina de la Puente (Madrid, 2003), pp. 147–93. The author presents varied information about architectural patronage by eunuchs in the court of the Caliphs, and of their properties, including farms and mosques that bore their names, and about the architectural knowledge they must have had, as for example Naṣr, a eunuch who served under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (r. 822–852) and supervised the building works in the castle of the Caliph and those of the extension to the Great Mosque of Córdoba. For patronage by eunuchs and women of the court, see also, in this volume, Glaire D. Anderson, "Concubines, Eunuchs, and Patronage in Early Islamic Córdoba."

of a particular building, but the other powerful members of the court were also likely to have had an impact.

Although as noted above, architecture was not regarded as a major art in al-Andalus, in practice the rulers were well aware of its power. They wanted to appear as the great creators, those who produced the original grand idea, many ranks above mere engineers. The rulers invented formulas to help justify their ambitions and excesses in the face of criticism such as that levelled by al-Mundhir at ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. 912–961) regarding the palace of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ or of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313–1374) against the Naṣrid Sultan Muḥammad V (r. 1354–1390) for his love of buildings. The construction of palaces was justified by repeated allusions to King Solomon, or in the case of mosques by the fact that they were pious works. Women also understood the power of architecture. The propaganda value of a great building, which could inspire both fear and admiration in those who beheld it, can explain the architectural patronage of men and women at the highest circles of power.[39] Arabic sources place the sponsorship by men and women on the same level, as in the end it contributed to the grandeur of the governing family, who in this way could demonstrate their virtues of generosity and piety.

Most of the documentation studied to date refers to this sphere of power although significant gaps remain to be filled. There are a number of excellent studies on the participation of women in architectural patronage in the Caliphate of Córdoba, a subject masterfully treated by Manuela Marín, while similar studies for Granada under the Naṣrids are lacking. Córdoba has also been investigated by Gloria López de la Plaza, who shows that architectural patronage centred on foundations of a religious nature (mosques, cemeteries, buildings for lepers).[40] It is important to point out that regardless of whether or not women actually went to mosques, they often sponsored the construction of these and other public buildings.[41]

[39] This role of architecture as a symbol of power, in which the ruler is the centre of attention and references to women always treat them on the basis of the prestige of their lineage, was studied in a doctoral thesis by Francisco Juez Juarros, "Símbolos de poder en la arquitectura de Al-Andalus," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2000.

[40] Gloria López de la Plaza, *Al-Andalus: mujeres, sociedad y religión* (Málaga, 1992).

[41] To date, we have not uncovered any evidence of female patronage in al-Andalus of certain types of buildings such as *madrasas*. There is, however, evidence of female patronage of *madrasas* in other geographical contexts, such as the foundation by a woman in Cairo in the 15th century. See Manuela Marín, "Educar a las mujeres en el Islam clásico: saberes, espacios, normas," in *La Madraza: pasado, presente y futuro*, eds. Rafael López Guzmán and María Elena Díez Jorge (Granada, 2007), pp. 25–41.

However, such studies are still few and far between and there are important absences in the historiography. The Alhambra is a case in point, deserving of a more detailed analysis here.[42] The travellers who visited the Alhambra in the Late Middle Ages can be regarded as the "first scholars" of the monument. In these writings the most frequent references are to the Sultans, and there are few mentions of women in the Alhambra of the Naṣrids. After the conquest of Granada by Castile and Aragón in 1492, the references to Naṣrid women in the Alhambra are also very scarce. The first histories of Granada were published in the seventeenth century, and after the expulsion of the Moriscos (Muslims converted to Christianity under duress, in territories formerly Islamic) in 1609–1610, they tried to explain the excesses and bad habits of the Moriscos by referring back to the bad behaviour of the Muslims, including their treatment of women. From the eighteenth century onwards a number of guides and histories of the city appeared in which Arabic sources were used for documentation. These included frequent references by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313–1374) for the reign of Muḥammad V (r. 1354–1390) and Hernando de Baeza in the time of Muḥammad XII (r. 1485–1486). In the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historiography, the ideas presented about possible functions and inhabitants of the palaces were very general and contained few references to women for either the Naṣrid or the Christian Alhambra. Perhaps the most notable of these rare female figures were Zoraya (Isabel de Solís) and the crazed love she aroused in Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Muley Hacén, r. 1354–1390), and Fāṭima (also known as ʿĀʾisha), the mother of Muḥammad XI (Boabdil, r. 1482–1492). Women were normally portrayed as sources of palace intrigue and general discord, the ultimate cause of the downfall of the Naṣrid Kingdom. However, the association of women with treachery and tedium was also frequent during the al-Andalus period.[43] The term "intrigue" has repeatedly been used within patriarchal systems to describe the power exercised by women through the gender role assigned to them. These opinions were not only frequent in imaginative works of fiction, such as those by Washington Irving, or in the "studies" by James Cavanah Murphy, but were also to be found in scholarly publications, such as the introduction by Pascual Gayangos, a professor of

[42] María Elena Díez Jorge, "Las mujeres en la ciudad palatina de la Alhambra, ¿una presencia olvidada?," in *Arqueología y Género*, ed. Margarita Sánchez Romero (Granada, 2005), pp. 383–420.

[43] This is the case of Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī (13th century) who said that this criticism was often aimed at women. Puerta Vílchez, *Historia del pensamiento*, p. 387.

Arabic, to the work of Owen Jones. Gayangos gave new life to a number of old stereotypes, such as claiming that the obvious cause of the break-up of the Naṣrid Kingdom was the jealousy of a woman.[44]

It was in such circumstances as these that women have been referred to in works on the Alhambra. Most of the studies by writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century focused their descriptions of the Alhambra on certain spaces, above all the male-dominated areas used for matters of protocol, while the more domestic, everyday functions of the various buildings tended to be neglected. In many cases, it was not so much a question of a rejection of the ordinary aspects of life, but rather a relativisation of what was considered the women's domain. I would suggest that the Naṣrid women, who held a high degree of power, albeit exercised from within their assigned gender roles, must have taken part in the construction and design of the Alhambra.[45] However, these women have been forgotten, erased, or stereotyped. This gap in the historiography affects more than just a major monument like the Alhambra in the Naṣrid period. For most other buildings and periods as well, information about the patronage exercised by women is scarce and scattered;[46] it is time for thorough research on this question to be carried out.

A useful approach to this subject is the study of properties owned by women. Although some properties were inherited, others were newly commissioned. We have records of properties owned by women of the Naṣrid family such as the Alhóndiga Jadīda (Fig. 8), the Dār al-Ḥurra palace, or the properties owned by the mother of Muḥammad XI (r. 1482–1492), but the patronage exercised by these women has yet to be examined in detail. Information about these properties can be found in notary documents and other sources.[47] It has been suggested that the study of place-names

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[44] *Tales of the Alhambra* was first published in 1832 and later revised by the author in 1857. I have used the 1832 version: Washington Irving, *Cuentos de la Alhambra* (Granada, 1998); James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London, 1815); Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London, 1842–1845).

[45] For a different perspective, see D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Eye of Sovereignty: Poetry and Vision in the Alhambra's Lindaraja Mirador," *Gesta*, 36/2 (1997), pp. 180–89.

[46] There are a number of historical records that crop up repeatedly in research, albeit without enabling much progress to be made. A case in point is a commemorative inscription relating to the construction of a minaret for a mosque by Iʿtimād in the kingdom of Seville (11th century), or the reference to Fāṭima, the wife of ʿAlī Ibn Yūsuf, who sponsored the building works for the enlargement of the Great Mosque of Murcia (12th century) during the Almoravid period.

[47] See, for example, the use of other documentary sources concerning the private assets of Andalusi monarchs in the thorough study by Emilio Molina López, "El *mustajlaṣ*

Figure 8 Main access to the Alhóndiga Jadīda (New Grain-Store/Boarding-House), Granada, 14th c. (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

could be a valid means of discovering the spaces that were used or commissioned by women. However, care must be taken with toponyms, as some names only arose later or had little to do with the real function or nature of the building.[48]

There are quite a number of references to properties owned by women, and we know that in general they were able to buy and sell. The legal sources are very clear on this point when they present women as both owners and vendors of properties; further, it seems that they were entitled to manage their assets without their husbands interfering, quite a striking fact if we compare it with the difficulties and obstacles put in the way of women in some Christian kingdoms.[49] The fact that women were owners was a particular feature of the idiosyncrasy of Andalusi society: there are many references in written documents that state in a perfectly natural way that the house belonged to a woman.[50] It can be difficult to assess,

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andalusí (I) (ss. VIII–XI)," *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 13–14 (1999–2000), pp. 99–189.

[48] In the case of Córdoba, Emilio García Gómez raised the possibility that perhaps the feminine names for certain spaces could imply that they were used by women: "Notas sobre la topografía cordobesa," *Al-Andalus*, 30 (1965), pp. 319–79. Marín, *Mujeres en Al-Andalus*, p. 70, has expressed caution about these ideas, arguing that these names do not refer to specific people or to the use of the place by women, but simply to the use of certain names in the feminine form. She does, however, acknowledge that some city districts were named after women who founded a mosque in the area. Although some notes have been made about place-names in the Alhambra, such as the Balcony (*Mirador*) of Lindaraja or Daraxa and the Palace of Dār al-ʿArūsa, an exhaustive study is required to recover the toponyms used in the Naṣrid period with names that appeared later such as the Tower of the Captive Woman or the Tower of the Princesses. Some place names have nothing to do with the "true" names. A slightly later example that is also indicative of this process is the house known as the Casa del Chapiz in Granada (16th century), which was named after Lorenzo el Chapiz, although the house was actually inherited from his wife, Inés Ferí, who in turn had inherited it from her father, Hernando el Ferí. See Camilo Álvarez de Morales, "La casa del Chapiz y la Escuela de Estudios Árabes," *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, 37 (2001), pp. 99–114.

[49] For the case of al-Andalus see Amalia Zomeño, *Dote y matrimonio en Al-Andalus y el Norte de África. Estudio sobre la jurisprudencia medieval* (Madrid, 2000), especially chapters 8–10. For the late Mudejar period and the Moriscos, see María Elena Díez Jorge, "El género en la arquitectura doméstica. Granada en los inicios del siglo XVI," in *Arquitectura doméstica en la Granada Moderna*, ed. Rafael López Guzmán (Granada, 2009), pp. 153–91, and "Mujeres y arquitectura a finales del siglo XV e inicios del XVI en la ciudad de Granada," in *El pergamino de Antequera* (Antequera, 2010), pp. 47–58.

[50] Information that could perhaps be considered anecdotal comes from the fact that a woman could shelter other people in "her" house (in the text it is referred to as hers, but does this mean that the house was her property in a legal sense?). There are examples from the Emirate (8th–10th c.) and Caliphate (10th-11th c.) eras of women who offered shelter in their homes to men who were being persecuted. See Marín, *Mujeres en al-Ándalus*, p. 88 onwards.

however, whether the fact of owning a property implies involvement in its construction or design.[51] We can be certain, for example, about women who made architectural choices and decisions for the design or decoration of their tombs, but this is rarely the case for domestic structures.[52]

In order to learn more about the input made by women at all levels, from the highest circles of power to the less well-off classes, we must also address the roles of women who acted as suppliers, artisans, and unskilled labourers in building works. As regards those technically and materially responsible for construction in al-Andalus, we have very little information about either men or women, above all if we compare it with the documentation available for the Christian kingdoms at the same time. In spite of the alleged anonymity of "architects" in al-Andalus, systematic studies on the subject have identified some names, and this has enabled us to find out more about the technical organization of the building works.[53] The sovereign would be the patron or director-of-honour, with a technical director, and a building inspector, while the actual construction would be performed by master-builders and stone-masons. Written sources show that the executors of civil and military buildings achieved greater recognition and prestige than those responsible for religious architecture.[54]

In the case of women, some studies have been done about their work in al-Andalus as servants, yarn-spinners, nursemaids, and hairdressers, but there are few references to the building trades. As it was a patriarchal society, we should understand that women's access to certain places and professions was forbidden or severely restricted. In the Christian kingdoms, the accounts kept at building works, where women appear only

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[51] In the same way we can imagine the possible involvement in the refitting or maintenance of buildings by women who, although they were not the owners, were responsible for managing the space. It is logical to imagine that women would have managed baths used by women, as occurred in the case studied in Manuela Marín, "Ibn Ḥawṭ, Allāh (m. 612/1215) y dos mujeres de Sevilla," *Al-Qantara*, 29/1 (2008), pp. 209–19.

[52] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Ándalus*, p. 336, draws on al-Wansharīsī for an 11th-century will in which a woman gave directions for her tomb, and she cites as well the documentary evidence for the case of a woman from the Naṣrid period. See also López de la Plaza, *Al-Andalus: mujeres, sociedad y religión*.

[53] Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, "Arquitectos y mano de obra en la construcción de la gran mezquita de Occidente," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 22 (1986), pp. 55–85; Juan Antonio Souto Lasala, "La práctica y la profesión del artista en el Islam: arquitectos y constructores en el al-Andalus omeya," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie VII* (*Historia del Arte*), 10 (1997), pp. 11–34. See also Rafael Cómez, *Los constructores de la España medieval* (Seville, 2001), pp. 31–48.

[54] Ocaña Jiménez, "Arquitectos y mano de obra; Souto Lasala"; "La práctica y la profesión del artista."

rarely, have become one of the main documentary sources for the study of construction history.[55] While parallel accounts are not available for al-Andalus, the systematic examination of *fatwās*, notary documents, and treatises on *ḥisba*, among others, may provide information about women and their building-related jobs, remunerated or otherwise. A future avenue of study in this field might compare the situations of craftswomen, both Mudejar and Morisco. It is true that we are talking about different political contexts, but also about periods of Spanish history that were close together which can shed light on the presence of women in workshops related to the construction business. Here are two hypotheses as examples.

One of the building trades in which we have found references to payments being made to women, both Christian and Muslim, is that of sieving and separating plaster, and whitewashing houses with lime.[56] This occurred relatively frequently. In view of this, it is curious that Ibn ʿAbdūn (Seville, twelfth century) in his treatise on *ḥisba* should call for the prohibition of meetings of women in lime stores, which he interpreted as places in which prostitutes plied their trade: "Men must be prevented from going to lime stores and empty places to be alone with women."[57] Regardless of whether or not prostitutes operated in the lime stores, for Ibn ʿAbdūn the continued presence of women in a particular area always implied that it was a brothel: "Let women be forbidden from washing clothes in the fields, because they soon become bordellos," and "The embroiderers should be forbidden entry to the market, because they are all prostitutes." It would seem that, for this author all women who worked outside the home were meretricious. We can deduce from these comments that, despite official disapproval, women were free to enter markets and fields, and they worked washing clothes and embroidering. We can explain the presence of women in lime stores because they worked there, especially as later records show that this was a job in which women were quite often to be found. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suggest that, just as in the

[55] Shelley E. Roff, "Appropiate to Her Sex? Women's Participation on the Construction Site in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 109–34.

[56] María Elena Díez Jorge, "Relaciones de género en las artesanas mudéjares y las artesanas moriscas," in *Actas del VIII Simposio de Mudejarismo: De mudéjares a moriscos. Una conversión forzada* (Teruel, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 771–82.

[57] I have used the translation by Emilio García Gómez and Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII. El tratado de Ibn ʿAbdūn* (Seville, 1992; 1st ed., Madrid, 1948), pp. 128, 142–143.

Mudejar period, in al-Andalus women were also sieving plaster in storerooms and workshops and taking materials to the building sites.

Another example is the aforementioned case of Isabel de Robles who worked in the Alhambra, now in the hands of the Christians, as the visible head of a workshop that supplied building tiles.[58] She was thought to be an old Christian (those who were Christians prior to the forced conversions of 1501–1502), who was married to Alonso Hernández, a Morisco (also known as a new Christian). When her husband died, she inherited and carried on the pottery workshop until her son came of age. Although we do not know exactly when Alonso Hernández died, evidence suggests it must have been around the end of the 1520s as this is when Isabel de Robles begins to appear in the documentation. It is likely that the workshop had been in business since before 1492, during the Naṣrid period, and that Isabel then worked unpaid in the family atelier. In Mudejar and new Christian businesses, husbands and wives often worked side by side, and we have found documentary evidence of this especially in pottery workshops. For reasons of chronological proximity, it is, therefore, probable that these family-run workshops so typical of the Mudejars and Moriscos already existed at least in the final stages of the Naṣrid period.

Distribution of the Different Areas from a Gender Perspective: Public and Private Domains in the Architecture of al-Andalus

It is often said that women in al-Andalus rarely entered public spaces, but this idea must be qualified. Current research shows that the real situation was more complex and that the frontiers between public and private were not so clearly defined. The historiographical dichotomy between public and private spaces was initially useful but did not explain the multitude of different functions that applied to a single space, as happened in medieval times and also in al-Andalus. In addition, the attribution of public areas to men and private areas to women was not as strict or as straightforward as

[58] The role played by Isabel de Robles in the Alhambra was not one of a craftswoman working directly on-site. Although she may have participated in the different stages of production, her relationship with the Alhambra was that of a "supplier." This business relationship explains why Isabel de Robles was paid the same as other tile-makers. She did not receive a wage—the normal custom at the time was that men were paid considerably higher wages than women—and instead she was paid according to the number of pieces she supplied at a rate that was stipulated in municipal ordinances. See Díez Jorge, "Mujeres en la Alhambra."

once assumed. Men had private spaces and were also part of the domestic domain, while women at times entered the public sphere, on occasions in breach of what was expected of them, and at others acting in public within their assigned gender roles.

We cannot confine women to this private realm without taking into account that this "privacy" could also influence public aspects of life, a fact that could explain the criticisms made in some Arabic sources of the excessive influence of the women of the palace. This strongly suggests that they exercised power over the public domain from the position or role allocated to them on the basis of their gender.

Although we must not forget that this was a patriarchal society and that women tended to lead secluded lives, advances in research have enabled us to qualify the statement that a woman's place was in the home. For one thing, domestic duties extended beyond the physical threshold of the house (washing clothes in rivers and other communal washing-places), some women worked outside the house (bakers, nursemaids, and maid-servants, who did not sleep in the house where they worked), and they went to different parts of the city (cemeteries, mosques, baths, markets, and the homes of other women or relatives). The reality was both complex and dynamic as women participated in life outside the home. In addition the degree of "confinement" varied according to the age and marital status of the woman, with married and young women being most tightly controlled, while the elderly had more freedom to circulate and share spaces with men.

Recent advances in research mean that we are now at a point where we can move from generalizations to the study of specific cases that allow us to understand the variable historicity of the separation of spaces according to gender. There are a number of different studies about the different parts of the city that were visited or occupied by women, one of the first by Mikel Epalza.[59] The author based his analysis on the divisions normally used when describing the cities of al-Andalus, distinguishing between the open periphery (including cemeteries and fields) and urban areas.[60]

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[59] Mikel Epalza, "La mujer en el espacio urbano musulmán," in *La mujer en al-Andalus*, ed. María Jesús Viguera, pp. 53–60. Later works include Victoria Aguilar and Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres en el espacio urbano de Al-Andalus," in *Casas y palacios de al-Andalus. Siglos XII y XIII*, ed. Julio Navarro Palazón (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 39–44.

[60] More recently Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo noted that the *madīna* (city) probably underwent different processes of constitution, expansion, saturation, and overflow. This led them to the conclusion that the dichotomy between open and urban spaces was not so clear, as confirmed by the fact that there were green areas and

Epalza's article is important in that it was the first time that a researcher had tried to elucidate the different areas of the towns and cities of al-Andalus in which women were often to be found. More recent research has confirmed the diversity of cities in al-Andalus, and the complexity and rich variety of their lay-out and development. An important factor in the evolution of these cities was social change, including possible shifts in the understanding of gender relations and the urban spaces that were shared or forbidden. We must be open to the range of possibilities, identifying the different customs in use in the various towns and cities, the differences between historical periods, and the varying statuses of women.

Research based on legal treatises has been used to classify certain areas in the cities of al-Andalus as places used by women. However, these treatises must be understood as the views of a particular writer or as theoretical rules to which a society may aspire. It is important to distinguish between these theories and the rules arising from direct social practice, which can be more flexible and dynamic.[61] It is clear that there were also a number of established albeit unwritten rules that were considered socially correct. For example, the precise separation of spaces between the men and women of the palace was a desirable objective which they sought. If the division was breached, they broke with established decorum. An excellent example was Ismāʿīl II, who was considered effeminate because he chose to live in the same part of the Alhambra as his mother and sisters, a description cited by his contemporary, the poet and vizier, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313–1374).[62] The need for this separation was justified by the belief that rulers who lived too close to their women were liable to make mistakes and appear weak, an accusation thrown at the Taifa King al-Muʿtamid (r. 1069–1091) for showing a particular weakness for one of his

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cemeteries within the city walls. Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, "Sobre la ciudad islámica y su evolución," in *Estudios de arqueología dedicados a la profesora Ana María Muñoz Amilibia*, ed. Sebastián F. Ramallo Asensio (Murcia, 2003), pp. 319–81. These authors have since published other works and articles on the same subject. See also the many works by Christine Mazzoli-Guintard on cities, and above all the variety in terms of morphology and layout which she studies in detail in her monograph, *Ciudades de al-Andalus* (Granada, 2000).

[61] This distinction, for example, was established in Rafael Valencia Rodríguez, "La mujer y el espacio público de las ciudades andalusíes," in *Saber y vivir: mujer, antigüedad y medioevo*, eds. María Isabel Calero Secall and Rosa Francia Somalo (Málaga, 1996), pp. 115–25.

[62] "[Ismāʿīl II] had a beautiful figure and a handsome build; he was effeminate, weak, due to his reclusion and his living together with women, immersed in pleasure, lacking in energy and soft." Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Lamḥa al-badriyya* (*El resplandor de la luna llena*). *Historia de los Reyes de la Alhambra*, trans. José María Casciaro Ramírez (Granada, 1998), p. 143.

wives, Iʿtimād. Subsequent historiography has consolidated and accentuated such opinions.[63] In reality, these criticisms both in Arabic sources and in later histories responded to the fear of possible transgressions of the established patriarchal orders in terms of sexuality, the assignment of roles, and the distribution of architectural spaces.[64]

On many occasions these rules and legal treatises have been used to classify a society as being more or less patriarchal, but in practice it could be quite flexible, a fact which highlights the need to compare and contrast sources. In this sense some interesting reflections have been made on the prohibition of women in mosques, a subject that was examined specifically for al-Andalus by Manuela Marín.[65] The author analyses the eleventh-century writings of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb and Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064), and their two quite different visions of women in al-Andalus, particularly on the question of their presence in mosques. For ʿAbd al-Malik, the prophet Muḥammad did not prohibit women from going to

[63] In the introduction by Emilio García Gómez to the edition of the Memoirs of ʿAbd Allāh, an 11th-century text, he describes the Zīrī ruler as follows: "He was an incompetent prince, raised in the *serrallo*," and "he was to suffer the close watch kept over him by his mother and the women of the palace." Évariste Lévi-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez, trans., *El siglo XI en primera persona. Las "Memorias" de ʿAbd Allāh, último Rey Zīrí de Granada, destronado por los almohades (1090)* (Madrid, 1980), p. 15.

[64] Much criticism has rained down on women for moving beyond their assigned spaces, both in sources from the al-Andalus period and in subsequent historiography. Such was the case of the female poet Wallāda (1010?–1091), who transgressed in both form and space. Pérès, *Esplendor de Al-Andalus*, p. 429, described Wallāda as "butch" (*garçonne*) because of the relationships he believed she had with another woman and because she had short hair. These views of Wallāda have been well studied by Teresa Garulo, who also tried to explode the myth of this woman as a "man-eater." Teresa Garulo Muñoz, "La biografía de Wallāda, toda problemas," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 20 (2009), pp. 97–116. We should also remember the case of the bearded woman from Tudela, mentioned in 11th-century Arabic sources, who travelled around and generally did what men did until it was discovered that she was a woman, and she was ordered to travel in the company of a male relative. With regard to women dressed as men or looking like men, see Marín, *Mujeres en al-Ándalus*, p. 679, and the curious hypothesis put forward by Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty," p. 74, who suggests that this behaviour could have been a way of attracting the attention of a particular sovereign. We must not forget that a hegemonic masculinity was also constructed, in the sense of certain judgmental opinions that Arabic sources expressed about the sexuality of the Caliph al-Ḥakam II of Córdoba (r. 961–976), who was said to have been removed from all earthly pleasures by his father and who as a young man had been prevented from having children. Even so, homosexual relationships were treated in very different ways both by the society of the time and by subsequent historians of the period; an example was the way in which masculine erotic poetry of a homosexual nature was clearer and more evident than its feminine equivalent. See del Moral, "Poesía de mujer."

[65] Manuela Marín, "Mujeres en las mezquitas," in *Mezquitas de Toledo, a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos* (Toledo, 2010), pp. 297–307.

mosques, but as times changed, a series of conditions for their attendance gradually appeared, such as walking behind men and not wearing perfume, while others began suggesting that they should pray at home. Ibn Ḥazm said that it was preferable that women should pray in the mosques rather than in their homes; however, the Ẓāhirist current of thought he espoused was never put into practice in al-Andalus where the dominant current was Mālikism, which considered it better for women to attend mosques only on specific occasions. In addition to explaining the theoretical ideas of these thinkers, Marín also investigates social practices, and notes that women were allowed to enter the great mosques of al-Andalus, albeit through separate doors, demonstrating that women's attendance was both accepted and accommodated. The same can be said for other public spaces, such as baths, which documentary evidence indicates were visited by certain women.[66]

The current historiographical moment is ripe for investigating the specific spaces occupied by and reserved for women. We know from the written sources that the Great Mosques of Córdoba and Seville had specific entrances and washing-fountains for women, although it is likely that these would not have been used by all women: it is difficult to imagine women of the ruling family mixing with women from other social classes. Written sources refer to certain naves and portals, but an attempt to confirm this information in the building itself is rather more complex. The building in which most progress has been made is perhaps the Great Mosque of Córdoba (Fig. 9).[67] Fieldwork must be extended also to identify buildings still standing with the names mentioned in the written sources and which for a variety of reasons we can associate with women. The objective is not only to have the written references, which are already significant, but also to investigate directly the structures in question, even though they may

[66] Cristina de la Puente, "Mujeres andalusíes y baños públicos," in *Baños árabes en Toledo* (Toledo, 2006), pp. 49–57; Marín, "Ibn Ḥawṭ Allāh."

[67] In the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (r. 756–788) 2 of the first 11 naves were reserved for women. Pedro Marfil Ruiz has compared the written sources with the results of excavations, the stratigraphy of the walls, and an analysis of the historical and artistic materials. In his conclusions he seeks to show that under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I the door known as Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ was initially a door for women and later became the Door of the Viziers with the changes in the female oratories and subsequent extensions to the building, in particular under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (r. 822–852). This hypothesis is published in Pedro Marfil Ruiz, *La puerta de los visires de la mezquita omeya de Córdoba* (n.p., 2009), extended as a doctoral thesis, "Las puertas de la Mezquita de Córdoba durante el emirato omeya," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Córdoba, 2010.

Figure 9 Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ (Door of the Viziers), women's door? Great Mosque of Córdoba, 8th–9th c. (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

have been substantially changed, so that we can analyse style and distribution of spaces from a gender perspective.[68]

As noted, the private domain is also ripe for further investigation. Levels of privacy varied according to status, just as the concept of privacy itself varied. Although there are some activities that are frequently identified as private, such as care for the body or the preparation of meals, the degree of privacy can vary enormously. Body care, for example, could be done in a public bath. Certain domestic duties also involved leaving the house, from buying food to washing clothes. Thus, the concept of privacy and domestic life goes beyond the inside of the house, in the same way that the outside world and the public domain can also cross the threshold to enter the house. The house was and still remains much more than just a place for a woman to raise her children. In the medieval world the house could also include a "public" workshop. Although in al-Andalus, under Mālikī law, women were not obliged to spin, weave, or sew for commerce outside the family, in fact they would often spin yarn for sale.[69] Research suggests that in al-Andalus women were more likely to be paid for spinning than weaving. We must also assume that the men of al-Andalus may have worked at home in certain phases of textile production, or in trades such as esparto grass working or tailoring, which could be performed in the house or an annex to it, something that was common in other parts of the medieval world.[70] These annexes could include *algorfas* and

[68] Some architectural features such as carved epitaphs showed similar forms and styles for men and women, who were sometimes buried alongside each other, as in the well-known case of al-Muʿtamid and his wife Iʿtimād in Agmat. However, no formal studies have yet been made of burials from a gender perspective, although there are a number of records of burials of men and women in classic studies such as that published in 1957 by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Cementerios Hispanomusulmanes," *Al-Andalus*, 22 (1957), pp. 131–191 (rprt. in *Crónica de la España musulmana*, 6 (1983), pp. 144–207), and in more recent studies such as the doctoral thesis by Juez Juarros, "Símbolos de poder," pp. 794–821.

[69] Isabel Fierro, "La mujer y el trabajo en el Corán y el *hadiz*," in *La mujer en al-Andalus. Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, ed. María Jesús Viguera Molins (Madrid, 1989), pp. 35–51.

[70] Although they apply to different medieval regions, the key aspects of the work of Ruth Mazo Karras are also of interest. In her study of the different masculinities in Europe in the Middle Ages and in particular on the process of education towards a dominant masculinity, she analyses the differences and hierarchies between master-craftsmen and workers, a subject that has not been treated in depth in the historiography of craftsmanship. Especially as far as workshops are concerned, she states that the master-craftsman could open his shop to the public and have his own tools, while those who had not yet achieved this grade could not. She also cites documentary evidence of male craftsmen who worked from home, especially those who were not masters. Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 111 onwards.

almacerías, terms whose exact meanings are unclear and seem to vary according to the particular contexts. A possible function of the *algorfas* and *almacerías* was for storage of grain or other products, and also as rooms that were part of the house but independent in terms of their internal layout, as they were not immediately connected. These semi-public spaces had direct access to the street, and may have been used as workshops or store-rooms. In other cases there are doubts as to whether they were used solely for storage, as some have carefully made staircases. Some *algorfas* were used as a room for relatives or in which to receive guests. In both al-Andalus, especially in the Naṣrid period, and in the Mudejar and Morisco eras, these *algorfas* and *almacerías* were frequently bought by women; the documentation suggests that a high percentage of women either owned them and rented them out or lived there themselves.[71] Such spaces as these cannot easily be classified within a traditional definition of the public or private domains.

Studies of domestic structures in al-Andalus are becoming more frequent and covering a wider range of architectural types.[72] Important distinctions have been made between rural domestic architecture and its more urban variety. Rural did not always imply poverty or simplicity, as there were wealthy classes in the countryside. It seems that women of lower status in rural areas had more "freedom" of action in the sense that they could leave the house to perform their duties in the fields and in looking after animals. Polygamy, which has been shown to have been practised only in very specific circles, also had an impact on construction types. More research is required on all this so that we can begin to analyse the functions of different spaces within domestic architecture through a gender perspective in all its dimensions and complexities for both men and women.[73] In this sense material culture is fundamental, especially

[71] Díez Jorge, "El género en la arquitectura doméstica." For more information on *algorfas* and *almacerías*, see Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, "Plantas altas en edificios andalusíes. La aportación de la arqueología," *Arqueología medieval*, 4 (1996), pp. 107–37.

[72] Within the excellent bibliography, I would highlight especially the volume edited by Jesús Bermúdez López and André Bazzana, *La casa hispanomusulmana* (Granada, 1990). See also the typological study by Antonio Orihuela Uzal, *Casas y palacios nazaríes. Siglos XIII–XV* (Barcelona, 1996). Great detail is provided in the chapter on the houses of the abandoned village of Siyāsa by Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, *Siyāsa. Estudio arqueológico del despoblado andalusí* (*ss. XI–XIII*) (Murcia, 2007), pp. 193–270.

[73] On this question, see María Luisa Ávila, "La estructura de la familia en al-Andalus," in *Casas y palacios de al-Andalus. Siglos XII y XIII*, ed. Julio Navarro Palazón (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 33–37, and especially Pierre Guichard and Jean Pierre Van Staevel, "La casa andalusí:

household objects and the furniture used to divide spaces. Many objects have been assigned to women, e.g., the weights used on looms, although as mentioned men also may have worked at home; personal adornments received the same treatment, although women were not the only ones to embellish themselves. Other objects are more ambiguous, such as the curtains used in the palaces not only to separate men and women, but also among men as a sign of distinction and social rank. There are magnificent descriptions in the Arabic sources for Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ during the Caliphate of Córdoba, the palace of al-Maʾmūn (r. 1037–1074) in Toledo, or in the Alhambra of Granada with the splendid reception of Muḥammad V (r. 1354–1390) to celebrate the *mawlid* (commemoration of the birth of the Prophet).[74]

From a historiographical point of view, research into the distribution of space has centred on palaces in which public functions were performed, but there were also areas for private life. Too often the false equation of masculine with universal has led us to treat women as a special case. Domestic groups in the different areas of the palace have sometimes been analysed in a particular way: all the women concentrated in the same area, tales of rivalry and intrigues among them; the eunuchs appearing only as their guardians watching over them and participating in their intrigues; very little about the lives of children; and almost no references to the domestic life of the sovereign who seems to spend all his time in extravagant parties or idling away the hours in the harem. However, we know that there were libraries in the Alcázar of Córdoba during the Caliphate and in the Alhambra of Granada, and we can imagine the hours set aside for reading and study (for women, too?) and the exchange of ideas with scholars who studied there.[75] Of all the spaces intended for private life, it is the place known as the harem (*ḥarām*) that has aroused most interest, although perhaps more as a result of simple human curiosity than

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ensayo de lectura antropológica," in *Casas y palacios de al-Andalus*, pp. 45–51. One of the few studies that deals specifically with the question of what life was like in an Andalusi house by analysing the material culture is Guillermó Roselló Bordoy, *El ajuar de las casas andalusíes* (Málaga, 2002).

[74] Rubiera Mata, *La arquitectura en la literatura árabe*. For the celebration of the *mawlid* in the Alhambra, see the edition by García Gómez that follows the 1362 text by Ibn al-Khaṭīb: Emilio García Gómez, *Poemas árabes en los muros y fuentes de la Alhambra* (Madrid, 1985).

[75] Carlota Sánchez-Moliní Sáez, *Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus. El saber en al-Andalus* (Seville, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 79–97. See also Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones en la Alhambra: ¿madrasa, zāwiya y tumba de Muḥammad V? Estudio para un debate," *Al-Qantara*, 22 (2001), pp. 77–120.

genuine scholarly interest.[76] It is important to bear in mind that only the wealthiest classes could maintain a harem, so that when talking about the organization of this domestic space we are dealing with a very specific minority. The harem was an institution made up not only of the wives and concubines of the sovereign but also his sisters and aunts, the widows and daughters of his brothers, female teachers, servants and slave-girls, all of whom when added together explain the large number of women that were said to have occupied the harem. Over six thousand women were reported to have lived in the harem of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, and there were 800 in the harem of al-Muʿtamid (r. 1069–1091).[77] Although these figures are likely exaggerated, it is clear that the harem must be taken into account in the distribution, organization, and design of the palaces.

Considerable information about harems can be found in the written sources, such as in poetry, as indicated by Henri Pérès especially in his chapter on cities and places for recreation, which contains information about the harem of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ and reflections about the possible harem of al-Muʿtamid (r. 1069–1091).[78] Other written sources cite the house of the *medinesas* in Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ for the slave girls of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (r. 822–852), references to payments for the harem of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the apartments of the wives of al-Manṣūr (r. 981–1002) in his palaces in Córdoba, the stories about King ʿAbd Allāh b. Bādis (r. 1073–1090) of the Zīrī dynasty of Granada, or records such as those cited by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313–1374) when he tells of the revolt in Malaga by Ibn Hafṣūn in the twelfth century, mentioning that some of the rooms inside the *alcazaba* (fortress) were reserved for the women of the ruler. These scattered references must be gathered together to form a more complete picture. As it is unlikely that a detailed description will suddenly fall into our hands, there is a clear need to compare the written evidence with the

[76] As with the question of the veil, when dealing with the subject of the harem it is very difficult to distance oneself from all the controversy and stereotyping that both questions have given rise to in recent times. I am not going to get into the debate about freedom and human rights, modern concepts that we cannot apply to past societies, and which I believe have been beautifully addressed by Manuela Marín, "Mujeres andalusíes: de la historia al presente," *Tulaytula*, 12 (2005), pp. 61–69. Leila Ahmed stated that the harem has been viewed negatively from a western perspective. She believes on the contrary that the harem may have been a purely female domain used for the education and socialization of women, a sort of room of one's own. See Leila Ahmed, "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem," *Feminist Studies*, 8/3 (1982), pp. 521–34.

[77] Joaquín Vallvé, "Sobre demografía y sociedad en al-Andalus (siglos VIII–XI)," *Al-Andalus*, 42/2 (1977), pp. 323–40.

[78] Pérès, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, p. 120 onwards.

archaeological and material sources, however insignificant it may seem. For example, in the memoirs of the poet Ibn Shuhayd he says that as a child two emissaries took him to the quarters of the wives of al-Manṣūr in his residence in Córdoba and that, as it was raining, they had to carry him on their shoulders, indicating that these quarters were reached by crossing open areas in which there was no shelter from the elements.[79]

There have been very few exhaustive monographic studies on the distribution of palatine space from a gender perspective. On occasion the search for the site of the harem has been based on erroneous comparisons of the palaces of al-Andalus with the Topkapi palace in Istanbul in which there was a single large harem. However, it is unlikely in the case of al-Andalus that all the women were grouped together in just one area. While it may be necessary to make comparisons with other parts of the world, differences based on status, gender, geography, and time must all be taken into account. In addition to the Topkapi, associations have also been drawn with the palace of al-Muʿtaṣim in Samarra (9th c.), and the Zīrī palace in ʿAsīr (Algeria, 10th c.). Formal elements have also been used to try to uncover the spaces and chambers reserved for women by assessing, for example, the supposed beauty in terms of decoration or attention to detail, or the location in relatively hidden or distant areas, or in remote high chambers.

The Alhambra provides a good example of the problems inherent in this kind of approach. Both scholars and travellers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have clearly indicated that there was a harem in the Alhambra. What is not clear is the methodology they used to enable them to reach this conclusion. There are a number of scattered accounts of certain chambers and buildings that have been attributed to women, whether on the basis of written sources or simply as products of the imagination. Spaces were identified as pertaining to women for such vague aesthetic considerations as the place having a "delicate" beauty. Given these ideas, it is not surprising that in both writings and illustrations the Romantics often placed women in the exquisite Palace of the Lions at the Alhambra. Another place in the same palace associated by the Romantics with women was the Tower of the Captive (*Torre de la Cautiva*), which was thought to be the house of the Sultan's favourites, given its slightly remote position and the extreme beauty of its interior artwork in stark contrast to the austere exterior (Fig. 10). In the engravings, they tried to capture a

[79] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Ándalus*, p. 238.

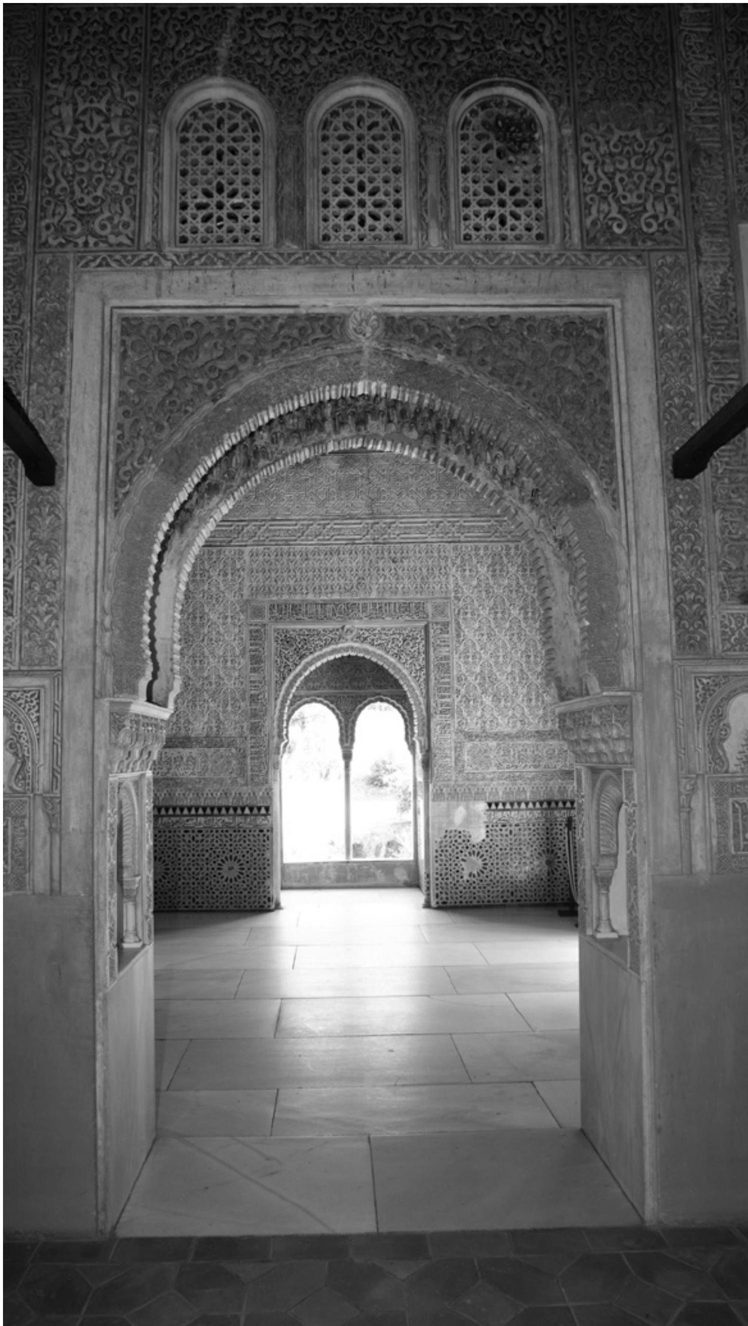


Figure 10 Tower of the Captive, Alhambra, 14th c. (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

specific mood or ambience by placing female figures in particular areas, in Islamic dress or nineteenth-century garments, creating a sense that these were possible "female spaces." Many other areas have been proposed as reserved for women (Fig. 11), although these often varied from one author to the next to such an extent that the end result was that the Alhambra became one enormous harem, in which writers imagined countless beautiful, dark-eyed women who could enjoy the spectacles held in the courtyards below by looking out from behind ornate lattice screens. Still, one positive aspect of these studies is that they raised the first questions as to the spaces set aside for women. In all these accounts, however, the Alhambra is treated as a single unified structure both in functional and chronological terms; the fact that the Alhambra of the thirteenth century was very different from that of the fifteenth century is largely ignored.[80] This obviously means that the spaces in the palaces that were reserved for women must also have changed over time. The possible historical variations in gender relations over two centuries of life in the Alhambra of the Naṣrids have not been investigated either, with the only distinctions being made between the Muslim and the "Christian" Alhambra.

Likewise, references to eunuchs have tended to lump them together with women in the same space.[81] More recent works have demonstrated that eunuchs were not confined to the spheres reserved for women, as their proximity to the rulers is clearly documented at least during the Caliphate. They performed a multitude of functions (tax collectors, military roles, guardians of the caliph, and teachers of the palace children), some of them even having their own houses within the palace grounds.[82]

[80] *La Alhambra y el Generalife. Guía histórico-artística*, ed. María Elena Díez Jorge (Granada, 2006) pp. 20–22.

[81] Jesús Bermúdez Pareja described the southern side of the Patio de la Acequia in the Generalife (near the Alhambra in Granada) as a three-floored structure intended for concubines, eunuchs, and slaves. Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, "El Generalife después del incendio de 1958," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 1 (1965), pp. 9–39.

[82] de la Puente, "Sin linaje." The house known as the Casa de Jaʿfar in Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ could be a good example. An interesting comparison for its geographical and chronological proximity would be with Sicily. See Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), especially chapter 10, for sources that indicate the location of the eunuchs' palace in Palermo in the district of Kemonia, adjacent to the royal palace.

Figure 11 "Courtyard of the Harem," Alhambra, 14th c. (Photo: M.E. Díez Jorge).

A Final Thought

As noted above, a comprehensive, monographic study of gender and architecture has yet to be attempted for the case of al-Andalus. In addition to recovering the roles of women in architecture, it is necessary to introduce a gender perspective as an additional criterion when it comes to analysing and interpreting buildings. In this article, I have tried to sketch out a state of the question which describes the important advances that have been made on this subject in historiographical and methodological terms. This study seeks to collect the contributions of researchers from a range of different fields and disciplines, a process essential for the advancement of scholarship today. We must combine our efforts by forming interdisciplinary teams, exchanging methodologies, and comparing written and material information, all of which can help us obtain greater insights into the societies of the past. There is still much to be done.

Finally, from my own background as a specialist in Mudejar architecture, I cannot but stress the need for the different disciplines to work

together, so as to avoid, for example, that Arabists and specialists in the Christian kingdoms each operate within their own strict confines, unaware of the other's work. On occasion the heated debate about the degree of coexistence between the various cultures/religions has led us to be wary of presenting over-idyllic visions of the Iberian Peninsula, and to shy away from possible common factors within the different cultures, a problem that has affected women's studies.[83] The opposing idea—that there were inexorable differences between the cultures—has served to harden stereotypes that have proven very durable in historiographical terms. We must remember that both al-Andalus and the different Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were patriarchal societies. At certain times, however, the historiography has set one society against the other, denying the artistic patronage of Andalusi women while exalting that of their Christian counterparts. Women acted as makers of architecture in both Christian and Islamic areas of the Iberian Peninsula, and although their role must not be exaggerated, neither can it be ignored.

[83] Some scholars have tried to highlight those aspects that women may have had in common without ignoring their diversity. This was the general theme running through Celia del Moral, ed., *Árabes, judías y cristianas. Mujeres en la Europa medieval* (Granada, 1993). While the concept of *convivencia* in medieval Iberia as a whole is too complex to be addressed in depth here, see recently, though not as it pertains to women, Jerrilyn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven, 2008); Maya Soifer, "Beyond *Convivencia*: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 1/1 (2009), pp. 19–35; Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "*Convivencia* in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea," *Religion Compass*, 3/1 (2009), pp. 72–85. For a rare focus on women within this debate, see María Jesús Fuente, *Identidad y convivencia. Musulmanas y judías en la España medieval* (Madrid, 2010).

Plate 1 Chalice of Infanta Urraca, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, after 1063 (Photo: T. Martin). See Martin, fig. 3.

Plate 2 Detail, silk and gold embroidery, 11th c. (?), lid of the Reliquary of St. Isidore, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (Photo: Edilesa/Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León). See Martin, fig. 9.

Plate 3 *Virxe abrideira* of Allariz, 1260s–1270s, Real Monasterio de Santa Clara, Allariz (Ourense), Spain. See Katz, fig. 2b.

Plate 4 *Virgen de los Gozos* of Salamanca, fourth quarter of 13th c., Museo de la Catedral, Salamanca, Spain (Photo: M. Katz, reproduced courtesy of the dean and chapter of Salamanca Cathedral). See Katz, fig. 9a.

Plate 5 *Virgen abridera inmaculada* of Cuerva, mid-16th c., ex-coll. Convento de la Encarnación de las Carmelitas Descalzas, Cuerva (Toledo), Spain (Photo: Alcalá Subastas, Madrid). See Katz, fig. 10b.

Plate 6 Detail, Derrynaflan Paten, 8th c. (Photo: © National Museum of Ireland). See Ní Ghrádaigh, fig. 10b.

Plate 7 Crucifixion scene, Southampton Psalter, 10th c. Cambridge, St. John's College MS C.9, fol. 35v (Photo: Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge). See Ní Ghrádaigh, fig. 11.

Plate 8 Widows' donor panels from the Glorification of the Virgin window, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: E. Shortell). See Shortell, fig. 1.

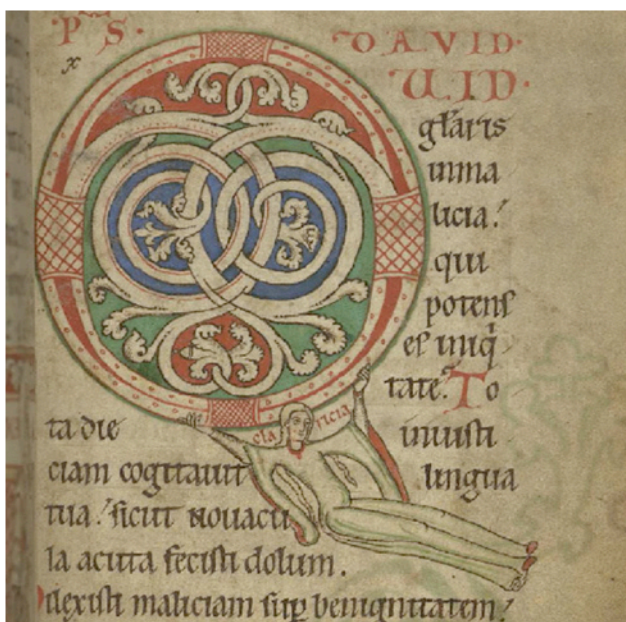
Plate 9 St. Stephen and Theophilus window, Juliana en route to Constantinople, ca. 1200, Saint-Quentin, former collegiate church (Photo: E. Shortell). See Shortell, fig. 8.

Plate 10 Blanche of Castile and Louis IX in the *Bible Moralisée*, late 1230s, New York, The Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 240, fol. 8r (Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, NY). See Gajewski, fig. 1.

Plate 11 Funerary monument of Elisenda de Montcada, detail of the queen from the church front. Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes, early 1340s (Photo: E. McKiernan González/MUHBA Monestir de Pedralbes). See McKiernan González, fig. 4.

Plate 12 Detail, catafalque cover, Altenberg/Lahn, second half of the 13th c. (Photo: V. Dettmar/Frankfurt Museum für Angewandte Kunst). See Seeberg, fig. 1.

Plate 13 Detail, antependium of Rupertsberg, ca. 1220. (Photo: Fototheek, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels). See Seeberg, fig. 8.



Plates 14 and 15 Details of Claricia and unnamed nun, *Claricia Psalter*, Augsburg(?), late 12th c. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS W26, fols. 64r and 115v (Photos: The Walters Art Museum). See Mariaux, figs. 4 and 7.

Plate 16 Self-portrait of Guda, Homilary, Frankfurt, second half of 12th c. Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Ms. Barth. 42, fol. 110v (Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main). See Mariaux, fig. 9.

Plate 17 Virgin and Child enthroned with angels headpiece. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 202v (Photo: British Library, London). See Folda, fig. 8.

PART FOUR

FAMILY AND AUDIENCE

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN WITH BOOKS: FEMALE (IL)LITERACY IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH CULTURE[1]

Katrin Kogman-Appel

The thirteenth century saw a new type of Hebrew book, the Passover haggadah (pl. haggadot). Bound together with the general prayer book in the earlier Middle Ages, the haggadah emerged as a separate, independent volume around that time.[2] Once the haggadah was born as an individual book, a considerable number of illustrated specimens were created, of which several have come down to us. Dated to the period from approximately 1280 to 1500, these books were produced in various regions of the Iberian peninsula and southern France (*Sepharad*), the German lands (*Ashkenaz*), France, and northern Italy. Almost none of these manuscripts contains a colophon, and in most cases it is not known who commissioned them. No illustrated haggadah from the Islamic realm exists, since there the decoration of books normally followed the norms of Islamic culture, where sacred books received only ornamental embellishments.

The haggadah is usually a small, thin, handy volume and contains the liturgical text to be recited during the *seder*, the privately held family ceremony taking place at the eve of Passover. The central theme of the holiday is the retelling of the story of Israel's departure from Egypt; the

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[1] I am grateful to my former doctoral student Margo Stroumsa-Uzan, whose work on a group of early books of hours in their social context, and in particular a chapter on female literacy, stimulated my interest to look at similar issues in Hebrew books. My thanks also go to Therese Martin, who organized the meeting on the roles of women in medieval art, encouraging me to turn this interest into something more concrete. This paper is part of a larger project on 15th-century Jewish book culture conducted at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 2010–2011. Elisheva Baumgarten is to be thanked for reading an earlier version of this paper, helping me to sort out my thoughts.

[2] This process is part of the gradual transition of medieval societies, both Jewish and Christian, from orality to textuality and literacy. See, for example, Talya Fishman, "Rhineland Pietist Approaches to Prayer and the Textualization of Rabbinic Culture in Medieval Northern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 11 (2004), pp. 313–31; and her monograph, *Becoming the People of the Talmud: Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Philadelphia, 2011).

precept is to teach it to one's offspring.[3] The haggadah contains the text to fulfill this precept. Hence this is not simply a collection of prayers to accompany a ritual meal; rather, using the book and reading its entire text is the essence of the Passover holiday. The haggadah, thus, is really about studying, teaching, retelling, and, eventually, reading.

As part of the illustration program, numerous depictions of individuals involved in various stages of preparations towards the holiday, during the ceremony, and at the *seder* table appear in several of the haggadot. They are found in all realms of European Jewry. These images offer a lively insight into medieval life; they portray preparation rituals, customs, and social norms.[4] Usually reflecting matters of the religious and ritual law ("*halakhah*") with great accuracy, these images can be approached as relatively realistic portrayals of real life.[5] The *seder* table representations (Figs. 1–8) show the entire family, adult men, women, youths, and young children. Clearly visible on these tables are open books displayed in front of some of the participants, among them several women. My following remarks focus on these women with books and raise questions about a possible interpretation of these images in relation to female literacy. Books in the hands of their depicted protagonists can have either symbolic meanings, or they can communicate issues of specific socio-cultural relevance. I shall first argue that the people represented in these *seder* table images are meant to "portray" the owners of the haggadot, establishing thus a claim to a certain degree of realism (although not in stylistic terms). I shall also argue that late medieval images of figures with a book, in particular with open books, constitute an iconographic convention, one that reflects a socio-cultural phenomenon. This new iconographic convention of female reader will then be looked at in its broader context: our current knowledge about female literacy in the various Jewish realms.

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[3] Exodus 13:8.

[4] They are discussed in detail in Mendel Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée. Étude iconographique et stylistique des manuscrits enluminés et decoré de la Haggada du XIII*e *au XVI*e *siècle* (Leiden, 1973), chpt. A. For an example of images that I suggest reflect social norms, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Another Look at the Illustrated Sephardic Haggadot: Communal and Social Aspects of the Passover Holiday," in *Temps i espais de la Girona Jueva*, ed. Silvia Planas Marcé (Girona, 2011), pp. 81–102.

[5] Methodological precautions, however, should be taken in evaluating such images as sole sources for customs, etc. See, for example, Elliott S. Horowitz, "The Way We Were: Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," *Jewish History*, 1/1 (1986), pp. 75–90, criticizing the somewhat simplistic approach applied by Mendel and Thérèse Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages. Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Fribourg, 1982).

Let us first take a look at the images in question. Some interesting patterns can be observed. In the earliest copies of the illustrated haggadah from the late thirteenth century, images of the *seder* table figure only very rarely. In the Birds Head Haggadah there are two such depictions, one showing a table without any books, the other presenting a couple, while only the man has a book in front of him (Fig. 1).[6] The same applies to a northern French miscellany from 1282, now in London (Fig. 2).[7] These early manuscripts are followed in the first half of the fourteenth century by a group of richly illuminated Sephardi haggadot from Castile and the Crown of Aragón. They do contain several representations of the family at the table. As their thirteenth-century counterparts from France and the German lands, none of these depict women with open books in front of them. An example is a Catalán haggadah from the mid-fourteenth century, now in London (Fig. 3).[8] The image shows three open haggadot, one in front of the older man who most likely conducts the ceremony; the others are read by two beardless youths. None of the women to the right has a haggadah. The same applies to an image of the *seder* table in another, slightly earlier Catalán haggadah, also in the British Library (Fig. 4), showing men reading from books, while the two women in the center seem to listen attentively, but have no codices.[9] Both men touch their books, adding further stress on the apparent actual use of the books. For example, the youth to the left is participating in the reading, pointing at some text portion with his hand. No Sephardi image of the *seder* hints in any way at women using a book, holding one, pointing at it, or anything of the like.[10] The tradition of haggadah illustration ceased in Iberia around

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[6] For a facsimile edition, see *The Birds Head Haggadah*, ed. Moshe Spitzer (Jerusalem, 1967).

[7] George Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1899–1935), 4 vols., no. 1056. For a facsimile edition, see *The North French Hebrew Miscellany (British Library Add. MS 11639)*, ed. Jeremy Schonfield (London, 2003).

[8] Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, no. 605; for a detailed description of the manuscript with reproduction of almost all the decorated pages, see Bezalel Narkiss, et al., *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, vol. 1, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts* (London and Jerusalem, 1982); for a facsimile edition, see *The Barcelona Haggadah. An Illuminated Passover Compendium from Fourteenth-Century Catalonia in Facsimile (MS British Library Additional 14761)*, ed. Jeremy Schonfield (London, 1992).

[9] Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, no. 608; Narkiss, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*, no. 12.

[10] This is the case in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Parm 2411, fol. 39v, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma*, ed. Benjamin Richler (Jerusalem, 2001), no. 1123; Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée*, fig. 295; London, British Library, MS Or. 2737, fol. 91r, Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, no. 609; Narkiss, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*, no. 9; Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, fol. 31v, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*,

Figure 1 *Seder* table, southern Germany, ca. 1300. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS 180/57, fol. 13r (Photo: Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

Figure 2 *Seder* table, France, ca. 1280. London, British Library, MS Add. 11639, fol. 204r (Photo: British Library, London).

Figure 3 *Seder* table, Catalunya/southern France, ca. 1340. London, British Library, MS Add. 14761, fol. 28v (Photo: British Library, London).

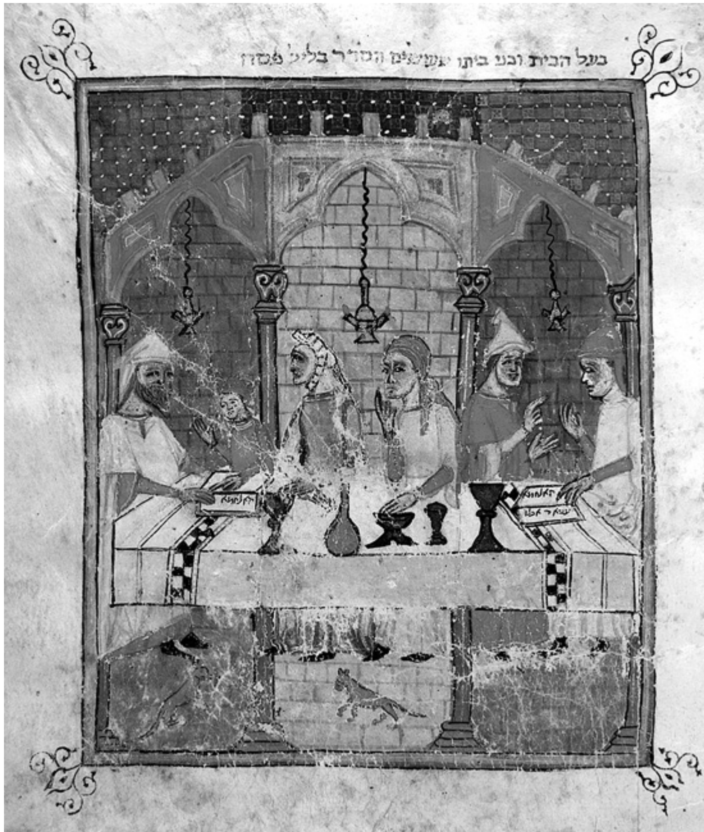

Figure 4 *Seder* table, Catalunya, ca. 1320–25. London, British Library, MS Or. 2884, fol. 18r (Photo: British Library, London).

the middle of the fourteenth century, and no evidence from the fifteenth century with regard to women holding books can be gathered.

As concerns the Ashkenazi realm, including the Ashkenazi community in Italy, the situation changes quite strikingly after the fourteenth century. The representation of reading women in the so-called First Darmstadt Haggadah (Fig. 5; Color Plate 18) from the early fifteenth century presents a particularly striking case.[11] Two elaborate full-page miniatures show several women within an architectural framework.[12] Most of them hold open books in their hands. The compartments formed by the architectural frame appear like rooms in a school, and some of the women seem to be instructed by male scholars. It is quite clear from the overall setting that these women are not just holding books, but reading and studying them. Several of the people shown on these pages with an open book, the women included, touch the book with one of their hands. As in the above-mentioned Catalán example, the touching of the book, as if to point at the text, seems to indicate the active use of the book, which is thus not approached as a mere attribute. Several more such reading women appear on other pages of the First Darmstadt Haggadah. Determining an overall meaning through which to interpret these images, however, remains a challenge. August Mayer assumed that the images in general emphasize the act of reading;[13] Bezalel Narkiss suggested that the manuscript was either illustrated by a Christian artist who did not know the traditional decoration program, or that it may have been given as a gift to a young woman;[14] Rachel Wischnitzer concluded that by the fifteenth century women used their own haggadot and assumed that they were written in the

ed. Eugen Werber (Belgrade, 1989); Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS heb. 6, fol. 19v, Narkiss, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*; for a facsimile edition, see *The Rylands Haggadah. A Medieval Sephardi Masterpiece in Facsimile. An Illuminated Passover Compendium from Mid-Fourteenth-Century Catalonia in the Collections of the John Rylands University Library in Manchester, with a Commentary and a Cycle of Poems*, ed. Raphael Loewe (London, 1988); London, British Library, MS Or. 1404, fol. 7v, Narkiss, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*, no. 16; Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann collection, MS 422, p. 2; for a facsimile edition, see *Kaufmann Haggáda*, ed. Gabrielle Sed Rajna (Budapest, 1990).

[11] For a facsimile edition, see *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, ed. Bruno Italiener (Leizpig, 1927).

[12] The second miniature appears on fol. 48v.

[13] Mayer, "Die kunsthistorische Würdigung der Handschrift," in *Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, p. 59.

[14] Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1969; rev. Hebrew ed., Jerusalem, 1984), p. 153; Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1978), p. 96, also suggested that the miniatures were executed by Christian artists.

Figure 5 Women reading, Middle Rhine region (?), first half of the 15th c. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes—und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Or. 8, fol. 37v (Photo: Hessische Landes—und Universitätsbibliothek, Darmstadt). See color plate 18.

Figure 6 *Seder* table, Mainz (?), ca. 1425. Hamburg, Staats—und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Heb. 37, fol. 24r (Photo: Staats—und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg).

vernacular.[15] The issue of reading women, or rather women studying from books, clearly seems to matter in these images, and this evidence appears in striking contrast to the lack of books near the Sephardi women in their representations of the *seder* several decades later.

More examples from the Ashkenazi realm and Italy can be found. Around 1425 a Miscellany was written in the Rhineland, perhaps in Mainz. It includes also a haggadah, whose first page is illustrated by a *seder* table (Fig. 6). In the center there is a couple sharing a book, while the woman is pointing at the text.[16] During the 1450s Joel ben Simeon, a well-known

[15] Rachel Wischnitzer, "Passover in Art," in *The Passover Anthology*, ed. Philip Goodman (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 309.

[16] The evidence is not clear-cut, as it is possible that the figure in the green garment may be a youth with short hair rather than a woman. The image is not well preserved, and

scribe and artist originating from the Rhineland, immigrated to northern Italy,[17] where he participated in the production of a haggadah, now in the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem.[18] At the beginning of the haggadah text, the *seder* table is shown with a large family (Fig. 7). In the center of the composition we see a woman with a large book in front of her, which she holds or touches with her hand.[19] Another example from ca. 1465 appears in the Yahuda Haggadah, now in the Israel Museum; the woman, again, touches the book in front of her (Fig. 8). The same applies to the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, which was produced in the same workshop and is now kept in the private collection of David Sofer in London.[20]

A book in the hands of a protagonist can mean different things. In the hands of an Evangelist in Christian art, for example, it is an attribute that designates authorship. In the hands of a lay figure it can mean piety, or the patronage of literature.[21] Whereas some modern scholars focus on a symbolic meaning for the iconography of the book,[22] others prefer to emphasize its socio-cultural implications with regard to reading practices,

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it is difficult to make out the details. The design of the garment shares much with those of other women, especially around the neck and the waist, and there are some traces of black lines in the hair indicating that what could be seen as the short hair of a youth might better be understood as a woman's hairdo. There are several other women in the manuscript with their hair bound by black string (fol. 31v). The figure in the *seder* table image has her hair drawn close to her head, whereas the short hair of the youths depicted in the manuscript at several occasions tends to be more fluffy and curly (fol. 24r).

[17] On Joel ben Simeon's career, see recently, Katrin Kogman-Appel, "The Illustrations of the Washington Haggadah," in *The Washington Haggadah. A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript in the Library of Congress* (Cambridge MA, 2011), pp. 53–120, with the earlier literature.

[18] For a digital reproduction of the entire manuscript, see National Library of Israel, Digitized Manuscripts, http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/mss/heb6130/.

[19] This picture too is not well preserved, and the figure on the right with the blue gown is not easy to identify as it lacks a head. The fact that the garment is long, however, indicates that she is a woman. The men in this manuscript are shown mostly with knee-length mantles.

[20] For a digital reproduction of the entire manuscript, see The Jewish National and University Library, http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/mss-pr/mss_d_0076/. Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Die Zweite Nürnberger und die Jehuda Haggada. Jüdische Illuminatoren zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999).

[21] Dennis Green, *Women Readers in the Medieval Ages* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 117–20. See also the examples analyzed in the present volume by Rachel Moss, " 'Planters of Great Civilitie': Female Patrons of the Arts in Late Medieval Ireland," and Loveday Lewes Gee, "Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries."

[22] Michael Clanchy, "Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What Do They Signify?" in *The Church and the Book*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, 38 (Suffolk, 2004), pp. 106–22, esp. 113–15, argues, for example, that images of women with books have less to do with literacy than with active participation in prayer and ritual. The images, Clanchy suggests, are meant to "move the mind."

Figure 7 *Seder* table, northern Italy, ca. 1450. Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS heb. 4°6130, fol. 2v (Photo: National Library of Israel, Jerusalem).

literacy, and education.[23] Whereas representations of the Virgin's encounter with Gabriel from early medieval art show Mary with empty hands, in the thirteenth century she began to appear with a closed book. From the fourteenth she is depicted while reading an open book. Around the same time female owners of books of hours also began to be represented while reading an open book, and recent research has shifted our attention from the possible symbolic meanings of these books to an interpretation that links them with literacy, knowledge, and reading habits.[24] Dennis Green interpreted images of the reading Virgin not only as indicative of female literacy, but as a model for secular women to engage in the reading of prayers.[25]

The overall character of the *seder* table representations taken from real life imply that their meaning should, indeed, be sought in the socio-cultural sphere rather than in the symbolic one. Moreover, the images of figures involved in various Passover-related actions, I suggest, are meant

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[23] Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother:' The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta*, 32 (1993), pp. 69–80.

[24] Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Alain Boureau and Roger Chartier (Princeton, 1989), pp. 141–73.

[25] Green, *Women Readers*, p. 87; see also Margo Stroumsa-Uzan, "Women's Prayer: Devotion and Gender in Books of Hours in Northern France, ca. 1300 (in Hebrew)," Ph.D. dissertation, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2010, chpt. 5.

Figure 8 *Seder* table, Franconia, ca. 1465. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS 180/15, fol. 22r (Photo: Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

to represent the owners of the haggadot. One of the multiple examples showing a man with a cup of wine is found in another of Joel ben Simeon's haggadot (Fig. 9).[26] Very lavishly dressed, this wealthy man is not a personal portrait, but rather defines the patron of the book in terms of his social class. The same would, therefore, apply to the *seder* table representations showing the family of the owner. Support for this suggestion comes from yet another one of Joel's books. In 1469 he wrote and decorated a small

[26] For facsimile editions, see *The Washington Haggadah. A Facsimile Edition of an Illuminated Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript at the Library of Congress Signed by Joel ben Simeon*, ed. Myron Weinstein (Washington, 1991); and recently, *The Washington Haggadah. A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript from the Library of Congress*, with contributions by David Stern and Katrin Kogman-Appel (Cambridge, MA, 2011).

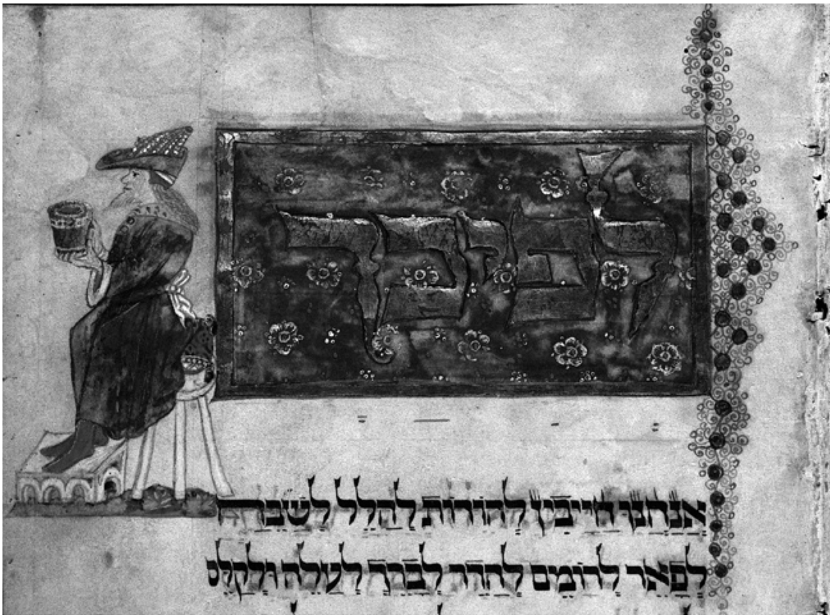

Figure 9 *Seder*, southern Germany, 1478. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, MS Heb. 1, fol. 17r (Photo: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

holiday prayer-book of the Roman rite[27] by the request of "Rav Menahem the son of Samuel of blessed memory, for his daughter, the honorable and intelligent, pleasant virgin Lady Maraviglia, that she should live to pray with it, she and her offspring, and her offsprings' offspring, until the end [of time]."[28] The manuscript also contains a haggadah with illustrations. Among these we find the image of a young lady, presumably Lady Maraviglia, holding a *matsah* (Fig. 10).

This image, which replaces the conventional man with that of a young woman while the colophon explicitly states that the book was intended for a young lady, indeed indicates that this and other representations of the kind were meant to represent the books' owners. These are not portraits

[27] The Jewish liturgies follow different local rites. The Roman rite was the liturgy used by Italian Jews in Rome and other areas in Italy. The Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in Italy, however, remained faithful to the original rites they had brought from their former countries of residence. For example, Joel ben Simeon wrote several Ashkenazi haggadot while residing in Italy. They were intended for Ashkenazi clients who had immigrated to Italy.

[28] Fol. 112r; Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, no. 615.

Figure 10 Maraviglia raising a *matsa*, northern Italy, 1469. London, British Library, MS Add. 26957, fol. 45r (Photo: British Library, London).

in the modern sense of the term. In Maraviglia's case it does not display any individual characteristics; rather her face somewhat uniformly reflects Joel's typical style of finely drawn delicate features. Even though these are not individualized portraits, but rather define the patrons as a social group, it is apparent that Joel meant to offer an homage to his patrons, and to Maraviglia specifically, the female owner of the book he prepared, in expectation perhaps of a proximate marriage that would provide the offspring and the offsprings' offspring mentioned in the colophon. It is likely that Joel, in presenting such a visual reference to the owners of his work, may have followed a common norm for such books.

The representations of the family at the *seder* table demonstrate that even though these books were commissioned by the male head of the household who paid for the manuscript, the use and function of the haggadah concerned the entire family, and thus they address the women as well. The wives of these wealthy husbands were often the co-owners or inheritors of the family property, and books counted among these

objects.[29] Following the visual evidence, however, not everywhere or not at all times did they use the books they would have owned together with their husbands. These observations, and the striking distinction between women using a haggadah and those who do not, seem to be indicative of different attitudes and practices with regard to female literacy regardless of documented ownership.

Other images in the haggadot of individuals with open books in front of them or in their hands portray the rabbinic scholars mentioned in the text and illustrate citations of their sayings (Fig. 11; Color Plate 11). They offer a further aid towards coming to terms with the meaning of the books in the hands of protagonists and determine to what degree we can approach these images as representative of an iconographic convention. The open books in the hands of these scholars, or on a lectern in front of them, is an attribute of their scholarly status. They do not necessarily portray them as the authors of specific texts, but rather imply that these men had undergone the full curriculum of rabbinic education.[30] In these images, the book thus is an object of iconographic significance indicating knowledge obtained through education. The motif of the reading scholar developed into one of the most common iconographic topoi in haggadah illustration, and it appears across all the cultural realms in which Jews lived.

Even though the figures assembled at the *seder* table are not (all) scholars, this meaning of the open book as an attribute of knowledge and education may, to some degree, reflect also on them. It certainly indicates literacy and the ability to use this skill in the performance of rituals. The person who is referred to in Hebrew sources and in many haggadot as *ba'al bayit*, "head of the household" (literally: the owner of the house),[31] is usually shown with a book. He is the person who conducts the *seder* and in principle it would have been sufficient that he recites the text, while the rest of the participants listen. This would certainly have been good enough to fulfill the precept of teaching one's sons. But this was not always the case in the wealthy medieval household: the images clearly imply that several other family members—among them women—were equipped with books.

It appears thus that illustrated haggadot developed the image of reading figures as a sort of iconographic formula of literacy and knowledge

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29 See below, p. 555, n. 111.

30 This has been discussed in detail by Metzger, *Haggada enluminée*, pp. 171–77.

31 See, for example, the caption above Fig. 4.

מעשה בר' אליעזר ור'
יהושע ור' אלעזר
בן עזריה ור'
עקיבא ור' טרפון שהיו מסבין בבני ברק והיו
מספרין ביצאת מצרים כל אותו הלילה עד
שבאו תלמידיהם ואמרו להם רבותינו הגיע
זמן קריאת שמע של שחרית
אמר ר' אלעזר בן עזריה
הרי אני
כבן שבעי'
שנה ולא זכיתי שתאמר יציאת מצרים בלילות
עד שדרשה בן זומא שנא' למען תזכר את
יום צאתך מארץ מצרים כל ימי חייך ימי
חייך הימים כל ימי חייך הלילות וחכמים או'

Figure 11 Rabbinic scholar, Catalunya, ca. 1330. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS heb. 6, fol. 22v (Photo: John Rylands Library, Manchester). See color plate 19.

obtained through education, a convention well established by 1300. About one hundred years later the image of the female user of the haggadah emerged in Ashkenaz and Italy. Such representations appear frequently enough for us to approach it as yet another iconographic convention. This convention is strikingly lacking in the Sephardi group of haggadot of the first half of the fourteenth century, our sole evidence for that tradition in Iberia. Likewise is it absent in the thirteenth-century German and northern French examples. The consistent recurrence of these images in the later haggadot seems to reflect a norm that existed in certain strata of Jewish society of Ashkenaz and Italy in the fifteenth century to an extent that an iconographic formula could develop. How can we then explain the lack of this convention in the Sephardi manuscripts of the haggadah?

Having established these images of women with books at the *seder* table as "portraits" of literate women who co-owned the books together with their husbands, it is now time to sketch the broader context of this suggestion, the current state of knowledge about female literacy in Jewish society.[32] My following remarks will focus on these observations and examine them against the background of what is known about how the education of women was approached in the different realms of Jewish culture. Several scholars, whose work will be discussed below, have addressed female education and literacy in recent decades, and their conclusions basically draw from two different kinds of sources: rabbinic stances, which can differ widely and which underwent several developments over the centuries from the talmudic era to early modern Italy; and accounts concerning individual cases of educated women, some dated, some of unknown timeframe. Scholars have examined evidence from the Islamic countries, the Christian realms of Central Europe, the Sephardi world (part of the Islamic realm in the early Middle Ages, but belonging to the Christian domain from the middle of the thirteenth century), and Italy, home to one of the oldest Jewish communities on the one hand, but since the fourteenth century opening up to numerous immigrants from

[32] It is difficult to determine to what extent the depicted women were "phonetically" or "comprehensively" literate, a distinction made by Saenger, "Books of Hours," p. 142. Phonetic literacy implies the skill to read and recite prayers without necessarily being able to comprehend the full meaning of the read text, whereas comprehensive literacy, usually associated with scholars, would imply a full understanding of the text and its meanings. It can be assumed that Hebrew literacy among Jewish women was primarily of the "phonetic" type, even though they would not read the text out aloud, but rather follow a text recited by a man. However, the Passover ritual certainly implies basic comprehension of the recited text among all the participants.

both Ashkenaz and Sepharad. Within this geo-cultural framework the evidence drawn from the source material needs to be looked at chronologically as well, a task that for some realms can be extremely difficult as the evidence often comes undated.

Modern scholars agree on one basic axiom: whereas education among women beyond essential matters of how to keep a Jewish household and how to observe laws of purity was not the norm, several exceptional cases of knowledgeable women can be observed in all realms. Differences exist first with respect of the nature of this "basic education." For example, did the education of women imply only oral teaching of elemental Hebrew and prayers and rules of purity, or did it include also read material?[33] The images in the First Darmstadt of women studying from books attended to by male scholars seem to indicate the latter (see Fig. 5). This, however, does not necessarily apply to all sources referring to female education in some way or the other. Second, in the interpretation of these exceptional cases in their broader context and in evaluating the role they can play in reconstructing an overall image about female education. Nothing specific is known about if or when this situation changed at some point during the late Middle Ages. Jewish female literacy is usually taken for granted for the sixteenth century and beyond, when printed books in Yiddish and Ladino began to appear on the market.[34] Evaluated as an early modern cultural phenomenon, this does not reflect on our understanding of any developments with regard to female literacy in what is usually referred to as the Middle Ages. In the following I will revisit this material along three different axes: the nature of the source material; the cultural realms; and the chronological framework.

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[33] Avraham Grossman, for example, implies that girls did receive basic knowledge in Hebrew and were able to pray: *Pious and Rebellious. Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 2001); an abridged version was published also in English as, *Pious and Rebellious. Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, trans. Jonathan Chapman (Waltham, MA and Hanover, NH, 2004), p. 166. This version will be quoted here whenever possible; unfortunately it skips several of the references to source material, in which case the Hebrew edition will be referred to. By contrast with Grossman, Baskin and Levine Melammed argue that most women were illiterate in Hebrew: Judith Baskin, "The Education of Jewish Women in the Middle Ages in Islamic and Christian Countries," (in Hebrew) *Peamim*, 82 (2000), pp. 31–49, esp. 31; Renée Levine Melammed, "Sephardi Women in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith Baskin (Detroit, 1998), pp. 128–49, esp. 133.

[34] On the impact of Yiddish and Ladino prints in Jewish culture in general, see David Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry. A New Cultural History* (Princeton, 2010), pp. 99–111.

Rabbinic texts provide what is considered the "normative" attitudes of the authorities to questions of female education and literacy. Most of the evidence available was collected and analyzed in 2004 by Avraham Grossman.[35] Specific cases describing knowledgeable women are known from documents that had been found in the Cairo Genizah. Ever since this treasure of disposed Hebrew documents from different areas of the Islamic realm was discovered in the nineteenth century in a synagogue in Cairo,[36] it had been searched for evidence of medieval Jewish life in the Near East and northern Africa. Concerning the status of women and their education in this cultural realm, this material was first discussed by Shlomo D. Goitein during the 1970s,[37] and later re-examined first by Colette Sirat in 1990,[38] by Judith Baskin in 1998 and 2000,[39] and most recently by Grossman. Information about specific women in the Christian countries who are known to have received a higher education appears for the most part in *responsa* collections and other rabbinic material.[40] The bulk of this material was studied by Renée Levine Melammed for Iberia,[41] in the above-mentioned works by Sirat, Baskin,[42] and Grossman for the entire Christian realm, and by Howard E. Adelman for Italy.[43] Particularly revealing also are some colophons by female scribes published first by

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[35] Avraham Grossman, *The Woman in the Teachings of the Medieval Sages* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2011); see also his earlier work, *Pious and Rebellious*.

[36] According to the ritual law it is forbidden to throw away sacred texts. They are to be disposed of separately in a *genizah* and later buried. Since this applied to any text written in the Hebrew ("sacred") language, the Cairo Genizah contains also a great wealth of secular documents.

[37] Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967–93), see esp. vol. 3: *The Family*, pp. 312–59.

[38] Colette Sirat, "Les femmes juives et l'écriture au Moyen Age," *Les nouveaux cahiers*, 101 (1990), pp. 14–23.

[39] Judith Baskin, "Jewish Women in the Middle Ages," in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith Baskin (Detroit, 1998), pp. 101–27; and her "Education of Jewish Women."

[40] Rabbinic authorities constantly updated the ritual law to contemporary circumstances and issued numerous codified legal collections. They also commonly replied to queries in legal and ritual matters coming from all over the Jewish world, their letters being collected as so-called *responsa* (singular: *responsum*).

[41] Levine Melammed, "Sephardi Women." In general on the role women played in Iberian culture, see also María Jesús Fuente, "Christian, Muslim and Jewish Women in Late Medieval Iberia," *Medieval Encounters*, 15 (2009), pp. 319–33.

[42] See also Judith Baskin, "Some Parallels in the Education of Medieval Jewish and Christian Women," *Jewish History*, 5/1 (1991), pp. 41–51.

[43] Howard E. Adelman, "The Educational and Literary Activities of Jewish Women in Italy during the Renaissance and the Counter Reformation," in *Shlomo Simonsohn Jubilee Volume. Studies on the History of the Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Period*,

Sirat, and recently re-considered in a collaborative study by Baskin and Michael Riegler.[44] The latter study further discusses colophons that refer explicitly to the use of books by women.

These studies collect and interpret a great deal of material; however, they also suffer from some large lacunae. Information about rabbinic attitudes to female education ("the norm") is limited to some mishnaic statements, a dictum by Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon, d. 1204), as the most outstanding authority of the Sephardic realm, a few remarks by several Ashkenazi scholars of Pietist background, two references to scholars of the French school ("Tosafists"), and some late medieval statements made by authorities from the German lands.[45] Very little is known about the attitudes of early medieval authorities of the ritual law from Babylonia or their Sephardi colleagues of the high and late Middle Ages. Likewise almost no information is made accessible on Italian rabbinic authorities. A great deal of our knowledge about female education is, however, based on accounts about unusually knowledgeable women ("the exceptions to the norm"). Islamic and Christian attitudes to female education have been discussed in medieval research, and, grounded in the expectation that the patterns of social life in the gentile environment reflect those of the Jews as well,[46] they have to some extent been worked into considerations of

ed. Daniel Carpi (Tel Aviv, 1993), pp. 9–24; Adelman, "Italian Jewish Women," in *Jewish Women*, pp. 150–68.

[44] Judith Baskin and Michael Riegler, " 'May the Writer Be Strong': Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts Copied by and for Women," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues*, 16 (2008), pp. 9–28.

[45] Among the medieval scholarly trends in Central Europe two stood out in particular. Since the 10th century the Babylonian Talmud began to circulate in the German lands and in France and several generations of scholars were occupied with its commentaries. The first to develop firm methods of talmudic scholarship was Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as Rashi (d. 1105), who wrote a commentary on most of the talmudic tractates. His followers, usually referred to as "Tosafists" (those who "added upon" this commentary), developed the method further and continued to interpret the Talmud. Apart from this school, several circles of pietist scholars were active in the Rhineland during the later 12th and early 13th centuries. Theirs were clearly defined ethical views, a rigorously ascetic lifestyle, and a great interest in mystical teachings.

[46] Moisés Orfali-Levi, "Influencia de las sociedades cristiana y musulmana en la condición de la mujer judía," in *Arabes, judías y cristianas; mujeres en la Europa medieval*, ed. Celia del Moral (Granada, 1993), pp. 77–89; in more general terms, see the work of Ivan Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood. Jewish Culture and Acculturation in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1996), esp. introduction; Mark Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross. The Jews of the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1994). Recently with regard to the status of women, Judith Baskin, "Jewish Women in Ashkenaz: Renegotiating Jewish Gender Roles in Northern Europe," in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (New York, 2010), p. 82.

Jewish education (especially in Grossman's study), but no cohesive image is yet available on how gentile practices, both normative and exceptional, would have affected Jewish attitudes toward female education and literacy.

In consequence our view of possible cultural differences among the various realms of Jewish life is wanting, and occasionally results in somewhat dichotomizing distinctions. Baskin approaches female education comparatively, presenting material from the Islamic realm vis-à-vis evidence from Christian Europe, an approach that had been avoided in Sirat's and Grossman's treatments of the material. In Islamic countries, Baskin explains, the women were secluded and polygamy was a norm whereas in Central Europe they could move in public, as Christian women did, and they lived in monogamous families, a situation that would reflect also on their education.[47] Hence, in the Islamic realm the chances for female education among Jews would have been yet smaller than in Central Europe. Iberia has received significantly less attention in matters of the status of women in general and their education in particular. As in all other aspects of Jewish life the practices prevailing in the Islamic realm applied also to al-Andalus and largely remained that way in Iberia even after most of the peninsula came under Christian rule by the middle of the thirteenth century. Levine Melammed argues that the situation of female education in Iberia would thus have been particularly dire,[48] a conclusion that was seemingly confirmed in a recent paper by Asunción Blasco Martínez on the exclusion of Jewish women from public life in Aragón.[49] A somewhat different voice was recently heard by Silvia Planas Marcé, who studied archival evidence mainly from Girona, coming to the conclusion that upper-class women in that city were fairly educated and literate.[50]

At first sight the evidence from medieval haggadah illustration seems, indeed, to suggest a dichotomy in geo-cultural terms and to indicate that Jewish women in Christian-ruled Iberia did not, or could not, read the haggadah, whereas those in Central Europe were sufficiently literate to follow

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[47] Baskin, "Education of Jewish Women;" see also recently her "Jewish Women in Ashkenaz," pp. 79–80.

[48] Levine Melammed, "Sephardi Women," p. 133.

[49] Asunción Blasco Martínez, "Queen for a Day: The Exclusion of Jewish Women from Public Life in the Middle Ages," in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (New York, 2010), pp. 91–106.

[50] Silvia Planas Marcé, " 'Only That Which I Have Lost is Now Mine Forever': The Memory of Names and the History of Jewish and *Converso* Women in Medieval Girona," in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (New York, 2010), pp. 107–22.

the text. A closer look, however, brings in the chronological parameter: the Sephardi haggadot are all from the early fourteenth century, whereas the visual evidence of reading women from Ashkenaz and Italy proceeds from the fifteenth. Current research leaves open the question of whether female education, at least for the upper classes, may have become something of a respectable "norm," rather than remaining an "exception" at some point during the later Middle Ages. The fact that the pictorial representations of women using books on the *seder* table create a recurring iconographic formula seems to indicate exactly such a process. That is, exceptions to social norms do not necessarily create iconographic formulae, whereas normative social patterns can potentially do just that. The textual sources are in no way conclusive in this matter, and it is beyond my task here to decide whether they are simply too scarce or lack interpretation and in-depth research. It seems, however, that the visual material is able to shed some light.

Let me first summarize the "norms," the rabbinic stances concerning female education. Talmudic law implies that only men are obliged to study the Torah. Likewise, men are obliged to pass their knowledge along to their sons but, as the sources explicitly state, not to their daughters.[51] Whereas Eleazar ben Azariah suggested that women may, to some degree, learn the Torah,[52] Eliezer ben Hyrcanus went as far as to define female knowledge of Torah in declared negative terms. In his opinion this would lead to lewdness and lack of modesty.[53] Abahu went yet further and claimed that knowledge would make women devious.[54]

Official expressions on female education from the Middle Ages tend to follow the lead of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. However, as Grossman points out, the practice often diverged from that principle, and even official statements occasionally tended to soften the original stance. Maimonides expressed a clear reluctance towards the education of women. First of all, he reminds us, the ritual law, the *halakhah*, does not prescribe their education. He also argues that most women would not address their

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[51] *Sifre Devarim*, par. 46. Having sketched the modern scholarly approaches above, I shall refer in the following only to the primary sources, and not repeat the references to the mentioned secondary literature (listed in notes 33–46), unless controversial matters are discussed or further argumentation is offered there. If not indicated otherwise, references to rabbinic sources are based on *The Global Jewish Database*, version 18 (Bar Ilan University Responsa Project).

[52] *Babylonian Talmud. Hagigah* 3a.

[53] *Mishnah, Sotah* 3:4; Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 155.

[54] *Babylonian Talmud. Sotah* 21b.

attention properly to the issues studied. Eliezer's argument that study leads to lewdness, however, is put solely into the context of the oral law; it does not apply to the Bible.[55] Later, in the thirteenth century, Moses of Coucy followed Maimonides' lead and expressed similar concerns about women obtaining religious knowledge.[56] Other authorities, however, seem to have favored some basic religious instruction for women. In the middle of the twelfth century, an anonymous student of Peter Abélard in France lamented the poor level of education among Christians, contrasting it to the Jewish practice (normative or exceptional?), where "not only [the] sons, but [the] daughters" are "put to letters ..... for the understanding of God's law."[57] At the turn of the thirteenth century, the German Pietists across the Rhine argued in favor of a basic female knowledge of the Torah. Women should know what is prohibited and allowed. However, the meaning of the laws should not be taught to them.[58] Likewise, hidden secrets of the Torah, by which they meant mystic and esoteric teachings, should be restricted.[59] Another example was Isaac of Corbeil, also in the thirteenth century, who claimed that women would certainly benefit from studying the commandments.[60] In the middle of the fourteenth century, Eliezer ben Samuel Halevi of Mainz expressed his hope that both his sons and his daughters might acquire a religious education.[61] It is not entirely clear if this sort of religious education of girls, alluded to by both Isaac of Corbeil and Eleazar of Mainz, was based on reading texts or implied an oral transmission of information. Likewise, the approach of Jacob Molin, also known as *Maharil*, in the early fifteenth century is not unambiguous.

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[55] *Mishne Torah. Hilkhot Talmud Torah*, 1:13.

[56] *Sefer Mitsvot Gadol. Asse*, par. 12.

[57] *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli et Schola Petri Abaelardi*, ed. Artur Landgraf (South Bend, IN, 1937), vol. 2, p. 434; the translations follows Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (South Bend, IN, 1964), p. 78. In the context of Jewish education of girls this dictum was discussed by Baskin, "Education," p. 42, suggesting that it indicates that occasionally female education went beyond the household basics; Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 168. Elisheva Baumgarten, "Religious Education of Children in Medieval Jewish Society," in *Essays on Medieval Childhood. Responses to Recent Debates*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Donington, 2007), pp. 54–72, esp. 55, suggests that it was a rhetorical ploy in the author's effort to criticize the state of Christian education, rather than a statement that should be judged as reflecting reality.

[58] *Sefer Hassidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 1502; see also par. 835.

[59] *Sefer Hassidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, par. 796. For further background on women in Pietist contexts, see Susanne Borchers, *Jüdisches Frauenleben im Mittelalter. Die Texte des Sefer Chassidim* (Franfurt am Main, 1998).

[60] *Sefer Mitsvot Qatan*, Introduction.

[61] For a quotation in English, see Baskin, "Some Parallels," p. 43.

On the one hand he followed the argument of Eliezer of Hyrcanus, Maimonides, and Moses of Coucy. He objected to the publication of halakhic guidebooks for women in the vernacular, but Grossman points out that the context for this attitude is Jacob Molin's general fear that halakhic knowledge would be popularized among ignorants. His stance would thus not be in particular discriminative of women. Indeed, in the same context, he spoke about halakhically knowledgeable women in a neutral, even positive manner.[62]

Information about medieval rabbinic attitudes to female education from Italy is regrettably sparse. Isaiah of Trani suggests in the thirteenth century that fathers may teach the scriptures to their daughters.[63] Most of the Italian evidence, however, comes from the early modern period. Under the assumption that changes occurred gradually and not suddenly, scholars suggest that the later Middle Ages was the period that made such changes possible. For example, Adelman discusses records from Jewish letters from the early modern period suggesting that in Italian Jewish culture female literacy was considered normative; there were women teachers who were entrusted with the education of young girls.[64] In the work of the sixteenth-century scholar Samuel Archivolti, female scholarship was defined as a virtue. If a woman is intellectually able, she is obliged to study Torah and philosophy. Archivolti noted that most women do not pursue advanced study, but what is important is that he saw female study *per se* in a much more positive light than his medieval colleagues from other areas of Christian Europe.[65] It is likely, scholars maintain, that Archivolti developed these ideas not out of the blue, but in a broader context of earlier Italian Jewish attitudes to female education. Other sources, however, indicate that the attitudes to female education could also be quite ambivalent. In 1646 Judah del Bene still judged female education as dangerous and destructive.[66]

Having come to terms with the somewhat sparse information about the "norms," let us now take a look at the "exceptions." Even though there is

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[62] *She'elot Uteshuvot Maharil*, no. 199.

[63] *Pisqe Hariaz*, quoted in the anthology *Me'at Dvash*, ed. David Sassoon (Oxford, 1928), p. 22.

[64] Adelman, "Educational and Literary Activities," p. 14 with references to specific letters; Adelman, "Italian Jewish Women," p. 156.

[65] *Sefer Ma'ayan Ganim* (Venice, 1553), par, 10, quoted in Adelman, "Educational and Literary Activities," p. 11.

[66] *Kisa'ot lebeit David* (Verona 1646), fol. 26v; quoted in Adelman, "Educational and Literary Activities," p. 10.

no visual evidence from Islamic countries, my remarks here will address this realm as well, since its culture is thought to have had a determining influence on Jewish society in post-reconquest Iberia. Several Genizah documents mention female professionals of different kinds. Some of these, especially in the field of medicine, may have required the use of written knowledge. One document indicates a woman specialist for eye-diseases.[67] One would assume that this profession required some degree of literate education beyond the traditional issues of midwifing, a traditional female profession, but both Goitein and Baskin argued that the medical profession would not necessarily have been practiced by these women in a scientific manner, and that these women's medical skills were acquired orally.[68] Some women are known to have run businesses,[69] but the sources do not make it clear to what extent they were assisted by male relatives, or had the skills, literacy being one of them, to deal with professional issues on their own.

Other sources provide firmer ground with regard to literacy among certain women. Perhaps the earliest evidence is that of Dunash ben Labrat's wife in the late tenth century in Al-Andalus, who wrote a poem.[70] Qasmūna, the daughter of Samuel Hanaggid, in the early eleventh is another case; she is known to have been widely appreciated for her poetic skills.[71] As appealing as this evidence about two poetesses seems to be, it offers no tool towards clear-cut conclusions concerning their ability to read and write, since these poems could theoretically be composed orally and put into writing by men. Striking, however,—and more conclusive—are numerous references to women who were active as teachers. Most of these can be dated (perhaps by coincidence?) to the twelfth century. An exchange of letters between a family in Cairo and Maimonides tells the story of

[67] The documents are listed in Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, p. 128, n. 8.

[68] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, pp. 127–128; Baskin, "Education," 37.

[69] Genizah sources are listed in Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, p. 129, nn. 14–16; see also the story of al-Wuḥsha discussed in detail in Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, pp. 346–353; Baskin, "Jewish Women," p. 106.

[70] Her poem, found in the Genizah was published by Ezra Fleischer, "On Dunash ben Labrat, His Wife, and His Son," (in Hebrew) *Mekhkare yerushalayim be sifrut haʿivrit*, 5 (1984), pp. 189–202; for an English translation, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 5, p. 468 with reference to the Genizah document in n. 247.

[71] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 5, pp. 469–70. James A. Bellamy, "Qasmūna the Poetess: Who Was She?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103 (1983), pp. 423–24 argued that she was the daughter of Samuel Hanaggid; for a more recent study, see María Ángeles Gallego García, "Approaches to the Study of Muslim and Jewish Women in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula: The Poetess Qasmūna bat Ismāʿīl," in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 48 (1999), pp. 63–75.

a woman who had been deserted by her husband. In order to maintain herself she ran a school together with her brother. Maimonides explicitly described her as a teacher and supported her way of life, given that the husband failed to provide for her.[72] Interesting is also the case of the daughter of Samuel ben ʿAli (ca. 1194), the head of the rabbinic academy of Baghdad in the late twelfth century. The Jewish traveler Petahia of Regensburg referred to her as an expert on the Bible and rabbinic scholarship, who taught male students through a small latticed window, so that she would be secluded from their sight.[73] Samuel ben Judah Hamaghrebi, a twelfth-century convert to Islam, wrote an autobiography in which he mentioned his mother and her two sisters as being literate in both Hebrew and Arabic and well versed in Torah studies.[74] These women and others were apparently taught by their male relatives. From the end of the fifteenth century, finally, comes the striking evidence of Miriam, daughter to a well-known family of scribes in Yemen, Benaya, who copied a Pentateuch.[75]

Undated evidence is also abundant. We learn about fathers who taught their daughters some rabbinic knowledge, and women who studied together with their husbands or other male relatives.[76] Another Genizah document mentions one Abū al-Manṣūr whose mother was a teacher.[77] There is evidence that women occupied various functions in schools, often institutions that were run by their male relatives.[78] In Cairo there was also a "synagogue of women teachers," where male children were taught.[79] We also learn about a woman at her deathbed who made great efforts to guarantee a proper education for her daughter.[80] There are letters addressed to women, some being of a particularly private nature and were thus most likely intended to be read by these women themselves.[81]

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[72] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 2, p. 184; vol. 3, pp. 355–56; Renée Levine Melammed, "He Said, She Said: A Woman Teacher in Twelfth-Century Cairo," *Association of Jewish Studies Review*, 22/1 (1997), pp. 19–35, where Maimonides' *responsa* are cited in full in English; Baskin, "Jewish Women," p. 107.

[73] *The Travels of Rabbi Petahia of Regensburg*, ed. A. Benisch (London, 1859), pp. 9–11.

[74] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 2, p. 184; vol. 3, pp. 355–56.

[75] Her manuscript is not extant, but it was shown to the 19th-century Jewish traveler Jacob Safir who quotes her colophon. Baskin and Riegler, "Hebrew Manuscripts," p. 15.

[76] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 2, p. 184; Baskin, "Education," p. 34.

[77] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, pp. 355–56.

[78] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, pp. 355–56; Baskin, "Education," pp. 36–37.

[79] Jacques Hassoun, "En Egypte, du Xe au XVe siècle: un Judaïsme au feminine," *Les nouveaux cahiers*, 86 (1986), pp. 6–14, esp. 7.

[80] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, pp. 353–54.

[81] Baskin, "Education," p. 34.

The stories of these women who must have been literate, made a living from teaching, wrote poetry, or copied manuscripts, thus indicate the rather high degree to which divergence from the rabbinic "norms" was allowed. In fact, Maimonides' statement seems to be the sole evidence for this "norm," as nothing is known about early medieval attitudes from the Middle East and Iberia to female education. And we have seen that even Maimonides himself makes such allowances, if the social circumstances demand it.

Grossman argues that, in fact, in Islam, "there is no opposition... to the acquiring of education by women, such as that found among several of the Jewish sages in the Mishnah, in the Talmud, and even in the Middle Ages."[82] As the fifteenth-century Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī in Egypt reports, there were women who functioned as transmitters of the *ḥadīth*, Muhammad's oral traditions.[83] Others composed poetry,[84] and numerous specific women were declaredly appreciated in society for their knowledge. Even though some girls would study in public institutions, especially in Fatimid Egypt, most of the learned women in Islamic society acquired their education within the private sphere of their homes, and no law limited their access to knowledge, even though some sources speak about the dangers of knowledgeable women.[85] Knowledge in Islamic society did not always depend on literacy though, and it was often acquired by both men and women through memorization. We do know, however, of female scribes in Fatimid society.[86] Most learned women came from scholarly families. Seclusion of Islamic women, it appears, did not necessarily have an effect on the levels of female education common in the upper classes.[87]

As in the Islamic realm, Jewish women in Christian lands occasionally learned crafts and trades, and some acquired professional knowledge

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[82] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 157.

[83] Delia Cortese and Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 205–06 relying on *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), vol. 1, p. 300.

[84] Several female poets were active in al-Andalus. Earlier scholarship implied that under Christian influence Andalusi women were less secluded than in the rest of the Islamic world; for a critical re-appraisal, see María J. Viguera, "*Aṣluḥu li ʾl-maʿālī*—On the Social Status of Andalusi Women," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp. 709–25; this paper also discusses the poets mentioned on pp. 709–11.

[85] Cortese and Calderini, *Women*, pp. 206–07.

[86] Cortese and Calderini, *Women*, pp. 206–07.

[87] On the social status of women of all classes in Islamic society, see Wiebke Walther, *Women in Islam* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 73–102.

that would require literacy. A fourteenth-century Hebrew treatise on obstetrics from Iberia requires explicitly that midwives be literate.[88] Also in Christian Iberia we hear of women who practiced medicine.[89] A small number of Jewish women in Aragón engaged in private Torah study.[90] As elsewhere, upper-class women in Catalunya, in Girona in particular, were most likely literate in the vernacular, as they were involved occasionally in family business. As Planas Marcé points out, "some Jewish women in Girona owned Hebrew books for their own personal use."[91] All in all, the evidence from Christian Iberia about both the rabbinic "norms" and possible "exceptions" is regrettably sparse, and conclusions can be drawn either in analogy to other realms, or based rather speculatively on arguments from silence.

In Central Europe some women of the upper classes, especially from rabbinic elite families, enjoyed the privilege of higher education. As in other realms we know of women who were active in business.[92] Rashi, Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (d. 1105), had no sons but several daughters, and at least one of them is known to have been able to take dictation from her father to write down legal matters.[93] Around the same time Bellette, the sister of Isaac of Le Mans, was described as a woman of knowledge.[94] A century later we learn about the wife and daughter of Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (d. 1230), whom he described as learned women in his eulogy

[88] Ron Barkai, "A Medieval Hebrew Treatise on Obstetrics," *Medical History*, 33 (1989), pp. 96–119, esp. 107. In Ashkenaz we also learn of midwives for whom no firm evidence about their degree of literacy exists; however, we do know that their professional level and their skills could be highly appreciated, see Elisheva Baumgarten, " 'This is Told by the Wise Midwives': Midwives and Midwifing in Thirteenth-Century Ashkenaz," (in Hebrew) *Zion*, 65/1 (2000), pp. 45–74.

[89] Levine Melammed, "Sephardi Women," p. 133.

[90] Elka Klein, "Public Activities of Catalán Jewish Women," *Medieval Encounters*, 12/1 (2006), pp. 48–61, esp. 50.

[91] Planas Marcé, "The Memory of Names," p. 108. The fact that these books were mentioned in the context of inquisitorial records implies that they were indeed used by the interrogated women and did not merely form part of their property which they had inherited from their male relatives; on this see also below, n. 111.

[92] See, for example, the evidence discussed by Martha Keil, "Maistrin (Mastress) and Business Woman: Jewish Upper-Class Women in Late Medieval Austria," in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University: Public Lectures 1996–1999*, ed. Anràs Kovacs and Eszter Andor (Budapest, 2000), pp. 93–108, and her "Business and Tax Debts: Jewish Women in Late Medieval Austrian Towns," in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University*, ed. Andràs Kovacs and Eszter Andor, vol. 2: *1999–2001* (Budapest, 2002), pp. 103–23. See also recently Baskin, "Jewish Women in Ashkenaz."

[93] Baskin, "Some Parallels," p. 50, n. 44.

[94] *Mahzor Vitry*, par. 610, 625.

after they had been killed in an attack on their home.[95] An halakhic text from approximately the same time discusses whether one is allowed to read on the Sabbath with the light of a candle. This becomes particularly acute when the eve of Passover falls on a Sabbath eve. One is not supposed to read on one's own, but only together with other people. In this context literate women are mentioned, indicating that by the time this text was composed a woman who could read did not necessarily constitute a highly unusual phenomenon.[96] Christian documents from Augsburg from the fourteenth century mention female Jewish teachers as part of a general educational system. For example, "frow Spientzen die schuolmaisterin" is mentioned in such contexts several times.[97] Abraham bar Ephraim in France explains that even though a woman is not obliged to study, if she has sufficient knowledge and is able to teach her sons, she should receive payment.[98] In 1386 Hannah, the daughter of Menachem Hatsioni, wrote a copy of Isaac Corbeil's halakhic compilation *Sefer mitsvot qatan*;[99] and in 1454 we learn of Fromet, who copied an abridged version of the *Sefer Mordekhai*.[100]

Around the same time, an exchange of letters between Israel Isserlein (d. 1460) and a learned woman indicates that halakhic knowledge expressed by women could result in quite vexed reaction from some rabbis.[101] In some contradiction Isserlein's own daughter-in-law is known to have learned Torah,[102] and his wife is known to have written a *responsum* in her husband's name.[103] This indicates that it was not female literacy

[95] *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz Vetsarfat*, ed. Abraham M. Habermann (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 161–67; for a discussion and a translation of the eulogy into English, see Judith Baskin, "Dolce of Worms: The Lives and Deaths of an Exemplary Medieval Jewish Woman and Her Daughters," in *Judaism in Practice. From the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period*, ed. Lawrence Fine (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 429–37.

[96] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. Hébr. 326, fol. 18v–19r quoted and discussed in *La conception du livre chez les piétistes ashkenazes au Moyen Age*, eds. Colette Sirat et al. (Geneva, 1996), pp. 9–16, esp. 12.

[97] The documents are kept in the city archives of Augsburg and are discussed by Martin Kintzinger, "*Ich was auch ain schueler*—Die Schulen im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg," in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 58–81, esp. 76–77.

[98] *Sefer Mitsvot*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod hébr. 392, par. 12, fol. 5. I am grateful to Elisheva Baumgarten for providing me with this reference.

[99] Amsterdam, University Library, MS Rosenthal 558; Sirat, "Femmes," p. 19; Baskin and Riegler, "Hebrew Manuscripts," n. 18 with erroneous shelf number.

[100] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. Hébr. 408.

[101] *Trumat Hadeshen*, *Psaqim Ukhtavim*, par. 160–161.

[102] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 164.

[103] *Leqet Yosher*, pt. 2, p. 19b. The *responsum* is in Yiddish, written in Hebrew letters.

as such that concerned Isserlein. At his time female literacy may, in fact, have been quite common and was not necessarily an issue. What Isserlein apparently meant is that women should not partake in rabbinic discourse nor argue with male scholars. It is also noteworthy that even though Jewish women in Central Europe were not secluded in the way they were in the Islamic realms, Ashkenazi scholars did express concerns about the threats of intense contact between men and women and the dangers mutual attraction bore on scholarship among men, if the two sexes were to meet during study.[104] Miriam Spira in the late fourteenth century, a sixteenth-century source tells us, commonly taught her students from behind curtains, a practice that certainly reminds us of the daughter of Samuel ben ʿAli in Baghdad.[105]

It appears thus that some degree of education among Jewish women became more common towards the later Middle Ages. The evidence increases in the fifteenth century. Limited, however, was the scope of possibilities to apply that knowledge. Evidence about knowledgeable women, the apparent "exceptions to the norms," seems to reveal a similar image in all realms. Most scholars argue that a well-founded education would have been the privilege of some daughters from elite families, especially if they did not bear sons.[106] We have seen that their stories have been discussed as exceptions to the norms. We should bear in mind, though, that these norms had been laid out by the rabbinic fathers of these elite daughters themselves. How exceptional were the stories of Dulce and Bellette in the household of Eleazar of Worms really, if we know that the German Pietists of whom Eleazar counted himself one, recommended female education? At least in the context of Ashkenazi society, as much as it may have been influenced by pietistic stances, female literacy may at some point have passed that thin line from the "exception" to the "norm," not of the masses, but a norm for the upper classes and intellectual circles. Crossing the line from the "exceptional" to the "normative" creates the circumstances in which an iconographic convention can develop. We do not know when exactly this process occurred, but by the first half of the

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104 Baskin, "Education," p. 39.

105 Baskin, "Some Parallels," pp. 45, 51 n. 56, on Samuel ben Ali's daughter, see above, p. 550.

106 Baskin, "Education," pp. 33, 46.

fifteenth century female literacy seems to have been a respectable norm and must have been quite common among the upper classes.[107]

We have seen that our knowledge regarding female education in Italy is particularly scarce. The available evidence indicates vaguely that here the "norms" may have been somewhat different from other realms, and already in the thirteenth century female education was approached positively. As elsewhere there were outstanding cases of female scholarship, women who knew the scriptures and had a deeper insight into matters of rabbinic tradition and ritual law.[108] Interesting is the evidence about Pola, a female scribe in Verona and Rome, the daughter of Abraham Sofer, who copied two manuscripts in the late thirteenth century, and another in 1306.[109] Pola thus predated her Yemenite and Ashkenazi colleagues by almost one hundred years. Baskin and Riegler's study lists also a whole group of manuscripts from Italy for which it is explicitly mentioned that they were intended for use by women.[110] Eight of them were in Hebrew, others were translated into Judeo-Italian. There may have been several more of them: Maraviglia's prayerbook of 1469 (see Fig. 10), for example, is not included in Baskin and Riegler's survey. These books certainly indicate that women owned such works, could read them, and used them for ritual purposes. From the records listed by Baskin and Riegler, they did so evidently from at least the late fourteenth century. The fact that these colophons speak about women owning books intended explicitly for their own use is important. Everywhere in the Jewish world, books were owned by women from wealthy families. They are included in lists of dowries and inheritances. Dowries, however, played primarily an economic role, determining the status of married women and guaranteeing their financial wellbeing during their marriage. Female patronage in such economic terms does not imply that the listed books were necessarily read and used by their owners; rather, that they formed part of their property.[111]

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107 This is somewhat different from the situation in the Islamic realms during the earlier Middle Ages, where we have seen that women occasionally turned to the teaching profession when in need of income, indicating that female literacy was not limited to the well-to-do, Baskin, "Education," p. 166.

108 Adelman, "Italian Jewish Women," p. 156.

109 Wroclav, University Library, MS II, 104; Verona, Comunita Israelitica MS 1.

110 Baskin and Riegler, "Hebrew Manuscripts," pp. 18–23; see also Howard E. Adelman, "Italian Jewish Women at Prayer," in *Judaism in Practice. From the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period*, ed. Lawrence Fine (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 52–60, esp. 54.

111 Baskin, "Jewish Women," p. 104. An example from the Christian realm is a Jewish woman in southern France, Venguessona, who is known to have owned books in both

The above-mentioned Italian colophons either signed by female copyists or marking books written for female patrons, however, tell a different story.[112] Adelman and Tali Berner, finally, discuss evidence about female Torah teachers for boys in early modern Italy,[113] and Grossman, assuming that they continued some sort of tradition, suggests that female teachers may have been fairly common in Italy also during the later Middle Ages.[114] It seems thus apparent that in Italy female education and literacy crossed the line from the "exceptional" to the "normative" around the end of the fourteenth century.[115]

Latin and Hebrew: Louis Stouff, "Isaac Nathan et les siens: Une famille juive d'Arles des XIVe et XVe siècles," *Provence historique*, 150 (1987), pp. 499–512. In a paper about the economic implications of patronage in Iberia, Eleazar Gutwirth shows that women could be listed as patrons, owners, and heirs of art objects, including also ritual objects as Torah scrolls and prayer-books: "Qilusin: El mecenazgo feminino medieval," in *La mujer judía*, ed. Yolanda Moreno Koch (Córdoba, 2007), pp. 107–27. Similarly, Green argues for the Christian realm that female ownership of books did not necessarily imply that these women actually read their books, *Women Readers*, p. 115.

[112] Two of the mentioned female scribes, Pola in Rome and Fromet in Ashkenaz, express their hope that the books they wrote may be studied by many people including themselves. Baskin and Riegler, "Hebrew Manuscripts," pp. 12–14.

[113] Howard E. Adelman, "Rabbis and Reality: Public Activities of Jewish Women in Italy during the Renaissance and Catholic Restoration," *Jewish History*, 5 (1991), pp. 27–40; Tali Berner, "Teaching the *Aleph-Beth*. Women as Torah Teachers in Italy," (in Hebrew) *Masekhet*, 4 (2005), pp. 11–34.

[114] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 164.

[115] See also the remarks by Diane Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish. Gender, Identity and Memory in Illustrated Yiddish Books of Renaissance Italy* (Leiden, 2004), chpt. 4 on a *minhagim* book in Yiddish, which she believed to have belonged to a woman who must have been literate. The evidence for Italy in matters of female education and literacy does not apply to Sicily, where the situation seems to have been worse than anywhere else in the Jewish world. See Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 172–73; the discussion, however, argues primarily from silence. It would be worth examining these patterns in comparison to what is known currently about female literacy in Christian societies. For a clear, concise summary of literate Christian women and different kinds of literacy, see Clanchy, "Images of Ladies," pp. 106–11. During this period we hear about female patronage of books in lay circles, see Susan Groag Bell, "Women Medieval Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Erler (Athens, GA and London, 1988), pp. 149–61; see also Green, *Women Readers*, pp. 115–29. There was, however, no linear movement that would eventually lead to general female literacy across all social strata. The fact that most schools established in Protestant Germany during the 16th century were for boys, did, in fact, widen again the gap between male and female literacy in the 17th. See the discussion by Merry E. Wiesner, "Gender and the Worlds of Work," in *Germany. A New Social and Economic History.* Vol. 1: *1450–1630*, ed. Bob Scribner (London, 1996), pp. 209–32, esp. 212.

The literacy question touches upon another issue: to what extent were women involved in the performance of rituals,[116] especially those that required reading? Jewish women received religious training to keep a kosher household, but most scholars assume that in all realms this kind of knowledge was transmitted to them by oral teaching from mother to daughter. In a recent study Elisheva Baumgarten points out, however, that there is firm evidence that even in this field male members of the household may have been more dominant than female.[117] But how about participation in other ritual aspects beyond these practical issues of how to keep a kosher house?

There is some evidence that Jewish women in the Islamic realm frequently attended synagogue.[118] Elka Klein, however, observed that—at least in the Crown of Aragón—Jewish authorities did not encourage synagogue attendance by women. This corresponds, she argued, with the law prohibiting women to act as prayer-leaders or to read from the Torah.[119] These evidences sketch an image of rather limited female participation in the Sephardi realms. On the other hand in 1325 we learn about a female synagogue leader in Zaragoza a certain Rabissa Çeti.[120] It is possible that the Muslim norms with regard to separation influenced the Jewish practice insofar as it led ultimately to the separation of women from men,[121] and the evolution of women's sections in synagogues first in Iberia and only later in Ashkenaz. The architectural evidence is not entirely clear in this matter. The sudden appearance of women's sections in the fourteenth century can either indicate that prior to that period women did not attend synagogue at all, or, on the other hand, that they did indeed attend services, but were not restricted to separate sections. It has also been proposed that

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[116] For a general discussion on female performance of ritual laws, see Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, pp. 174–197.

[117] Baumgarten, "Education."

[118] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, p. 343.

[119] Klein, "Public Activities," p. 50.

[120] David Nirenberg, "A Female Rabbi in Fourteenth-Century Zaragoza?" *Sepharad*, 51 (1991), pp. 179–82. Recently Blasco Martínez, "Queen for a Day," argued that Çeti's function was less learned than the document under question might suggest and that neither her education nor her teaching implied reading skills.

[121] Female attendance in mosques is in general believed to be restricted. This goes back to a statement attributed to Muḥammad's father-in-law 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 644). Recently, however, Manuela Marín demonstrated that in the religious discourse of medieval al-Andalus female presence in mosques was by some considered legitimate, "Mujeres en las mezquitas," in *Mezquitas de Toledo, a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos* (Toledo, 2010), pp. 297–307.

women had their own, separate synagogues with Torah shrines, indicating that they might have conducted services independently.[122]

A somewhat different situation can be observed for Ashkenaz. Baumgarten discusses a tendency among Ashkenazi women observable during the eleventh and twelfth centuries to perform certain religious practices and to fulfill certain obligations that are supposed to be restricted to men. Whereas at the time this tendency met with approval on the side of some rabbis, limits were put in place towards the end of the thirteenth century, especially by Meir ben Barukh of Rothenburg (d. 1293). Before the late thirteenth century, until Meir forbade it, for example, women functioned occasionally as godmothers at circumcisions.[123]

Female attendance in the synagogue is widely documented for Ashkenaz from at least the late twelfth century. Isaac of Vienna encourages the Jews in his vicinity to take to the synagogue not only boys, but also girls.[124] Women were allowed and encouraged to recite certain blessings in Hebrew, even though they were not required to do so by the ritual law.[125] They could be counted in the quorum of three or ten necessary to recite the blessing over meals (not the statutory prayer, though). Grossman discusses a reference to Meir of Rothenburg allowing women in priestly communities to accept a call to the Torah reading under special circumstances. This certainly falls under the rubric of exception, but the conjunction to the actual act of reading the Torah is remarkable. Even though this does not imply that every woman actually read by herself from the Torah, there is something quite meaningful in allowing a woman to partake in this ritual act of public study.[126]

Several women prayer-leaders are known from the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries who guided other women during synagogue services: among them was Dulce, the aforementioned wife of Eleazar of Worms. Bellette, their thirteen-year old daughter, was praised by her father for

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[122] On this, see the controversy between José Hinojosa Montalvo, "El reino de Valencia: juderías y sinagogas," in *Juderías y sinagogas de la Sefarad medieval*, eds. A.M. López and R. Izquierdo (Cuenca, 2003), pp. 124–25, and Jaume Riera i Sans, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues. Segles XIII–XV* (Girona, 2006), pp. 414–16; and Blasco Martínez, "Queen for a Day," pp. 94–95.

[123] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children. Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 55–89; see also Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, pp. 185–86.

[124] *Or Zarua*, vol. 2, *Hilkhot Shabat*, par. 68.

[125] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, pp. 178–80.

[126] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, pp. 186–87.

having learned all the prayers from her mother.[127] Several decades later, in 1275, Urania of Worms is mentioned on her tombstone as reciting "*piyyutim* for the women."[128] Richenza, another female cantor, died during the persecutions of 1298 in Nuremberg.[129] The involvement of women in prayer and synagogue services did not necessarily depend on their knowledge of Hebrew. For both men and women a proper understanding of the prayers uttered during the services is crucial. Therefore rabbinic sources of all times permit the use of the vernacular during prayer.[130] This applies, as Grossman points out, also to the recitation of the haggadah on the eve of Passover.[131] Observations made about the participation of women in prayer rituals imply that women did not necessarily always follow the services through the use of a written text. It is possible that they had learned to memorize the texts by heart through oral communication. The mention of female prayer-leaders in the women's sections, who repeated the recitation as they were uttered in the men's section by the male *hazan*, seems to indicate, however, that at least these women used books, as did the male prayer-leaders in the men's sections. Moreover, an evaluation of this evidence together with the information on literacy demonstrates that the possibility that reading was involved during female participation in rituals was very likely. Our images of women reading the haggadah back up that assumption.

Similar evidence exists for Italy. Jewish women in Italy could read Hebrew, prayed commonly, and some even wore phylacteries.[132] A so-called "time-bound" commandment (observed only at certain times), the wearing of phylacteries principally applies only to men, and the question is if women are forbidden to perform such time-bound commandments or simply are not obliged to do so.[133] As we have seen, Lady Maraviglia

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[127] See above n. 56. On mothers teaching their young sons basic prayers before schooling, see Baumgarten, "Education," p. 67.

[128] The inscription is quoted in the Hebrew version of Grossman's book, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 298.

[129] *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*, ed. Siegmund Salfeld (Berlin, 1898), p. 36.

[130] *Mishnah*, *Sotah* 7:1. For medieval attitudes, see Ruth Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions between Liturgical Custom and Halakhah in Judaism* (Cincinnati, 1998), pp. 22–23.

[131] Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious*, p. 167.

[132] Adelman, "Women at Prayer," 52–54.

[133] Alexander Marx, "R. Yoseph of Arles as Teacher and Head of the Yeshivah in Siena" (in Hebrew), in *Jubilee Volume for Levi Ginzberg on his Seventieth Birthday* (New York, 1945), p. 294; see also Adelman, "Italian Jewish Women at Prayer," pp. 52–53 with some halakhic background on this issue. On the exemption of women from time-bound precepts, see also

owned her own prayer-book. And, just as north of the Alps, there were female prayer guides in the women's sections of the synagogues here as well.[134]

Conclusions from the forgoing discussions are, in fact, two-fold. They can be drawn on the general methodological level and concern the question of how written sources can interact with visual evidence in research into cultural history. On a more specific level they offer insight into the lives of Jewish upper-class women and their levels of education. The references discussed here—textual evidence in conjunction with visual material—indicate first that since the thirteenth century rabbinic authorities in Central Europe began to be increasingly positive towards female education and the involvement of women in public rituals. It appears that the participation of women in public rituals would have been considered a virtue by most Ashkenazi scholars, who discuss in detail the thrust of female piety from the late eleventh century on. Unfortunately, evidence from Middle Eastern and Sephardi sources beyond Maimonides is largely lacking, and Tosafist evidence is somewhat selective and scarce. It would be tempting to consult the visual evidence in an attempt to make up for the meager textual references. This is, however, not as simple as it looks. Visual evidence does not simply supplement evidence from written records.

Klein showed eloquently how difficult it is to evaluate fully the medieval source material, and how easy it is to slip into dichotomizing views. The scarcity of evidence can indeed lead to polarizing conclusions about men vs. women, exceptions vs. norms, the Islamic realm vs. Christian lands in Central Europe. Even our brief glimpse here shows that norms changed, and that exceptions to the norms occurred everywhere. In the context of Catalán women in the public sphere, Klein observed methodological issues that apply to other questions as well: "True, Catalán Jewish women faced certain constraints which men did not. While women had a place in the synagogue, they might frequent it less often . . . Travel would have been more difficult for women, and they may have been more hesitant to undertake it . . . None of these constraints, however, stopped women from playing an active role, from engaging in business, or from protecting their

Marjorie Lehman, "Women and Passover Observance: Reconsidering Gender in the Study of Rabbinic Texts," *Studies in Jewish Civilization*, 14 (2003), pp. 45–66.

[134] Kenneth B. Stow and Sandra Debenedetti Stow, "Donne ebree a Roma nell'età del ghetto: Affetto, dependenza, autonomia," *La Rassegna mensile di Israel*, 52 (1986), p. 81; Adelman, "Jewish Women at Prayer," pp. 54–55.

interests. The limitations on women were relative rather than absolute."[135] This not only shows that no clear-cut or dichotomizing conclusions can be drawn with respect to the situation of women, but that these constraints met the women's own expectations and norms.

The question is not how many women could read, whether there were differences in this respect among the different Jewish societies, or whether we can draw clear divisions in geo-cultural terms. As problematic and scarce as the source material—both textual and visual—is, it shows nevertheless that at some point female education began to turn into a more broadly accepted norm. The images both reflect that norm as it apparently existed, and also present a model for it. They seem to indicate that literacy for ritual purposes was expected from a woman who would become the wife of a respectable husband and could actively participate in home (and synagogue) rituals.

A simple thought experiment will enable us to see how image and written record work together to create a more complete picture. If we take the evidence drawn from written sources alone our conclusion about female literacy would be somewhat different. We would be able to define very clearly the "norms" concerning women and knowledge throughout the halakhic literature at all times and in all realms. The stories about exceptionally knowledgeable women would remain outstanding stories about a few privileged daughters from rabbinic families. It would be very difficult to evaluate their weight in relation to the halakhic norms. Had we, on the other hand, relied on the visual evidence alone, the result would likewise have been a somewhat distorted image of the past. Ideally we would expect the visual material to confirm the written evidence. However, this is not exactly the case. The visual evidence seems to indicate that in fourteenth century Sepharad women were illiterate and did not commonly practice reading. In contrast Jewish women in Central Europe in the fifteenth century were using books for ritual purposes on a regular basis. We would have received a partial image of widespread literacy among women. Due to the lack of full chronological coverage, our image based on visual evidence could turn into a trap of generalization and dichotomy. However, unlike the textual evidence, which seems to keep norm and exception apart, the recurrent image of women using the Passover haggadah so frequently employed in illustrations of the fifteenth century enables us to reach more subtle conclusions about theory and

[135] Klein, "Public Activities," p. 60.

practice. Approaching the illustrations not as mere genre representations of medieval life, but more subtly bearing in mind issues of iconographic conventions and how they emerge, allows us to create a bridge between the textual and the pictorial. The latter is, in fact, able to cast light on the somewhat shady borderline between the exception and the norm.

As to when that thin border between the exceptional and the normative was crossed in the different Jewish realms, the sources are neither decisive nor conclusive. However, the visual evidence pointing at the emergence of an iconographic convention of women reading from books by the early fifteenth century adds a great deal of weight to these questions. Did Abélard's student imply some sort of normative female education for France already in the twelfth century, or was he talking about an exceptional situation? Did the German Pietists at the turn of the thirteenth century create a norm, or were their wives and daughters exceptions? It seems that the fact that by 1400 we can think of the depiction of reading women as an iconographic convention enables us to approach theses cases as normative, rather than exceptional. Isaac of Corbeil slightly later and Eleazer of Mainz towards the end of the fourteenth century think of female education as normative, and for Isserlein in the fifteenth a learned women was perhaps a common fact, even though he struggled with how to handle female intellect and halakhic reasoning. The evidence from Italy from this period is also telling. Here we meet a female scribe already in the late thirteenth century and by the end of the fourteenth several women owned books for their own use. It is this process that our images document.

Modern scholarship tends to speak about male and female education in terms of a clear divide between the genders. Education at large, in fact, was instrumental in making this divide work as it provided both boys and girls with essential elements to define their roles in society.[136] In the Middle Ages the transgression of this divide was considered exceptional. The images I have discussed here from the realm of Christian Europe, however, seem to shed some additional light on the question of just how exceptional female education, literacy, and involvement in ritual practice really were.

[136] Wiesner, "Worlds of Work," pp. 209–211. Wiesner also argues that at no time female literacy or education in general served the purpose of making women productive economically. The evidence about Jewish female teachers, businesswomen, and women in the medical professions, however, seems to contradict this assumption, at least for the Jewish realm.

The evidence from Iberia, finally, remains somewhat vague. The images under discussion date from the early decades of the fourteenth century, and later evidence from haggadah illustration is not extant. These images, with their striking lack of reading women, first of all confirm the formulaic nature of the later iconography found only in Central Europe. Moreover it tells us that in early fourteenth-century Iberia female education and literacy among Jewish women may not yet have crossed that border from the exceptional to the normative. Since both textual and visual sources from the fifteenth century are silent in this respect, the situation in fifteenth-century Sepharad may have just been similar to other regions.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE: FEMALE INITIATIVES AND ARTISTIC ENTERPRISES IN ENGLAND IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

Loveday Lewes Gee

Contemporary with the advance of the Gothic aesthetic in England to all forms of artistic enterprise, from the late twelfth century there were two important influences on the spiritual and religious life of the laity. These were the decisions taken at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 concerning the religious practices required of all Christians and the ideas and sermons of the new orders of friars to lay congregations.[1] These factors, artistic and spiritual, as well as social developments, provide an enframing narrative for research into the artistic patronage of women during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The extensive patronage of various artistic enterprises by women in England when the new artistic developments as well as the new influences on the spirituality of women become apparent has been explored in my book *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377*.[2] In the present paper I shall seek to assess the ways in which the individuality, interests, and identities of particular women could be expressed within the accepted conventions of the time through an examination of various images of donors and patrons. It will be shown that aristocratic women could ensure that their personalities and their own wishes and concerns could be expressed through their patronage. The general expectation of how noble daughters, wives, and widows should behave and how they were perceived will be considered in the context of how they were portrayed and described.[3]

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[1] The developments within English women's patronage during the 12th century are too extensive to be addressed here; they have been the focus of much scholarly attention. See especially Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (New York and Oxford, 1991).

[2] Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Woodbridge, 2002).

[3] On this subject, see the now classic study by Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 105–54.

The most expensive and impressive objects of their patronage were the many religious foundations established by women. A closer examination, however, of some of their more personal possessions and commissions, such as seals, prayer books, and tombs, will allow us to learn more about an individual woman's particular interests. The women who are the subject of this investigation lived in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although many had lands in Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, as well as in France or the Low Countries. A range of artistic media commissioned by elite women will be discussed, including the major religious houses they established (details of which are given in Appendix A); religious manuscripts associated with laywomen (listed in Appendix B); and seals. Regarding the latter, in addition to those analysed in the present study, Appendix C gathers a hitherto unpublished compendium of some 300 women's seals for the period in question from both published and archival sources. Appendix D gives details of the kings, their wives, and families, as there is not space here for even a brief survey of the historical background in England at this time. It should be noted, however, that from Henry III, who succeeded King John Lackland in 1216, to Richard II, deposed in 1400, the English kings all had wives from Continental Europe who certainly contributed to the cultural ambience of their respective courts.[4]

Much information regarding major foundations is provided in documents, including charters and wills. References can also be found in the various Calendars of State Papers or Papal Registers, although not many of the buildings or the tombs listed in them have survived. Aristocratic women were particularly prominent as patrons of nunneries, although some chose to establish male monasteries and were enthusiastic supporters of the friars. As Appendix A with its list of women who founded, co-founded, or re-founded religious houses shows, in the thirteenth century most of these houses were Augustinian. The valuation of religious foundations at the Dissolution in 1535 indicates that the most prestigious

[4] Various writings on queens of England in this period include B.C. Hardy, *Philippa of Hainault and Her Times* (London, 1910); Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (London, 1998); Hilda Johnstone, "Isabella, the She-Wolf of France," *History*, 21 (1936), pp. 208–18; John Carmi Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto, 1977); John Carmi Parsons, "Eleanor of Castile (1241–1290): Legend and Reality through Seven Centuries," *Eleanor of Castile, 1290–1990*, ed. D. Parsons (Stamford, 1991); Alison Weir, *Isabella: She-Wolf of France, Queen of England* (London, 2005).

and largest Augustinian houses established in the thirteenth century were the nunneries of Lacock, Canonsleigh, and Grace Dieu, all three founded by very wealthy women. In the thirteenth century several earls died without male heirs, particularly the earldoms of Pembroke, Chester, and Salisbury, but also Winchester, Arundel, Devon, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Surrey, with the result that their daughters inherited the wealth of their fathers. Consequently there were a number of very rich women who were in a position to be generous in their patronage, although it was generally only as widows that their generosity is apparent. Fewer religious houses were founded by women in the fourteenth century, and from the last decade of the thirteenth century such new foundations were for friars, especially Franciscans. By establishing a religious house the patron could express her social status and wealth, but she also sought a path to salvation through the prayers of those benefiting from her largesse.[5] Several female patrons chose to retire to nunneries and a few became professed nuns, such as Ela of Salisbury who founded Lacock Abbey and Roesia de Verdun, the foundress of Grace Dieu.

Where there is some evidence of ownership of the surviving illuminated religious manuscripts commissioned in the thirteenth century, about half show indications of having been made for women and about half for ecclesiastics or male religious houses. In the fourteenth century, however, we can observe a significant shift, as rather more than half such manuscripts indicate female ownership whilst about a quarter were associated with laymen and only about a quarter with ecclesiastics or male religious houses.[6] English religious manuscripts associated with laywomen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are gathered in Appendix B, revealing that in the thirteenth century women owned psalters, a few Apocalypses, and some books of hours,[7] while in the fourteenth century books of hours became increasingly popular.

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[5] Discussed by Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2006), p. 5; Jill Caskey, "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic Art in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford and Malden, MA, 2006), pp. 193–212, esp. 195.

[6] Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 39, n. 3.

[7] Christopher de Hamel, "Books and Society," and Martin Kauffman, "Illustration and Ornament," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 2, 1100–1400, eds. Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 3–21 and 474–87, discuss the popularity of the Apocalypse in the 13th century (esp. 13, 480). Hamel (p. 13) also notes

The commissioning of this type of personal prayer book followed major changes affecting the devotions of the laity arising from the decisions taken at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 concerning annual confession and communion, and the need to perform whatever act of penance was required by the priest.[8] An increasingly empathetic involvement of lay people in devotional practice was encouraged by the friars, as well as in books of instruction, such as *Le Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* by St. Edmund of Abingdon,[9] advocating meditation on the humanity of Christ and identifying with his suffering and with the joys and sorrows of his mother. Books of hours included images of Christ's life and Passion as well as the life of the Virgin and her miracles whereby the sinner is rescued from the devil by repentance and the intercession of the Virgin. In several fourteenth-century religious manuscripts the owners have been identified as belonging to the lesser nobility of families of knights and barons.[10]

Many of the surviving tombs from the fourteenth century, mostly located in parish churches, also belonged to the lesser nobility who could, perhaps, be characterised as belonging to a rising middle class prospering by their service to the king. Most of the higher nobility favoured burial in monastic houses or friary churches, few of which have survived. There are very few existing tombs from the thirteenth century associated with women.[11]

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that books of hours provided opportunities for indicating family dynasties and history through heraldry and obits.

[8] Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform* (London, 1934), p. 180. Alexandra Barratt, "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, pp. 340–66, esp. 342, discusses the seismic impact of the Fourth Lateran Council with its emphasis on the sacrament of penance as well as clerical and lay education.

[9] Possibly written in the second decade of the 13th century. Edmund of Abingdon, *Le Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*, ed. A.D. Wilshere, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 40 (London, 1982), pp. xviii–xix.

[10] Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (Toronto, 2003), discusses three manuscripts associated with women of this class. See also Michael A. Michael, "The Harnhulle Psalter-Hours: An Early Fourteenth-Century Manuscript at Downside Abbey," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 134 (1981), pp. 81–99; "The Hours of Eleanor de Mohun: A Note on the Arms Found in Boston Public Library Manuscript 1546," *Coat of Arms*, new ser., 5/121 (1982), pp. 20–23; "Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention: The Hungerford Hours and English Manuscript Illumination of the Early Fourteenth Century," *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 2 (1990), pp. 33–105; and Nicholas Rogers, "The Original Owner of the Fitzwarin Psalter," *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), pp. 257–60. Also the Reydon Hours in Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 41–44.

[11] Discussed in Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 30–35, 109–14.

Personal seals used by women survive as impressions authenticating documents in considerable numbers from both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but fashions changed during this period.[12] Female seals from the thirteenth century were of a pointed oval shape showing a standing figure. Known as effigy seals, these women's seals followed a similar format to those of ecclesiastics, whereas those of laymen were round with the knight portrayed on horseback. In addition there were counter seals showing a coat of arms. In the fourteenth century, however, most female seals were of a round heraldic form that included their husband's and father's arms, and often their maternal grandfather's arms as well.

In the thirteenth century various continental relatives of the king and queen came to England to marry members of the English nobility (these family connections are detailed in Appendix E). Henry III's mother, Isabelle of Angoulême, married, secondly in 1220, Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche, and three of their offspring came to England: Aymer, Bishop of Winchester; William de Valence, who was created Earl of Pembroke; and Alice, who married John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. Eleanor of Provence also had members of her own family in England: her uncle, Peter of Savoy, and her sister, Sancha, who married the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, while several of her cousins were married to English earls. The English nobility would have been receptive to ideas from the continent, but is it possible to identify any particular examples that this influence might have had on the artistic patronage of women in the thirteenth century? The middle years of the century were unsettled by the Barons' revolt against the king led by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; might this political upheaval have had a discernible effect on female patronage?

The early years of the fourteenth century were affected by political troubles during the reign of Edward II (1307–27), but with Edward III stability returned, despite the wars with France that continued throughout his reign. In the fourteenth century there were still a few wealthy widows, such as Mary of St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke, and Elizabeth de Clare, Countess of Ulster, who established nunneries, friaries, and university colleges, but the patronage of the lesser nobility—the barons and knights—became more apparent, and there is evidence of the involvement of wives, as well as widows.

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[12] See also Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France, 1150–1350," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages,* eds. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA., 1988), pp. 61–82.

The extent to which a woman with the necessary initiative and interest could purchase artefacts, erect tombs, and establish chantries or foundations inevitably depended on the resources available to her. The principal source of wealth came from land and property, but any expenditure by women tended to be included with their husband's expenditure, and it was generally only as widows that their actions as independent individuals are recorded.[13] Women's wealth came from inheritance or dowry from their own families, or, as widows, from a dower of one third of her husband's estate for her life.[14] The richest noble women, mostly as widows, were able to afford to found monastic houses or university colleges, but wills indicate that most women, including those from the lesser nobility or merchant class, were concerned with providing for masses for their souls, as well as owning various valued artistic objects. It is, therefore, in their more personal possessions, such as seals, prayer books, and tombs, that their own particular priorities are most likely to be expressed.

For this reason, I will examine the extent to which representations of women patrons in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England reveal clues as to their particular concerns, attitudes, and priorities. What themes or attributes were considered worth including, and to what extent could such clues be related to other evidence concerning particular patrons? Can we discern a difference between images intended for a religious or a secular context?

Didactic literature for women recommends loyalty, modesty, peacemaking, generosity, courtesy, and piety,[15] and romances describe women in terms of their beauty, wisdom, and high birth.[16] Some of these qualities were also expected of laymen; books on chivalry discussing the qualifications required for knighthood include good lineage, sufficient wealth,

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[13] For example, the women studied by Linda E. Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England 1225–1350* (New York and Basingstoke, 2003). See also Christine Owens, "Noblewomen and Political Activity," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. Linda E. Mitchell (New York and London, 1999), pp. 209–19.

[14] Sue Sheridan Walker, "Litigation as a Personal Quest: Suing for Dower in the Royal Courts, circa 1272–1350," in *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, ed. Sue Sheridan Walker (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 81–108.

[15] Such as Durand de Champagne's *Le Miroir des Dames, The Book of the Knight of the Tower* (la Tour Landry), *How the Good Wif taughte hyr daughtir*, The Goodman of Paris, and Christine de Pisan's *The Book of the Three Virtues*. Alice A. Hentsch, *De la literature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Cahors, 1903; rprt. Geneva, 1975), pp. 99, 127–34, 138–48, 155.

[16] As in the description of Enide by Chretien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, trans. Douglas David Roy Owen (London, 1977), p. 17.

and such virtues as courtesy, loyalty, and generosity.[17] The extent to which visual images of women could reflect such qualities was, however, limited. Representations of women in a religious context emphasise their piety by gesture and surroundings, whereas those in a secular setting, such as on seals, emphasise status, family, and such cultural indicators as deportment and body language, dress and accessories.

One of the principal pointers to status was costume, which was regulated by sumptuary laws according to the degree of nobility and wealth.[18] In images of laywomen the cloak is sometimes shown with a lining of fur, which was only permitted for the higher nobility,[19] and was also shown on some images of the Virgin or saints.[20] In the same way that saints were identified by accompanying objects as attributes, indications as to a woman's rank could also be included. Sceptres and crowns indicated queens, falcons or horses suggested landowners or, at least, those privileged to be able to indulge in such activities, flowers such as the fleur-de-lys suggested virtue, books wisdom, literacy or piety, and so on.

Gestures are generally limited to hands folded in prayer or extended to hold an object or to draw attention to an item of particular interest to the patron, such as an heraldic shield. Occasionally a hand holds the tie of the cloak, a gesture that appears to denote especially high rank. On the interior wall of the west portal of Reims Cathedral, the figures holding the ties of their cloaks represent kings or queens, such as Solomon, Sheba, and David. Stephen Perkinson has drawn attention to this gesture on some thirteenth-century French royal effigies at the Abbey of St.-Denis.[21] Queens Eleanor of Castile (Fig. 1) and Margaret of France are shown on their seals[22] using this gesture, as are a few noblewomen connected with the royal house, such as Joan de Munchensy, Countess of Pembroke, died 1307 (Fig. 2), wife of William of Valence, Henry III's half-brother.[23]

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[17] Discussed in Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 8–11.

[18] Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 131–32; Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, "Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series 44/1, (1926), pp. 12–72; Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London, 2007), p. 80.

[19] Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, pp. 33, 49–50.

[20] As, for example, in the Cuerdon Psalter, fol. 10v, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.100.

[21] Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009), p. 96.

[22] British Museum seals 796 and 798.

[23] Society of Antiquaries seal F40.

Figure 1 Seal of Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England, died 1290, Society of Antiquaries seal A1 and British Museum seal 796 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

Figure 2 Seal of Joan de Munchensy, wife of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, died ca. 1307, Society of Antiquaries seal F40 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

Most women's seals in the thirteenth century were of a pointed oval shape with the ladies represented either as graceful, turning figures or as static frontal images. The more naturalistic representations of women are generally to be found in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, with more static depictions appearing from the mid-century on. This particular type of frontal representation contained in a pointed oval frame was already used for seals of ecclesiastics so it may also signify a developing perception of the responsibilities of women for the moral and spiritual welfare of their families and households as well as their own.

A comparison between two seals for the same lady illustrates this difference in approach. In the earlier seal (before 1254) of Ela Longespee as Countess of Warwick[24] (Fig. 3), she holds the tie of her cloak in her right hand and, possibly, a staff in her left. The figure, turning to her left, stands on a corbel, and the field is decorated with plant tendrils. The surviving inscription on this seal shows COMITISSE WAR on the left side, and ELE LVNGESPEYEE on the right side of her counter seal, which bears the arms of her father (six lioncels). Ela, the daughter of Ela of Salisbury and William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury,[25] was married first to Thomas de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1242. Thirteen years later, in 1254 she married Philip Bassett, Justiciar of England, who died in 1271.[26]

Ela's second seal of ca. 1275 is quite different to her earlier one (Fig. 4).[27] The figure stands squarely facing the spectator. Her right hand repeats the gesture of the first seal in touching the tie of her cloak, whilst her left hand grasps the shield of her father. The arms of her first husband (chequey, a chevron erm) are on her right side; those of Philip Bassett (3 bars wavey) are on her counter seal. The inscription reads ELE BASSET COMITISSE WAREVYKIE. Above the figure there is an unusual triple canopy supporting complex architecture consisting of a central round tower with a crenellated balustrade and dome with seemingly Gothic additions

[24] Society of Antiquaries seal F21.

[25] Ela of Salisbury was the foundress, and later abbess, of Lacock Abbey. She was born circa 1190 and was given by King Richard I, together with the earldom of Salisbury, to his half-brother, William Longespee, after the death of her father in 1196. *Complete Peerage*, eds. George E. Cockayne, Vicary Gibbs et al. (London, 1893–1913), vol. 11, pp. 378–82. Further information regarding the life and activities of Ela Longespee is given by Emilie Amt, "Ela Longespee's Roll of Benefits: Piety and Reciprocity in the Thirteenth Century," *Traditio*, 64 (2009), pp. 1–56.

[26] *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12, part 2, p. 365.

[27] British Museum seal 6579, Society of Antiquaries seal F4.

Figure 3 Seal of Ela Longespee, Countess of Warwick, before 1254, Society of Antiquaries seal F26 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

Figure 4 Seal of Ela Longespee as the wife of Philip Basset, used ca. 1270, Society of Antiquaries seal F4 and British Museum seal 06579 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

on each side. The image is sufficiently distinctive to suggest some particular architectural reference, possibly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Warwick, founded by an ancestor of her first husband.[28] Ela was a benefactress of this church, giving lands in Clavendon for the health of her soul, as well as those of her husband, Thomas, Earl of Warwick, her father and mother, her brothers, William and Richard, and her sister, Ida.[29] Further, in 1281 Ela was an executor of the will of her brother Richard, a canon at Salisbury Cathedral. Yet another of Ela's brothers, Nicholas, was the bishop of Salisbury.[30]

The image of Ela on her seal expresses her status as a noblewoman and royal kinswoman by its setting (on a corbel and beneath a canopy), and by her gesture (holding the tie of her cloak). Her status and lineage are indicated by heraldry and, in particular, by her holding the shield of her father in her left hand. Her position as a widow is shown by the wimple she wears. In more symbolic terms, the design of the canopy may also be intended to refer to her piety and benefactions. Another possible representation of Ela is discussed below in the context of illuminated prayer books and patronage of architecture.

More secular interests could also be indicated on seals. The hanging-up of shields for identification and display formed part of chivalric practice before tournaments so that challengers could be identified.[31] On women's seals, the display of shields on trees may reflect a related idea in advertising the lady's knights and protectors as well as her status, connections, and lineage. This device was a popular theme, as can be seen in the seal used in 1310 by Alice of Saluzzo, Countess of Lincoln, which shows the figure standing frontally flanked by trees with shields (Fig. 5).[32] These bear the arms of her husband, Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (three garbs, two and one), which she touches with her right hand, and those of her father, Manfred III, Marquis of Saluzzo (a chief, SALUCES).[33]

A reference, by the holding of a flowering stem, to the virtues of the Virgin Mary, is also a motif found quite often on the earlier women's seals. The image of Eleanor de Vitry, Countess of Salisbury,[34] appears to hold

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[28] William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675–76), vol. 1, p. 454.
[29] Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, p. 456.
[30] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 14 vols. (London, 1892–1913), Edward I 1279–88, p. 139.
[31] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 205; Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London, 1975), p. 38.
[32] British Museum seal 6673; Society of Antiquaries seal F25.
[33] Manfred was a first cousin of Queen Eleanor of Provence; see Appendix B.
[34] British Museum seal 6678; Society of Antiquaries seal F35.

Figure 5 Seal of Alice of Saluzzo, wife of Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, used 1310, Society of Antiquaries seal F25 and British Museum seal 6673 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

some such object in her extended right hand on her seal ca. 1222, and Isabelle of Angoulême[35] holds a more complex foliage spray in her right hand whilst supporting a falcon or sparrowhawk with her left.[36] Birds of prey for hunting, always held in the left hand, were introduced on several seals; they indicated status in affirming that the patron was in a position, as a member of a land-owning family, to enjoy such pursuits. Practice in hawking and hunting formed part of the education of aristocratic children of both sexes.[37] Images of women hunting or hawking are found in a number of manuscripts associated with women, such as the Taymouth Hours and the Queen Mary Psalter,[38] and the scenes are also described in romances.[39] Other examples of seals of women with a falcon on their wrist include those of Joan de Munchensey (see Fig. 2), wife of William of Valence, Earl of Pembroke,[40] and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, wife of John, Count of Holland.[41]

On a few English seals the lady is shown on horseback with her falcon, as on the thirteenth-century seals of Mabel de Gattone[42] and Elizabeth, Lady of Sevore (Sevenoaks).[43] These seals are round and compare with the effigy seals of men, which generally show the knight riding to battle fully armed with sword raised. There is a clearly defined difference in the symbolic roles of men and women in such equestrian portraits. The function of a knight was to defend the faith of Christ, to defend his lord, and to protect the weak;[44] their preparedness for this role is illustrated on their seals. The function of women was at once more passive and more complex.

Most of the female images on seals discussed so far have been of lay noble women. Queens had even greater responsibilities and privileges. The behaviour required of a queen as set out by Durand de Champagne,

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[35] Society of Antiquaries seal A1.

[36] The flowering stem would, of course, have comprised multiple allusions. In addition to the Virgin, a female figure with a spray of foliage would also have called to mind a personification of Spring, or the zodiacal symbol for Virgo, as on Amiens Cathedral.

[37] Nicholas Orme, "The Education of the Courtier," in *English Court Culture in the Middle Ages*, eds. Vincent John Scattergood and James W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 63–85, esp. 83.

[38] London, British Library, manuscripts Yates Thompson 13 and Royal 2.B.VII.

[39] Such as the lady riding on a white palfrey with a sparrowhawk on her wrist described in Lanval by Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (London, 1988), p. 80.

[40] British Museum seal 14079.

[41] Society of Antiquaries seal A4.

[42] British Museum seal 6648. Society of Antiquaries seal F22.

[43] Society of Antiquaries seal F36.

[44] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 9, quoting Ramon Lull.

Franciscan confessor to Queen Jeanne of Champagne and Navarre, wife of King Philip IV le Bel (1285–1314), in his *Speculum Dominarum* or *Le Miroir des Dames*, emphasised the queen's role as an intercessor in listening to the pleas of those too poor or not in a position to be able to come to court. The king's consort was also responsible for putting right any injustices perpetrated by royal officers.[45] Such a role could be interpreted as an earthbound reflection of that of the Virgin Mary as intercessor, who listens to the pleas of the unfortunate, as demonstrated in her various miracles. The qualities of virtue, love, charity, and peacemaking required of noble women reflected those of the Virgin Mary and the saints. It is not, therefore, altogether surprising that in the thirteenth century royal and holy women could at times be portrayed in the same way.

The different indicators in the repertoire of image-makers in the portrayal of women patrons are clearly relevant with regard to decorum and deportment, accessories and costume. During the second quarter of the fourteenth century changes in costume are evident:[46] clothes became tighter, men's tunics shorter, elbow sleeves longer, and a much more fashion-conscious and exaggerated mode of dress became the norm. It is, however, interesting to note that the new fashions, condemned by clerics, were not considered appropriate for holy images, which were still depicted in the traditional dress of the thirteenth century. The Fitzwarin Psalter of ca. 1350–60 shows the donor in contemporary, close-fitting, fashionable dress, whilst the Holy Family still wear long, bulky robes and cloaks.[47] Contemporary fashions were no longer considered suitable for biblical figures. A change in an understanding of historical perspective seems to be apparent, as well as an awareness of the difference to be considered in the appropriate depictions of heavenly or earthly personages.

Saints and the Virgin continued to be portrayed as virtuous, beautiful people, but earthbound patrons were becoming more individualised. At the French court more individually characterised portraiture of the most elite members was replacing the idealised image,[48] and this was followed in England with the effigy of Queen Philippa (d. 1369).[49] Didactic

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[45] Hentsch, *De la literature didactique*, p. 100.

[46] Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, discusses the new fashions which appeared in the dress of men and women around 1340.

[47] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 765, fol. 7r.

[48] Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, traces the evolution of this development.

[49] For further discussion of this tomb, see Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 115–19.

literature was still concerned with the ideal as to how women should behave, but the Good Wife in *The Babees' Book* and the Knight of La Tour Landry, writing for their daughters, and the Goodman of Paris for a very young wife, all towards the end of the fourteenth century, display a more family-orientated concern, in contrast with some of the earlier literature, much of which had emphasised courtly behaviour.[50]

Images of women owners in manuscripts are shown conforming to the conventions of the times in which they lived. Propriety and decorum were important but, nevertheless, within these conventions it is possible to seek out clues as to the personalities and interests of the ladies concerned. In an early book of hours, the small but richly illuminated de Brailes Hours made by William de Brailes of Catte Street, Oxford, about 1240, the female donor is shown at prayer on folio 64v (Fig. 6 ; Color Plate 20) and on folio 90r with a caption added, written in red, "*ele clama deu en sa tribulaciun*."[51] This has been translated as "she calls to god in her tribulation," but perhaps it could refer to ELE COMITISSE WAREVYKIE. Ela Longespee, whose two seals were analysed earlier (see Figs. 3, 4), had close connections with Oxford. She chose as her place of burial Oseney Abbey at Oxford, founded by an ancester of her first husband, Thomas, Earl of Warwick's mother, Margery d'Oilly. Margery had been the sole heir of her father, Henry d'Oilly,[52] so his lordship of Hook Norton in Oxfordshire passed to Thomas and, after his death, formed part of Ela's dower.[53] Her tomb was described by John Leland in his Itinerary, undertaken between 1534 and 1543:

> Ela, Countes of Warwik, a woman of very great riches and nobilite, lyith buried at the hedde of the tumbe of Henry Oilley, undre a very fair flat marble, in the habite of a woues [vowess], graven yn a coper plate. Ela gave many rich jewelles to Oseney, but no landes.[54]

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[50] For further discussion of the variable nature of the medieval family, see the studies in Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal, eds., *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Tempe, 2005).

[51] London, British Library, Add. 4999. This is the earliest surviving illuminated English book of hours. It has been comprehensively described by Claire Donovan in *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991).

[52] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry III 1247–58, p. 190.

[53] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 4 vols. (London, 1806–23), vol. 3, p. 54 (Edward I).

[54] John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland, 1535–43*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1907), vol. 1, p. 124.

Figure 6 Initial with the female owner at prayer, ca. 1240, de Brailes Hours, London, British Library, Add. 4999, fol. 64v (Photo: British Library). See color plate 20.

Leland also commented that she gave rich gifts to Reading Abbey and some lands to Rewley Abbey near Oxford. The latter was founded as a house of studies for Cistercians by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1282.

Ela further supported two of the earliest colleges to be founded at Oxford. In 1266 she, with her second husband, Philip Basset, gave a manor

to Merton College.[55] Philip was the grandson of Thomas Basset, Lord of Headington, and owned several manors near Oxford.[56] Merton College was founded by Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, in 1263–1264, although the first hall was not built until 1277.[57] Walter de Merton had been Chancellor when Philip Basset was Justiciar. Later in her life, Ela was an important benefactor to Merton College, and, when towards the end of her life she lived at Godstow nunnery near Oxford, the Warden and fellows of Merton helped to supply materials for the special room that she had there. Ela was also an important benefactor to Balliol College, giving money towards the building of the chapel.[58] In addition to her support of these early Oxford colleges, Ela also gave £80 in 1293 to set up the Warwick Chest to provide loans to poor students.[59]

The de Brailes Hours includes the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany of Saints and the Gradual Psalms. Images in the de Brailes Hours of the Passion of Christ and of the life of the Virgin would have guided the reader in the appropriate meditations, and images of the miracles of the Virgin, where the sinner is rescued from hell through repentance and her intercession, would have emphasised the importance and benefits of penance.

An image of the patron at prayer is included in four of the historiated initials, and in three others, William de Brailes includes his own self-portrait, with, on folio 43r, the words "*w.de brail' qui me depeint*" (Fig. 7; Color Plate 21). In each of the images of the female owner she wears the usual head-dress of the period, but with her hair loose down her back. On each occasion, she is portrayed in a loose, flowing, long-sleeved gown, gathered at the waist, with a cloak over her shoulder. Here, she is alone praying, presumably representing the privacy of her chamber (see Fig. 6). The owner of the Rutland Psalter/Hours illustrated in the initial to Psalm 50, folio 54r (Fig. 8) wears a more elaborate head-dress with her hair bound up.[60] A building is shown behind her, suggesting that she is praying in a church and so is appropriately attired for appearing in a public place.

[55] Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p. 158.
[56] Jeremy I. Catto, *The Early English Schools*, vol. 1, *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1984), p. 240.
[57] *Victoria County History: Oxfordshire*, 3 (London, 1954), pp. 95–99.
[58] Catto, *The Early English Schools*, vol. 1, pp. 240, 282.
[59] Catto, *The Early English Schools*, vol. 1, p. 275.
[60] London, British Library, Add. 62925.

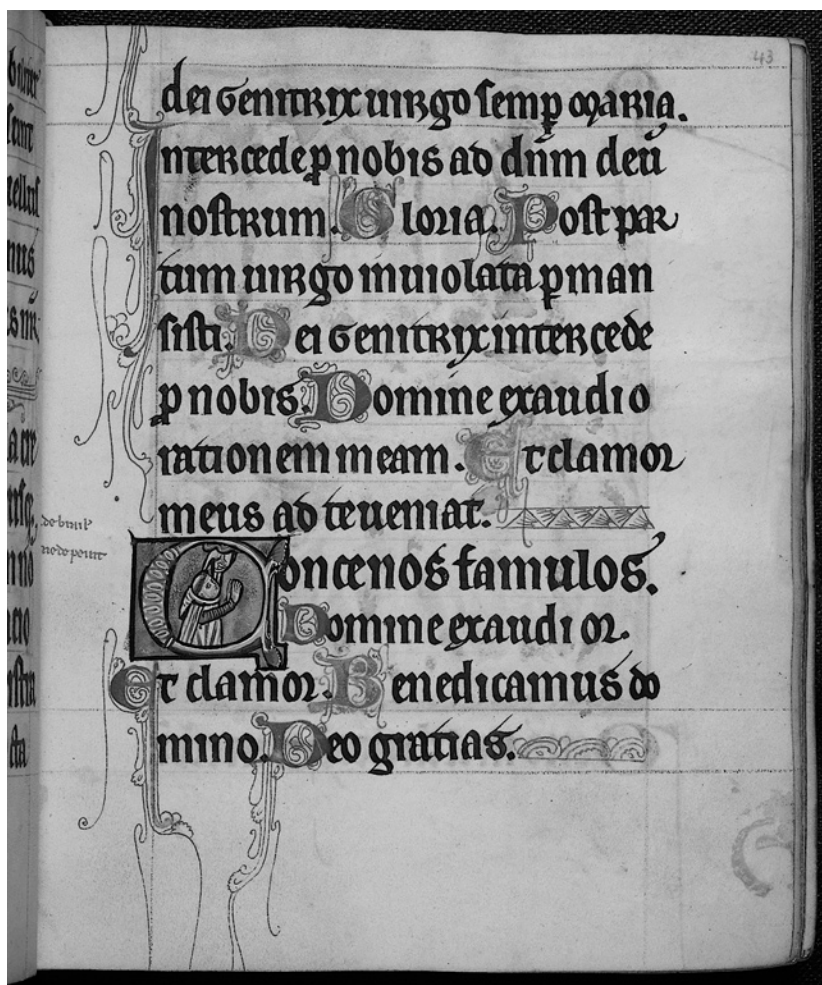

Figure 7 Initial with William de Brailes *"w.de brail' qui me depeint,"* ca. 1240, de Brailes Hours, London, British Library, Add. 4999, fol. 43r (Photo: British Library). See color plate 21.

In the Vienna Hours of circa 1250, the illuminator has portrayed a similar awareness of such decorum by showing the lady at the beginning of the Gradual Psalms, folio 173v, kneeling at a prie-dieu and wearing a simple mantle, her hair unbound, in contrast to two other images where she is wearing a fur lined cloak and a fashionable head-dress.[61] These represent

[61] Vienna, Museum fur Angewandte Kunst, Cod.Lat.XVI S.5.

Figure 8 Initial with the female owner at prayer, ca. 1260, Rutland Psalter/Hours, London, British Library, Add. 62925, fol. 54r. After *The Rutland Psalter: A Manuscript in the Library of Belvoir Castle*, Oxford, 1937 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries/Roxburghe Club).

the donor at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms, folio 153r, reading from a scroll,[62] perhaps here listing her sins as she confesses, and at the beginning of matins of the Hours of the Virgin, folio 25r, where she prays before a vision of Christ holding the Eucharist. These are both public, sacramental acts in which another person, the priest, is involved, set in a scene with an open church door.

[62] For further implications of the scroll or banderole, see Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History*, 8 (1985), pp. 26–49.

The idea that more formal attire was required for public appearances, while unbound hair was acceptable in a private, domestic setting, appears to have applied to noblewomen. Queens, both earthly and their heavenly model, on the other hand, seem to have been the exception in so far as they were sometimes portrayed in a public context with unbound hair. On Queen Eleanor of Castile's seal (see Fig. 1) and on her tomb the queen is shown crowned with long, flowing, and unveiled hair. The seal of Queen Eleanor of Provence of 1255[63] and the later undated one of Queen Philippa of Hainault[64] also show each queen with unveiled hair. An earlier example of this iconography was used on the effigy slab of Queen Ingeborg of France who died in 1236.[65] The Virgin was, when crowned, sometimes shown with unveiled hair,[66] and occasionally saints or Ecclesia were similarly portrayed. Possibly unveiled hair was intended to symbolise virtue, but the flowing locks also emphasised the relationship enjoyed by the queen on earth to the Queen of Heaven.

The ways in which the donor might be included within a scene evidently conformed to certain established ideas of decorum. Lay patrons are shown in some thirteenth-century manuscripts close to the Virgin and Child but not really in the picture, as in the Lambeth Apocalypse, folio 48r (Fig. 9). Where the donor is shown in relation to an image of God or Christ she is more likely to be excluded from the sacred space by some sort of barrier or frame indicating the separation between the terrestrial world where she is physically located and the spiritual realisation of her vision. Such is the case in the Vienna Hours, folio 25r, where the Eucharist on the altar becomes alive through the patron's prayers but is separated by the limit of the vision. In some manuscripts and on some seals the idea of the patron being located outside the sacred space is illustrated by placing the patron in a small arched space beneath a vision. Examples include the seal of Emma, widow of John le Webbe of Chignal, Essex, dated 1349,[67] and the Egerton 1151 Hours,[68] folio 7r, at the beginning of Matins, both of which depict the Virgin and Child and the praying female patron contained in a small arched space beneath.

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[63] British Museum seal 791.

[64] Society of Antiquaries seal A1.

[65] Oxford, Bodeleian Library, Gough Collection of Drawings for Roger de Gagnieres, II, fol. 22r. Illustrated in Alain Erlande-Brandenberg, *Le Roi est mort* (Geneva, 1975).

[66] As on the trumeau of the west portal of Reims Cathedral or in manuscripts such as the Cuerdon Psalter, of ca. 1270, fols. 8v, 10v, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.756.

[67] Public Record Office seal P858.

[68] London, British Library, Egerton 1151.

Figure 9 Virgin and Child with donor, ca. 1260–1270, Lambeth Apocalypse, Lambeth Palace Library, 209, fol. 48r (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London/Lambeth Palace Library).

If the de Brailes Hours was indeed made for Ela Longespee it would show her to have been a very innovative and devout patron, acquiring a personal prayerbook small enough (150×123 mm) to carry around with her for her prayers and devotions at the appropriate hours of the day. The illustrations would have helped to lead her in her prayers, instructing her in subjects appropriate for her meditations. Later books of hours included similar texts as well as some additional ones as required by the individual patron. Significantly, no two were exactly alike, and most of the illuminated books of hours in the thirteenth century were made for women.

It is in Ela's most personal commissions that her own priorities are demonstrated. Her identification with her own family and that of her first husband is illustrated on her seals, and she continued to show commitment to her first husband's family and foundations after his death in 1242. Her possible ownership of the de Brailes Hours would reflect her personal piety. As noted, her mother became a nun and abbess of Lacock, two of her brothers were in the church, and her father founded the Charterhouse at Hinton. Such piety was evidently a strong feature in her own family and not untypical of the times in which she lived, but, nevertheless, the possession of such a notable book of hours by a laywoman as early as the 1240s was exceptional.

Another early English prayer book, the Rutland Psalter/Hours of ca. 1260, shows some innovative developments, perhaps due to the continental background of its probable owner, Alice of Saluzzo, Countess of Lincoln and cousin of Queen Eleanor of Provence. Saluzzo, in north-west Italy near Turin, formed part of the Holy Roman Empire during the thirteenth century. The Rutland Psalter/Hours has been associated with Alice of Saluzzo because an added obit commemorates her husband, Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (d. 1258). It could also possibly be associated with his mother, Margaret de Quency, Countess of Lincoln, who died some eight years after her son, but as this Psalter has a number of features unusual in English manuscript illumination, including full-page miniatures before the main divisions such as are found in some German and Flemish psalters, Alice's background appears to be more relevant.[69] In addition the page decoration is exceptionally rich with figures, animals, monsters, and grotesques on many pages. Although very few of the psalm initials are historiated, the marginal decoration in the borders and in the *bas-de-pages* often implies references to the accompanying psalms, providing visual

[69] Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, vol. 2: 1250–1285* (London, 1988), pp. 78–80.

aids for the reader. Such images would have helped the reader to find her place amongst the Latin psalms, as well as reminding her of the message in that particular passage. With constant use the book would become so familiar that the owner would make associations between the images and accompanying psalms even though an immediate connection was not necessarily apparent.

In the Rutland Psalter/Hours, the Hours of the Trinity and of the Virgin, the Litany, and the Office of the Dead follow the calendar and psalms. As with the de Brailes Hours, the Rutland Psalter/Hours was intended as a personal devotional book for the female owner. In the Psalter she is shown at prayer in the initial to Psalm 50, folio 54r (see Fig. 8), which asks God for his mercy to "blot out my iniquity," whilst a man prays in the initial to Psalm 20, folio 23v, which praises the Lord for his strength and help. The perception that women had a greater vulnerability to sin, in addition to their responsibility for the sins of others, would have meant that women also had a greater need for penitence to compensate.

In addition to the visual mnemonic aids that would assist the reader to use her Latin book,[70] another aim of the designer of the Rutland Psalter/Hours was to provide moralising comments to remind her of the need for virtue, honour, and piety.[71] The margins provided a field for a wealth of such images that were didactic, decorative, and entertaining. In this Psalter, a surprising number of devils, dragons, monsters, and hybrids, as well as various animals and birds, are depicted. Many of these could have been interpreted as references to sin, and as a reminder of the constant vigilance necessary against the ever-present temptations of Satan. Such reminders would have been particularly appropriate adjacent to psalms, many of which ask for God's help against enemies and evildoers.

Although such marginalia would later become common, the Rutland Psalter/Hours from the mid-thirteenth century is one of the earliest manuscripts with such marginal images. Their presence may respond to the understanding made explicit by the writer of *The Ancrene Riwle*, who

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[70] Camille, "Seeing and Reading," p. 138, and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 1990), pp. 261–66, discuss the role of images as indices or heading devices. Kauffman, "Decoration and Ornament," p. 487, also emphasises the importance of such hooks and cues.

[71] For the argument that marginalia could be designed to control the reader in a royal French context in the 14th century, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), pp. 333–62. (Rprt. in *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 31–60, with annotated bibliography pp. 175–81.

suggests that a woman could be responsible for a man's actions even if she was unaware of his sin, and also for sins committed by a member of her household.[72] This burden ascribed to women may contribute to the thinking behind so many references to sin throughout the Rutland Palter/Hours, providing reminders to the female patron of the risks of transgression by her associates as well as by herself. Among the few thirteenth-century manuscripts where images float freely across the *bas-de-pages*, as in the Rutland Psalter/Hours, two books of hours[73] and the Bird Psalter[74] also had female owners.

The intentions of the designer of the Rutland Psalter/Hours were complex, providing Alice of Saluzzo with a psalter that was both didactic and decorative and, at the same time, one that encouraged her piety. Alice supported the Dominicans, as a benefactress to their house at Pontefract, founded by her husband, and where she was buried,[75] so it is possible that a Dominican may have assisted in the design of this psalter. Dominicans were very much involved in the spiritual supervision of religious women in the Low Countries and in Germany,[76] areas with which the designer of the Rutland Psalter/Hours seems to have been familiar. Alice had family in the Low Countries and in Germany as her uncle, Thomas of Savoy, was Count of Flanders by his marriage to Jeanne of Flanders, and her cousin, Sancha of Provence, with her husband, Richard of Cornwall, were crowned king and queen of the Romans at Aachen in 1257. As is well known, familial connections provided significant avenues for artistic transmission.

A concern with personal devotion and familial penitence can also be found in other contemporary manuscripts made for women, such as the Lambeth Apocalypse, dated ca. 1260–67.[77] The patron, who may have been Margaret de Quency, Countess of Derby (d. 1281), is shown on folio 48r kneeling before the Virgin and Child (Fig. 9). She wears a wimple, indicat-

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[72] *The Ancrene Riwle*, trans. Mary Bertha Salu (Exeter, 1955), pp. 24–25. This book was written about 1220 for anchoresses as a guide on how to conduct their lives. See also *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoressses*, trans. Bella Millett (Exeter, 2009).

[73] London, British Library, Harley 928; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W102.

[74] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2-1954.

[75] *Complete Peerage*, vol. 7, p. 681.

[76] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998).

[77] Lambeth Palace, manuscript 209. See Nigel J. Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse, Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library, a Critical Study* (London, 1990); Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1995).

ing her status as a widow or a vowess who had taken a vow of chastity, with a dress decorated with the arms of her husband, William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby (vaire, or and gules), and a cloak with those of her father, Roger de Quency, Earl of Winchester (gules, voided lozenges). Her stepmother, Eleanor de Ferrers, would have used the same arms, which could lead to some confusion as to which of these women was the patron of this Apocalypse. Some seals also show the husband's arms on the dress.[78] As Margaret was the co-heiress to her father's extensive possessions at his death in 1264,[79] it would have been appropriate that his arms be the more prominent on her cloak. Also the cloak with her father's arms appears on the right side of the image, while the dress with the de Ferrers arms is on the left or dexter side, according to the standard arrangement on seals. Thus, I hold that the manner of representing arms and, as I will argue, the historical context both point to Margaret de Quency as the patron of the Lambeth Apocalypse.

In addition to the illustrations of the story of the Apocalypse from the Book of Revelation, there are also scenes from the life of St. John, the miracles of the Virgin, including on folios 46–7 the story of Theophilus, concerning a monk who entered into a contract with the devil, repented, and prayed to the Virgin, who retrieved the contract. The portrayal of Mary Magdalene, the penitent, in the illustration of *Noli me Tangere*, folio 49r, shows her dressed in a costume and wimple resembling the donor before the Virgin and Child, folio 48r. The patron is shown again on folio 53r, assisted by angels, protecting herself with the Shield of Faith against the arrows of the devil (Fig. 10). These devotional images would have been added for the individual patron; indeed, the image of the Shield of Faith as an allegory of penitence is sufficiently rare to suggest some particular reference to her own requirements.[80]

A penitential theme can also be seen in sculpture produced under Margaret's patronage in the porch of the Church of St. Mary at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire. She was in possession of the manor in 1256 and

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[78] As on the seal of Margaret FitzPernel, Countess of Winchester, of ca. 1220. British Museum seal 6700: Society of Antiquaries seal F34.

[79] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Henry III 1264–68, pp. 266, 398.

[80] Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse*, p. 59, suggests that the owner may have wished to identify herself with the penitent Mary Magdalene. The lady with the shield of faith is similarly dressed.

Figure 10 The Woman with the Shield of Faith, ca. 1260–1270, Lambeth Apocalypse, Lambeth Palace Library, 209, fol. 53r (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London/Lambeth Palace Library).

recorded as patron of the church in 1268 and 1275.[81] In one of the roundels in the arch of the porch a figure is shown kneeling before a covered chalice with an angel above (Fig. 11). Henderson suggests that this image is similar to donor figures illustrated in initials at the beginning of the Penitential Psalm 101, "Lord, hear my prayer and let my cry come unto Thee." He proposes that it may have represented the prayer of Margaret de Quency, relating this to the activities of her son Robert (b. 1239), who rebelled against the king in 1263 and 1266, ultimately forfeiting his lands.[82] The Lambeth Apocalypse has been dated to 1260–1267,[83] coinciding with the period of Robert's rebellion against the king and Margaret's substantial inheritance from her father. Could the problems and anxiety her son's actions must have caused Margaret be reflected in the penitential emphasis given to the images in this Apocalypse?

During the period in question, an increasing emphasis on a woman's role within the aristocratic family can be traced in images of patrons in manuscripts. References to the family are rare in manuscripts connected with women in the thirteenth century, although there are a few examples, such as the Skulesdattir Psalter of the second decade of the thirteenth century,[84] which shows a family group of three in the initial to Psalm 101, folio 93v, and in the Cuerdon Psalter of ca. 1270 on folio 10v, the husband and wife are depicted kneeling on each side of a Virgin Lactans in a full-page miniature.[85] In the fourteenth century, however, an image of the

[81] John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (n.p., 1791), p. 174: quoting from the list of patrons and rectors. In 1254 the rectory was valued at 50 marks.

'Patroni	*In cumb. & temp. Institut*
Dom.Marg.de Ferrar	*Rog.de S.Philibert*
	cl.2. Cal. Aug. 1268
	Mag. Rob. De Hanneya
	Pbr.15 cal. 1275'

[82] George Henderson, "The West Portal in the Porch at Higham Ferrers: A Problem of Interpretation," *Antiquaries Journal*, 68 (1988), pp. 238–47, esp. 243–44; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry III 1247–58, p. 554; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, pp. 198–202. Margaret's son Robert was born about 1239 and so was 14 or 15 years old on his father's death in 1254. In 1257, the king gave Robert's wardship to Richard of Cornwall, who sold it to Queen Eleanor and Peter of Savoy for 6000 marks. Robert did homage and gained possession of his lands in 1260. On the outbreak of the Barons' War in 1263 he seized three of Prince Edward's castles and fought against the royal forces at the battle of Chester. His lands were taken into the king's hands but in December 1265 Robert was pardoned of all offences and restored to the king's grace. Unfortunately a few months later he rebelled again. In May 1266 he was captured and imprisoned in Windsor Castle for 3 years, forfeiting his lands which were granted to Edmund, the king's son.

[83] Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse*, p. 101.

[84] Berlin, Kupersichkabinett, MS 78.A.8

[85] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.756.

Figure 11 West doorway detail of sculpture, St. Mary's Church, Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, ca. 1250–1280 (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London).

husband was included in almost half the psalters or books of hours which show women as patrons; what is more, in almost all the manuscripts heraldry signifies a reference to the marital rather than the natal family by including the arms of the husband as well as the wife.[86]

In surviving manuscripts for male lay patrons before the death of Edward III in 1377, very few refer to family relationships: in the Luttrell Psalter of the second quarter of the fourteenth century,[87] the heraldry includes the arms of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, his wife, and his daughter-in-law, while in the Bohun Vienna Psalter of ca. 1360, heraldry records various family marriages.[88] Some others include shields of arms identifying the patron but the use of heraldry as a symbol of identity in laymen's manuscripts seems to have been less apparent than in those of laywomen. Heraldic motifs were rather used as a decorative device, such as to fill line endings.

Turning to the developments in styles of seals in the fourteenth century, with a few exceptions, most belonging to women of the upper nobility were round in shape and displayed not only the arms of their husbands and fathers, but often those of other relatives as well. The 1327 seal of Elizabeth de Clare (d. 1360) provides an example (Fig. 12). Elizabeth was the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Joan of Acre, a daughter of King Edward I and Queen Eleanor of Castile. She was born in 1291 and married three times: to John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, died 1313; to Theobald, Lord Verdun, died 1316; and to Robert Lord Damory, died 1321. Her seal includes the arms of all three of her husbands, plus her father's, maternal grandfather's, and maternal grandmother's.[89] Although similar in shape to the seals of their husbands, in their multi-heraldic display those of the wives were distinctly different. Men's seals displayed only their own arms unless, following marriage to an heiress or upon receipt of a substantial inheritance, he wished to draw attention to enhanced status or wealth.

The multiple definitions of familial relationships, evident in heraldry on women's seals and in manuscripts in the fourteenth century, are also

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[86] Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, discusses the use of heraldry identifying the female owners of the de Lisle Hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Anc.6), the de Bois Hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.700) and the Neville of Hornby Hours (London, British Library, Egerton 2781).

[87] London, British Library, Add. 42130.

[88] Vienna, Osterreichische National Bibliotek, Cod.1826.

[89] *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, ed. Roger H. Ellis (London, 1978–81), vol. 1, p. 12, plate 142. British Museum seal 7934. Society of Antiquaries seal F14.

Figure 12 Seal of Elizabeth de Clare, Countess of Ulster, used 1327 and 1333, Society of Antiquaries Seal F.14 and British Museum seal 7934 (Photo: Society of Antiquaries).

apparent on some tombs associated with noble widows. The heraldry on the tomb of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1324) in Westminster Abbey refers to relatives of his wife, Mary of St. Pol, who was executor and responsible for the tomb.[90] The apparent inclusion on her own tomb of the children of Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) together with other relatives emphasises her role as mother and her position at the centre of the family.[91]

Tomb effigies of women have much in common with their images on seals. Head canopies were used on tombs for both male and female figures, while animals were often to be found at the feet: for women these were usually dogs, associated with fidelity; knights often had lions, associated with fortitude.[92] Although the attributes of queens were the same on their tomb effigies as on their seals (the crown and sceptre), effigies of noblewomen on tombs were shown generally praying. Occasionally some particular indication of her piety, such as a book (Roesia de Verdun at Belton, Leicestershire) or a rosary (Blanche de Mortimer at Much Marcle, Herefordshire) might be included, or an illustration in painting or stained glass, associated with a tomb, might provide some clue concerning the patron, for instance as a benefactress in the case of Joan de Plugenet in Hereford Cathedral.[93] Joan's tomb formerly had a painting on the back wall showing the patron kneeling before the Virgin, offering her the model of the church the advowson of which Joan had given to the cathedral. The tombs are situated within the church where it was intended that they should be seen and thus attract prayers for the person commemorated.

Two elite patrons whose thirteenth-century works have already been examined, Ela Longespee and Alice of Saluzzo, also established chantries in parish churches, providing endowments for masses to be celebrated for the soul of the chaplain concerned as well as for themselves.[94] Although very few tombs associated with women have survived from the thirteenth

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[90] Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 113–5; Herbert F. Westlake, *Westminster Abbey* (London, 1923), vol. 1, p. 24; Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (University Park, PA., 2000), pp. 73–80.

[91] The identity of Philippa's weepers is given in the generally quite reliable John Dart, *Westmonasterium, or, The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster* (London, 1723), vol. 2, p. 41.

[92] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London, 1979), pp. 105, 193.

[93] Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 83–85.

[94] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward I 1281–1292, p. 197; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward I 1301–1307, p. 101.

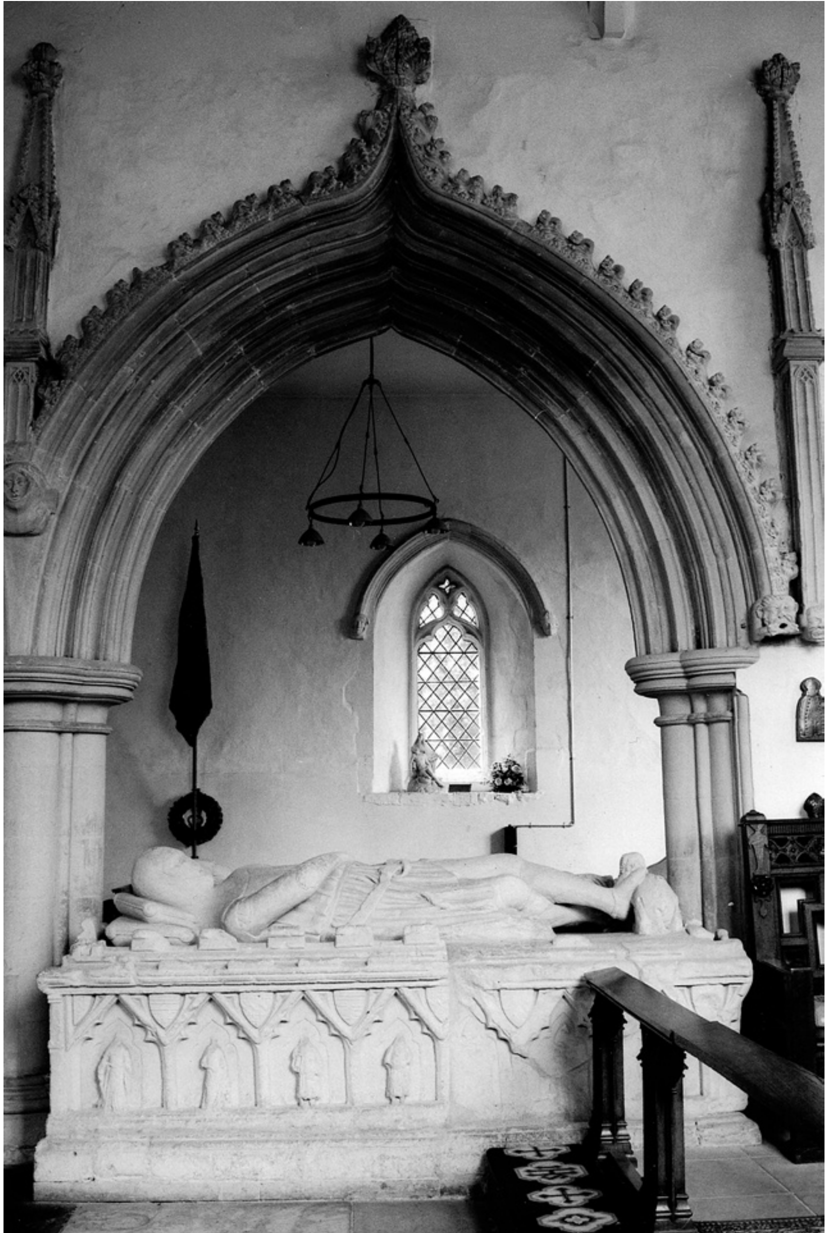


Figure 13 Tomb and Memorial Chapel for Sir John de Benstede, died 1323, and his wife, Parnel Moyne, died before 1342, at St. Peter's Church, Benington, Hertfordshire (Photo: L.L. Gee).

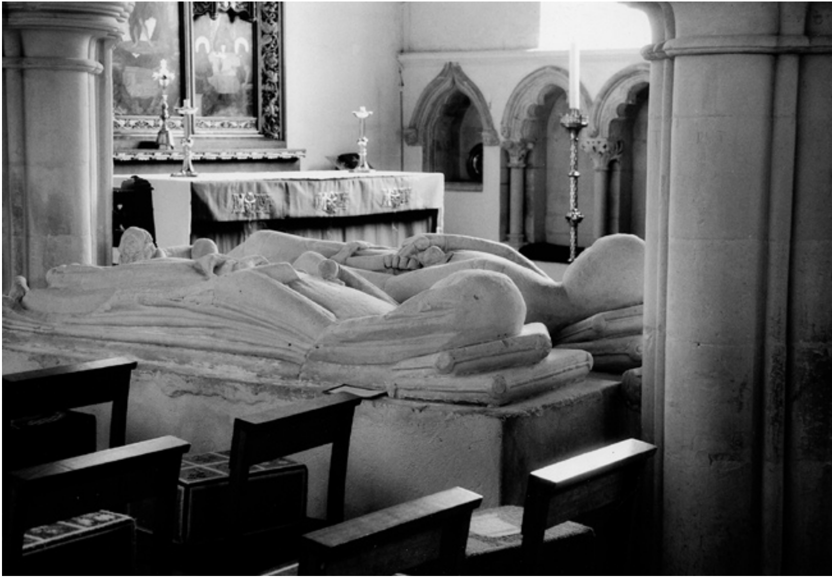


Figure 14 View towards the high altar, Tomb of Sir John de Benstede, died 1323, and his wife, Parnel Moyne, died before 1342, at St. Peter's Church, Benington, Hertfordshire (Photo: L.L. Gee).

century, from the fourteenth there are several chapels and tombs for women, whether on their own or jointly with their husbands. As widows they were often responsible not only for arrangements for their own tombs but also for acting as executors for husbands or relatives who predeceased them. Such was the case of the memorial chapel and tomb in St. Peter's Church at Benington, Hertfordshire, for Sir John de Benstede and his wife, Parnel Moyne (Figs. 13 and 14).

Sir John de Benstede served the king in various judicial capacities and on missions to the pope and to Gascony.[95] The manor of Benington, Hertfordshire, was conveyed to him in 1303, and, following his death in 1323, was held by his widow Parnel Moyne in dower for her life.[96] The north chapel was evidently added by her, and the double tomb situated in an arch

[95] He was Controller of the Wardrobe and Keeper of the Privy Seal 1295–1305 and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1305–1307. Henry Summerson, "Benstede, Sir John (d. 1323)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). [http://www.oxforddnb.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/article/2148, accessed 6 May 2011].

[96] *Victoria County History: Hertfordshire*, 3 (London, 1954), pp. 74–77.

between the chapel and the chancel would have been due to her initiative. The knight, on the chancel side, wears chain-mail and a short, loose tunic. His right hand rests on the hilt of his sword, his left leg is crossed over his right, and his head turns towards the altar. This image is very much in the tradition of earlier effigies of knights, such as that of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1296), on his tomb in Westminster Abbey.[97] The lady is simply and conventionally dressed in a wimple and long cloak; two dogs lie at her feet. Unfortunately, the weepers in the arcade on the side of the tomb have been defaced, but the shields in the spandrels bear the arms of Benstede (gules 3 gimel bars or) and Moyne (azure a fesse dancetty between six crosslets argent). The arch over the tomb has been elaborately decorated with a richly crocketed gable, flanked by two slender buttresses with tiers of tracery similar to that in the windows of the chapel. Parnel Moyne was proud enough of her husband's success in royal service to ensure that his monument should refer to that of Edmund Crouchback, one of the finest English Gothic monuments, in pose, in costume, and in its position on the north side of the chancel. No chantry deed or will appear to have survived, but the monument presents one of the earlier examples of the patronage of a widow of a member of the lesser nobility providing an appropriate family monument.

In the Lady Chapel of St. Frideswide's Church (now the cathedral) at Oxford, the tomb of Elizabeth de Montfort is particularly individualised to reflect her familial situation (Fig. 15). Her parents, two husbands, and ten children were all recorded in her chantry deed.[98] Her effigy lies on a tombchest decorated on each side with the arms of Montague (argent, three lozenges conjoined in fess, gules) and Montfort (bendy, 10, or and azure) in the spandrels of an arcade containing weepers representing

[97] Cross-legged knights, such as this figure of Sir John, have been studied by Rachel Ann Dressler, *Of Armor and Men in Medieval England: The Chivalric Rhetoric of Three English Knights' Effigies* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2004).

[98] *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. Spender Robert Wigram, Oxford History Society Publications, 31 (Oxford, 1895–96), pp. 3–9. The chantry was for the souls of Elizabeth's first husband, William de Montague and their sons, John (died young), William, Earl of Salisbury, Simon, Bishop of Ely, and Edward, and their daughters, Alice de Aubeney, Mary Cogan, Elizabeth, Prioress of Haliwell, Hawise Bavent, Maud, Abbess of Barking, and Isabelle, nun at Barking, as well as her father, Peter de Montfort, her mother, Matilda, her second husband, Thomas de Fournival, her kinsman Piers de Limesey, John, Bishop of Lincoln, Simon de Islip, canon of Lincoln, and for the souls of all her relations and friends and all faithful deceased.

Figure 15 Tomb of Lady Elizabeth de Montfort, died 1354, St. Frideswide's, Oxford (Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London).

her children.[99] Five figures are portrayed on each side of the tombchest: three men and two women on one side, and four women and one man on the other. Although the figures have been defaced and damaged, their clothing provides clues to their identities. Three of the women and two of the men are dressed in the latest fashions. Three other women, one in an attitutude of prayer, appear to wear nun's habits, while two of the men wear formal dress with long robes and cloaks. An eighteenth-century drawing by Richard Gough of the south side of the tomb shows these two men bearded (Fig. 16).[100] Elizabeth's first husband, William de Montague, had served both Edward I and Edward II. Her son, William, was a close confidant of Edward III, who created him Earl of Salisbury in 1337. In Gough's drawing the central figure may be intended to represent

[99] Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, pp. 3–6, 107– 108, discusses this tomb and the wider context of such family monuments. She agrees that these figures probably represent the children for whom prayers were requested in the chantry deed.

[100] Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments Century XIV* (London, 1799), plate 38, p. 105.

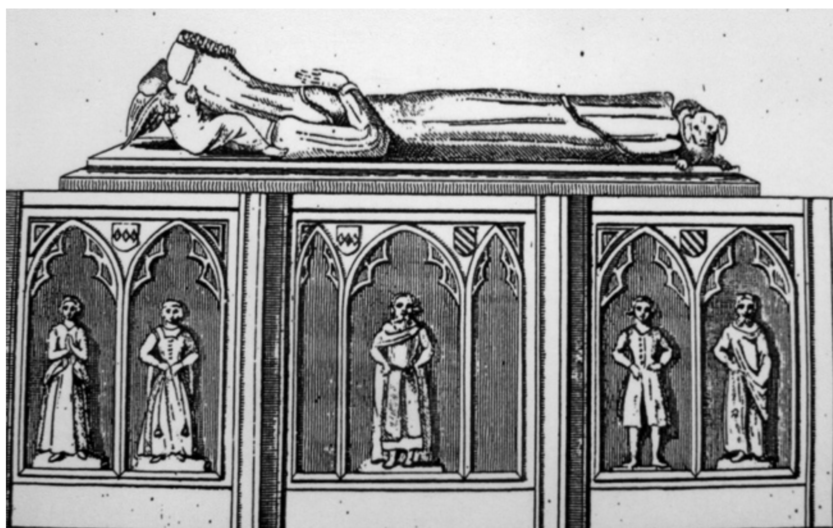


Figure 16 Tomb of Lady Elizabeth de Montfort (Drawing: R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments Century XIV*, London, 1799, p. 105, pl. 38).

William, Earl of Salisbury, and the second bearded figure located on the right end niche perhaps indicates Simon, Bishop of Ély. Between these two is a young man, clean-shaven, with a shorter, tight-fitting tunic, possibly representing her son John, who had died young. The two niches on the left side contain one woman praying and another wearing fashionable dress with a tight-fitting, buttoned tunic. On the north side the damaged figures show the woman in the centre and the woman on her right in nun's habits, probably representing Maud, Abbess of Barking, and Elizabeth, Prioress of Haliwell. Beyond her is another man in a short, buttoned tunic, and on the western end are two more women fashionably dressed. Presumably the three women represented in fashionable secular attire are Elizabeth's three married daughters. Elizabeth died in 1354, having arranged the establishment of the chantry eight years earlier in 1346.[101] Her tomb is stylistically related to that of John of Eltham (d. 1334), Edward III's brother, in Westminster Abbey,[102] suggesting that Elizabeth may

[101] Wigram, *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, pp. 1–4. Royal licence for Elizabeth, Lady Montacute to give, and the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide to receive, Stockwell Mead for the foundation of chantries in the Conventual Church. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III 1345–8, vol. 7, p. 143.

[102] Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, pp. 86–7, 119–20.

have wished to be associated with royal precedents for the design of her own tomb.

Public references to their status and wealth as well as expressions of piety were evidently of importance to these ladies, and the mother's key role at the centre of the family could be emphasised by references to her children. In the fourteenth century images of female patrons appear more frequently in the public setting of churches, as effigies or as benefactors. At the same time, images of women on seals disappear in favour of heraldic emblems which include not only their father's and husband's arms, but very often those of the maternal grandfather as well. In manuscripts it becomes much more likely that a husband, and/or his arms, will be included, as well as those of various other relatives. The increasing prosperity of the lesser nobility encouraged such families to spend money on patronage, but at all levels of society in the fourteenth century the uncertainties of war and disease may have further spurred people to emphasise the strength of the family unit.[103]

The concrete examples laid out here allow us to draw some overall conclusions concerning the patronage of elite English women in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their secular power proceeded from family connections, while their spiritual authority lay in a relationship to the Church, especially as a woman's motherhood associated her with the Mother of Christ. These priorities of family and piety could be demonstrated in her patronage as being of particular importance, but it was also possible to indicate personal interests and concerns. Ela Longespee's benefaction to her husband's family's foundation of the Holy Sepulchre at Warwick, as well as her wish to be buried at her husband's mother's family's foundation of Oseney Abbey, demonstrate her continuing devotion to her first husband, as well as her freedom to choose the focus of her patronage. As we have seen, Alice of Saluzzo's preference for the Dominican order as well as her own Continental family connections appear to be reflected in the Rutland Psalter/Hours, and Margaret de Quency's problems with her son's involvement in the Baronial Wars may be the reason for the emphasis on penitence in the Lambeth Apocalypse and in the sculpture of the porch at Higham Ferrers. Parnel Moyne's wish to honour her husband's success and Elizabeth de Montfort's pride in the achievements of her children

[103] Linda E. Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women*, has much of interest to say about the interactions and relationships in families.

are both demonstrated in the memorials they established. These surviving images from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries serve to show as much the range of options for English women's patronage and the various possibilities for portraying wives and widows of the middle and upper nobility, as they do the ways in which certain women were able to manifest their own interests through artistic commissions.

Appendix A
Women Who Founded, Co-Founded or Re-Founded Religious Houses in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries

Name	Date	Foundation	Type
Margaret de Briouze	1216	Aconbury Priory, Herefordshire	Hospitallers Augustinian
Isabelle de Ferrieres	1228	Hospital, Lechlade, Gloucestershire	Augustinian
Ela of Salisbury	1232	Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire	Augustinian nuns
Roesia de Verdun	1235	Grace Dieu Priory, Belton, Leicestershire	Augustinian nuns
		Hospital, Lutterworth, Leicestershire	Augustinian
Eve Marshall	1238	Cornworthy Priory, Devon	Augustinian nuns
Isabelle de Bolebec	before 1245	Blackfriars, Oxford	Dominican
Isabelle de Warenne, Countess of Arundel	1249	Marham Abbey, Norfolk	Cistercian nuns
Margaret de Hanes	1258	Flixton Priory, Suffolk	Augustinian
Eleanor of Provence, Queen of England	1273	Hospital of St Katherine, London	Augustinian
	1275	Blackfriars, Guildford, Surrey	Dominican
Amice de Clare, Countess of Devon	1278	Buckland Abbey, Devon	Cistercian
Maud de Lacy, Countess of Gloucester	1282	Canonsleigh Priory, Devon	Augustinian nuns
Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England	1285	Blackfriars, Chichester, Sussex	Dominican
Blanche of Artois, Countess of Lancaster	1294	St Mary Minories, London	Franciscan nuns
Denise de Anesty	1294	Waterbeach Nunnery, Cambridgeshire	Franciscan nuns
Alice de Sanford, Countess of Oxford	before 1296	Blackfriars, Cambridge (greatly enlarged)	Dominican
Margaret of France, Queen of England	1306	Greyfriars, London (rebuilt church)	Franciscan
Mary of St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke	1339	Denny Abbey, Cambridgeshire	Franciscan nuns
Eleanor de Clare	1347	Greyfriars, Walsingham, Norfolk	Franciscan
Mabel Grandison	before 1350	Greyfriars, Bedford	Franciscan
Hawyse of Powys	before 1353	Greyfriars, Shrewsbury, Shropshire	Franciscan

Appendix B
English Religious Manuscripts Associated with Laywomen in the 13th and 14th Centuries

APOCALYPSES

Manuscript	Museum No	Date	Language	Owner
Trinity Apocalyse	Cambridge, Trinity College, R.16.2	1255–60	French	Eleanor of Provence?
Lambeth Apocalypse	London, Lambeth Palace, 209	1260–70	Latin	Margaret de Quency?
Douce Apocalypse	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 180	1270 ca.	French/Latin	Prince Edward & Eleanor of Castile
New College Apocalypse	Oxford, New College, 65	1280–99	French	Lady Joanna de Bohun

PSALTERS

Manuscript	Museum No	Date	Owner
13th Century			
Huntingfield Psalter	NY, Pierpont Morgan Library, M43	1210–20	Lady
Wilton Psalter	London, Royal College of Physicians, 409	1250 ca.	Laywoman
Amesbury Psalter	Oxford, All Souls College, 6	1250–	Widow or nun
Psalter	Princeton University, Garrett 34	1260 ca.	Lady
Oscott Psalter	London, British Library, Add. 50000,54215	1265–70	Woman and man
Psalter	NY, Metropolitan Museum, Acc.22.24.1 Cleveland Museum, Acc.24.427	1270 ca.	Queen Eleanor of Provence?
Cuerdon Psalter	NY, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.576	1270 ca.	Couple
Grandisson Psalter	London, British Library, Add. 21926	1270–80	Lady; Couple

Table (*cont.*)

Manuscript	Museum No	Date	Owner
Marciano Psalter	Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, lat.I.77	1270–80	Lady. Sibyl de Ferrers?
Psalter	London, British Library, Egerton 1066	1270–80	Lady
Alphonso Psalter	London, British Library, Add. 24686	1284–1316	Alphonso & Margaret of Holland, Elizabeth of England
Bird Psalter	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2–1954	1280–90	Couple: feminine form of prayer Alphonso & Margaret of Holland?
Clare-Giffard-Vescy Psalter	NY, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.100	1290–	Joan of Acre & Gilbert de Clare?
14th Century			
Psalter	Cambridge, Trinity College, O.4.16	1300 c.	Margaret de Ferrar? Obit
Isabella Psalter	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, gall.16	1303–8	Queen Isabelle
Bardolf-Vaux Psalter	London, Lambeth Palace, 233	1300–10	Lady
Queen Mary Psalter	London, British Library, Royal 2.B.VII	1310–20	Queen Isabelle
Psalter of Queen Philippa	London, Dr William's Library, Anc.6	1328–40	Queen Philippa
Escorial Psalter	El Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial, Q.II.6	1320–30	Cicely Bardolf, wife of William, Lord Morley
St. Omer Psalter	London, British Library, Yates Thomson 14	1325–30	Couple of St. Omer family
Luttrell Psalter	London, British Library, Add. 42130	1325–35	Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, wife & daughter-in-law
Psalter of Queen Philippa	London, British Library, Harley 2899	1328–40	Queen Philippa
Fitzwarin Psalter	Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, lat.765	1340s?	Amice de Haddon, wife of Sir William Fitzwarin
Psalter	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lit.198	1350–60	Lady
Bohun Psalter	London, British Library, Egerton 3277	1361–73	Mary de Bohun?

PSALTER/HOURS

Manuscript	Museum No	Date	Owner
13th Century			
Margaret Skulesdotter Psalter/Hours	Berlin, Kupferchstikabinett, 78.A.8	1210–20	King, queen & youth
Robert de Lindsey Psalter/Hours	Cambridge, St. John's College, D.6	1210–20	Crowned lady with attendant
Rutland Psalter/Hours	London, British Library, Add. 62925	1260 c.	Alice of Saluzzo?
Percy/York Psalter/Hours	New York, Stillman Collection London, Private Collection[1]	1280–90	Eleanor Fitzalan & Henry Percy
14th Century			
Howard Psalter/Hours	London, British Library, Arundel 83.1	1310–20	Alice Fitton & Sir William Howard
Harnhull Psalter/Hours	Downside Abbey, 26533	1310–20	Isabelle de Lindhurst, wife of Henry de Harnhulle
Vernon Psalter/Hours	San Marino, Huntingdon Library, El.9.H.17	1300–23	Lady
Elizabeth de Bohun Psalter/Hours	Viscount Astor?	1338–55	Elizabeth de Badlesmere, Countess of Northampton
Eleanor de Bohun Psalter/Hours	Edinburgh, Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Adv.18.6.5	1382–1396	Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester

BOOKS OF HOURS

Manuscript	Museum No	Date	Owner
13th Century			
de Brailes Hours	London, British Library, Add. 4999	1240 ca.	Ela Longespee, Countess Warwick?
Vienna Hours	Vienna, Mus.angewandte Kunst, lat.XIV(S.5)	1250 ca.	Lady praying
Egerton Hours	London, British Library, Egerton 1151	1260–70	Lady praying
Harley Hours	London, British Library, Harley 928	1280–90	Lady
Baltimore Hours	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.102	End C13	Lady praying
14th Century			
Grey-Fitzpayn Hours	Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, 242	1300–08	Joan Fitzpayn
Madresfield Hours	Earl Beauchamp	1320–30	Maud Tilliol
Norwich Hours	Norwich, Castle Museum, 158.926	1310–20	Lady
Hours of Alice de Reydon	Cambridge, University Library, Dd.4.17	1320–4	Alice Reymes, wife of Robert de Reydon
de Lisle Hours	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Anc.6	1316–31	Lady
Hours	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 231	1325–30	Lady before Eucharist. Man.
Dubois Hours	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.700	1325–30	Hawisia Dubois
Taymouth Hours	London, British Library, Yates Thompson 13	1325–35	Queen, Joan of the Tower, King
Hungerford Hours	London, British Library, Add. 62106,61887 Private Collection	1325–35	Mabel Grandison & Sir John Pateshulle?
Hours of Eleanor de Mohun	Boston, Public Library, 1546	1324–37	Eleanor de Mohun, wife of Ralph de Wilmington
Neville of Hornby Hours	London, British Library, Egerton 2781	1340–50	Lady, couple
Butler Hours	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.105	1340–50	Butler family at mass
Hours	Dublin, Trinity College, 94	1340–50	Lady & man
Carew-Poyntz Hours	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 48	1350–60	Lady
Hours of Mary de Bohun	Copenhagen,Kongelige Bibliotek,Thott.547.4	1380–94	Mary de Bohun
Hours	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc.188	1380–1400 ca.	Lady with coronet

Appendix C
Seals of Women in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries

Headings

NAME:	as given in inscription or in document
HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD:	as indicated in inscription, heraldry or document
STATUS:	whether wife, widow, daughter or mother as given in inscription or document
DATE:	as indicated
TYPE:	six types of female seal are catagorised as: effigy, equestrian, heraldic, religious, animal or miscellaneous
REF:	museum or collection identification numbers
CHARTER:	very brief summary of contents of sealed document where known

Catalogue Number References

BM	Birch, W. de G., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols., 1887.
PRO	Ellis, R.H., *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office*; *Personal Seals*, 2 vols., 1978, 1981.
SND	Hunter-Blair, C.H., "Seals of Northumberland & Durham," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, 20 (1923), pp. 69-186, and 21 (1924), pp. 38–120.
SA	Casts of seals in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London: drawer number.
Bal.	Balliol College, Oxford

Abbreviations

C. = countess or count	L. = Lord	E. = earl	Edw. = Edward
HT = Holy Trinity	Aft. = after	Bef. = before	d. = died

Names in **bold** indicate seals mentioned in the text.
For consistency one version of variable popular names is used; Isabelle for Isabel or Isabella, Joan for Joanna, Maud for Matilda.

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Agatha Bernards	Ralph le FitzBernard, Knight	Widow	Edw.II	Effigy	BM06591	Grant of grove and messuage to Joan FitsB.
Agatha Trusbut	William de Aubeny	Widow	12–	Heraldry	BM13991	Quitclaim Newhouse Abbey lands
Agnes	William Harris	Wife	1362	Religious	PRO.P0375	With husband grants messuage
Agnes	Thomas de Hetschete	Widow	1333	Heraldry	BM10670	Grants lands and tenements
Agnes	Thomas Rainbird	Widow	1374	Heraldry	PRO.P1918	
Agnes	John Maudnyt of Wilts	Wife	1333	Heraldry	BM11673	Delivery of seisin of manors and advowsons
Agnes	Robert de Sandcroft	Widow	1301	Effigy	BM06708	
Agnes Carew	Andrew Salle	Widow	1210	Misc.	PRO.P1158	
Agnes de Ferrers	Eustace de Vescy	Wife	1216	Effigy	BM06726	
			1216	Heraldry	BM06726	
Agnes Merlay	Nicholas de Gimeges	Wife	12–	Animal	PRO.P0531	With husband grants common pasture
Agnes Percy			Edw.1	Effigy	BM06695	Grants manor to sister Joan
Albretha Oger	Hugh de Polstead	Wife	Edw.1	Heraldry	PRO.P0633	With husband demise of rent from land etc.
Alice	Sir Robert de Aspale	Widow	1342	Heraldry	BM06967	Gives land to son
Alice	Lucas de Viane	Wife	1357	Heraldry	BM14163	Lease to Lucas de Veyene & wife
Alice	Nichol de Longford	Wife	1346	Heraldry	BM11374	Covenant for marriage and settlement
Alice	Nicholas Malemayns	Wife	1315	Heraldry	BM11531	Lease from Abbey of toft & land for life
Alice	Henry de Neville of Lincs	Widow	12–	Heraldry	BM12087	Grants of field to Convent of Bullington, Lincs

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Alice	Thomas de Tolthorp	Widow	1324	Heraldry	BM13956	Grant of goods in York, 1344
Alice	Philippi de Ykamme	Daughter	12–	Effigy	BM06741	
Alice	Arnulf le Sauuage	Wife	1233	Effigy	BM06711	With husband sells land given by sister
Alice	William de Rustone	Wife	1343	Heraldry	BM13179	Indenture of grant of land
Alice Abernon			1344	Heraldry	SA.F1	
Alice Daleby			1344	Heraldry	SA.F17	
Alice Lacer	William Brun, Knight	Widow	1365	Heraldry	BM07883	Confirmation of grant of lands for chantry
Alice Lacy	Henry de Lacy, E. Lincoln	Mother	1292	Effigy	PRO.P1636	
Alice Lacy	Ebulo Lestrauge	Wife	1324	Heraldry	PRO.P0460	With husband grants Halton
Alice Langgelee			12–	Effigy	BM06672	
Alice Ledet	William Le Latimer	Wife	1311	Heraldry	BM11242	Quitclaiming rights of presentation
Alice Lincoln	John Wolf, Clerk	Wife	1322	Religious	PRO.P0472	
Alice Neville			12–	Heraldry	BM12086	
Alice Reydon			1336	Heraldry	BM12964	Used by Radalphus de Reydon
Alice Rumeli			1210	Effigy	PRO.P1977	
Alice of Saluzzo	Edmund de Lacy, E. Lincoln	Widow	1310	Effigy	BM06673	Quitclaim to HT Priory, York, right to advowson
		Widow	1270	Heraldry	BM11186	Indenture from son Henry, E. Lincoln
Alice Sandford	Robert de Vere, E. Oxford	Widow	1303	Heraldry	BM14115	Gift of land and manor Waldringfield
Alice Shetton			13–	Heraldry	BM13472	

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Alice Tolemache	Humphrey Tolemache	Daughter	Henry III	Misc	PRO.P0774	Grant of land in Wilbraham
Alice Watervile	William de Bandun, Clerk	Widow	1228	Effigy	BM06734	Quitclaim to Hospital, Southwark, of tenement
Alice Wimbish	John de Wymbish	Widow	12–	Animal	PRO.P0878	Quitclaim
Alice, C. Eu			1219	Heraldry	SA.F18	
			1219	Effigy	SA.F18	
Alice, C. Menteith			1336	Heraldry	PROP1740	Receipts to King 20 marks, Bardi Co. 13 marks
Amice	Hugonis de Huesd'n	Daughter	12–	Effigy	BM06667	Concedes manor to son
Amice de Clare	Baldwin de Reviers, E. Devon	Widow	1274	Heraldry	PRO.P0653	Grant of land to John Wyz and wife
Anabilla	Robert de St. John	Widow	1349	Religious	PRO.P1985	Receipt to Receiver 40L. for purchases
Anastasia Burgate			12–	Effigy	BM06599	
Andrina	Thomas de Gayton, Knight	Widow	1343	Heraldry	BM10055	Release to Scholastica Melsa of nephew
Anna Seraffini	Philip Marci	Wife	12–	Heraldry	BM11599	
Anne	Thomas de Mandeville	Wife	1375	Animal	PRO.P0511	
Annora Umfraville	John, L. Lancaster of Rydal	Wife	d.1338	Heraldry	SA.F25	
Avicia Herberti	Robert Blund of Southward	Widow	12–	Effigy	BM06633	Grant with son of land & tenements for 12d
Beatrice Barre	Aymer de Valence, E. Pembroke	Wife	1312	Heraldry	PRO.P0819	Receipt for 35L. part of grant for her chamber
			1312	Heraldry	BM14078	
Beatrice Niger	Robert Malherbe	Widow	1232	Heraldry	BM11538	Grant for £100 manor, rent pair gilt spurs for 6d

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Beatrice Pok'lingt'	Robert de Percy, Knight	Wife	1317	Effigy	BM06699	With husband quitclaim for manor
Beregar Moyne			12–	Heraldry	BM12011	Exchange of manors for 400 marks
Cecilia	William of Avranches	Mother	1200c	Animal	PRO.P0028	With son asking E. Warenne to witness
Cecilia Sabelina	Laurencius Bucuinte	Wife	12–	Effigy	BM06598	Gift to Southwark Priory
Cecily Beauchamp	Richard Turberville	Wife	1371	Heraldry	BM14008	Grants lands & manor to Priory at Ixworth
Cecily Heworthia			12–	Misc.	BM10684	
Cecily Weston	Roger Atte Water	Wife	1324	Effigy	PRO.P0849	With husband quitclaim for land
Christina	William Abbot	Wife	1373	Misc.	PRO.P0002	With husband quitclaim of lands
Christina	Richard de Colebrook	Wife	1334	Effigy	PRO.P0203	
Christina Plessets	John, Lord Segrave	Wife	1290	Effigy	BM06712	
Denise	Willelmi Le Well'	Daughter	12–	Effigy	BM06737	
Denise Anesty	Warin de Munchensy	Widow	12–	Effigy	BM06685	
Devorgild	John Balliol	Widow	1284	Effigy	Bal.565	re Balliol College
			1284	Heraldry	Bal.565	re Balliol College
Ela Longespee	Thomas Newburgh, E. Warwick	Widow	bef.1254	Effigy	SA.F21	
			bef.1254	Heraldry	SA.F21	
Ela Longespee	Phillip Basset of Hedendon	Wife	aft.1254	Effigy	BM06579	Grants land to Reading Abbey
			aft.1254	Heraldry	BM06579	

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Ela Longespee	James de Alditheley	Widow	1274	Effigy	BM06573	Quitclaims land inherited from father
Ela Quency	Alan, L.La Zouch of Ashby	Wife	1298	Effigy	BM06742	
Ela of Salisbury	William Longespee, E. Salibury	Widow	1226	Effigy	BM06678	
			1226	Heraldry	BM06678	
Eleanor	John Malemayns, Knight	Widow	1339	Heraldry	BM11533	Release of lands
Eleanor	William de Hastings	Widow	1318	Heraldry	PRO.P1516	
Eleanor	John Giffard, Knight	Widow	1348	Heraldry	PRO.P1442	
Eleanor	Simon de Montfort, E. Leicester	Widow	12–	Effigy	BM06686	
Eleanor Ashwell	Henry de Lacy	Widow	1368	Heraldry	BM06965	Concedes lands in Ashdon
Eleanor Bohun	Robert de Ferrers, E. Derby	Wife	1273	Heraldry	SA.F19	
Eleanor Bohun	L. John de Verdon	Wife	1275	Heraldry	BM14142	
Eleanor of Castile	King Edward I	Wife	1290	Effigy	BM00796, SA.A1	
			1290	Heraldry	BM00796	
Eleanor Despenser	Hugh Courtenay, L. Oakhampton	Wife	d.1328	Heraldry	SA.F16	
Eleanor Ferraris	William Bagot, Knight	Widow	1326	Heraldry	BM09672	Indented defeasance of yearly rent
Eleanor Gorges	Theobald Russel	Widow	1356	Heraldry	BM13167	Release of property
Eleanor Hastings	Philip de Columbers	Wife	1328	Heraldry	BM10529	Gift of land to Hospital, Exeter
Eleanor of Provence	King Henry III	Wife	1255	Effigy	BM00791, SA.A1	Grant to Bishop of Ely of lands and fisheries

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
			1255	Heraldry	BM00791	
			1262	Effigy	BM00794	1700 marks to Florentine merchants
			1262	Heraldry	BM00794	
Eleanor de Vitry	William d'Evreux, E. Salisbury	Widow	1222	Effigy	BM06729	Grant of assart in manor
	Gilbert de Malesmains	Wife	1222	Effigy	PRO.P1989	
Eleanor Williamsot			1362	Heraldry	PRO.P0876	
Elizabeth	Sir John de Aspale	Widow	1371	Heraldry	BM06968	Gives land to son
Elizabeth	W. Gunstorp	Wife	1342	Effigy	BM06656	
Elizabeth	Richard Harris	Wife	1359	Animal	PRO.P0376	With husband grants field
Elizabeth	John Rivel	Wife	1347	Heraldry	BM12999	
Elizabeth	William of Aldeburgh	Wife	1368	Heraldry	BM06801	Power of attorney to deliver seisin of lands
Elizabeth	Hugh de Coleworth	Wife	Henry III	Effigy	BM06617	Grant of land 1d rent for 60 marks
Elizabeth de Clare	John de Burgh, E. Ulster	Widow	1333	Heraldry	BM07934	Election of Prior and gift of land, Anglesey
					PRO.P142, SA.F14	
		Widow	1353	Heraldry	BM07940	Forgiving Prior of Anglesey debt
Elizabeth of England	John, Count of Holland	Wife	1297–9	Effigy	SA.A4, SA.H21	
Elizabeth Kinlet	Esmond de Cornwaile	Widow	1355	Heraldry	BM08964	Power of attorney to give seisin of land

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Elizabeth Montfort	Sir William Montague	Wife	1331	Heraldry	BM11841	
Elizabeth Multon	Walter de Bermyngham	Wife	1359	Heraldry	BM07411	With husband concedes advowson to rector
Elizabeth Penle			1335	Heraldry	BM12540	Grant of lands and tenements
Elizabeth, Lady of Savore				Equestrian	SA.F36	
Emelina Ridelsford	Stephen de Longespee	Wife	1250	Effigy	BM06680	
			1250	Heraldry	BM06680	
	Hugh de Lacy, E. Ulster	Wife	d. 1278	Effigy	SA.A4, SA.H21	
Emma	Simon de Borden	Widow	1280	Effigy	PRO.P0040	
Emma	Berenger de Moyne	Widow	1285	Animal	PRO.P0564	Quitclaim to Romsey Abbey of manors
Emma	John le Webbe	Widow	1349	Religious	PRO.P0858	Grant of land to chaplain
Emma	William de Hotot	Wife	1200c	Effigy	PRO.P1567	Husband with consent of wife grants lands
Emma	Rogeri	Daughter	12–	Effigy	BM06642	
Emma	Sir John de Oddyngseles	Wife	1328	Heraldry	BM12282	With husband quitclaim of manor to Abbot
Emma Eton	Reginald Hareng	Widow	1180	Effigy	PRO.P1351	
Emma Kent	Richard Salughel	Widow	1200c	Effigy	PRO.P1953	Grants land to Holy Trinity Priory, London
Emota	Thomas of Wasborough	Wife	1353	Animal	PRO.P0849	
Ermeiarda	Henry Seymour, Knight	Widow	1309	Effigy	PRO.P0714	Receipt from Exchequer for 1 mark

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Euphemia Neville	Reginald de Lucy	Widow	1369	Heraldry	BM11436	Grants manor
Eve Brock			1200ca	Effigy	PRO.P1105	Grant of mill
Florence Scovile			Edw.I	Misc.	BM13345	Quitclaim for land to son
Floria Cleford	Roger Foliot	Widow	1282	Effigy	BM06615	Acknowledgement of rent paid
Gracia Saleby	Sir Brian de Insula	Widow	1240	Heraldry	BM13254	Grants land
Gundrea Hausard			12–	Effigy	BM06659	Quitclaim of wood & land to E. Gloucester
Gundreia Warenne			1225	Effigy	BM06732	Confirmation to St. Denis, Southampton
Gunnora	William Banastre	Widow	1228	Misc.	BM07108	Quitclaim of land to Hospital, Southwark
Hawise	Richard de Lyons	Wife	1200ca	Religious	PRO.P0498	With husband grants land to Priory
Hawise Botelere			1314	Heraldry	BM07625	Quitclaim of right to underwood
Hawise of Chester	Robert de Quency	Wife	d. 1242	Misc.	SA.F34	
Hawise of Powys	John Charlton, Knight	Wife	13–	Effigy	BM06670	
Huweline Winton	Roger de Fecamp, Clerk	Wife	Henry III	Misc.	PRO.P0880	With husband quitclaims
Ida Trickett	Roger de Pyro	Widow	12–	Effigy	PRO.P0807	Grant of land to Holy Trinity Priory, London
Idonia	Henry de Coche of London	Wife	1243	Effigy	BM06660	With husband gives daughter in free marriage
Isabelle	Warin de Bassingburne	Widow	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06588	Quitclaim of various lands
Isabelle	Nycol Pecche	Widow	1355	Heraldry	BM12438	Grant of annuity of £10 to Isabelle

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Isabelle	Thomas de Bourne, Knight	Widow	1346	Heraldry	BM07671	Release of land
Isabelle	Roger de Merlay	Widow	12–	Animal	PRO.P0532	With husband grants common pasture, etc.
Isabelle	Thomas de Higham	Wife	1268	Effigy	PRO.P0396	Demise of indented lands to husband & wife
Isabelle	Ranulf de Albo-Monasterio	Widow	Edw.I	Heraldry	BM06795	Grant of lands to daughter
Isabelle	John de Patissille	Daughter	Henry III	Effigy	BM06718	Grant of land to John de Barton
Isabelle Albigniaco	Baron Robert de Ros	Wife	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06571	Conceding lands and tenements
Isabelle of Angoulême	King John	Wife	1200–16	Effigy	SA.A1	
Isabelle Appleby	William Le Bret of Appleby	Wife	1290	Effigy	BM06574	Indenture of lands and tenements
Isabelle Beaumont	Sir John de Vescy	Widow	1289	Effigy	BM06727	Bishop of Durham gives manor for her life
Isabelle de Clare	William Marshall, E. Pembroke	Wife	1219	Effigy	BM06682	
Isabelle of France	King Edward II	Wife	1307	Effigy	BM00800	
			1307	Heraldry	BM00800	
Isabelle Ponyngges			13–	Heraldry	BM12784	
Isabelle Pulham	William Sundon	Widow	1373	Religious	PRO.P0641	
Isabelle de Reviers	William de Forz, C. Aumale	Widow	1259	Heraldry	BM09895	Grant of land
			1276	Heraldry	BM09893	Re 13L rent to Adam de Stratton
			1293	Heraldry	SA.F21	

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Isabelle Rogeres		Widow	1369	Heraldry	BM13044	Grant of lands
Ismania	John Le Sor, Knight	Widow	Henry III	Effigy	BM06713	Grant of lands to eldest daughter
Isolde Beaumont	John de Belhous, Knight	Widow	1336	Heraldry	BM07341	Release of lands to rector
Isolda Grai	Reginald de Mendry	Wife	1239	Effigy	BM06651	Agreement to rental of property
Joan	Thomas Furnivalle	Widow	1367	Heraldry	BM09980	Covenant for annuity of 40s
Joan	Simon Bond, Citizen London	Wife	1362	Heraldry	BM07584	Gift of advowson to rector of church
Joan	John Coupland	Widow	1363	Heraldry	PRO.P1240	
Joan	John Coupland	Widow	1366	Heraldry	PRO.P1241	Grant to Joan
Joan	John Coupland	Wife	1370	Heraldry	PRO.P0222	Land to Catesby Nunnery
Joan	John Engayne, Knight	Widow	12–	Effigy	BM06628	Grant of lands, rent 1 lb pepper
Joan	Geoffrey de Casterton	Widow	1376	Heraldry	BM08406	Gift of land to convent of Kirkstede, Lincs
Joan	Roger Dakeneye	Widow	1354	Heraldry	BM09166	Grants land of four acres
Joan	Richard de Mundevile	Widow	1263	Effigy	BM06687	Quitclaim to Bethlesden Abbey for dower land
Joan	John de Shardlow	Widow	1362	Effigy	PRO.P0715	Grant of land indented for her life
Joan	Guy de Fene, Knight	Widow	1367	Heraldry	PRO.P1375	Receipt to mayor of Carlisle for part of annuity
Joan	Thomas Priour of Essex	Wife	1339	Heraldry	BM12848	Quitclaim to Joan & husband of land

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Joan	Nicholas la Woodward	Wife	1325	Animal	PRO.P0890	Quitclaims with husband
Joan	John de la Haye of Lincs	Widow	1300	Heraldry	BM10599	Grant of land with house
Joan	Thomas Blount, Knight	Wife	1363	Animal	PRO.P1048	With husband grant of land
Joan	William Aumbeses	Wife	1307	Effigy	BM06577	With husband has grant of manor for 20 marks
Joan	John de Mackney	Widow	1341	Animal	PRO.P1695	Receipt for 10 marks, part of 40 due on bond
Joan Achard			1272	Effigy	SA.F1	
Joan of Acre	King Edward I	Daughter	1272–	Heraldry	SA.A4	
Joan Bassett			12–	Effigy	BM06585	
Joan Bohun			1313	Heraldry	BM07538	
Joan Boteler			Edw.I	Misc.	BM07627	With husband grants manor
Joan Breouse	Used by John de Breouse		1348	Heraldry	BM07788	Grant of manor and advowson
Joan Brewse	Used by Richard le Brewse		1356	Heraldry	BM07791	Appointing attorney re seisin of land
Joan Carbonel	William de Neketone	Widow	1306	Heraldry	BM08330	Grant of rents in manor
Joan Chedder			1333	Heraldry	BM08517	
Joan Cornhill			1292	Effigy	BM06621	
Joan Ferrers			1367	Heraldry	BM09674	
Joan Ferrers			12–	Effigy	BM06630	
Joan Flayneur			1352	Heraldry	BM09827	re land concession
Joan Gacelin			12–	Effigy	BM06644	
Joan Gent	Richard Hilt	Daughter	1340	Heraldry	BM10062	Quitclaims property
Joan Lambourne			1332	Heraldry	BM11207	Receipt for silver gilded chalice

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Joan Madume	Used by Robert de Peyton		1341	Heraldry	BM11520	Land deal
Joan Malet			1357	Heraldry	BM11536	
Joan de Munchensy	William de Valence, E. Pembroke	Wife	d. 1307	Effigy	SA.F40	
		Wife	d. 1307	Heraldry	SA.F40	
		Widow	1301	Heraldry	BM14079	Gift to her Receiver
Joan Penyngstone			1343	Heraldry	BM12541	
Joan Perle			1365	Heraldry	BM12578	
Joan Pol			1318	Heraldry	PRO.P1843	
Joan Somerville	Rhys ap Griffith	Wife	1371	Heraldry	SND337	
Joan Stutevile	Hugh Le Bigod	Widow	1265	Equestrian	BM06719	Release of lands to St. Mary's Convent, Watton
Joan Tolworth	Arnold de Moutney	Wife	1351	Heraldry	PRO.P0795	
Joan Wyn			1365	Heraldry	BM14630	
Joan Zouch			1363	Heraldry	BM14680	
Juliana	Richard de Norton	Widow	1344	Effigy	BM06692	Confirmation of grants of rent
Juliana de Leyburn	William de Clinton, E. Huntingdon	Wife	1330	Heraldry	BM08684	
		Wife	1340	Heraldry	PRO.P0195	With husband grant of land in exchange
			13–	Heraldry	BM11339	
Katherine	William de la Pole	Widow	1366	Religious	PRO.P0631	Quitclaim to king of right of dower
Katherine	John Cook	Daughter	12–	Misc.	PRO.P1231	

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Katherine	John de Castone	Wife	1350	Heraldry	BM08413	With husband concedes land
Katherine			1358	Heraldry	PRO.P0062	Letter of attorney re king's grant
Katherine Meulard			1350	Heraldry	BM11767	Grant, as executrix, of a tenement
Katherine Swynford			1377	Heraldry	BM13808	Power of attorney for seisin of tenements
Laura Sanford			Henry III	Effigy	BM06709	Two acres for perpetual candle for soul
Letia	Peter de Edisfeld	Daughter	12–	Effigy	BM06626	Rent agreement for land
Lucy Bygod			1355	Heraldry	BM07995	Land transaction
Lucy Malet	Hugh de Meryet of Kent	Widow	1309	Heraldry	BM11734	Release of lands inherited from father
Mabel de Gattone			12–	Equestrian	BM06648	
Margaret	John Simond/Edmund Meuson	Wife	1368	Animal	PRP.P0726	
Margaret	William Marmion, Knight	Wife	1322	Religious	PRO.P0515	With husband licence to tenants
Margaret	Henry leTyas	Widow	1323	Heraldry	PRO.P2161	Receipt for 8L part of annuity of 10L
Margaret	Hamo de Felton	Wife	1362	Heraldry	PRO.P1369	With husband quitclaims
Margaret	William Langham	Wife	1355	Heraldry	BM11224	Indentures of grant of land
Margaret	Peter de Salmershe	Wife	1341	Heraldry	BM13257	Grant of manor
Margaret			1339	Heraldry	BM07952	Forgives Prior debt provided he pays some

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Margaret Basset		Widow	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06586	Lease of land held during minority of heir
Margaret Basset	John de Bohun, E. Hereford	Wife	1339	Heraldry	BM07552	
Margaret de Clare	Bartholomew, L. Badlesmere	Wife	1328	Heraldry	SND792	
Margaret Durand			1349	Heraldry	BM09377	Concedes land
Margaret FitzPernel	Saer de Quency, E. Winchester	Widow	1220	Effigy	BM06700	Confirmation of grant of lands to Prior
Margaret of France	King Edward I	Wife	1299	Effigy	BM00798, SA.A1	
			1299	Heraldry	BM00798, SA.A1	
			1300	Heraldry	BM00799	
Margaret Gosehall			1333	Heraldry	BM10190	Division of land between brothers
Margaret Gyffard			13–	Heraldry	BM10095	
Margaret Merch	Roger de Bray	Wife	12–	Effigy	BM06631	Grant of land to Bittlesden Abbey
Margaret Neville			1315	Effigy	BM06690	
			1315	Effigy	BM06691	
			1315	Effigy	PRO.P1805	
Margaret de Quency	John de Lacy, E. Lincoln	Wife	1232–40	Heraldry	SA.F25	
Margaret de Quency	Walter Marshall, E. Pembroke	Widow	1245	Effigy	BM06676	
Margaret of Savoy	Baldwin de Reviers, E. Devon	Widow	Henry III	Heraldry	BM12949	Grant of advowson to Hales Abbey

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Margaret of Scotland	Hubert de Burgh, E. Kent	Widow	1250	Effigy	BM06601	Philip Basset to do homage & service for vills
Margaret Umfraville			1328	Heraldry	PRO.P2170	
Margaret Wake	Edmund Plantagenet, E. Kent	Wife	1347	Heraldry	BM12701	
Margery	John de Middleton	Wife	1357	Effigy	PRO.P0538	Demise indented of lands
Margery	Thomas de Wellington	Wife	1374	Heraldry	PRO.P0861	With husband quitclaim of messuage
Margery	Simon of Kinnersley	Wife	1319	Animal	PRO.P1627	With husband release of tenements etc.
Margery			1336	Heraldry	BM08503	Agreement re rent from lands
Margery Criel			1301	Heraldry	BM09069	Quitclaim of manor and advowson
Margery Hanes	Bartholomew de Crek	Widow	1257	Heraldry	BM09062	
Margery Ingleby			1343	Misc.	PRO.P1590	Receipt to sheriff for wages 2d
Mary of England	King Edward I	Daughter	1301	Heraldry	PRO.P1720	Writ of payment to Mary
		Daughter	1303	Heraldry	BM11608	Agreement re lease of lands to Quarr Abbey
Mary Macduff, C. Fife			1336	Effigy	PRO.P1694	Letter re arrears due for household expenses
Mary of St. Pol	Aymer de Valence, E. Pembroke	Widow	1347	Effigy	BM06707	
			1347	Heraldry	BM06707	

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Mary Thorntone	Humfrey de Bassingburne	Widow	1298	Heraldry	BM07204	Gives land to son
Maud	Robert de Chissendune	Widow	1228	Effigy	BM06610	Grant of land to Hospital, Southwark
Maud	Godefridi	Widow	Henry III	Effigy	BM06649	
Maud	John de Well', Knight	Widow	1373	Heraldry	BM14343	Rents manor to son for 60 years
Maud	John Sconewedir of Staffs	Widow	1323	Heraldry	BM13337	Quitclaims property
Maud	D. Will, Knight	Widow	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06658	Grant to monks of Sybeton
Maud Albervilla			12–	Effigy	BM06569	Gift of land to monks
Maud Badlesmere	John de Vere, E. Oxford		1348	Heraldry	PRO.P2187	
		Widow	1366	Heraldry	BM14130	Grant of manor and hundred
		Widow	1366	Heraldry	BM14131	
Mary Barnack	Sir Ralph de Crumwelle	Wife	1370	Heraldry	BM09097	Licence re lands given to Kirkstede
Maud Chauz			12–	Effigy	BM06607	Grant of lands
Maud Donet	John Winchester	Wife	1313	Effigy	BM06625	
Maud Epping	Peter de Harrow	Widow	12–	Heraldry	PRO.P0272	
Maud FitzOtto	John Boteturte, Knight	Wife	1310	Heraldry	BM07684	re lands in Suffolk
		Widow	1327	Heraldry	BM07685	Lands granted to William Beauchamp
Maud of Lancaster	William, Duke of Bavaria	Wife	1348–62	Heraldry	SA.A4	
Maud of Lancaster	William de Burgh, E. Ulster	Wife	1336	Heraldry	PRO.P1722	Receipt to King for 50L
		Wife	1347	Heraldry	BM12706	Lease from Henry, E. Lancaster
Maud Luvetot	Gerard de Furnival, Baron	Widow	1254	Effigy	BM06643	Grant of manors to son

Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Maud Marshall	William de Warrene, E. Surrey	Wife	1241	Effigy	BM06592	Concedes land to son
			1241	Heraldry	BM06592	
Maud Meriet			1368	Heraldry	BM11735	Grant to son of various manors
Maud Rabaign			1317	Heraldry	BM12891	Acquittance of 2 marks dower rent
Maud St Andrea			1270	Effigy	BM06705	Grant of lands rent 1d, 8 marks premium
Millicent Cantilupe	John de Montalt	Widow	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06684	
Millicent Stafford	Hervi Bagot of Coates, Glos.	Wife	12–	Effigy	BM06715	Confirmation of gift to Stoneleigh Abbey
Miramonda Calnby	Used by Alice de Langele		1275	Effigy	BM06605	Concedes land for rent, 2 soldi p.a.
Nichola Mundevile			12–	Effigy	BM06688	
Pauline	John de Gras, Knight	Widow	1348	Effigy	BM06653	Grant to Ralph, Lord Stafford
Petronilla	John de Benstede	Widow	1359	Heraldry	PRO.P1018 BM07369	
Petronilla	Peter Cukeraul	Wife	1344	Religious	PRO.P0230	
Petronilla	Symon de Turvile	Widow	Henry III	Effigy	BM06723	Grant of lands to Bittlesden Abbey
Petronilla			1339	Heraldry	BM10250	
Petronilla Croun	William de Longchamp	Wife	Henry III	Effigy	BM06622	
Petronilla Kempser			1272	Heraldry	BM11045	
Petronilla Polested	Edmund de Kemesek	Wife	Edw.I	Effigy	BM06669	

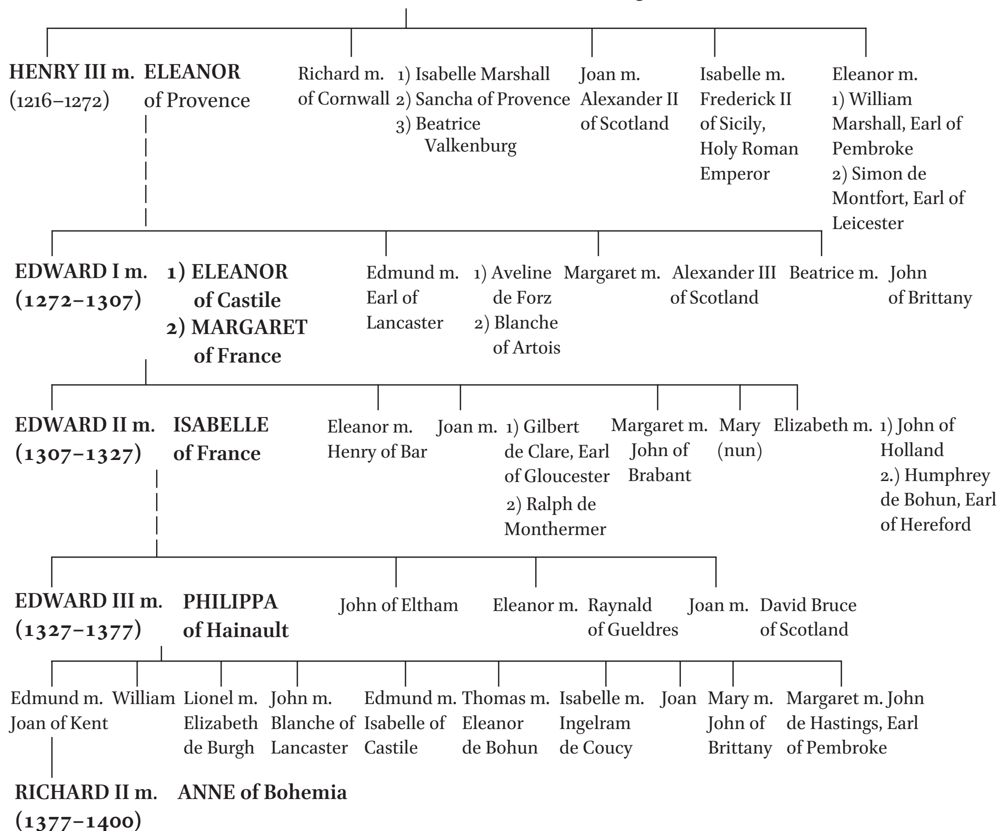
Table (*cont.*)

NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Petronilla Vaux	William, L. de Nerford	Wife	1321	Heraldry	BM12076	Lease of castle and manor from E. Lancaster
Philippa of Hainault	King Edward III	Wife	1355	Heraldry	BM00801, SA.A1	Letter to John atte Hall
		Wife	1327–69	Effigy	SA.A1	
Philippa Sergeaux			1345	Heraldry	PRO.P2021	Bond to Roger Walden
Rameta Stanford	Everard le Tyas		12–	Effigy	BM06725	
			12–	Effigy	BM06716	
		Widow	12–	Effigy	PRO.P2059	
		Widow	1248	Effigy	PRO.P2162	Demise indented for 15 years part of dower
Roesia	Gillebert de Gant, E. Lincoln	Widow	Henry III	Heraldry	BM13048	With Robert grants lands
Rosamund	Geoffrey Marmion	Widow	1268	Heraldry	PRO.P0516	Bond for yearly payment of rent
Roys	Laurence de Boughton	Wife	1333	Animal	PRO.P0100	With husband quitclaim of house
Sarra	Robert de Leybourne	Widow	1328	Heraldry	PRO.P1662	Writ to Thurgaston
Sarra Warw.	Simon de Halton of Lincs	Wife	12–	Effigy	BM06733	
Scholastica	Geoffrey de Meaux	Widow	1346	Heraldry	BM11729	Notification of having performed fealty
		Widow	1329	Heraldry	BM11728	Indenture of transfer of manor for 300 marks
Sibyl Calna			Henry III	Effigy	BM06602	Concedes land
Sibyl Gurnai			12–	Effigy	BM06657	

Table (*cont.*)

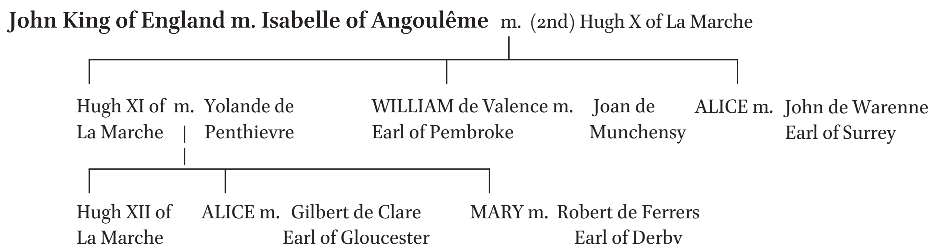
NAME	HUSBAND/PARENT/CHILD	STATUS	DATE	TYPE	REF	CHARTER
Sibyl Ikesesham			Edw.I	Effigy	BM06668	2 pieces of land, 2d rent, 64 months premium
Sibyl Kauersfeld		Widow	1226	Effigy	BM06647	Confirming gift of land to church
Sibyl Montague	Sir Edmund de Arundel	Wife	1350	Heraldry	BM06936	Receipt to executors of mother for plate
			1350	Heraldry	BM06938	Mortgages coronet to brother
Sibyl Plugenet			12–	Effigy	BM06698	
Sibyl Tregoz	William de Grandison	Wife	1286	Heraldry	BM10203	
			1339	Heraldry	PRO.P1463	
Yolande Forde			1361	Heraldry	SA.F21	

Appendix D
Kings and Queens of England 1200–1400

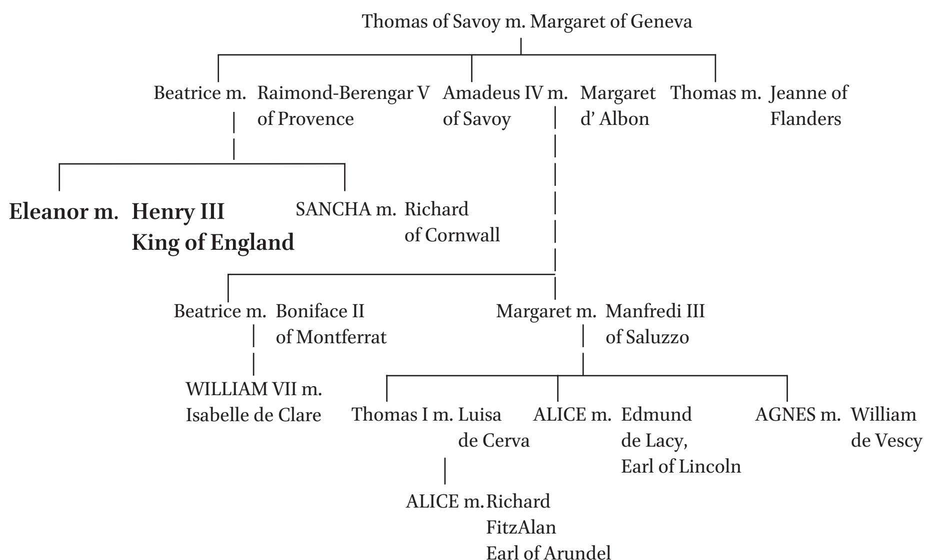


Appendix E
The Relatives of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence that Married Members of the English Nobility

Descendents of the Counts of La Marche



Descendents of the Counts of Savoy and Provence



CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONCUBINES, EUNUCHS, AND PATRONAGE IN EARLY ISLAMIC CÓRDOBA

Glaire D. Anderson

Introduction

In the art history of early Islamic Iberia, and in Islamic art history generally, the figure of the ruler as patron is paramount. Given this focus, it is often difficult to discern a role for those who, because of gender and/or legal status, have been relegated to the historiographic margins, even when they were members of the ruling class. My article attempts to address this issue as it pertains to the art of early Islamic Iberia by foregrounding the roles of women and eunuchs as patrons of art and architecture in the court of the Umayyad dynasty of al-Andalus (r. 756–1031 CE). The Andalusi Umayyads (or Marwānids), who made their capital in the city of Córdoba, were a branch of the Syrian Umayyad family, the first royal dynasty of the early Islamic empire (ca. 660–750).[1] Scholars such as Manuela Marín, D.F. Ruggles, and Sheila Blair have pointed the way toward a discussion of

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[1] Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Leiden and Paris, 1950–1953); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London and New York, 1996). On Córdoba see Christine Mazzoli-Guintard, *Vivre à Cordoue au moyen âge: solidarité citadines en terre d'Islam aux Xe–XIe siècles* (Rennes, 2003); Manuel Acién Almansa and Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Cordoue," *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, ed. Jean-Claude Garcin (Rome, 2000); Manuel Acién Almansa and Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Urbanismo y estado islámico: de Corduba a Qurṭuba—Madīnat al-Zahrā᾽," in *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, eds. Patrice Cressier, Mercedes García Arenal, and Mohamed Meouak (Madrid, 1998), pp. 107–36; Robert Hillenbrand, " 'The Ornament of the World:' Medieval Córdoba as a Cultural Centre," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp. 112–36.

women's patronage in al-Andalus and elsewhere in the medieval Islamic lands, while Mohamed Meouak and others have articulated the importance of eunuchs and other unfree male aristocrats in Umayyad Córdoba.[2] Building on their foundations, I bring these two threads together to discuss the architectural patronage of prominent members of the Córdoban court as part of a broader panorama of patronage and artistic activity that extended beyond the figure of the ruler.

The ninth and tenth centuries emerge as the zenith of patronage by women who were predominantly unfree (i.e., enslaved or freed, explained below) royal concubines.[3] Despite their contemporary absence from the narrative of Islamic art, they were some of the court's earliest and most active patrons of architecture. Their patronage cannot be understood in isolation, but should be examined in conjunction with that of the prominent court eunuchs who constitute a second major group of unfree court elites, and whose centrality to Andalusi Umayyad administration Meouak has made clear.[4] While art historians have noted the epigraphy naming unfree elites on the famous ivory caskets produced for the Umayyad court, their role in art production has elicited little comment, with the focus remaining on the aims of the royal patrons.[5] I suggest that elite eunuchs

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[2] To name just a few of the relevant publications: Manuela Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus, 11 (Madrid, 2000), pp. 339–45; D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Vision and Power: An Introduction," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany, 2000), pp. 1–16; Sheila S. Blair, "Islamic Art as a Source for the Study of Women in Premodern Societies," in *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, ed. Amira el-Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse, 2005), pp. 336–46; Mohamed Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba: eunuques et esclaves à conquête du pouvoir* (Helsinki, 2004); Mohamed Meouak, "Prosopography of Political Elites and the 'Sociography' of the Umayyad State of Cordoba," in *Medieval Prosopography*, 23 (2003), pp. 167–84; Virgilio Martínez Enamorado, *Un hombre para el califato* (Málaga, 2006). See also, in the present volume, María Elena Díez Jorge, "Women and the Architecture of al-Andalus (711–1492): A Historiographical Analysis."

[3] On the terminology of free and enslaved women see Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 41–42. Also see the works of Abdullah Cheikh Moussa, for example "La négation d'Éros ou le 'ishq d'après deux Èpitres d'al-Jāḥiz," *Studia Islamica*, 72 (1990), pp. 71–119; David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships* (Jerusalem, 1999).

[4] Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 8–15 and passim.

[5] For example, Sheila S. Blair, "What the Inscriptions Tell Us: Text and Message on the Ivories from al-Andalus," *Journal of the David Collection* 2/1–2: *The Ivories of Muslim Spain. Papers from a Symposium Held in Copenhagen from the 18th to the 20th of November 2003*, eds. Kjeld von Folsach and Joachim Meyer (2005), pp. 74–99. Architectural epigraphy and mason's marks offer important clues on the involvement of slaves in architectural workshops. See María Antonia Martínez Núñez, "Epígrafes a nombre de al-Ḥakam en Madīnat al-Zahrā'," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 4 (1999), pp. 83–104, and her "La epigrafía del Salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III," in *Madīnat al-Zahrā': el salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III*, ed. Antonio Vallejo Triano (Cordoba, 1995), pp. 107–52; Juan Souto, "Kārim o Ṭarīf? (Notas

merit greater attention in the art historical narrative, as active patrons of architecture in their own right, as well as central figures in commissions undertaken by both male and female royal patrons. Eunuchs and other unfree elites may have been more actively engaged in art and architectural design than has been so far acknowledged. The study of female patronage in medieval Islamic courts might, therefore, be enriched by examining artistic involvement of unfree women and eunuchs in tandem, given the social acceptability of contact between women and eunuchs. Not only would women have had access to the eunuchs who directed and worked in the state art and architecture workshops, there is evidence that collaborations took place, with eunuchs directing architectural projects on behalf of women. Finally, the patronage activities of Andalusi Umayyad women, I conclude, provides an early prototype for the better-known phenomenon of royal female patronage in later medieval and early modern Islamic courts.

Defining the Unfree Elite

A brief definition of the terms employed in this discussion may be helpful, given that the ethnic identities and legal statuses of the men and women in question are overlapping and complex, reflecting the great intricacy of social relations governed by hierarchies of religion, gender, kinship, generation, and the relation of free persons to slaves.[6] Those to whom I refer as "free" were never enslaved, were usually members of prominent families who supported the Andalusi rulers, and were identified primarily with an Arab and/or Berber cultural identity (even in cases in which hybrid Arab/Berber/Iberian identity was acknowledged). The importance of legal status was equal to, if not greater than, ethnic identity in defining the unfree elites of Córdoba as a category distinct from the free aristocracy. My use of the qualifier "enslaved" when referring to unfree elites points to this legal difference, and in no way implies that these women and men were inferior or slavish in any way. Concubines and palace eunuchs were either legally

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sobre un escultor esclavo de califas, a propósito de una pieza del Museo Arqueológico Nacional)," *Al-Qantara*, 26/1 (2005), pp. 249–62; Juan Souto, "Stonemasons' Identification Marks as Prosopographical Source. The Case of Umayyad al-Andalus," *Medieval Prosopography*, 23 (2003), pp. 229–45.

[6] Baber Johansen, "The Valorization of the Body in Muslim Sunni Law," in *Law and Society in Islam: Three Essays, Princeton Series on the Middle East* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 71–112. I am grateful to Ahmed El Shamsy for the reference.

enslaved to the Umayyad ruler or were manumitted and thereafter legally recognized as freedmen or freedwomen (*mawlā*).[7] Whether enslaved or freed, they were distinct in legal terms from a free aristocrat, but still part of the ruling class.[8] By unfree, I mean those women and men who were part of the court circle about whom we can determine the following: their ethnicity is identified in the texts as other than Arab or Berber, and whose legal status defined them as unfree, whether or not they had originally been freeborn. Thus, for the purposes of this article I divide the aristocrats of the Córdoban court broadly into two categories: free or unfree. As Marín has observed, the vocabulary of female slavery is complex and sometimes difficult to define with precision in the medieval texts; in contrast, the single term *ḥurra* (pl. *ḥarāʾir*) designated a free woman of high social status, and was thus a label of distinction and honor.[9] Enslaved women of the highest social class were known collectively as *ama min al-murtafiʾāt*; they constituted a distinct group within the overall category of female slaves.[10] Other terms used to refer to different categories and/or classes of female slaves include *mamlūka, jāriya*, and *khādim* or *khādima*.[11]

[7] Maribel Fierro, "Mawālī and muwalladūn in al-Andalus (second/eighth-fourth/tenth centuries)," in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, eds. Monique Bernards and John Nawas (Leiden, 2005), pp. 195–245. On concubines in the Islamic lands generally see the entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, " ʿAbd," "Jāriya;" on wives and marriage, see the entry on "Nikāh." On eunuchs, see the entry on "Khāṣī," and Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans*, and his "On the Eunuchs in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 1 (1979), pp. 67–124. For al-Andalus see Cristina de la Puente, "Mujeres cautivas en 'la tierra del islam'," *Al-Andalus Magreb*, 14 (2007), pp. 19–37; Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 95–107; Cristina de la Puente, "Sin linaje, sin alcurnia, sin hogar: eunucos en al-Andalus en época omeya," in *Identidades marginales* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 147–93; Sato Kentaro, "Slave Elites and the *Ṣaqāliba* in al-Andalus in the Umayyad Period," in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, eds. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London and New York, 2000), pp. 25–40.

[8] Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, and his *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (IIe–IVe/VIIIe–Xe siècles)* (Helsinki, 1999). The unfree military elites of the ʿAbbāsid courts offer the key context, though comparison can also be made with later dynasties such as the Mamlūks. See Matthew Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: A History of the Turkish Military of Samarra, A.H. 200–275/815–889 C.E.* (Albany, 2001), pp. 105–40; Nasser Rabbat, "The Changing Concept of Mamlūk in the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria," in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa*, eds. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London and New York, 2000), pp. 81–98.

[9] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 41–42.

[10] On the complexities of the terms *khādim/khādima* with respect to concubines, see Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 42–44.

[11] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 41–44. The author also points out that the problem may lie in our own concept of "freedom" and how we apply it to a medieval Muslim society. Personal communication.

Given the Roman and late antique history of the central Islamic lands and North Africa, the ethnic qualifiers "Arab," "Berber," and "Iberian" also need a word of explanation. Such categories, seemingly straightforward, would have encompassed a variety of different peoples with hybrid genealogies. For instance, rulers of the Syrian Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties, both of which self-identified as Arab, nevertheless took as concubines or wives Byzantine Greek, Berber, or Persian women. The tenth Syrian Umayyad caliph Hishām (r. 724–743), for example, is said to have written to his governor in North Africa to request Berber concubines, specifically to serve as *umm walad*, or mothers of sons who could potentially be heirs to the throne.[12] In the letter Hishām cites good family background and evidence of a moral character as attributes that were as important in potential concubines as the expected desirable physical traits.[13]

Despite the emphasis on Arab lineage usually expressed in the Umayyad texts, the Córdoban Umayyads were known in their own time as the progeny of Arab fathers, on the one hand, and of Berber or Iberian concubine mothers, on the other.[14] Because Arabic lineage was exclusively patrilineal, the mothers' ethnicity was of no importance for its transmission. Therefore, while having an Arab mother was a point of pride for medieval Arab Muslims, the Umayyads, like their contemporaries the ʿAbbāsids, were on the whole the sons of non-Arab mothers.[15] Likewise, the deceptively monolithic category "Iberian" would also have encompassed a diverse array of peoples and traditions; Basque, Asturian, Galician, and Visigothic populations had distinct identities, historical trajectories, and languages.[16] Young boys termed "Slavs" (Arabic *Ṣaqāliba*) in the Arabic texts were brought to Córdoba by the thousands to serve as palace eunuchs, and they added an additional component to the ethnic mixture in the ranks of the Umayyad

[12] Mohamed Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide: 184–296, 800–909, histoire politique* (Paris, 1966), pp. 33–34.

[13] Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide*, p. 34.

[14] D.F. Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy and Acculturation in al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34/1 (2004), pp. 65–92.

[15] Manuela Marín, personal communication. On the non-Arab mothers of ʿAbbāsid caliphs see Fuad Matthew Caswell, *The Slave Girls of Baghdad: The Qiyān in the Early ʿAbbāsid Era* (London, 2011), p. 274.

[16] This process can also be discerned in al-Andalus with respect to intermarriage between Arabs and Berbers and inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the conquest. See Amira K. Bennison, "The Peoples of the North in the Eyes of the Muslims of Umayyad al-Andalus (711–1031)," *Journal of Global History* 2/2 (2007), pp. 157–74.

elite.[17] The Slavs were captured in the territories which today include Poland, northern Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania.

Despite their unfree legal status, royal concubines and eunuchs became wealthy and influential members of the Andalusi ruling class, a phenomenon which was widespread among medieval and early modern Islamic societies.[18] The group on which this article focuses were usually the mothers of Umayyad princes, who attained wealth, power, status, and eventually freedom when they provided the ruler with a son and thus a possible heir, which gave them the right to manumission following the ruler's death.[19] A very few transcended their unfree status when their Umayyad masters manumitted and then married them, giving them the status of legitimate wife.[20] Other enslaved women attained privileged positions not through their role as mothers of royal sons, but as prominent poets or musicians who had received their training from famous masters in major cultural centers such as Baghdad and Medina before their arrival at the Córdoban court.[21] Eunuchs served the caliph as close personal attendants,

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[17] See the entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Second Edition*: P.B. Golden, C.E. Bosworth, and P. Guichard, "al-Ṣaḳāliba," and P.B. Golden, "Rūs;" Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 40–46; Kentaro, "Slave Elites and the *Ṣaqāliba* in al-Andalus in the Umayyad Period," pp. 25–40; T. Lewicki, "L'apport des sources arabes médiévales (IX–X sècles)—des voyageurs et des écrivains arabes," in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XII: L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965), pp. 461–85; T. Lewicki, "Il commercio arabo con la Russia e con i paesi slavi d'Occidente nei secoli IX–XI," *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* new ser., 8 (1958), pp. 47–61. Also see P.M. Barford, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe* (Ithaca, 2001), pp. 89–113.

[18] On slaves see *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, s.v. " 'Abd;" Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 244ff. Also see the essays in Shaun Marmon, ed., *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton, 1999); Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 37–43; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 308–16.

[19] On the legal terminology for women in medieval Andalusi texts see Cristina de la Puente, "Juridical Sources for the Study of Women: Limitations of the Female's Capacity to Act according to Māliki Law," in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, eds. Randi Deguilhem and Manuela Marín, Islamic Mediterranean Series, 1 (London, 2002), p. 99.

[20] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 44.

[21] For example, three prominent ninth-century court women known as Faḍl, ʿAlam, and Qalam, were collectively known as the "Medinese" because of their training in the city of Medina. They were the slaves of the Andalusi Umayyad ruler ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1: Crónica de los emires al-Ḥakam I y 'Abdarraḥmān II entre los años 796–847*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī, trans. Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 2001), pp. 187–93, cit. Dwight Reynolds, "Al-Maqqarī's Ziryāb: The Making of a Myth," *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 11/2 (2008), p. 157.

as members of the military, and as court administrators, attaining even the highest positions available to free aristocrats.[22]

Concubines and eunuchs amassed great wealth in the form of gifts from the ruler, as several anecdotes in the court chronicles relate. Two concubines about whom I will say more below illustrate one means by which enslaved elites managed to amass their fortunes. The ninth-century concubine Tarūb shut herself up in her palace quarters, during a quarrel with the Umayyad ruler. To entice her to come out again, he is said to have had bags of treasure piled up in front of the door to her quarters, until it was all but barricaded with the rich gifts, promising that all would be hers if she would relent. She did so, the couple was reunited, and Tarūb, the text observes, did indeed keep all of the gifts.[23] Later, during the reign of the first Andalusi caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. 912–961), we read of how Marjān (fl. 915), the mother of the caliph's son and heir al-Ḥakam II, trained a starling to fly to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III during a bloodletting session with a physician, and recite the following lines:

> O bleeder! take care how you treat the Commander of the Faithful
> For were you to open one of his arteries, the life of the world might escape through it![24]

The caliph, delighted with the surprise, presented Marjān with some thirty thousand dinars upon learning that she had trained the bird in anticipation of the occasion. By way of comparison, the vizier Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd, one of the most illustrious and wealthy of the free aristocrats in the same caliph's court, earned an annual salary of twenty thousand dinars (plus substantial bonuses given on the two annual ʿĪd feasts).[25]

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[22] On eunuchs in Islamic societies see the work of David Ayalon, such as "On the Eunuchs in Islam," pp. 67–124, though there has also been a debate in the field on the term *khādim* and its ambiguities. The roles of eunuchs in contemporary ʿAbbāsid, Byzantine, and Chinese courts offer important comparative material. See Nadia M. El Cheikh, "Servants at the Gate: Eunuchs at the Court of al-Muqtadir," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 48 (2005), pp. 234–52; Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 1–32 and passim; Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London and New York, 2008), pp. 54–67 and passim; M.M. Anderson, *Hidden Power: The Palace Eunuchs of Imperial China* (Buffalo, 1990), pp. 174–98.

[23] Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos (Delhi, 1840; rprt. London and New York, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 125–26.

[24] Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 155.

[25] According to Ibn Khaldūn, a present given by Ibn Shuhayd to the caliph was legendary as one of the richest presents ever given to an Islamic sovereign. Ibn Shuhayd's salary did not include the hundred thousand dinar gift allotted to him on the ʿĪd feast

A Gendered Framework

Historians have devoted increasingly greater attention to Islamicate history from a gendered perspective since the 1990s, when broad considerations of the topic, such as Leila Ahmed's *Women and Gender in Islam* (1992) and Fatima Mernissi's *The Forgotten Queens of Islam* (1993), emerged, along with studies focused specifically on medieval Andalusi women by María J. Viguera and Gloria López de la Plaza.[26] A second wave of studies has appeared since 2000, spearheaded by Manuela Marín, which looks anew at commonly-used historical texts, such as prosopographic and juridical sources, and which also expands the scope of investigation of Islamic women's history to include other types of sources—literary, visual, and anthropological.[27] Art historians have contributed to this discourse, focusing their attention on the issue of female patronage, with particularly rich results for the early modern Ṣafavid, Mughal, and Ottoman dynasties.[28] In contrast, the period before the eleventh century has received relatively little attention from art historians, giving the impression that women's patronage was not common during the caliphal

days. Giving such bonuses to favored members of the court on the two ʿĪd feasts seems to have been a common practice. Al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 2, pp. 150–54.

[26] Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres de las clases sociales superiores. Al-Andalus, desde la conquista hasta finales del Califato de Córdoba," in *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, ed. María J. Viguera (Madrid, 1989), pp. 105–27; María J. Viguera, "*Aṣluḥu li'l-maʿālī*: On the Social Status of Andalusi Women," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp. 709–24; Gloria López de la Plaza, *Al-Andalus: Mujeres, sociedad y religion* (Málaga, 1992).

[27] For example, Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*; Randi Deguilhem and Manuela Marín, eds., *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, Islamic Mediterranean Series, 1 (London, 2002); Manuela Marín, ed., *Medieval Prosopography: Special Issue on Arab-Islamic Medieval Culture*, 23 (2002); Nada Mourtada-Sabbah and Adrian Gully, " 'I am, by God, fit for high position:' On the Political Role of Women in al-Andalus," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 30/2 (2003), pp. 183–209.

[28] See D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Vision and Power" and her "Women and Patronage," Historians of Islamic Art Association 1st Biennial Symposium, University of Pennsylvania (October 17, 2008); *Asian Art*, 6/2 (1993), a special issue devoted to female patronage and edited by Esin Atil. Important contributions by art historians appear in Gavin Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety* (London and New York, 1998); and Amira el-Azhary Sonbol, ed., *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse, 2005). Monographs on Ottoman women patrons are a valuable addition to the literature: Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford and New York, 1993); Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot, 2006).

period (660–1236).[29] The relative prevalence of women as patrons of art and architecture beginning in the eleventh century is attributed to the openness of the newly-ascendant Turkic and Mongol Islamic dynasties to women's participation in politics and the public sphere. The caliphal Arab dynasties—the Syrian and Andalusi Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids, and the Fāṭimids—are generally seen as less tolerant of women's visibility and activity outside the harem.

The exceptions are relatively few. For instance, the ninth-century ʿAbbāsid queen Zubayda (d. 832), granddaughter of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr and wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, was well known for her patronage of charitable structures along the famous pilgrimage route that bore her name, the Darb Zubayda.[30] In 862 the mother of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muntaṣir, herself a Greek concubine, constructed perhaps the first mausoleum in the history of Islamic architecture, identified with the building known as the Qubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya in the ʿAbbāsid royal city of Samarra.[31] It seems likely that there are other examples to be found in the ʿAbbāsid contexts, among both freeborn and unfree women, though this is a question that will require further research.[32] Likewise, Durzān, a concubine who attained power and prominence as queen-mother in the Fāṭimid court in the last quarter of the tenth century, has recently emerged as another major early female patron, whose projects, though no longer extant, were among the first carried out by the dynasty in their capital of Cairo.[33] Finally, Seljuq women are well-attested as patrons of architecture beginning in the late eleventh century.[34]

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[29] A picture now ameliorated by Delia Cortese and Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fātimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh, 2006).

[30] See the entry "Zubayda," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. On the archaeology of the Darb Zubayda see J. Knudstad, "The Darb Zubayda Project: 1396/1976. Preliminary Report on the First Phase," *Aṭlāl*, 11 (1977), pp. 41–68; Donald Whitcomb, "The Darb Zubayda as a Settlement System in Arabia," *Aram*, 8/8 (1996), pp. 25–32.

[31] Thomas Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*: vol. 1, *Architecture, Final Report of the First Campaign, 1910–1912* (Mainz, 2003), pp. 76–78.

[32] On women in ʿAbbāsid society see Caswell, *The Slave Girls of Baghdad*, pp. 10–36 and passim. See also Matthew Gordon, " ʿArīb al-Maʾmūnīya: A Third/Ninth-Century ʿAbbāsid Courtesan," in *Views from the Edge: Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, eds. Neguin Yevari and et al. (New York, 2004), pp. 86–100, and his "The Place of Competition: The Careers of ʿArīb al-Maʾmūnīya and ʿUlayya bint al-Mahdī, Sisters in Song," in *Occasional Papers of the School of ʿAbbāsid Studies, Cambridge, 2002* (Louvain, 2004), pp. 61–81; Nadia M. El Cheikh, "Revisiting the ʿAbbāsid Harems," *Journal of Middle Eastern Women's Studies*, 1 (2005), pp. 1–19, and her "Gender and Politics in the Harem of al-Muqtadir," in *Gender in the Early Medieval World*, eds. Leslie Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 147–64.

[33] Cortese and Calderini, *Women and the Fātimids*, pp. 167–71.

[34] Blair, "Islamic Art as a Source for the Study of Women in Premodern Societies," pp. 337–40.

Umayyad Córdoba

The first Andalusi Umayyad patron was the founder of the dynasty, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. In the last decades of the eighth century he began construction on two monuments: the congregational mosque which would become the greatest of the Umayyad dynastic monuments, as well as a suburban estate (no longer extant) known as Ruṣāfa, said to have been built just outside Córdoba's walled center. There is no further reference to building activities in Córdoba in the court chronicles until the reign of the third Andalusi ruler, al-Ḥakam I (r. 796–822). It is at this time that women emerge as patrons. The Umayyad court chronicler Ibn Ḥayyān devotes a paragraph in his account of al-Ḥakam's reign to two women in particular, Mutʿa and ʿAjab, both royal concubines:

> Among [al-Ḥakam I's] most favored concubines, among those remembered for their merit [when they were] with him, and after [his death], were ʿAjab, mother of his son Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān, for whom the Mosque of ʿAjab in the western suburb of Córdoba was named, as well as the Munya of ʿAjab on the opposite bank of the river, given by her as a pious endowment (*ḥubs*) for the sick. [The other was] Mutʿa, mother of Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd . . ., for whom another mosque was named, west of Córdoba as well, and the cemetery next to it. She founded both [the mosque and the cemetery] along with many others for pious and charitable purposes, because she was one of the most generous of women.[35]

Both women cemented their favored positions by providing al-Ḥakam with sons, which entitled them to the important official title of *umm walad* ("mother of a son") and the right to manumission after al-Ḥakam's death. Muʿta was a singer and/or musician, whose high status and ability can be inferred from the reputation of her teacher, the famous Umayyad courtier and Baghdadi emigré Ziryāb.[36]

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[35] Ibn Ḥayyan, *Muqtabis II, Anales de los Emires de Córdoba Alḥaquem I, (180–206 H. / 796–822 J.C.) y Abderramán II (206–232 H. / 822–847)* (Madrid, 1999), p. 116; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1: Cronica de los emires al-Ḥakam I y ʿAbdarRaḥmān II entre los años 796–847*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī, trans. Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 2001), p. 93; Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, p. 340.

[36] On Ziryāb see Carl Davila, "Fixing a Misbegotten Biography: Ziryāb in the Mediterranean World," *al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 21/2 (2009), pp. 121–36; Dwight Reynolds, "Al-Maqqarī's Ziryāb: The Making of a Myth," *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 11/2 (2008), pp. 155–68; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis: tome troisieme, chronique du regne du calife umaiyade ʿAbd Allah à Cordoue*, eds. P. Melchor and M. Antuña (Paris, 1937), pp. 38–39; *España musulmana hasta la caída del califato de Cordoba (711–1031 de J.C.)*, vol. 5, *Historia*

Ibn Ḥayyān gives no details of ʿAjab's specific personal history before her arrival in Córdoba. Nor does she appear in the chronicle of the first ten years of al-Ḥakam's reign. However, she is mentioned several times in the history of the remainder of his rule, indicating that she became a royal concubine sometime between 806 and 821, since by the time of al-Ḥakam's death in 822 she had given birth to his son, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān. Ibn Ḥayyān's remarks about al-Ḥakam's character and habits concerning concubines allow some speculation about ʿAjab's background. For example, al-Ḥakam had a reputation for being particularly discerning about the women he chose as concubines. While physical beauty, intelligence, musical or literary talents, and fertility were qualities generally prized in concubines, al-Ḥakam, like his Syrian ancestor Hishām, was concerned that in addition to fertility, his concubines also be distinguished by noble lineage and virtuous character. Indeed, al-Ḥakam is said to have gone so far as to have researched the family and educational backgrounds of prospective concubines, privileging those from aristocratic families, who had a reputation for virtue. Al-Ḥakam's children were consequently recognized, Ibn Ḥayyān observes, for their noble lineage. Given her privileged position in al-Ḥakam's harem, it therefore seems likely that ʿAjab was a woman of noble birth and upbringing, likely either Berber or Iberian-born.

ʿAjab's villa (*munya*), whose exact location is unknown, is notable as one of the first documented instances of aristocratic villa patronage in Córdoba by a patron other than the Umayyad ruler himself.[37] Furthermore, ʿAjab's villa, which she endowed to a community of lepers, may also be the first documented pious endowment (*ḥubs*, pl. *aḥbās*) known from al-Andalus.[38] The villa's suburban setting, somewhat removed from the urban center, on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir River, would

de España, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, trans. Emilio García Gómez, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1990), p. 246.

[37] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 93. On *munyas* see Glaire D. Anderson, "Villa (*munya*) Architecture in Umayyad Córdoba: Preliminary Considerations," in *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden, 2007), pp. 53–79; D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, 2000), pp. 36, 110–31; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 136–67.

[38] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, p. 340; Alejandro García Sanjuan, *Till God Inherits the Earth: Islamic Pious Endowments in al-Andalus (9–15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 71–72, 207–209. On charity in Umayyad al-Andalus see Ana María Carballeira Debasa, "Forms and Functions of Charity in al-Andalus," in *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, eds. Miriam Frenkel and Yaacov Lev, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, 22 (Berlin and New York, 2009), pp. 203–16, and her *Legados píos y fundaciones familiares en al-Andalus* (Madrid, 2002).

have been an appropriate setting for such a function, in keeping with the practice of Byzantine and Islamic rulers elsewhere at the time.[39] ʿAjab's act can be seen as part of an early medieval continuation of established Late Antique trends, since Early Christian Roman aristocrats, many of them women, often presented villas to the Church as pious or charitable properties.[40] One can only speculate whether circumstances from her own life motivated ʿAjab's support of this particular charity.

Concubines Ascendant (822–852)

During the thirty-year reign of al-Ḥakam I's successor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (r. 822–852), we see concubines and eunuchs taking on an even more prominent role in architecture. This period marks the point at which Córdoba consciously turned toward ʿAbbāsid Baghdad, reorganizing the administration of the state along ʿAbbāsid lines and embracing ʿAbbāsid court culture.[41] While the attachment to the dynasty's Syrian Umayyad past never faltered, from this point forward the Umayyad Córdoban court became a fertile hybrid of the Umayyad past and the international Islamic court culture of the ʿAbbāsids. The court chronicler al-Rāzī describes a flourishing of female patronage during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II:

> In the days of the emir Abd al-Raḥmān II Friday mosques were constructed in the districts (*kūra*) of al-Andalus, extending the celebration of Friday prayers and other prayers. His concubines (*jawārī*) and other women (*maqsūrāt*) competed together with his wives in constructing excellent mosques in Córdoba, doing much good and competing in making generous gifts to various kinds of charities: around Córdoba and its district well-constructed mosques were completed with their contributions, which were constantly visited by

[39] Christine Mazzoli-Guintard, "Notes sur une minorité urbaine d'al-Andalus: les lépreux," in *Homenaje al profesor Carlos Posac Mon* (Ceuta, 2000), pp. 319–25. On later leper-houses elsewhere in medieval Iberia see María Teresa Iranzo Muñío, "Asistencia pública y segregación social: el hospital de leprosos en Huesca, siglos XI–XIV," in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Huesca, 1995), pp. 467–81; James W. Brodman, "Shelter and Segregation: Lepers in Medieval Catalonia," in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions: Essays in Honor of Joseph F. O'Callaghan*, eds. Donald J. Kagay and Theresa M. Vann (Leiden, 1998), pp. 35–45; Laura Good Morelli, "Medieval Pilgrims' Hospices on the Road to Santiago de Compostela," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1998. On leprosy and leper-houses in the Islamic lands see the entry for "Djudhām," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. For Byzantium see D. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, 1968), p. 78.

[40] Gisela Ripoll and Javier Arce, "The Transformation and End of the Roman Villae in the West," in *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (Leiden, 2000), pp. 107–109.

[41] Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 44–48.

> worshippers ... and by which they are known, such as the Mosque of Tarūb, the Mosque of Fahr, the Mosque of al-Shifāʾ, the Mosque of Mutʿa, and many others like them whose importance cannot be ignored. The constructions (*āthār*) of these women (*huram*) ... brought glory to the dynasty.[42]

Written sources reveal that attitudes toward women's presence at mosques, whether in Córdoba or elsewhere in the medieval Islamic lands, was not consistent among the religious establishment; there is textual evidence for spaces set aside specifically for women in some Andalusi mosques.[43] In any case, this passage indicates that court women of different legal categories—free, enslaved, and freed—were founding mosques in Córdoba as well as its surrounding territories, some of which may have even been congregational, or Friday mosques. Congregational mosques tend by definition to be large, important monuments because they are meant to accommodate the entire community of Muslim males for the important Friday prayer, at which a critical public ceremony takes place: the *khuṭba*, or public affirmation of the community's fealty to the sovereign. The civic significance of these mosques is therefore implicit, but Ibn Ḥayyān goes further and asserts that the mosques' importance stemmed from the fact of their founding by these court women, and their similarity to other great monuments of the Andalusi Umayyads.

Ibn Ḥayyān's account of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reign includes a section specifically devoted to prominent court women, including the concubines Tarūb, Majd, al-Shifāʾa, and Mutʿa.[44] Of the concubines Ibn Ḥayyān mentions, Tarūb was reputed to have conquered the ruler's heart near the end of his life.[45] Both Ibn Ḥayyān and the historian Ibn Quṭiyya (d. 977) refer to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's passion for her, which inspired him to compose these lines:

> When the morning sun comes up/ it recalls Tarūb /a girl of such beauty/ you could think her a wonderful gazelle ...[46]

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[42] I have used Marín's reading of the last sentence, preferring it over Makkī and Corriente's. Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, p. 342; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, pp. 177–78.

[43] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 600–30; Pedro Marfil Ruiz, "Las puertas de la mezquita de Córdoba durante el emirato Omeya," (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Córdoba, 2010), pp. 26, 30.

[44] Marín distinguishes between a Mutʿa linked to al-Ḥakam I and a woman bearing the same name but linked to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, though one wonders if they are actually one and the same, perhaps maintaining a place at court after the death of al-Ḥakam I.

[45] On Tarūb see Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 571–75.

[46] David James, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Quṭīya* (London and New York, 2009), p. 99.

Not only beautiful, she was also one of the most influential aristocrats at court. The power which Tarūb attained amongst the ruling class can be inferred from the accounts of her ultimately unsuccessful effort to have her own son designated as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's heir.[47] According to Ibn Quṭiyya, Tarūb was able to draw upon support from a wide range of men and women of differing legal categories: "women of the palace, enslaved elites, possibly eunuchs (*fityān*), servants (*khadam*), members of the Quraysh, and royal freedmen (*mawālī*)," the most notable of these being the powerful eunuch Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ.[48]

Ibn Ḥayyān describes another concubine, al-Shifāʾ, in superlative terms, and one wonders to what extent his description is accurate, or whether it is better understood as a literary topos. She was, he tells us, eminently intelligent and generous, as well as splendidly beautiful.[49] Al-Shifāʾ was the most perfect of women, Ibn Ḥayyān claims, not only in beauty, but in chastity, intelligence, religion, and virtue. Her conduct was unimpeachable, he notes, and she was the patron of numerous charitable donations to mosques, to the sick, and to the poor. If al-Shifāʾ had outlived ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II she would likely have been the most powerful woman at court, as the foster mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's firstborn son and heir Muḥammad. Although Muḥammad was not Al-Shifāʾ's natural son, she had nurtured and comforted Muḥammad from a young age, after the death of his birth mother, privileging him, Ibn Ḥayyān says, even over her own son.[50]

The Mid-Ninth-Century Interim

The following three decades (852–886), the period in which al-Shifāʾ's foster son Muḥammad I sat on the throne of al-Andalus, contrast strikingly with the reign of his father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. Muḥammad added a maqsūra and inscriptions to the Great Mosque of Córdoba, but there is no evidence for female patronage at this time. Perhaps this reflects a lack of support for court women on Muḥammad's part, stemming from his disinclination to charity despite (or perhaps due to) the political and economic crisis that troubled the Umayyad state after his accession,

[47] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, pp. 187–93.
[48] James, *Early Islamic Spain*, p. 112.
[49] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 191; Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 340, 342, 363, 501–502, 517.
[50] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 191.

and which lasted until the early tenth century.[51] As has recently been pointed out, following insufficient harvests in 874, Muḥammad's refusal to aid the Andalusi population by allowing exemption from payment of the tithe resulted in social instability and hardship for many, and stands in contrast to the general charitable practices of the Andalusi Umayyad sovereigns.[52]

Nevertheless, the lack of concrete evidence of specific patronage activities should not be taken as proof of a disruption in, or absence of, female patronage during this period. Two pieces of epigraphy from this period do mention royal women. The first inscription, housed in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Córdoba, is made of marble, and names one Khaṭira, giving her the title of *mawlā*, or royal client, indicating that she was a former concubine of either al-Ḥakam I or Muḥammad II, who was manumitted and thereafter maintained a client/patron relationship with the ruler as a freedwoman (Fig. 1).[53] The second inscription (of an unspecified stone), dateable to the last quarter of the ninth century and housed in a private collection in Málaga, names one Badīʿ as *umm walad*, and specifies that her son Saʿīd was brother to the ruler.[54]

The "Golden Age" of the Umayyad Caliphate (928–976)

In the opening years of the tenth century, with the accession of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, the thread of female patronage, perhaps disrupted during the politically unstable second half of the ninth century, emerges strongly.[55] During ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's long and illustrious reign, which lasted from 912 until his death in 961, unfree elites emerge again as active and visible patrons of architecture, part of a revitalized royal building program. After reconsolidating Umayyad control over al-Andalus during the period of his emirate (912–928), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III made the momentous decision to reclaim the Umayyad right to the caliphate. In 928 he had the oath of loyalty (*khuṭba*) pronounced in his name, rather than that of the ʿAbbāsid

[51] Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne: avec quarante-quatre planches en phototypie* (Leiden and New York, 1931), vol. 1, no. 1, and Plate I; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 63–73.

[52] Carballeira Debasa, "Forms and Functions of Charity in al-Andalus," pp. 207–208.

[53] Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, no. 2 and Plate Ib.

[54] Lévi-Provençal identifies it as "Lapidario de Villaceballos" in the Museum of the Marquis de Casa-Loring, à la Concepción, near Málaga: Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, no. 3.

[55] On ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his reign see María Isabel Fierro, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III: The First Cordoban Caliph* (Oxford, 2005); Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 82–108.

Figure 1 Epitaph of Khaṭira (marble), probably Córdoba, 858 CE (Photo: É. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, plate Ib/Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Córdoba, Spain).

caliph, ushering in the "golden age" of Umayyad al-Andalus. Just as the political instability of Muḥammad I's period seems to be mirrored in the dearth of evidence for patronage, the political consolidation of power and authority, the expansion of Umayyad territory, and ascendant wealth that characterized ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign were distinguished by major official projects such as the minaret at the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and especially the new royal city, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, a few miles west of Córdoba's urban center (begun ca. 936).[56] During ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign,

[56] Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: Transformation of a Caliphal City," in *Revisiting Al-Andalus*, pp. 3–26, and his "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: The Triumph of the Islamic

court women appear once again in the chronicles as active patrons of major building projects in the caliphal capital.

Two women in particular emerge in Ibn Ḥayyān's court chronicle: by now it is not a surprise to find that Marjān, to whom the text gives the most prominent place as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's favorite, was a concubine. More to the point, Marjān was also mother of his son and heir, the second Andalusi caliph, al-Ḥakam II, which made her the queen-mother, and therefore the most powerful woman at court. The second woman, Fāṭima, is the first of the ruler's free wives to be identified specifically as a patron. According to Ibn Ḥayyān, "Marjān outperformed Fāṭima with the pious deeds she carried out, *unmatched by any of al-Nāṣir's wives*, such as the alms she generously gave and the help she provided, the mosques she had erected, and the pious endowments she set up."[57] Interestingly, this suggests that personal competition between these two women was waged partly on the battleground of civic patronage. Furthermore, it provides additional evidence that both unfree and free women were prominently engaged in charitable works, including founding mosques. Given the normal brevity of the texts on the buildings founded by women, it is worth reproducing in detail Ibn Ḥayyān's further comments on Marjān:

> One of her [Marjān's] most notable works was the large mosque attributed to "the Lady" (*sayyida*) in the western suburbs ... which was one of the most spacious buildings in Córdoba, [distinguished by] the best workmanship, whose services, ablutions fountains, guards and [amenities for?] the crowds that went there were paid for through the splendid *waqf* (pious foundation) she had established for this and other mosques [which she founded] in the city, [all of which were] situated in areas of high value, with high rental incomes, in western Córdoba. All these mosques were supported by these ample rents over the years ... Her mediation brought the comfort of God to many, perpetuating her memory among the good: may she rest in peace.[58]

In this passage we get a rare glimpse of the buildings and related services associated with women's patronage on a high level, and perhaps its reception by a broader public. Ibn Ḥayyān's attention to Marjān reflects the respect which was accorded to the mother of a caliph, and it shows that in the case of royal women, architectural patronage was an acceptable

State," in *al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn Dodds (New York, 1992), pp. 27–41; Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, pp. 53–85; Maribel Fierro, "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, el paraíso y los fāṭimíes," *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 25/2 (2004), pp. 299–327.

[57] My emphasis. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis fī taʾrīkh al-Andalus. Crónica del califa Abdarraḥmān III An-Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942* (*al-Muqtabis V*), eds. P. Chalmeta and M. Ṣubḥ, trans. Jesús Viguera and Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 1981), pp. 6, 19.

[58] Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis V*, p. 19.

means for court women to demonstrate virtue, generosity, and piety. These women constructed monuments and endowed pious foundations which were, according to the chronicler, well known, prestigious, and used by the populace in the Umayyad capital, and that as civic patrons these women were lauded by the population outside the sphere of the court.

Eunuch Patronage

While concubines are the most visible court patrons, aside from the ruler, during the emirate and early caliphate, they were not the only unfree elites who were building in Córdoba. In fact, eunuchs emerge early on as patrons in their own right at the same moment as the concubines, that is, during the reign of al-Ḥakam I (r. 796–822).[59] Ibn Ḥayyān wrote that al-Ḥakam I chose to make eunuchs of three freeborn males, presumably adolescent boys, on the basis of their good looks. These three, whose names are given as Ṭarafah ibn Laqiṭ, Surayj, and Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ, along with an unspecified number of others, we are told, were castrated and brought to Córdoba to serve in the court. The text provides few details, but enough to establish the backgrounds of the named men. All were free residents of the town of Carmona, near Seville. While Ṭarafah and Surayj are credited with founding mosques in Córdoba, no further details beyond the fact of their patronage are provided. Ṭarafah's father and brother held high administrative posts, and Ibn Ḥayyān identifies him as a descendent of the Luwarī [sic] Berber tribe.[60] Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ, who became the most prominent of the three, was the son of a *dhimmī* of Carmona, that is, a member of either the Christian or Jewish community, who had converted to Islam before his son's castration.[61] Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ's religious status as a Muslim should, therefore, have precluded the possibility of his enslavement and castration, and al-Ḥakam I was later strongly criticized for what must have been seen as an unlawful act.[62]

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[59] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 132; Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ al-ʿArūs*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1987), vol. 2, p. 75.

[60] Mohamed Meouak suggests Luwati or Hawwari as alternate readings. Personal communication.

[61] On Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ's career and relations with other prominent Andalusis see Joaquín Vallvé, "Naṣr, el valido de ʿAbd al Rahmān II," *Al-Qantara*, 6 (1985), pp. 179–98.

[62] For doing so al-Ḥakam is denounced as a bloodthirsty public sinner, in fact, by Ibn Ḥayyān. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 132; Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqṭ al-ʿArūs*, vol. 2, p. 75.

Concubines and eunuchs appear together in the Arabic texts, supporting one another out of common interest. For example, Tarūb had an especially strong alliance with the palace functionaries (*fityān*, sing. *fatā*), to whom Ibn Quṭiyya notes that she was a "benefactress and patron."[63] In fact, her most prominent supporter amongst them was none other than Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ, said by that time to have been the second most powerful man in al-Andalus, and who surfaces repeatedly in the texts of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reign (and not always in a flattering light).[64] Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ eventually attained the rank of *al-fatā al-kabīr* (Great Servant/Page), the highest rank obtained by unfree male elites.[65] He co-directed the most important architectural project of the Umayyad state at the time, the expansion of the prayer hall at the Great Mosque of Córdoba between 848 and 850, with a second high-ranking functionary, the *fatā* Masrūr, whose name appears on the portal known today as the Puerta de San Esteban, in an inscription commemorating the expansion.[66] Consisting of the extension of the prayer hall by eight bays, for which new columns and capitals were fashioned, this expansion surely would have been the highest-profile building project to have been undertaken in al-Andalus since the mosque's foundation by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I some sixty years before. A panegryic poem transmitted by al-Rāzī celebrates Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ's prominent role in this prestigious undertaking, whose successful execution testified to the eunuch's service to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II.[67] Naṣr Abū al-Fatḥ's name presumably also was part of the epigraphy on the Puerta de San Esteban, but was perhaps effaced in the wake of accusations of his conspiracy against the sovereign.[68] In addition to overseeing this prestigious and highly public commission on behalf of the ruler, Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ was well-known for his private architectural patronage. Along with ʿAjab, Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ is the earliest patron

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63 Ibn Quṭiyya places these words in the mouths of the palace eunuchs, whom he says supported Tarūb's son out of their loyalty to her. James, *Early Islamic Spain*, p. 113.

64 Vallvé, "Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ," pp. 179–98; James, *Early Islamic Spain*, p. 112; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 132.

65 On the complexities of the term *fatā* see Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 95–107.

66 Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, pp. 174–75. On Masrūr see Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 159–60 and his *Pouvoir souverain*, n. 5, p. 205. On the inscription see Pedro Marfil Ruiz, "Las puertas de la mezquita de Córdoba durante el emirato Omeya," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Córdoba, 2010, pp. 155–61.

67 Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 175. Contrast this with the poem meant to insult Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 134r; cited in de la Puente, "Sin linaje, sin alcurnia, sin hogar," p. 188.

68 Vallvé, "Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ," p. 184.

of a Córdoban *munya* (villa) to be identified in the court texts, aside from the Umayyad rulers themselves.[69]

Eunuch Ascendance under al-Ḥakam II (961–976)

As I have noted, in contrast to the early caliphate and the emirate, during the reign of the second Andalusi caliph, al-Ḥakam II (961–976), the court chronicles are relatively reticent on the topic of court women, either concubines or free, as patrons. Following al-Ḥakam II's accession to the caliphal throne in 961, the scales clearly tip in favor of the most powerful of the Slav palace eunuchs, who from this point outpace the women in their involvement in private and state-sponsored commissions. Perhaps one explanation for the shift may lie in al-Ḥakam II's alleged homosexuality; if true, one might assume that royal concubines would be a smaller and less powerful demographic within his court than in the courts of his predecessors.[70] The powerful eunuchs, Jaʿfar and Durrī al-Ṣaghīr, two of a handful whom ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had legally adopted as "sons," dominate art and architecture during the caliphal period and in particular al-Ḥakam II's reign.

Jaʿfar attained the powerful post of *ḥājib* (prime minister), and directed the royal *ṭirāz* (textiles) workshop and later, the architecture workshop (*ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz* and *ṣāḥib al-abniya*).[71] Indeed, along with textual evidence for his patronage of a suburban villa as well as a residence at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, Jaʿfar is linked with the major architectural projects of the caliphal state.[72] His greatest surviving project is al-Ḥakam II's 965 addition

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[69] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 132; Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, pp. 45–47.

[70] Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. 1, p. 395, n. 2, cited by Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment: Caliphal Ivory Caskets from al-Andalus," *Muqarnas*, 14 (1997), p. 19, n. 4.

[71] Martínez Enamorado, *Un hombre para el califato*, pp. 180–82; Mohamed Meouak, "L'onomastique des personnages d'origine 'slave' et 'affranchie' en al-Andalus a l'époque umayyade (IV/X siecle): premieres approximations documentaires," *Onoma*, 31/1–3 (1992–1993), pp. 224–25; Meouak, *Pouvoir souverain*, n. 1, pp. 213–15; Peter Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict* (Leiden, 1994), p. 127; Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, "Ŷaʿfar el eslavo," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 12 (1976), p. 219; Carmen Barceló and Magdalena Cantero, "Capiteles cordobeses dedicados a Ŷaʿfar al-Ṣiqlabī," *Al-Qantara*, 16/2 (1995), pp. 424–28.

[72] The portal of an elite residence believed to be that of Jaʿfar has been reconstructed at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. See Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Architecture and Urbanism in Umayyad Córdoba Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: Transformation of a Caliphal City," in *Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden, 2007), pp. 14–19.

to the Great Mosque of Córdoba, where his name and titles appear no less than five times along with that of al-Ḥakam II in the marble and mosaic inscriptions decorating the *miḥrāb* (Figs. 2, 3).[73] The inscriptions follow a standard formula, beginning with a Qurʾānic verse, and then naming al-Ḥakam II, Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) as the one who ordered the construction of the work by Jaʿfar Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [III], *mawlā* (freedman) and *ḥājib*.

Durrī b. al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir, Abū Uthmān (d. 976, also known as Durrī al-Aṣghar or Durrī al-Ṣaghīr) stands out as the second most prominent of the enslaved elites of the Marwānid caliphate. His career trajectory in the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and then al-Ḥakam II parallels that of his contemporary, Jaʿfar.[74] Durrī was first asked to participate in court ceremonial as a young man near the end of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign by the provost of the tailors (*ʿarīf al-Khayyāṭīn*) and the qāḍī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, who led the Ramaḍān oration and prayers as Imam in 971.[75] We can therefore speculate that, like his contemporary Jaʿfar, Durrī began his career at court working in the royal textile workshop, perhaps as a designer, where his talents were discovered and encouraged. Durrī was also a patron of architecture, both in his own right and on behalf of the caliph. Around 965 he was the patron of a luxurious suburban villa (Fig. 4) situated near the Wādī Rummān (River of the Pomegranate) in the countryside west of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (and hence known in the secondary literature as al-Rummāniyya); an inscription datable between 962 and 976 also identifies Durrī as the patron of a minaret in Baeza, a town located in the province of Jaen south of Córdoba.[76]

Shortly after the accession of al-Ḥakam II in 961, Durrī attained the directorship of the caliphal ivory workshop at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. Two caskets, characterized by a combination of figural and vegetal ornament, whose epigraphy states that they were made under his supervision (*ʿalā yaday*) are preserved today in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid (Figs. 5, 6). Created in 964, they were made as a pair for al-Ḥakam II and his favorite concubine Ṣubḥ who, as the mother of al-Ḥakam's firstborn son and heir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, would

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[73] Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, nos. 10–14.

[74] Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿulamāʾ* I (Cairo, 1966), p. I: 146, n. 433, cit. Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 167, 182–83.

[75] Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 182–83. Tailors and other skilled textile workers were employed in caliphal textile workshops. See the entry "Khayyāṭ," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

[76] Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, pp. 182–83.

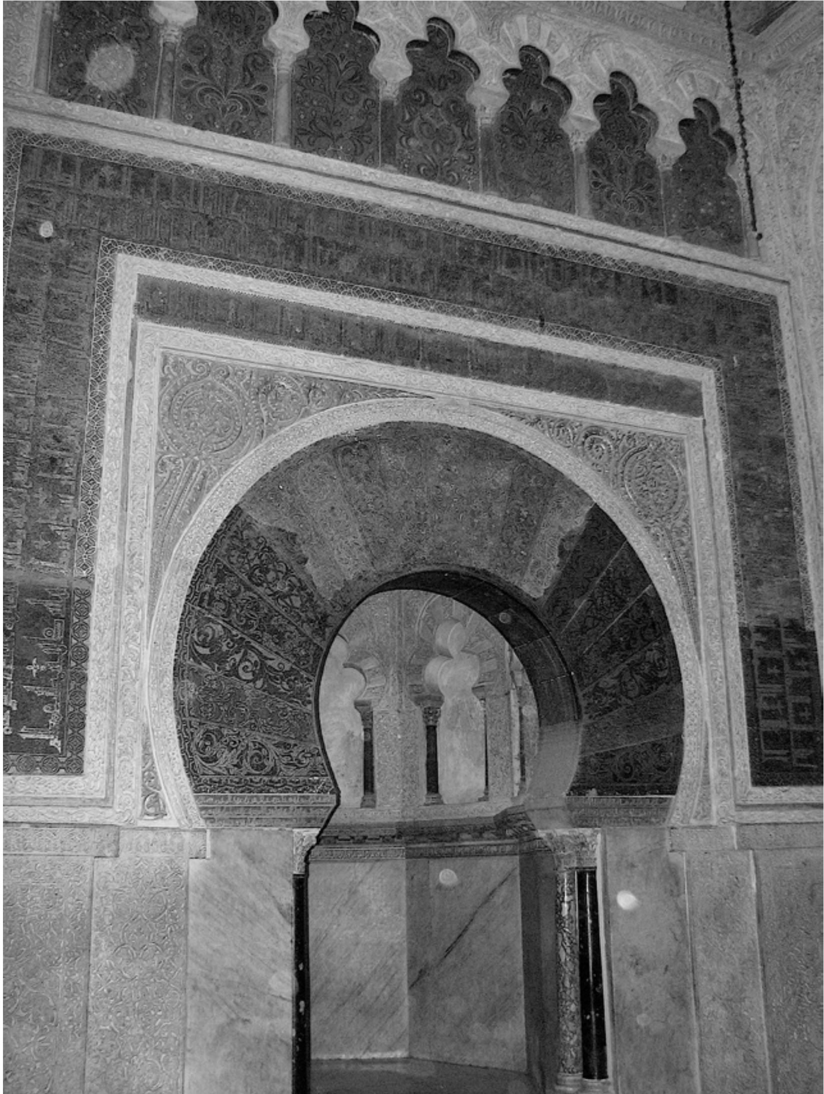

Figure 2 *Miḥrāb*, Great Mosque of Córdoba, 961–965 CE (Photo: G.D. Anderson).

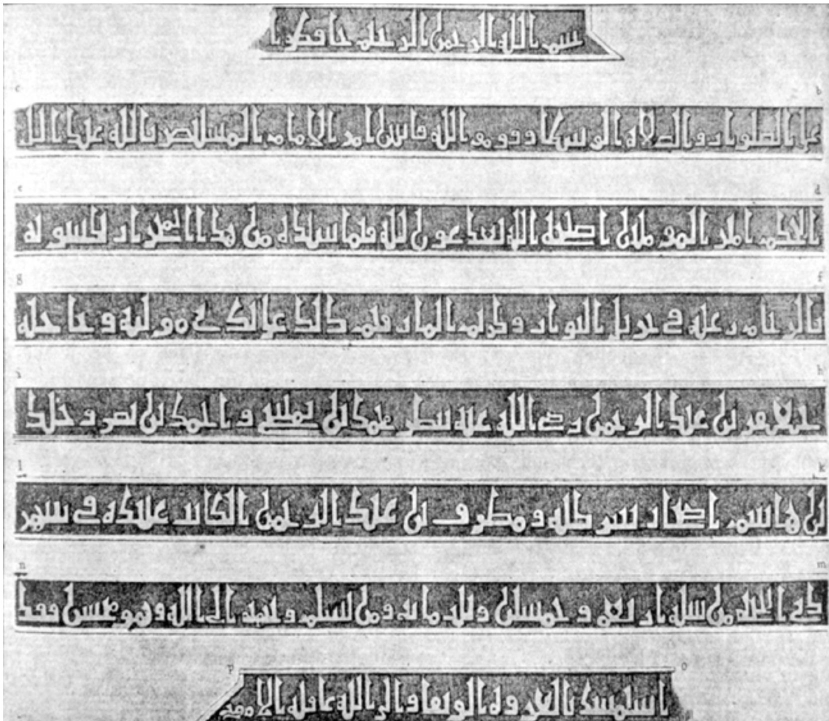

Figure 3 *Miḥrāb*, interior inscription band (marble), Great Mosque of Córdoba, 965 CE (Drawing: Girault de Prangey, published in É. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, p. 11).

have been the most powerful woman at court.[77] The caskets may have been commissioned to celebrate the long-awaited heir to the caliphal throne, Ṣubḥ's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had been born two years before.[78] The epigraphy on the Madrid ivory (also known as the Zamora Casket) made for Ṣubḥ reads:

[77] Marín has suggested the extent of her power at court may be gauged by the bias discernible in both the medieval Arabic texts and in modern historiography: Marín, "Una vida de mujer: Ṣubḥ," pp. 425–45. Also see Laura Bariani, "Fue Ṣubḥ 'La plus chère des femmes fécondes?' Consideraciones sobre la dedicatoria de las arquillas califales del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan y de la Iglesia de S. María de Fitero," *Al-Qantara*, 26/2 (2005), pp. 299–315.

[78] Prado-Vilar has argued for a connection between Ṣubḥ's role as *umm walad* and the visual language of the pyxis in "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment," pp. 19–41.

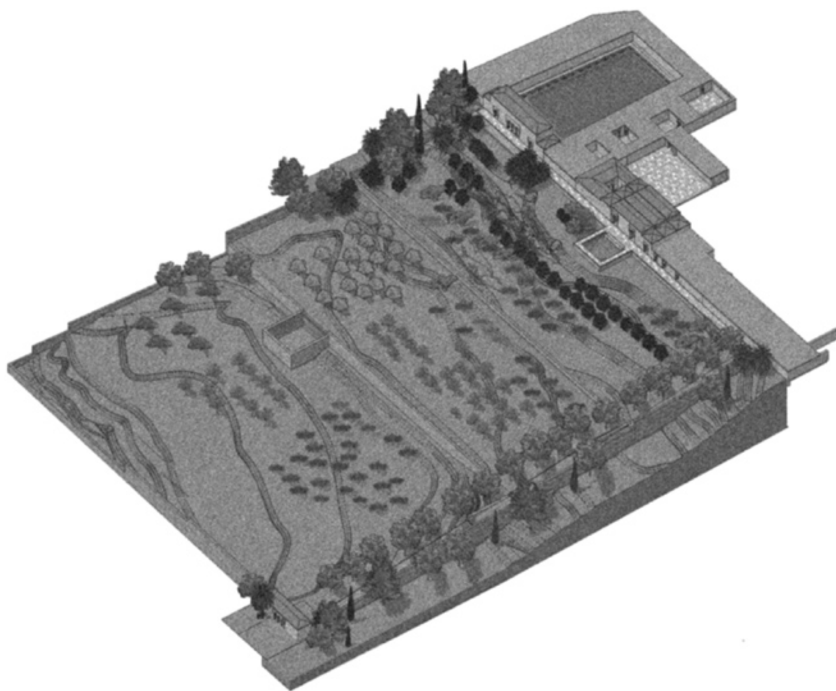

Figure 4 Hypothetical reconstruction, villa of Durrī al-Ṣaghīr (Munyat al-Rummāniyya), near Córdoba, ca. 965 CE. Recent soil analysis by the German Archaeological Institute indicates the terraces were likely planted with orderly rows of olive trees, with vines around the perimeter (reconstruction Glaire D. Anderson, Michal Koszycki, Philippe Saad; © G.D. Anderson).

> The blessing of Allāh upon the Imām, the servant of God, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh, Commander of the Faithful. This is what he ordered to be made for the noble lady [Sayyida], the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, under the direction of [*ʿalā yaday*] Durrī al-Ṣaghīr in the year 353 [964].[79]

In contrast to Durrī 's and Jaʿfar's prominent official and private patronage at this time, female patronage was limited during the reign of al-Ḥakam II, and is attested only in epigraphy. A marble inscription plaque that can be dated between 961 and 976 states that the aforementioned Jaʿfar directed a commission on behalf of a royal woman, Sayyida Mushtaq (Fig. 7). It reads:

[79] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was Ṣubḥ's first son, born in 962. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, no. 196. On the phrase *ʿalā yaday* see Blair, "What the Inscriptions Tell Us," pp. 86–87.

Figure 5 Ivory pyxis, ordered by al-Ḥakam II, under the direction of Durrī al-Ṣaghīr. Probably made at Madīnat al-Zahrā', near Córdoba, ca. 964 CE (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

> Power and strength belong to Allāh the Magnificent! The Noble Lady (*sayyida*) Mushtaq, mother of the brother (of the prince, i.e., al-Ḥakam II) Al-Mughīra, ordered the minaret and the contiguous gallery (*ḥadatha al-manār wa-l-saqīfa*) and nine of the lateral portals (*turar*) of the mosque. And it was completed with the help of Allāh, under the direction of the *fatā* Jaʿfar Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in the month of Ramaḍān (this year...) and three (hundred)...[80]

The inscription indicates that Sayyida Mushtaq had been a concubine of the first caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, to whom she bore a son, al-Mughīra. The latter's name is well known to historians of Islamic art, thanks to the epigraphy naming him as the recipient of the ivory pyxis, known as the Pyxis of al-Mughīra and now in the Musée du Louvre, completed in the same year as Sayyida Mushtaq's mosque addition (Fig. 8).[81] As an adult

[80] Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, no. 18. Remains of a 10th-century minaret in the parish church of San Lorenzo offer some evidence of mosques from the period.

[81] On al-Mughīra's pyxis and its possible relation to the intrigues surrounding the issue of succession see Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions," pp. 19–41, and his "Enclosed in Ivory: The Miseducation of al-Mughīra," *Journal of the David Collection* 2/1–2: *The Ivories of Muslim*

Figure 6 “Zamora” ivory pyxis, ordered by al-Ḥakam II for the Lady (*Sayyida*) Ṣubḥ, under the direction of Durrī al-Ṣaghīr. Probably made at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, near Córdoba, 964 CE (Photo: G.D. Anderson/Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

Figure 7 Sayyida Mushtaq inscription (marble), Córdoba, 968 CE (Photo: Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, plate 6b/ Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba).

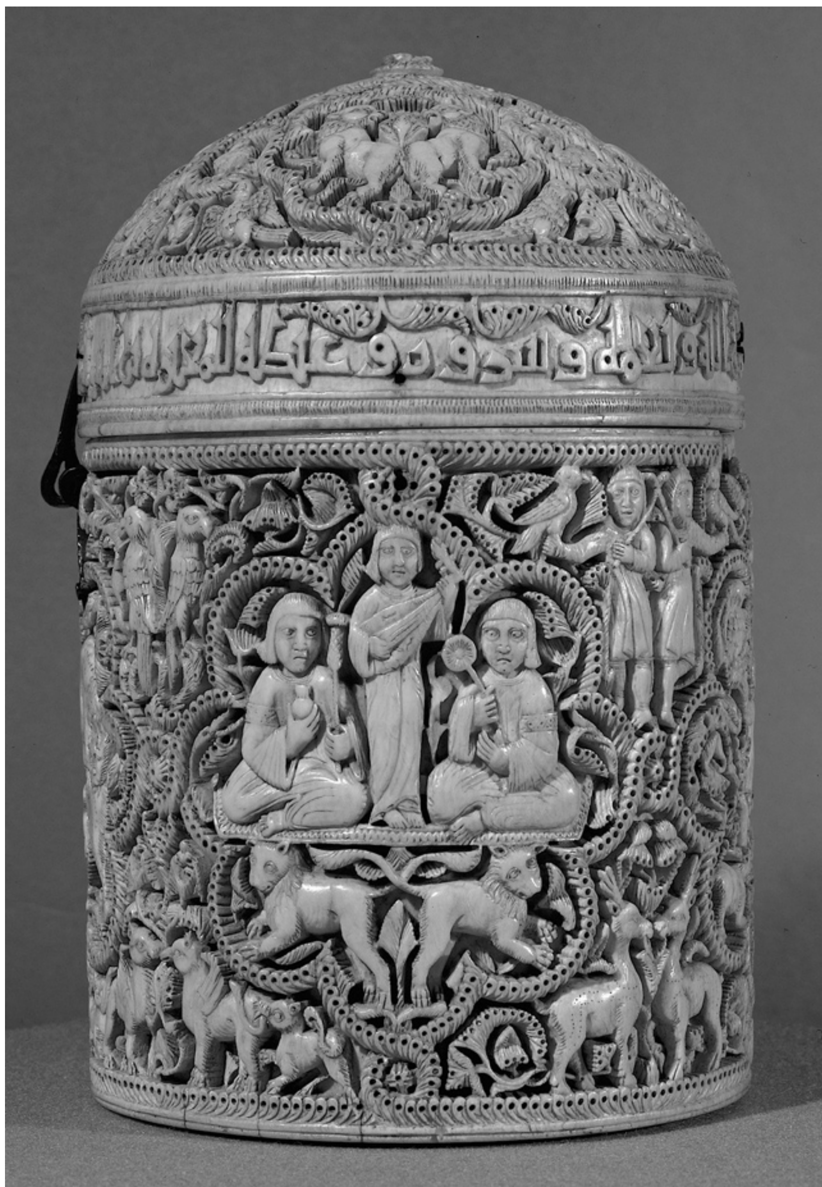

Figure 8 Ivory pyxis made for Prince al-Mughīra, probably at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, near Córdoba, 968 CE (Photo: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY/Musée du Louvre, Paris).

son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, al-Mughīra was a reasonable candidate to succeed al-Ḥakam II at the time. The caliph's chosen heir, Hishām, was still a young boy, and al-Mughīra was the favored candidate of the powerful faction made up of the palace eunuchs.[82] The reference to her son in the mosque inscription would, therefore, have underscored Sayyida Mushtaq's elevated status in the court. The inclusion in architectural inscriptions of the names of men—husbands, fathers, or sons—through whom female patrons claimed the authority to build is also a feature of later female patronage elsewhere in Islamic lands, and was likely a practice with pre-Islamic roots, a point to which I will return below.[83]

The last female patron for which there is some material evidence during al-Ḥakam II's reign is Ṣubḥ, his favorite concubine and the mother of his young heir Hishām, who ascended the throne as a boy in 976.[84] A white marble inscription plaque, dateable to 977, names Ṣubḥ as the patron of a water fountain (*saqāya*) constructed in the town of Écija, an important commercial center located on the main road between Córdoba and Seville. Lévi-Provençal translates the inscription:

> . . . the queen-mother of the Commander of the Faithful (*sayyida al-wālada umm amīr al-mu'minīn*) al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh Hishām, son of al-Ḥakam—may God preserve him!—in hopes of God's favor and reward, ordered the construction of this fountain. [It] was completed with the aid and assistance of God, under the direction of his follower, the prefect of police and the *qāḍī* of the district of Écija, Carmona, and its territories, Aḥmad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, son of Mūsā, and finished in the month of Rabīʿ II in the year 367 (16 November–14 December 977).[85]

Spain. Papers from a Symposium Held in Copenhagen from the 18th to the 20th of November 2003, eds. Kjeld von Folsach and Joachim Meyer (2005), pp. 139–64; Sophie Makariou, "The al-Mughīra Pyxis and Spanish Umayyad Ivories: Aims and Tools of Power," in *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, eds. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb (Leiden, 2010), pp. 313–35.

[82] Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Articulating the Ḥijāba: ʿĀmirid Artistic and Cultural Patronage in Al-Andalus (c. 970–1010 A.D.)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2002, pp. 35–39.

[83] Yasser Tabbaa, "Ḍayfa Khātūn: Regent Queen and Architectural Patron," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany, 2000), pp. 17–34.

[84] Marín, "Una vida de mujer: Ṣubḥ," pp. 425–45.

[85] ". . . A ordonné la construction de cette fontaine, la dame—qu'Allah l'illustre!—"la validé," la mère de l'émir des croyants (*sayyida al-wālada umm amīr al-mu'minīn*) al-Mu'aiyad bi'llah Hishām, fils d'al-Ḥakam—qu'Allah prolonge sa durée!—dans l'espoir d'une belle récompense d'Allah et d'une magnifique rétribution. Et (cette fountain) fut terminée avec l'aide d'Allah et son assistance, sous la direction de son protégé, le préfet de police et le qādī de la population du district d'Ecija, Carmona et dépendences, Aḥmad,

The plaque survives today embedded on a façade of the bell tower of the church of Santa Cruz in Écija. The date of the project—one year after al-Ḥakam II's death—provides the context for the inscription, which designates Ṣubḥ as queen-mother and regent of the young caliph. Ṣubḥ was an Iberian-born woman, said to have been captured in the northern Basque territories.[86]

The inscription is unprecedented in its assertion of power by an Umayyad royal woman, but as a female regent, Ṣubḥ herself was unprecedented in Umayyad Córdoba. As well as having significant pre-Islamic associations, the title *sayyida* is in keeping with that of other queen-mothers in the tenth century and afterward.[87] Expanding our perspective outside al-Andalus, the 970s were an interesting moment in the larger history of Islamic women. Around the time that Ṣubḥ became the regent in Córdoba, Durzān, the aforementioned queen-mother of al-ʿAzīz, heir to the Fātimid caliphal throne, was building major monuments in Cairo. Thus Durzān's patronage provides a foil for that of Ṣubḥ. In 976, one year before the completion of Ṣubḥ's fountain in the province of Seville, Durzān founded the second great Fāṭimid mosque of Cairo, a congregational mosque (no longer extant) located in the Qarafa.[88] Ṣubḥ's work was intended for public benefit, but it suffers in comparison with the costly and celebrated pious foundations established by her predecessors in Córdoba and her contemporary in Cairo. Though the elevated title with which Ṣubḥ is identified conveys a message of authority, the small scale of the project and its provincial location belie the intended statement. Unlike the Sayyida Mushtaq project, whose director was none other than the eunuch Jaʿfar himself, one of the most prominent of the Slav eunuchs and the one most visibly associated with the architectural commissions of the dynasty, the director of Ṣubḥ's project was not a eunuch but (from his name) presumably a free provincial administrator: Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā, identified in the inscription as prefect of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) and *qāḍī* of the

fils de ʿAbd Allāh, fils de Mūsā, et cela au mois de Rabīʿ II de l'année 367" (16 November–14 December 977). Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (texte) no. 30, pp. 37–38.

[86] As Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment," p. 19, has observed, her attraction for al-Ḥakam II might be implied by the curious point that al-Ḥakam II was known to have called Ṣubḥ by the male name Jaʿfar, and that she sometimes dressed in male attire. Complicating the issue further, there was a second Jaʿfar at court, a freeborn aristocrat who had been close to the caliph since childhood, and who also held a high position in al-Ḥakam's court.

[87] I am grateful to Mohamed Meouak for pointing out the pre-Islamic associations of the title.

[88] Cortese and Calderini, *Women and the Fātimids in the World of Islam*, p. 167.

district of Écija, Carmona, and their dependencies. He is identified as one of Ṣubḥ's protegés, but unlike her other protegé Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, known as al-Manṣūr (or Almanzor), he is otherwise unknown.[89]

In a departure from the established precedent, the court texts do not speak of Ṣubḥ as a patron, despite her status as queen-mother of the young caliph Hishām and all indications that she was a formidable ruler in her own right. One would expect her to have followed in the footsteps of her predecessors and to have been an active, prominent, and lauded patron, but if so, in contrast to the relatively numerous references to her predecessors, the texts do not speak of this. Might the silence of the texts suggest that, despite Ṣubḥ's attempt to claim a position of power and authority as the reigning queen-mother of al-Andalus, circumstances prevented her from exercising patronage at the level established by her predecessors? If so, perhaps this was a consequence of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's consolidation of power at court during her regency, though we cannot be sure solely based on the absence of evidence. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir began his celebrated ascent to power thanks to the patronage of the freeborn aristocrat al-Muṣḥafī, and his first appointment was as steward to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the firstborn son of al-Ḥakam and Ṣubḥ.[90] Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's access to state workshops during his tenure as director of the Umayyad mint is clear from the spectacular gift which he presented to Ṣubḥ: a palace wrought from silver, so large that it had to be carried to her on the heads of several men.[91] While Ibn Abī ʿĀmir rose to prominence under her patronage, eventually relations between him and Ṣubḥ became strained following an incident involving the caliphal treasury. According to one anecdote with a decidedly anti-ʿĀmirid slant, after learning that women of the harem were taking treasure from the caliphal store, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir forced Ṣubḥ to return some eighty thousand dinars which she was accused of secretly taking from the caliphal palace to a location outside Córdoba.[92] In order to then "safeguard" the caliphal treasury, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir removed it in its entirety to his own Córdoban estate. As Rosser-Owen has discussed, Ṣubḥ intended to use the money to fund an uprising against al-Manṣūr, making

[89] Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (texte), no. 30, p. 38.

[90] Rosser-Owen, "Articulating the Ḥijāba," p. 17; Laura Bariani, *Almanzor* (San Sebastián, 2003). I am also grateful to Mariam Rosser-Owen for sharing "Reading the Great Mosque of Córdoba: Al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir's Extension, and the Qurʾān," in advance of its publication.

[91] al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 179.

[92] al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 186.

this one of the most significant political events of the time, and the point at which the infamous parting of ways between these two powerful figures began.[93] The material evidence for female patronage during this time, or rather its dearth, coupled with a similar absence of textual evidence for such patronage, suggests that in the last decades of the tenth century royal women may not have been as active as under previous rulers, though we must be cautious about drawing this conclusion based solely on the lack of evidence. Following the transfer of the caliphal treasury to his own control, it may be that al-Manṣūr hampered court women's access to the financial resources necessary to fund patronage. However, this is not in keeping with the marked continuities with Umayyad practice that characterize his period of rule, nor with the impression of a regent genuinely concerned with good government and the welfare of the broader population.[94] Certainly, high-ranking eunuchs continue to appear in the context of patronage and production during al-Manṣūr's reign: ʿĀmirid luxury objects bear epigraphy with the names of two elite eunuchs, Khalaf al-ʿĀmirī (on al-Manṣūr's marble basin), and Zuhayr al-ʿĀmirī (on the Braga and Pamplona ivories).[95] More likely, al-Manṣūr's action against Ṣubḥ was a single politically-motivated event, rather than a trend throughout his regency.

Conclusions

We can draw several conclusions from this overview of patronage in Umayyad Córdoba. Perhaps the most important is that female patronage was mainly the prerogative of royal concubines. Those whose sons took the Umayyad throne are the particular focus of the court chronicles, for obvious reasons. However, allusions to patronage as a field of competition among the ruler's free wives and other enslaved women attest to broader participation in building among the women of the court. Furthermore, female patronage in the Andalusi court cannot be viewed in isolation, but

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[93] Rosser-Owen, "Articulating the Ḥijāba," p. 35.

[94] Rosser-Owen, "Articulating the Ḥijāba," pp. 16–50.

[95] Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Poems in Stone: The Iconography of ʿĀmirid Poetry, and its 'Petrification' on ʿĀmirid Marbles," in *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen, (Leiden, 2007), pp. 86–91; and in the same volume Cynthia Robinson, "Love in the Time of Fitna: 'Courtliness' and the Pamplona Casket," pp. 99–112. See also Renata Holod's discussions of the Pamplona and Braga ivories in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn Dodds (New York, 1992), pp. 198–202.

was part of a larger picture of patronage amongst unfree elites, in which palace eunuchs and other unfree males were active. This is partly a reflection of the great wealth which favored concubines and which eunuchs also enjoyed, thanks to their relationships to the Umayyad rulers. In general the buildings founded by concubines and eunuchs were charitable foundations; mosques and cemeteries are mentioned specifically and consistently over time, and support for other types of pious foundations is implied in the texts. Because concubines and eunuchs became wealthy through gifts from the ruler, rather than through inheritance, it may be that by endowing charitable foundations they also provided themselves or their children with a stable means of income, as was the case in later Mamlūk societies.[96] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's creation of a pious endowment to benefit his two young daughters by Tarūb (a concubine whom he had freed and married), and similar endowments formed for the benefit of the sons of three of his other wives or concubines (al-Shifāʾ, Ihtizāz, and Mu'ammara), suggest that this was the case, at least some of the time.[97] However, as Marín has observed, a desire to keep women who were not related to the Umayyad family by blood out of lines of inheritance is discernible in ensuing legal judgments that deliberately excluded ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's wives and concubines from benefits to be gained from the endowments. One might wonder whether gifts were specifically given to concubines so that patronage could be conducted, especially given the insistence on patronage as a sign of piety. However, it is difficult if not impossible to say whether this was the case, at least based on the sources discussed here.

It is likewise important to note that Ibn Ḥayyān, who wrote not long after the construction of the Umayyads' most celebrated monuments, puts the patronage of some of the women on par with the greatest building projects of the dynasty. While we might ask whether Ibn Ḥayyān and other court authors were deliberately presenting royal concubines (and the Umayyad rulers) in the most favorable light to appease a disapproving populace, the high level at which such commissions could be carried out can be inferred from the involvement of the eunuch Jaʿfar, director of the most prestigious works of al-Ḥakam II's reign, in the project commissioned

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[96] Howayda al-Harithy, "Female Patronage of Mamlūk Architecture in Cairo," in *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, ed. Amira el-Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse, 2005), p. 335; Carl F. Petry, "*Waqf* as an Instrument of Investment," in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, pp. 99–113.

[97] Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 362–63.

by Sayyida Mushtaq, mother of al-Ḥakam II's brother al-Mughīra. Art historians have discussed women of the Córdoban court as recipients of the celebrated ivory caskets made in the workshop at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ during the reign of al-Ḥakam II, but this collaboration between Sayyida Mushtaq and Jaʿfar clearly points to women's ability to access Umayyad royal workshops.[98] As their partnership indicates, there was no hindrance to communication and collaboration between court women and those who directed and carried out the greatest artistic commissions of the state: eunuchs such as Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ, Jaʿfar, and Durrī al-Ṣaghīr. Indeed, Ṣubḥ's brother, Raʿīq, apparently a eunuch in one of the state workshops, would have provided her with a family connection to the ateliers.[99] Again, women's patronage in the early modern Islamic lands may be relevant to understanding that of the caliphate. David Ayalon's observation that in the early modern Mamlūk courts women and eunuchs were frequent and powerful allies—indeed, that as groups each formed a side of the triangular power structure whose third side was the ruler himself—is instructive.[100] The evidence that palace eunuchs directed the court workshops and also worked in them as artisans and designers makes it probable that court women had direct access to the royal architects and designers, and could have participated in design decisions.

It is also notable that the portrayal of patronage as a meritorious act in the Arabic court texts contrasts with the evidence for expectations of women outside the realm of the court, perhaps underscoring a division in this respect between the court and the broader populace.[101] Whereas court concubines achieved visibility, prestige, and acclaim as pious women through their patronage, Cristina de la Puente has argued that women of the urban middle classes were expected to demonstrate their respectability and piety through their invisibility.[102] However, one might point to

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[98] Blair, "Islamic Art as a Source for the Study of Women in Premodern Societies," pp. 333–34. See Renata Holod's discussion in *al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, cat. no. 1, and her essay in the same catalogue, "Luxury Arts of the Caliphal Period," pp. 41–47; Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions," p. 21.

[99] Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 134.

[100] Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans*, pp. 195–99.

[101] The attitudes of the broader populace are difficult to determine. On the methodological problems, see Manuela Marín and Randi Deguilhem, "Introduction: Visibility, Agency and the Consciousness of Women's Actions: To What Extent?" in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, Islamic Mediterranean Series, no. I, eds. Randi Deguilhem and Manuela Marín (London, 2002), pp. xv–xxv.

[102] Cristina de la Puente, "Juridical Sources for the Study of Women: Limitations of the Female's Capacity to Act according to Mālikī law," in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab*

the ninth-century Qarawiyyīn and Andalusiyyīn mosques of Fes, whose founding is attributed to Fāṭima and Maryam, daughters of a wealthy Tunisian immigrant, as evidence that patronage among women of the court was in fact paralleled in the middle classes.[103] In any case, genuine piety and expectations about the responsibilities of the aristocracy were certainly motivating factors behind the construction of mosques and other pious foundations, but we can speculate about other reasons concubines and eunuchs would have built. While female patronage highlights the class divisions which existed between the court and the urban classes, the emphasis on building and endowing pious foundations on the part of both women and eunuchs might be explained in part as an attempt to strengthen ties between the ruling aristocracy and the *ʿulamāʾ*, who were influential among the broader urban population. In Qayrawān, for instance, the Aghlabid rulers may have sought to create such connections with the *ʿulamāʾ* and the urban populace through mosque patronage, during a time of tension between the aristocracy and the population, stemming in part from the aristocracy's adherence to a different religious school.[104] Perhaps by endowing charitable foundations such as mosques and their appurtenances, these ethnically diverse men and women of the Umayyad court also found a means of integrating themselves into a Muslim community to which some of them had come as outsiders. If so, the patronage of the Umayyad concubines and eunuchs is a precursor to the practices of the later dynasties, such as the Kurdish Ayyūbids and Turkic Mamlūks, who sought to bridge the difference between themselves and their majority Arab populations by founding charitable institutions such as soup kitchens, schools, mosques, and so forth. On the other hand, as Marín points out, it may be that unfree women and eunuchs "are only outsiders from our own perspective; in the Islamic medieval courts they were an essential part of kinship and power networks."[105] The centrality of these women and eunuchs in the Córdoban court perhaps makes it more

Sources, p. 99; Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-representation in Islamic Societies*, pp. 3–6.

[103] Georges Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident* (Paris, 1955), pp. 197–200; Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Idrīs al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥadāthat al-akyās mi-man uqbira min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-ṣulahāʾ bi-Fās* (Fez, 1898), vol. 1, p. 91. I am grateful to Sumayya Ahmed for the latter reference.

[104] Jāmil M. Abūn-Naṣr Abū l-Fatḥ, *History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge and New York, 1987; rprt. 1993), pp. 55–56; Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide*, pp. 231–40.

[105] Personal communication, April 2010.

likely that they did not need the support of the *ʿulamāʾ*, given the authority and influence they wielded in court society.

But if patronage was in part a means by which "outsiders" integrated into Umayyad society, female and eunuch patronage speaks to the processes of acculturation and transculturation at work in medieval and early modern Islamic courts.[106] Iberia's long history of settlement and acculturation provides a logical case study for examining such issues and may illuminate similar processes elsewhere, given that conquest, settlement, and acculturation are characteristic of the history of most any region of the premodern Islamic lands. After all, there were few places in the Dār al-Islām which were not contact zones. Qalam, one of the "Medinese" women mentioned at the beginning of this study, for example, is an intriguing embodiment of these processes in al-Andalus. She was said to have been a noblewoman from northern Iberia, whose capture and enslavement resulted in her transfer to Medina, where she trained in music before returning to Iberia as a slave of the Umayyad sovereign.[107] Certainly those who were brought to the Umayyad court from outside the Dār al-Islām overcame formidable obstacles when they were taken from their native lands and cultures and brought to the Umayyad capital.[108] Nevertheless they became prominent and powerful actors in Umayyad Córdoba, and their patronage bears witness to the high status and active participation of concubines and eunuchs in this medieval court society. Yet there is a contrast between the prominence and visibility these women and men attained as patrons, and their near invisibility in the narrative of Andalusi Umayyad art. This is mainly a problem of the survival of evidence, but it may also stem in part from our assumptions about the place of women

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[106] I refer to Mary Louise Pratt's definition of "contact zone" in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 6–7; and the late stage of transculturation defined by Fernando Ortíz in "On the Phases of Transculturation," Club Atenas, Havana, December 12, 1942. I am grateful to Lyneise Williams for suggesting these as useful models. Also see Thomas F. Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), pp. 136–54. The Ṣafavid court offers a useful early modern parallel for elite slave patronage. See Sussan Babaie, Kathryn Babayan, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, and Massumeh Farhad, "Military Slaves in the Provinces: Collecting and Shaping the Arts," in *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London, 2004), pp. 114–38.

[107] Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, pp. 187–93, cit. Reynolds, "Al-Maqqarī's Ziryāb: The Making of a Myth," p. 157; Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, pp. 129–30.

[108] On the grim logistics of the international eunuch trade, including the ordeals endured by the young boys, see Jan S. Hogendorn "The Location of the 'Manufacture' of Eunuchs," in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, eds. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London and New York), 2000, pp. 41–68.

and castrated men in medieval Islamic societies. Perhaps we deny agency and power to concubines and eunuchs, projecting predominantly sexualized, servile, or passive identities to those categorized as such. The evidence for female and eunuch patronage outlined in this article indicates that such assumptions are mistaken.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE FIRST QUEENS OF PORTUGAL AND THE BUILDING OF THE REALM

Miriam Shadis

Various forces of creation and destruction form the lens through which historians must try to perceive the art and architecture of early Portugal, and women's and men's relationship to those objects and buildings. The Manueline tomb (ca. 1502) made for the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriques (r. 1128–1185), for example, epitomizes the problems of elaboration and revision, only hinting at the existence of the medieval tomb which had been in place at the collegiate church of Santa Cruz in Coimbra for over 300 years (Fig. 1). Whatever choices Afonso Henriques or his heirs had made regarding his own monument have long since been obliterated by the admiring, celebratory constructions of their descendants. Other products of royal patronage in early Portugal have been lost to dynamic, fluctuating forces comprising both acts of will and acts of God. A particular problem faced by students of early Portugal is the apparent absence of iconography related to its first kings and queens. The difficulties of studying what no longer exists are legion, and are particularly acute in the realm of women's history, but as Kathleen Nolan has recently argued, the absence of a discourse of visual imagery does not mean that this imagery never existed, nor that queens' patronage did not play a role in forming or expressing reginal identity.[1]

This essay examines the relationship between royal women's patronage and the foundation and legitimization of the Portuguese monarchy and realm. My claims are preliminary to an ongoing study of early Portuguese queenship; as such, they are as much suggestions about how to approach the role of royal women as makers of art and architecture, as assertions about what evidence can actually be analyzed. I argue that queenship, as it was understood in the first generations of the Portuguese monarchy

[1] Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York, 2009), p. 1.

Figure 1 Tomb of Afonso Henriques of Portugal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra, ca. 1502 (Photo: Mário Novais/Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation).

(from about 1100 to about 1250), operated differently from what historians of medieval queenship elsewhere in Europe have come to expect, and that difference was furthermore crucial to the construction of the monarchy. I ask questions about how we can identify patronage practices and what specific patronage meant in terms of artistic and/or architectural production. Related to these practices are questions about separating any analysis of men's and women's patronage, and the implications for understanding female agency. In Portugal, I suggest, the character of royal women's patronage—especially in the realm of monumental building—both secular and religious, was shaped by the queen's status and changed qualitatively as the nature of queenship itself changed.[2]

There is no doubt, by now, that the monarchies of medieval Europe sought to establish their legitimacy through abiding and deep connections with the Church, manifested very often in the establishment of royal pantheons, but also in commemorative foundations, exemplified by Battle Abbey in England, built by William the Conqueror after the Battle of Hastings in 1066; or Batalha in Portugal, built by João I of Portugal after the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1388. Nearer to the subject of this essay, another example is that of the Cistercian abbey of Alcobaça, founded in 1153 by Afonso Henriques. Construction of the Gothic church began late in his reign in 1178, continued under his son Sancho I (r. 1185–1211) and although the monks may have moved in during the reign of Sancho's son, Afonso II (r. 1211–1223), the church was only consecrated in 1252.[3] This lengthy process strengthened the imbrication of the dynasty and the Cistercian Order, a relationship which would peak with the reforms of Sancho I's daughters in the early thirteenth century. However, as we begin to understand better the corporate nature of medieval monarchy, especially in Iberia, we realize that looking only at individual kings and their foundations does not tell the full story of this legitimizing agenda. Queens played a significant role in this effort; this is perhaps particularly true in Portugal where queenship itself was a key to the early monarchy's structure, and where queenship, as I will elaborate below, meant something beyond historians' usual expectations. Furthermore, such patronage often

[2] For queenship and patronage in the later Middle Ages, see, in the present volume, Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, "The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor: The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century."

[3] Jorge Rodrigues, *The Monastery of Alcobaça*, trans. Gilla Evans and Isabel Varea (London, 2007), p. 22; published simultaneously in Portuguese: *Mosteiro de Alcobaça* (London, 2007).

manifested itself literally over generations—such as the example of Alcobaça above, founded initially by the father, with most construction carried out under the son and grandson. It happens that Alcobaça's particular lineage is masculine—but more often than not, once patronage became a family or intergenerational affair, wives and daughters were involved. Understanding monarchy as a family endeavor elevates the importance of the women in the family, and changes the way we see the accomplishments of kings, especially in regard to any documented action they took in concert with their wives—which they frequently did.[4] It also means that when we see the queens acting as individuals, their actions (especially as patrons) must be understood as well in terms of their political role: they were not simply the result of private, personal devotions or interests.[5]

The very concept of patronage itself must also be interrogated. What is the relationship of generic patronage (doling out wealth, property, or even political friendship) to the making of art and architecture? How often did women's wealth translate into actual buildings, illuminated books, reliquaries, or design elements? Most religious patronage that can be identified for the women under study here involved gifts of land and privileges to a variety of institutions; for the most part, it is impossible at this stage of investigation to say what the gifts were actually used for—did they, for instance, result in construction or ornamentation? Were gifts given with specific purposes in mind? In any case, the first step is to identify the institutions which were the recipients of royal patronage—to follow the money. Then, by investigating other evidence, such as wills, charters, chronicles, or legends, it may be possible to identify actual artistic or architectural impact. Finally, it remains to be seen what of such physical evidence yet survives centuries of ruin, renovation, reconstruction, and restoration.

[4] Recent scholarship on medieval queens in France and Iberia, for example, demonstrates that even into the early modern period queens played vital roles in the functioning and identity of monarchies, not only as wives and mothers, but as co-rulers. Theresa Earenfight, "Partners in Politics," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot, 2005), pp. xiii–xxviii, esp. xiv, xv, xvii; Lois Huneycutt, "Creation of a Crone: The Historical Reputation of Adelaide of Maurienne," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2006), pp. 27–43, esp. 30; Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009), p. 14; Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010), pp. 12–13.

[5] The rebuilding of the basilica of San Isidoro in León, Spain by Queen Urraca provides an extraordinary example of a queen's politicized patronage. Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006).

Because the material remains of royal women's patronage are so few, the written word provides more evidence of their activity as makers of art and architecture in the building of the Portuguese realm. Chronicles, charters, and recorded legend reveal more than stone archways and archaeological sites, but written records are not without their limitations. Chronicle evidence for patronage or building activity is also thin; overall historiography, both medieval and modern, does not illuminate the ins and outs of financing, constructing, or managing gifts or foundations, especially for royal women. Documentary practices of including family members, while potentially obscuring women's activities, also suggest opportunities for recognizing their agency. Portuguese kings consistently issued charters with their wives and daughters, identified as queens, as, for example, in an 1186 charter of Sancho I, who acted "together with my wife queen Dulce and my son king Afonso and my daughters queen Teresa and queen Sancha..."[6] Women did not often appear independently of their husbands, brothers, or sons in the written record, and for this reason historians have assumed that they were not fully independent, active agents, as they were subsumed into documentary formulas. At the same time, these formulas clearly served a purpose and had meaning, and we should take women's presence alongside their husbands and sons seriously. In his recent dissertation, William Moore has explored the use of charter formulas as expressions of royal power and relationships in León from 1037 to 1126, arguing persuasively that writers "meant what they said."[7] The Portuguese charters under examination here derive from a shared diplomatic tradition, their issuers drawing upon the authenticity and legitimacy of the charters of the Leonese kings Fernando I (r. 1037–1065) and Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109), and in tension with those of Urraca (r. 1109–1126), the subjects of Moore's study. The charters are paradoxical in that their formulaic inclusions are not without meaning; on the contrary, the repeated naming of wives, sons, and daughters is significant to monarchical identity.

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[6] *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174–1211)*, eds. Rui de Azevedo, Avelino de Jesus da Costa, and Marcelino Rodrigues Pereira (Coimbra, 1979), no. 11: "ego Sancius Dei gratia Portugalensium rex... una cum uxore mea regina domna Dulcia et filio meo rege domno Adefonso et filiabus meis regina domna Tarasia et regina domna Sancia facio kartam confirmacionis et donacionis et firmitudinis..." This was a typical and common type of *intitulatio* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian charters. See William R. Moore, "Religious Language and the Construction of Royal Power: León, 1037–1126," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2009; Shadis, *Berenguela*, p. 33.

[7] Moore, "Religious Language and the Construction of Royal Power," p. 29.

The most simple narrative of the foundation of the kingdom of Portugal goes like this: the Leonese King Alfonso VI gave the county of Portugal to his natural daughter Teresa (1090?–1130) and her husband Count Henry of Burgundy as a marriage portion around 1096.[8] Alfonso VI died in 1109, leaving his legitimate daughter Urraca on the throne of León; Count Henry died in 1112. Teresa attempted to claim authority for herself and an independent Portugal, especially vis-à-vis the claims of her sister Queen Urraca. Ultimately, however, Teresa was challenged by her son Afonso Henriques, who defeated her in battle in 1128; Teresa died in 1130, calling herself queen. Afonso Henriques, however, was indisputably the first king of Portugal. His claims to kingship were based on his highly successful efforts at seizing territory from the Muslims who had ruled it for centuries, as well as his status as a descendant of Alfonso VI *through his mother*, Teresa. Afonso Henriques' successful, independent kingship also resulted from good timing; Castilla-León was in some disarray during the reign of his aunt, Urraca, and under further stress during the reign of her son and Afonso Henriques' cousin, Alfonso VII (r. 1126–1157), giving Afonso Henriques room to carve out an independent territory and rule. Traditionally, historians have understood Afonso Henriques' winning of the papal bull *Manifestis probatum* from Pope Alexander III in 1179 as the final key to Portugal's status as an independent kingdom and Afonso's legitimate kingship, although his claims to kingship began decades earlier.[9] I argue that Afonso's kingship was equally dependent—or so he believed—on his mother's status. The fact that he drove her from the throne and from Portugal itself notwithstanding, Afonso was careful always to reference his mother's queenship and his own identity as his mother's son.[10] This strategy was endorsed by the near-contemporary chronicle witness, as well:

> Teresa was the daughter of King Alfonso [VI], but was born not of a legitimate wife but of a concubine, though one greatly loved by the king, called Jimena Muñoz. Because of his love and honour [for Teresa], the king gave her in marriage to Count Henry and gave her a magnificent dowry by grant-

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[8] See the genealogical chart in the appendix following this text.

[9] For this historiographic perspective on *Manifestis probatum*, see Stephen Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier* (New York, 2009), pp. 141–42; José Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon, 2006), pp. 359–62.

[10] In 1128, for example, Afonso Henriques confirmed a charter to the Cathedral of Braga, "Ego Alfonsus egregii comitis Henrici et egregie regine Tarasie filius et Alfonsi obtimi regis nepos..." *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, *Documentos Régios*, ed. Rui Pinto de Azevedo (Lisbon, 1958), vol. 1, part 1, no. 89.

> ing her the land of Portugal to hold by hereditary right. When Count Henry died, the Portuguese proclaimed her queen, and when she died, they proclaimed her son king, as indeed he later was, in honor of her name.[11]

From the earliest days of an independent Portugal, then, and through at least the first three generations of the monarchy, queenship—of mothers, wives, and daughters—became an important marker of royal identity.

Who were these queens? Teresa was the first royal woman to call herself "queen:" she was acknowledged as such by her son, as well as by many of her contemporaries, including pope Paschal II.[12] The next was Afonso Henriques' wife Mafalda (or Matilda) of Savoy (ca. 1127–1157), whom he married in 1146. Mafalda was thus the first queen-consort of Portugal, until her death in 1158. Their daughters Mafalda, Urraca, Sancha, and Teresa were also known as "queens" in royal charters.[13] Afonso particularly relied on his daughters Urraca (1148–1188) and Teresa (1153–1218) after Mafalda's death, and named Teresa one of his co-heirs with her brother Sancho, Afonso Henriques' successor as Sancho I. Sancho's actual rule might be considered to date from 1179, as he co-ruled with his father in the latter's later years. This is not a trivial observation, for it shows how rulership was not delimited by dynastic generation, but rather was a

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[11] *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, ed. and trans. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), p. 195. Ángel G. Gordo Molina makes a similar observation in comparing Urraca of León and Teresa as legitimate female sources of imperial or royal power for their sons, Alfonso VII of León and Afonso Henriques respectively in "Urraca I de León y Teresa de Portugal. Las relaciones de fronteras y el ejercicio de la potestad femenina en la segunda mitad del siglo XII. Jurisdicción, *imperium* y Iinaje," *Intus-legere: historia*, 2/1 (2008), pp. 9–24. Maria João Branco and Isabel Barros Dias show that while Teresa and Urraca have nearly parallel biographies, and both are subject to similar gendered assumptions about women in power historiographically, Teresa receives significantly less mention in Iberian medieval historiography. "Metamorfoses de Urraca de Castela-Leão e de Teresa de Portugal: construções e desconstruções das imagens de duas rainhas," in *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (León, 2007), pp. 335–47.

[12] *Patrilogia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Turnhout, 1969; [1844–55]), 163: 408, 1255–56. But see Stephen Lay's vague explanation of this practice. Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 58–59. He prefers "infanta." Marsilio Cassotti opts also for quotation marks around the word "queen" even as he examines Teresa's evolution from *infanta* to *rainha. D. Teresa: a primeira rainha de Portugal*, trans. Ana Isabel Ruiz Barata (Lisbon, 2008), pp. 153–58.

[13] Only Urraca and Teresa lived to adulthood and had important independent political careers, Urraca as Queen of León (wife of Fernando II) and Teresa as the Countess of Flanders (rechristened Matilda as the wife of Philip of Alsace.) Ariel Castro explains the name change in terms of its royal appeal and familiarity in Flanders; as her mother was Mafalda, or Mathilde, it may not have proved an onerous adjustment for the former Teresa. Ariel Castro, "A Rainha Mathilde, Condessa de Flandres e Princesa de Portugal," in *Actas do Quinto Congresso* [*Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas*] (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1653–665.

family project. Documentary evidence suggests that Teresa continued in her capacity as a co-ruler/co-heir at the Portuguese court until 1184 when she married Philip of Flanders.[14]

Sancho I married Dulce of Aragón (1160–1198); their daughters, Teresa, Sancha, Constanza, Branca, Berenguela, and Mafalda, like their mother and their powerful aunts, were called "queen." While Sancho and Dulce's daughters Teresa (1181–1250) and Mafalda (ca. 1196–1256) both had tenuous or potential careers as political queens, their contributions to the stability and legitimacy of the monarchy were carried out through their roles as religious women, along with their sister Sancha (ca. 1182–1229). Teresa was briefly married to her cousin Alfonso IX of León; Mafalda was intended to be married to Enrique I of Castile around 1216, although that marriage was probably not consummated.[15] Because of these political marriages, some historians have explained Teresa and Mafalda's identities as queens, but their designations as "queen" began well before their marriages; significantly, their never-married sister Sancha was also called queen. These women played a strong role in the third generation of the monarchy; it was their father Sancho's intention, expressed in his will, that they should hold enormous territorial and thus political power after his death, even as they seemed intended for the religious life, marking a turning point in the legitimizing strategies of queenship.[16] These queens—the royal women of the first four generations of the monarchy, including Teresa I—were so designated because of their royal status, but also because they were potential heirs and co-rulers, participating in the functioning of the monarchy with real political power. Their queenship was not, therefore, merely an idiosyncratic catch-all term for royal women. However, as Afonso II went to war with his sisters over their inheritance, a very different vision of the king and his queen emerged as a result of this conflict.[17]

The rest of this essay will be dedicated to examining the particular, individual patronage practices of several of the queens mentioned above, providing a necessarily limited view of their potential range of activity and influence. The catalogue is relatively brief. These queens' opportunities

[14] ANTT-Alcobaça, DR 1–5 (1183, with "Regina Domina Tarasia" sealing and confirming.) In 1183, Teresa also issued a charter as "ego Tharasia regina filia regis portugalis domni alfonsi et uxori eius regine domine matilde comitis amedei de moriana filie . . ." ANTT-Santa Cruz de Coimbra, DR 1–51.

[15] Shadis, *Berenguela*, p. 95.

[16] *Documentos Sancho I*, no. 194.

[17] Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 215–20.

as individual patrons were circumscribed by their resources and the political situations in which they found themselves, and our vision of this potential patronage is complicated by limitations of extant sources. A queen—or any political figure—whose power was uncertain and whose authority was challenged might, on the one hand, find patronage a very useful strategy for shoring up her position. On the other hand, she might be hard pressed to find the time or the resources to lavish attention on religious or civic institutions. In the first years of her rule, for example, Teresa of Portugal was locked in steady conflict with her sister Queen Urraca of Castilla-León, and then, in the last years with her son Afonso Henriques. She found herself on the run toward the very end, defeated at the Battle of São Mamede in 1128. Nevertheless, Teresa did continue to engage in practices of rulership in this period (apart from warfare), including the patronage of the Templar Order (like her sister Urraca) and the Cathedral of Porto.[18]

Teresa, along with her husband Count Henry, had earlier patronized (among others) the churches or monasteries of São Pedro de Lorvão, San Martinho de Tibães, Pombeiro, the priory of São Pedro de Rates, and the cathedral of Santa Maria of Braga.[19] The case of San Martinho de Tibães illustrates beautifully the limitations of the physical evidence to support the written record. Although currently the subject of an extensive archaeological excavation, most of what remains of the church and monastery, and much of what does not, was constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[20] One remnant of the church tympanum suggests that it was sculpted between 1140 and 1151 (the abbacy of Ordoñes) and seems related artistically to similar sculpture on a portal at Braga—leaving open the possibility that construction may have begun during Teresa's lifetime

[18] DR nos. 76, 79, for example. Teresa's patronage of the Templars can be compared to that of her sister, Urraca: Martin, *Queen as King*, pp. 195–96.

[19] The monastery in Pombeiro was probably São Vicente de Sousa but may have been the Mosteiro de Pombeiro de Ribavizela, or any other place in Felgueiras. São Pedro de Rates was one of the first Cluniac priories in Portugal, begun in 1096; construction began in the early twelfth century and the priory was occupied by French monks. Jorge Rodrigues, *O Modo Românico* (Lisbon, 2008), pp. 62–63; *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal das Origens a Trento: Guia Histórico*, eds. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Isabel Castro Pina, Maria Filomena Andrade, and Maria Leonor Ferraz de Oliveira Silva Santos (Lisbon, 2005), p. 57. DR nos. 11, 13, 22, 23, 35.

[20] Mosteiro de São Martinho de Tibães, www.mosteirodetibaes.org. Accessed 20 May 2010. See also Ministério da Cultura, www.min-cultura.pt.

and certainly continued in the next generation.[21] After Henry's death in 1112, Teresa remained an active patron as she developed her claims to queenship, giving several gifts to the Sees of Coimbra, Braga, and Porto, as well as to a number of other monasteries, the Order of the Temple, and as far afield as Cluny.[22] In 1123 Teresa lent the weight of her authority to the reconstruction of the church of Soure, which had been destroyed by the "war against the Moors," and then apparently abandoned for fear of the same.

The important frontier town of Soure was potentially the locus of much of Teresa's patronage, and specifically benefited from her support in construction and reconstruction, although this admittedly derived from military and political concerns. Soure had been repeatedly attacked during the "war against the Moors," and eventually was abandoned. In 1123, however, Teresa sought to repopulate the town, giving an important town (foral) charter, and supporting the rebuilding of the castle and church. The bishop of Coimbra, Gonzalo, along with his chapter committed themselves to "rebuilding the church which lies destroyed," while reserving their rights over certain tithes, "per eximiam reginam Tarasia" [according to the exceptional queen Teresa] and on her authority.[23] According to the *Vita S. Martini Suariensis*, "She put aside a great deal of money for the church of Soure in perpetuity."[24] Later, in 1128, Teresa turned her lordship of Soure over to the Templar Order.[25]

Of all the institutions, foundations, or structures discussed in this essay, however, the most politically significant in the first years of an indepen-

[21] Gerhard N. Graf, with José Mattoso and Manuel Luis Real, *Portugal Roman* (La Pierre-Qui-Vire, 1986–87), vol. 2, p. 175. The oldest extant part of the monastery is the kitchen, which may be medieval–but nothing connects it to Teresa.

[22] Teresa's known gifts to religious institutions included the following: to Coimbra, in 1113, 1119, and 1122 (*Documentos Régios*, nos. 38, 51, 64); to Pendrorada in 1120–1122 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 52); to Bishop Hugh of Porto in 1120, 1127, and 1128 (*Documentos Régios*, nos. 53 and 76; Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol. 21, *Iglesia de Porto, de la Galicia Antigua, desde su origen hasta hoy* (1766), ed. Rafael Lazcano (Madrid, 2006), p. 77; to Braga in 1124 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 67); to Túy in 1125 (DR 70); to Cluny in 1127 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 75); to Vilela in 1128 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 78); and to the Order of the Temple in 1128 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 79). Claims that Teresa patronized Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1117 (*Documentos Régios*, no. 46) are impossible, as that institution was founded in 1131, but any number of earlier Augustinian foundations which were eventually associated with Santa Cruz are good candidates, including, for example, São Martinho de Carmos, or Santa Maria de Vila Nova de Muía, *Ordens Religiosas*, pp. 187–88.

[23] *Livro Preto: Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra*, ed. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (Coimbra, 1999), no. 241.

[24] *Portugalia Monumenta Historia. Scriptores*, vol. 1, fasc. 1 (Lisbon, 1856), p. 60.

[25] Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 88; ANTT-Gavetas VII-13-5b.

dent Portugal were Braga and Porto; because of their ecclesiastical importance and their physical monumentality, they intertwine monarchy and church, and demonstrate the slow evolution over generations of the forces of establishing royal and ecclesiastical legitimacy, as well as patronage patterns. Each competed with the other in Portugal and with Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, even as they (especially Braga) vied with Toledo for preeminence within the Iberian peninsula.[26]

The construction of the Cathedral of Braga had begun in the eleventh century but stalled since 1089 with the chevet barely completed. Count Henry was eager to make Braga his capital while Bishop Gerald sought to enhance his own ecclesiastical power—to those ends they visited Rome together in 1103. In 1107 Braga received the status of an archdiocese, and that is probably when the next stage of building began; the rapid pace of construction was attributed to Henry and Teresa's decision to be buried there.[27] In 1110, however, the church was physically attacked—sources say by Teresa—and work ceased.[28] It is unclear, given that Henry was not yet dead, why the misdeed should be attributed to Teresa alone—except that in 1110 she issued several charters independently of her husband, indicating his absence from Portugal. Teresa was increasingly siding with Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago, whose church competed with Braga as a potential pilgrimage site, and who may have instigated Teresa in her attack. Later, the *Historia Compostellana* even suggested that Teresa promised to be buried at Santiago, instead of Braga.[29] Teresa's culpability is also suggested by the possibility that her later donations were in fact a manner of compensation for the damage done. The mode of Teresa's attack and the extent of the damage are unknown, but the episode makes a few things clear. It challenges any vision of patronage as a purely creative and constructive force; it demonstrates that not all gifts of money and/or sponsorship of building should be construed as acts of patronage; and it illustrates how political forces played out over physical monuments

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[26] Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 39–41, 59.

[27] José Custódio Vieira da Silva and Luís Urbano Afonso, "A arquitectura e a produção artística," in *A Catedral de Braga: Arte, liturgia e música dos fins do século XI a época tridentina*, eds. Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisbon, 2009), p. 49.

[28] Vieira and Afonso, "A arquitectura," p. 51. Ultimately, the sources do not reveal precisely why Teresa may have attacked the church.

[29] Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 59–63; *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey (Turnhout, 1986), p. 410.

(something which the study of patronage has taught us to appreciate.)[30] After Henry's death in 1112, Teresa did patronize Braga but was disinclined to support the agenda of the Archbishop Paio Mendes—to the point of briefly imprisoning him. The archbishop sided with her son in the ensuing conflict, which also stopped work on the church.[31] The resumption of construction seemed to correlate to Afonso Henriques' assumption of power and the rise of Paio Mendes.[32] In 1135 an earthquake destroyed part of the building; rebuilding continued throughout the twelfth and into the thirteenth century (Fig. 2).[33]

Probably the most significant of Teresa's patronage in terms of artistic or architectural effect was at Porto. With Bishop Hugo of Porto she is credited with the restoration of the See, and the beginning of the construction of the Cathedral, of which some original Romanesque features remain. Teresa's relationship with Hugo of Porto remained close until her death in 1130.[34] The fact that her son Afonso Henriques is also credited with the construction of Porto may be an effect of the slow process of medieval architectural practice but also perhaps historiographic prejudices which focus on Afonso Henriques as the initiator of an independent Portugal, its first legitimate monarch, and a man. Teresa's patronage cannot be separated from her bid for political power, even as its pattern can be discerned from her youth as the child-bride of Henry of Burgundy. The restoration of episcopal sees and their material support fit with the expected obligations of any ruling authority in this time and place. A key complication was the vexed relations of the churches themselves to their own status as metropolitans or suffragans vis-à-vis León, Merida, Toledo, and Santiago de Compostela, all involved in the conflict between Portugal and Castilla-León—Teresa and her sister Urraca—and between Teresa and her son Afonso Henriques. Church relations were not particularly gendered, although Braga felt the weight of Teresa's hostility, and Porto her absence after her death. Overall, Teresa's impact on these institutions must be

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[30] Usually, however, such forces are constructive rather than destructive. For example, Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, pp. 48–54 on Adelaide of Maurienne; Martin, *Queen as King*, on Urraca of Castilla-León, Matilda of England, and Melisende of Jerusalem, pp. 177–207. Also interesting to compare is the tomb commissioned for Thibaut III of Champagne by his wife, Blanche of Navarre, Countess of Champagne; see Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, 2000), pp. 10–15.

[31] *Historia Compostellana*, pp. 3343–5. Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 65–66.

[32] Graf, *Portugal Roman*, p. 169; Mattoso, *Afonso Henriques*, p. 67.

[33] Graf, *Portugal Roman*, p. 173.

[34] *España Sagrada*, vol. 21, pp. 77–78.

Figure 2 South portal, Cathedral of Braga, Portugal, ca. 1125–1150 (Photo: Mário Novais; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation).

seen as primarily political: any actual building projects were incidental to these relationships, weakening the link between patronage and artistic production.

Other sources, however, suggest that the construction of Porto's cathedral was carried out in the next generation by Queen Mafalda.[35] The first queen-consort of Portugal, Mafalda of Savoy was regularly included in her husband Afonso Henriques' charters. The fact that the construction of the cathedral of Porto is attributed to both Afonso and Mafalda (as well as Afonso's mother Teresa) hints at the difficulty such diplomatic practices have presented researchers: in the past, faced with husband and wife in such formulas, historians have dismissed wives' agency and assumed husbands'. Admitting the possibility of mutual activity—or the primacy of a wife's agency—suggests new ways of reading old evidence, but does not supply new evidence—and the old evidence is often limited. Mafalda is traditionally thought to be the founder of the Augustinian monastery of Santa Marinha da Costa in Guimarães; the current *pousada* retains architectural elements from the mid-twelfth century, but no documentation prior to Mafalda's death in 1158 is extant.[36] If it could be shown definitively that Mafalda was the founder of Santa Marinha, it would suggest a choice paralleling her husband's foundation in 1131 of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, also an Augustinian institution. Santa Cruz was established in part as a royal pantheon, or intended as such until Alcobaça was made ready for the same purpose. Whereas Teresa and Henry of Burgundy were buried in Braga, Afonso Henriques, his wife Mafalda, and their son Sancho I were buried at Santa Cruz. Mafalda's tomb has not survived, but a charter issued by her daughter Teresa in 1183 attests to her burial there. [37] It is clear that

[35] J.A. Pinto Ferreira, *Nossa Senhora da Silva: Bosquejo Histórico* (Porto, 1967), citing Carlos de Passos, *Monumentos de Portugal* (1929), p. 17. See also Manuel Monteiro, *Igrejas Medievais do Porto* (1954), in Pinto Ferreira, p. 11.

[36] António José Ferreira Caldas, *Guimaraes: Apontamentos para a sua História*, 2nd ed. (Guimarães, 1996), pp. 362–80. http://www.csarmento.uminho.pt/docs/ndat/pcaldas/PCaldas017.pdf. Accessed 1 November 2010. Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da arquidiocese de Braga* (Braga, 2000), vol. 2, p. 261, no. 648 (dated to 1172/73); Maria Cristina Almeida e Cunha, "Fórmulas e formulários: os documentos de colegiada de Guimarães (1128–1211)," in *2º Congresso histórico de Guimarães; Actas do congresso*, vol. 4, *Sociedade, administração, cultura e igreja em Portugal no séc. XII* (Guimarães, 1997), pp. 174–82, esp. 177, refers to a document made by Prior Mendo in 1161; *Ordens Religiosas*, p. 162. Figanière expressed doubts about Mafalda's patronage: Frederico Francisco de la Figanière, *Memorias das Rainhas de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1859), p. 47.

[37] Armando Alberto Martins, *O Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média* (Lisbon, 2003); *Ordens Religiosas*, pp. 190–193; ANTT-Santa Cruz de Coimbra: DR 1-51.

the first occupants of Santa Marinha were canons who came from Santa Cruz; the first abbot was Mendo, thought to be Mafalda's confessor.

Independently, Queen Mafalda established a hospital for pilgrims on the way to Santiago in the small village of Canaveses; this was probably her most important foundation. In her will, she left funds "to my hospital of Canaveses" so that it and the palace which she left to the hospital would always be well maintained. The pilgrims were to have clean beds in good repair, food, water, and, if they died at the hospital, burial with three masses.[38] Mafalda is also credited with the construction of a bridge over the Tâmega river near Canaveses, the purpose of which was primarily to aid pilgrims passing over the river. This bridge was still in use into the nineteenth century; it was seemingly gratuitously destroyed and rebuilt in 1944.[39] I have found no documentation that confirms Mafalda's involvement in the building of this bridge—nor for the churches of São Pedro and Santa Maria de Sobretâmega, also attributed to her.[40] Elsewhere, the building of bridges was an appropriate activity for royal women.[41] The Empress Matilda of England (d. 1167), whose patronage was largely religious, built a bridge across the Seine.[42] Closer to Portugal, the Infanta Sancha (d. 1159, sister to Alfonso VII) built a bridge across the Bernesga near San Marcos in León in 1152.[43] The church of Santa Maria de Sobretâmega was built in honor of an apparition of the Virgin Mary which was said to have occurred nearby; in this regard, Mafalda's legendary status as

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[38] Figanière, *Memorias*, pp. 49–51, no. 1, pp. 222–22: "E destas portageens que eu assi leixo ao meu spital de canaveses se repairara sempre bem e compridamente o paaço que pera ello leixo ordenado. O qual stara sempre limpo e bem repairado de telha e Madeira E com boas portas fechadas porque os peregrines que hi albergarem non recebam algum desaguisado . . ." reiterated in a charter given by her great-grandson Dinis and then again by Alfonso IV (Doc. 2).

[39] "Tâo solidamente foi construida, que, apesar de ter morrido a sua fundadora ha 707 annos, tem-se conservado até agora com ligeiras reparações, e promette longa duração," I. de Vilhena Barbosa, "Villa de Canaveses," *Archivo Pittoresco*, 7 (1864), pp. 257–258, p. 258. Regarding the destruction of the bridge, see http://monumentosdesaparecidos.blogspot.com/2009_12_01_archive.html; accessed 18 May 2010.

[40] Vilhena Barbosa, "Villa de Canaveses," p. 257.

[41] And in other regions, for elite women in general: in this same volume, see the study by Nancy L. Wicker, "Nimble-Fingered Maidens in Scandinavia: Women as Artists and Patrons."

[42] Marjorie Chibnall, "The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), pp. 35–48, p. 47.

[43] María Encarnación Martín López, ed. "Colección documental de la Infanta Doña Sancha (1118–1159). Estudio crítico," in *León y su Historia. Miscelánea Histórica* (León, 2003), vol. 7, no. 60.

the founder of the Cult of Santa Maria da Silva also has to be taken into account.[44]

The legend of the origins of the cult of Nossa Senhora da Silva tells the story of a vision, image, or statue of the Virgin Mary appearing to Queen Mafalda in the woods (possibly a quarry) near the site where the Cathedral of Porto remained under construction. Subsequently devoted to this image, Mafalda left numerous donations to the altar constructed in its honor in the cathedral, including clothes and jewels believed to be kept in the cathedral treasury as late as the nineteenth century. No medieval documents verify either the cult or Mafalda's patronage of the altar. However, her testament is cited as leaving to the Cathedral of Porto a farm with its wheat fields and buildings.[45] In the late sixteenth century, the cult was first written about by the geographer João de Barros; in 1595, the confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Silva was founded, and only early in the next century was the cult associated with Queen Mafalda.[46] These facts present a challenge to the idea that Mafalda initiated and patronized the cult, but the kernels of truth hidden in legends should not be dismissed out of hand. Clearly, the cult pre-existed the confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Silva, and its association with Mafalda most likely did as well. Her will demonstrates that she did have a patronage relationship with Porto; its fragmentary state, therefore, cannot rule out her potential bequest of jewels and precious clothes or an altar, or even the transformation of the profits of a farm into such goods.[47]

Mafalda's successor as queen-consort was Dulce of Aragón, wife of Sancho I. Dulce's discernable patronage activity was primarily civic—as in the case of Mafalda, her sponsorship may have prompted some secular building. Dulce gave a number of foral, or town, charters.[48] Her civic building included a marina for the town of Lavos and a hospital at Poiares.[49]

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[44] *España Sagrada*, vol. 21, pp. 239–40.

[45] Pinto Ferreira, *Nossa Senhora da Silva*, p. 108. Citing António Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitania*, 3rd part, vol. 3, p. 190.

[46] Pinto Ferreira, *Nossa Senhora da Silva*, pp. 36, 107.

[47] This argument is inspired by—if it does not precisely imitate—the method of "partnering with the past" employed by Nolan in investigating destroyed monuments. *Queens in Stone and Silver*, p. 13.

[48] *Documentos Sancho I*, nos. 61, 82. An interesting charter dated tentatively to 1186 shows Dulce with her daughters confirming a charter of protection to the Muslims ("mouros") of Lisbon, Almada, Palmela, and Alcácer by Afonso Henriques. *Documentos Sancho I*, no. 224.

[49] In Lavos, Bishop Pedro of Coimbra granted a foral charter to M. Ficala and G. Peres et alia… "de una nostra marina quam regina domine Dulcia fundavit, in termino vestre

Furthermore, Dulce provides an example of how extracting a woman from her family group and attempting to analyze her patronage independently may not be the most effective or appropriate way to understand her. Like queens before and after her, Dulce was included in most of her husband's charters, and so we should consider her relationship to his patronage activities, with the continued construction of Alcobaça as a prime example.[50] Dulce's influence may be observed, furthermore, in a more oblique way, as she and Sancho, using especially Dulce's properties (notably Poiares, Bouças, Torres Vedras, and Alenquer) situated their daughters to become powerful religious figures and great monastic patrons.

Dulce has been associated with one particularly fine example of Portuguese *ouversaria*, or gold metalwork (Fig. 3). A beautiful chalice of gold-plated silver, now housed in the Museu de Alberto Sampaio in Guimarães, is inscribed around the base: "EMCCXXV Rex Sanci et Regina Dulcia offerunt calicem istum Santa Marine de Costa" (Era 1225 [1187 AD] King Sancho and Queen Dulce offer this chalice to Santa Marinha de Costa). Interestingly, this gift is usually attributed to Dulce alone, although the cup itself does not substantiate this, nor does any other contemporary documentation.[51] This may be because of Santa Marinha's association with Dulce's predecessor as queen, Mafalda; the chalice is the first identifiable example of a Portuguese queen's (or queen and king's) artistic patronage of a type which, as we will see, later became much more common.[52]

The last generation of queens under consideration here includes Urraca of Castile, wife of Afonso II, along with his sister-queens Teresa, Sancha, and Mafalda. It is significant that Afonso II's heir, Sancho II (r. 1223–1248), had no official queen-consort and was replaced by his

ville de Lavos." *Livro Preto*, no. 659. In 1249 Teresa reissued the foral charter her mother had previously given to Ervedal, and confirmed the *albergaria* (hospital) of Poiares which Dulce had given the town earlier. *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica Leges et Consuetudines* (Lisbon, 1864), vol. 1, fasc. 4, p. 633. Figanière, *Memorias*, on Poiares: p. 62.

[50] *Documentos de D. Sancho I*, nos. 36, 49, 81, and 102.

[51] Caldas, *Guimarães*, p. 362; Museu Alberto Sampaio, http://masampaio.imc-ip.pt/pt-PT/colec/ouriv; accessed 1 December 2010.

[52] A second chalice, now housed at the Museu de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, is said to have been given by Dulce to Alcobaça. It has no inscription and no documentary record confirms such a gift. The gift of a chalice itself was not particularly innovative. The Portuguese chalice might be compared with one offered after 1063 to San Isidoro by Urraca Fernández (d. 1101), daughter of Fernando I and Queen Sancha of León. Urraca was an important counselor to her brother Alfonso VI. Martin, *Queen as King*, p. 149, and Color Plate 1 in the present volume. Sancho and Dulce's chalice also prefigures those given by their daughter Mafalda in the following century; see discussion below.

Figure 3 Chalice, ca. 1185. Alberto Sampaio Museum, Guimarães, Portugal (Photo: M. Shadis).

brother Afonso III, former count of Boulogne, in 1248.[53] Urraca of Castile (1187–1220) married the future Afonso II in about 1208; she bore four children, was named as a potential regent for her children and the kingdom of Portugal, was included in many of her husband's charters (but never appeared to act independently), and died young, predeceasing her husband in 1220. Urraca's will survives, as does her legendary status as a patron of the Five Martyrs of Morocco, Franciscan missionaries sponsored by the royal family between 1217 and 1220.[54]

In 1216, envoys of Francis of Assisi arrived in Portugal with the intent of establishing a series of convents there, but more significantly seeking martyrdom in Morocco.[55] Under the protection of Queen Urraca, Zacarias and Guatier established Franciscan convents in Coimbra, Lisbon, and Guimarâes. In Alenquer, however, Zacarias was patronized by Urraca's sister-in-law Sancha; it is possible that Urraca had sent them to her.[56] Sancha, in part becaused she lived longer than Urraca, would become the Franciscans' great patron in Portugal. The connection between Urraca and Sancha becomes more meaningful when we realize that Sancha was alienated from her brother's court, fighting with him over the possession of Alenquer, which she would eventually turn over to the Franciscans for their use. Urraca's potential intervention in favor of her sister-in-law in this fraternal dispute would be significant as an effort to establish both a patronage and a political identity separate from her husband's. At the very least it demonstrates a good example of female networking. In any case, Urraca's patronage moved towards a more evangelistic and missionary mode, promoted by the Franciscans, and away from more traditional monastic orders such as the Cistercians or the Augustinians, still favored by the royal family. This may be seen as a sign of an effort to rectify her relatively weak personal status at the Portuguese court.

Legends of the Five Martyrs of Morocco have variations, with the oldest written version appearing in 1262 by Jordan de Giano. The legend,

[53] Mencia Lopes de Haro (ca. 1215–ca. 1270), who was not accepted as Sancho II's legitimate wife, certainly called herself queen; Figanière, *Memorias*, no. 9: "M. Dei gratia Regina Portug." Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, p. 252.

[54] Shadis, *Berenguela*, pp. 4, 177–78, notes 6, 7; Lay, *Reconquest Kings*, pp. 245–46.

[55] Christopher MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World through Franciscan Eyes," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 97/1 (2011), pp. 1–23.

[56] Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1926), p. 136. Figanière, *Memorias*, pp. 74, 236; Atanasio López, *La Provincia de España de los Frailes Menores: apuntes histórico-críticos sobre los orígenes de la Orden Franciscana en España* (Santiago, 1915), p. 17.

however, had already been circulating in St. Francis' lifetime.[57] The basic story is as follows:

Around the year 1219, a group of Franciscan friars, intent on preaching in Morocco, made their way to Portugal where they were received by Queen Urraca. She, the story goes, was so inspired by their willingness to die for their faith that—either wishing to identify with their probable martyrdom or hoping that their obvious sanctity gave them special access to the Divine—she asked them to pray to God to reveal the hour of her death. In some of the later versions, Urraca asked to know who would die first, she herself, or her husband the king. The friars demurred, saying that they were mere mortals, sinners, and did not dare to ask to know the will of God. Undeterred, the queen continued to implore them, weeping, until they finally relented and reported back to her the happy news: she would die when their bones were returned to Coimbra after their (now certain) martyrdom. In the versions in which she asked whether she would die before her husband, the answer was that whoever saw the relics of the martyrs first would die first.

Urraca did, in fact, die in early November of 1220, at about the time the martyrs' bones were recovered by King Afonso's brother Pedro, and brought to Coimbra.[58] What may be to modern eyes a coincidence nonetheless became the basis for the legendary articulation of the queen's piety and the martyrs' righteousness, and the promise of salvation that can only come through death. The martyrs' relics became the inspiration for several reliquaries, but as Urraca had died before the arrival of the relics, she could not have contributed to these developments.[59]

It is to Urraca's will, therefore, that we turn in hopes that it might best testify to her sponsorship of art or architecture—but it does not. In fact, the will, which left numerous financial bequests to a variety of religious foundations, was itself challenged and revised by Urraca's husband, who reduced and redistributed her wealth—thus intervening in any poten-

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[57] Andrés Ivars, "Los mártires de Marruecos de 1220 en la literatura hispano-lusitana," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 14 (1920), pp. 344–81; MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World," pp. 3–4. See also James D. Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 90 (2004), pp. 1–28.

[58] According to one late version of the legend, Urraca brought their bones to Santa Cruz, initiating their cult. This is, however, inconsistent with the fact of her death in the same year, and probably before their martyrdom. Ryan, "Missionary Saints," p. 10.

[59] Ryan identifies some of these reliquaries, which will be discussed in the context of Sancha's patronage, below, but is in error about the roles of some of the queens involved. "Missionary Saints," pp. 11–12.

tial making of art or architecture such bequests might have prompted. Urraca did choose Alcobaça as her burial place ("mando corpus meum in monasterio alcupacie") with a bequest of 2,000 *morabitinos* for memorial masses to be celebrated in perpetuity. She similarly endowed the bishops and chapters of Braga, Lisbon, and Coimbra.[60] The identity of Urraca's tomb at Alcobaça has been somewhat contested; the plain sarcophagus with her name added to it in later centuries offers no indication of artistic intent or effort. Another tomb, attributed as well to Queen Beatriz (d. 1303, wife of Afonso III) depicts a highly stylized portrayal of a queen, surrounded by apostles and possibly mourning children—certainly appropriate for a royal mother whose children were all still young (under fifteen years of age) when she died (Fig. 4). Urraca was memorialized by masses rather than art and architecture—a potentially creative and aesthetic, but ephemeral legacy.[61] More significantly, Afonso's intervention demonstrates the changing status of the queen at the Portuguese court. Afonso acted to contain queenship as it had been practiced in previous generations in Portugal—confining it to the queen-consort, whose own role as partner to the king was increasingly circumscribed. Afonso's agenda was powerfully expressed in his conflict with his sisters Teresa, Sancha, and Mafalda.

By the time the last of the sister-queens, Mafalda, died in 1256, the nature of queenship in Portugal had changed along with the nature of the monarchy itself under Afonso III's rule. Primarily, daughters were no longer included in royal documentation as queens; instead, the title was altered in its dynastic significance and reserved for queen-consorts. As royal daughters' political importance was debilitated, the characteristics of their patronage—and their "making" of art and architecture—also changed. Thus, the careers of Afonso III's aunts, especially Teresa, Sancha, and Mafalda, mark a watershed, illuminating first the unusual nature of queenship in Portugal's first century as an independent realm, then the contested arena of religious and royal patronage which served dual purposes of binding the church to the monarchy and empowering the church independently; and finally, emphasizing the traditional locus of the sacred on the female members of the royal family.

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[60] Figanière, *Memorias*, no. 6, Urraca's will; no. 7, Afonso II's revisions of his wife's testament. On the disputed identity of the tomb, see Rodrigues, *Alcobaça*, p. 93.

[61] In their own time, such ritual commemoration might have been at least as significant to the deceased and their heirs; see Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, p. 7, citing Elizabeth A.R. Brown's study of burial policies at Saint-Denis in France.

Figure 4 Tomb of Urraca of Castile, Alcobaça, Portugal, ca. 1230 (Photo: M. Shadis).

Teresa (d. 1250) was an extraordinarily influential woman, and it seems almost incredible to suggest that as such she would not have been a patron of art and architecture. Queen of León from 1190 to 1194, she founded the Cistercian convent of Villabuena in León and more significantly was responsible for the female Cistercian reform of Lorvão between 1200 and 1220.[62] She was also deeply involved in her sister Sancha's foundation of Cellas, about which more will be said below. However, despite the thorough-going character of her religious involvement, no specific building projects or commissions or even any works of art, such as altars, crucifixes, chalices, or books, are attributed to her. It seems highly unlikely that she was uninterested in such patronage, but rather more likely that researchers have not yet begun to explore in this direction. In the case of her sister Sancha, there is a bit more evidence. Sancha used her inheritance to found the female Cistercian monastery of Cellas in the early 1220s (Fig. 5). By the time of her death in 1228, construction must have only just begun; the direction of the convent was taken over by Teresa, who appears to have been Sancha's heir. A cartulary fragment from Cellas records a charter made by Teresa, probably soon after Sancha's death, stating that "Queen lady S. of blessed memory commanded and taught that the monastery of Cellas of Vimarenes should be built and commanded that it should be established under the rule of Saint Benedict."[63] The documentary evidence is strong that Sancha was dedicated to the consolidation of property for the monastery, and she probably would have directed the consequent construction of the abbey as well. Sancha was also believed, however, to be the force behind the creation of the first reliquary for the Five Martyrs of Morocco, which is now kept in the Museu de Machado de Castro in Coimbra (Fig. 6). Like her mother's chalice, but even more significantly like the extensive number of material objects known to have been used and possibly commissioned by her sister Mafalda, the limestone Five Martyrs reliquary represents a shift in the nature of queens' patronage from the monumental to the personal and particular—as well

[62] Villabuena is near Carracedo in León. *Cartulario de Santa María de Carracedo 992–1500*, ed. Martín Martínez Martínez (Ponferrada, 1997), vol. 1, nos. 173, 174, et cetera (1228–1250). Julio González, *Alfonso IX* (Madrid, 1944), vol. 1, p. 310. ANTT-Lorvão, maços 7 and 9. Bernardo de Brito, *Chronica Cister* (Lisbon, 1602), folios 452r–457v.

[63] "Regina domina S. bone memorie qn mandauit et precepit qd construeretur monasterium de cellis de vimarenes et mandauit qd stabiliretur ibidem ordo sub regula sci benedicti." ANTT-Cellas 4–1 (Charter V, folio 67r.) Charter KK (69r) records Sancha's gift of a mill (the shares of which she had methodically purchased over time) "qs construxi ad opus dictarum cellarum" of Cellas in 1222. Brito, *Chronica Cister*, folios 457v–459r.

Figure 5 Cellas, cloister, ca. 1230 (Photo: Mário Novais/Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation).

Figure 6 Five Martyrs Reliquary, 14th c. (Photo: Museu de Castro Machado/Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P/Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica).

as a shift in current scholars' abilities to identify such patronage. The reliquary is now thought to be of fourteenth-century provenance, associated with the stylistic innovations of Mestre Pêro. However, it is also thought to derive from the atelier at Lorvão, which was responsible for the capitals at Cellas—the site of Sancha's patronage.[64]

Teresa and Sancha's youngest sister, Mafalda, is an apt subject to examine royal women's potential roles as makers of art and architecture, owing to three aspects of her life: first, the conceptualization of queenship which attached to her; second, her role as patron, abbess, and reformer of the monastery of São Pedro e São Paulo de Arouca; and third, her will, which detailed a large number of deluxe items in her possession, some of which may yet be identified in the Museu de Arte Sacra of Arouca and elsewhere. Unlike the queens who came before her—her mother, aunts, grandmother, and great-grandmother, Mafalda represents (along with her sisters) a shift in the status of queenship and its role in the first generations of the Portuguese monarchy. This is owing to a change in the Portuguese political story—essentially the concentration of legitimacy in the person of the king, who simultaneously had overseen the extension of the Portuguese dominion and the end of the reconquest.[65]

Like her sisters Teresa and Sancha, Mafalda was called "queen" all of her life—first and primarily as a daughter of Sancho I. Some historians have suggested that Mafalda's "queenship" can be explained by her short, unconsummated marriage to Enrique I of Castile, as her sister Teresa's queenship can be (legitimately) explained by her brief marriage to Alfonso IX of León; however, both sisters, like their sister Sancha who never married, were acknowledged as queens in their youth by their father and family. Thus, Mafalda was, fundamentally, a queen of Portugal. From childhood, Mafalda was associated with the Benedictine monastery of Bouças, which she received from her mother.[66] However, eventually Mafalda moved with a group of nuns to Arouca. Arouca was an ancient Benedictine foundation, operating very much as a proprietary church in the form of a double monastery. Under the patronage of Toda Viegas, who governed the abbey

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[64] Maria José Goulão, *Expressões Artísticas do Universo Medieval* (Lisbon, 2009), p. 16; Ryan, "Missionary Saints," pp. 11–13.

[65] This development took place over generations, but began with the assertion of kingship and the expansion of the realm by Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, continued with the legal innovations of Afonso II, and completed with the innovations and conquests of Afonso III. See Lay, *Reconquest Kings*.

[66] *Documentos de Sancho I*, no. 92: "vobis filia nostra regina domna Mahalda."

from about 1114 to 1154, it became a female convent.[67] Mafalda became associated with the institution sometime in the late 1190s, when she was under the tutelage of the noblewoman Urraca Viegas. In 1199, Urraca Viegas gave half of her estate to Mafalda, whom she described as "my foster daughter queen lady Mafalda, whom I received in the place of a daughter;" it was probably around this time that Urraca Viegas joined the convent herself, and perhaps Mafalda with her.[68]

Throughout her association with the convent, Mafalda was always referred to, and referred to herself, as "regina."[69] Around 1215– 1216 Mafalda was removed from the convent (we can assume by her brother, Afonso II) and sent to be married to the young king of Castile, Enrique I. Mafalda resisted marriage at least on one level, and the marriage was disrupted by the king's sister Berenguela, who brought the couple's consanguinity to the attention of Pope Innocent III.[70] Mafalda returned to Portugal and her convent, virginity intact, and soon thereafter reconciled with her brother, who took all of Mafalda's goods, rights, and men under his protection.[71] In the following years, Mafalda was very active on Arouca's behalf, buying, selling, giving, and endorsing property exchanges. Followed by an impressive entourage, she always referred to herself as "domna Maphalda Dei gratia regina," and was consistently called "regina Maphalda" by others.[72] Around 1224 Mafalda introduced the Cistercian Order to the monastery;

[67] Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O Mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII* (Coimbra, 1977), pp. 166–67. See also *Cartulario de D. Maior Martins, século XIII*, ed. Filomeno Amaro Soares da Silva (Arouca, 2001).

[68] "alumpne mee regine domne Maphalda quam recepi loco filie," *Arouca*, no. 171. After a long and active secular career as a wife and mother, Urraca is finally referred to as a "miona"—a nun—in 1201. *Arouca*, no. 175. At this stage of the research, the sources are silent about Mafalda's life at Arouca in the last decade of her father's reign, except for one intriguing phrase which may hint that the eventual open conflict between the king's children was already brewing. In 1209, Pedro Peres and his wife Cristina sold a piece of property to Pedro Anes; the relevant charter is unremarkable except for the dating clause: it was "written in Togina and when Pedro Peres was in Arouca [and] held the right from the queen against the claim of her brother" ("scripta in Togina e quando fuerit Petro Petrit Arouqua a regina teneat rectum contra suo iermano"). *Arouca*, no. 197. As Sancho had not yet made his controversial will in 1209, it seems as likely that "suo iermano" refers to Pedro Peres' brother. In any case, the charter suggests Mafalda operating as an active lord.

[69] For example, *Arouca*, nos. 203, 211; see note 71 below as well.

[70] Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanie, sive, Historia Gothica* (Turnhout, 1987), pp. 92, 283; Shadis, *Berenguela*, pp. 60, 95, 205, note 125; Brito, *Chronica Cister*, folios 466r–v.

[71] *Arouca*, nos. 214, 223.

[72] *Arouca*, nos. 218, 220, 223, 229, 230, 234, 237, 239, 241, and 244. *Cartulario de Maior Martins*, nos. 148, 154.

this was in the wake of her sister Teresa's Cistercian reform at Lorvão.[73] As in the case of Lorvão, there is no indication of architectural reform to match the spiritual reform. In fact, we might not particularly expect a Cistercian reconstruction of the physical plant as Arouca was a female, royal institution, and perhaps not subject to the usual Cistercian aesthetic—comparable in this way to Las Huelgas in Burgos.[74] The medieval monastery was completely rebuilt in the early eighteenth century.[75]

Concerning material culture, Mafalda's impact is made far more clear (and rather far from any Cistercian aesthetic) by the terms of her will, made in 1256. This generous testament reveals an extraordinarily wealthy individual, who left a number of estates to Arouca. She also left to the monastery, with the express condition that they should always remain there, her "good psalter," a series of devotional items made of ivory including a number of small crucifixes; her chapel, along with her "great crucifix," and a series of reliquaries made of silver with their relics.[76] Finally, along with "all her Saracens not yet freed or converted," she gave all her silver to the "opus"—the work—of the altar of Arouca. Mafalda also left a great number of domestic items—mattresses and other furniture, panels of silk, cattle, sheep, houses, and more deluxe objects such as mirrors and beads of coral, crystal, and other gems to a variety of institutions and individuals. She continued to endow Bouças for the illumination of the altar. An item of note was a bronze mace, given to her half-sister Constança Sanches (1204?–1269), who was associated with the Augustinian college at Santa Cruz; finally, a book of the hours of the Blessed Virgin, covered in silver, was given to another half-sister, Urraca Sanches (also at Arouca.)[77]

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[73] *Arouca*, nos. 240, 246.

[74] Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and Her Daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile," in *Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996), pp. 202–27; James D'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform and Artistic Change," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, 6 (2005), pp. 191–282.

[75] Manuel Joaquim Moreira da Rocha, "Luz e cor: a ambience na arquitectura analise da igreja e do coro do mosteiro de Santa Maria de Arouca," in *Actas III Congreso Internacional sobre El Cister en Galicia y Portugal, LXXV Aniversario de la Restauración de Obiera Año Santo Mariano* (Ourense, 2006), vol. 1, p. 565.

[76] Rodrigues, *O Modo Românico*, p. 54.

[77] "Testamentum Sanctae Reginae D. Mafaldae Araucensis Coenobii fundatricis," Antonio Caetano de Sousa, ed., *Provas do Liv. I da Historia Genealogia da Casa Real Portuguesa* (1739; rpr. Coimbra, 1946), eds. M. Lopes de Almeida and César Pegado, vol. 1, pp. 39–40. For Constança Sanches, see Diogo Vivas, "Constança Sanches. Algumas observações em torno de uma bastarda régia," *Clio: Revista de História de Universidade de Lisboa*, 16/17 (2008), pp. 223–41.

Mafalda's "great crucifix" has been tentatively identified with the medieval crucifix at Nosso Senhor de Matosinhos, also known as the statue of Bom Jesus de Matosinhos. Joel Cleto convincingly argues that the statue, which was definitely associated with the monastery of Bouças at some point, was made in the thirteenth century.[78] A more likely extant item of Mafalda's will may be found at the Museu de Arte Sacra at Arouca, which possesses a "diptych reliquary" of French origin, made of gold-plated silver and depicting the Annunciation, dated to about 1220 and associated with Mafalda (Fig. 7).

On the one hand, Mafalda's will provides enormous detail about the nature of a woman's possessions and their artistic quality, as well as the potential of her patronage; on the other hand, whereas Mafalda's predecessors appear to have invested on a monumental scale (building cathedrals, hospitals, and public works), the results of Mafalda's patronage can mostly be held in two hands: it was small, private, personal. Earlier queens certainly may have commissioned, collected, and distributed small deluxe items: we could compare, for example, the spectacular and rich list of vestments, chalices, crowns, crosses, and books donated to the monastery of Bec by the English Empress Matilda, or the chalice attributed to Dulce (see Fig. 3).[79] Sources are incomplete, but to all appearances the difference is that Mafalda's will demonstrates not only wealth and generosity, but also limitations. Her patronage does not approach the scale of earlier queens' involvement with cathedrals, bridges, and the like. And while her sister Sancha retained the title "queen," her patronage also was not primarily royal, linked to the function of the monarchy, but rather was monastic. It was, like the sister-queens themselves, cloistered.

A veritable litany of woes confronts the historian who wishes to study the physical remains of royal female patronage from early Portugal, and the methodological questions are equally vexed. What is the relationship of patronage to the making of art and architecture? How did women's wealth translate into actual buildings, books, reliquaries, and the like? We find hints in the legends associated with some of these queens, in the physical remains of their more monumental endeavors, and in Sancha's

[78] Joel Cleto, *Lord of Matosinhos. Legend. History. Heritage (Synthesis). Senhor de Matosinhos* (Matosinhos, 2007), pp. 149–70. He prefers Bishop Geraldo Domingues to Mafalda as the owner of the statue, but leaves open the possibility of Mafalda as a patron, and furthermore does not seem to realize the mention of Bouças as a beneficiary of Mafalda's will, which would make the connection between Mafalda and the crucifix stronger.

[79] Chibnall, "Empress Matilda," pp. 47–48.

Figure 7a Exterior, silver reliquary, 13th c. (Photo: Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca).

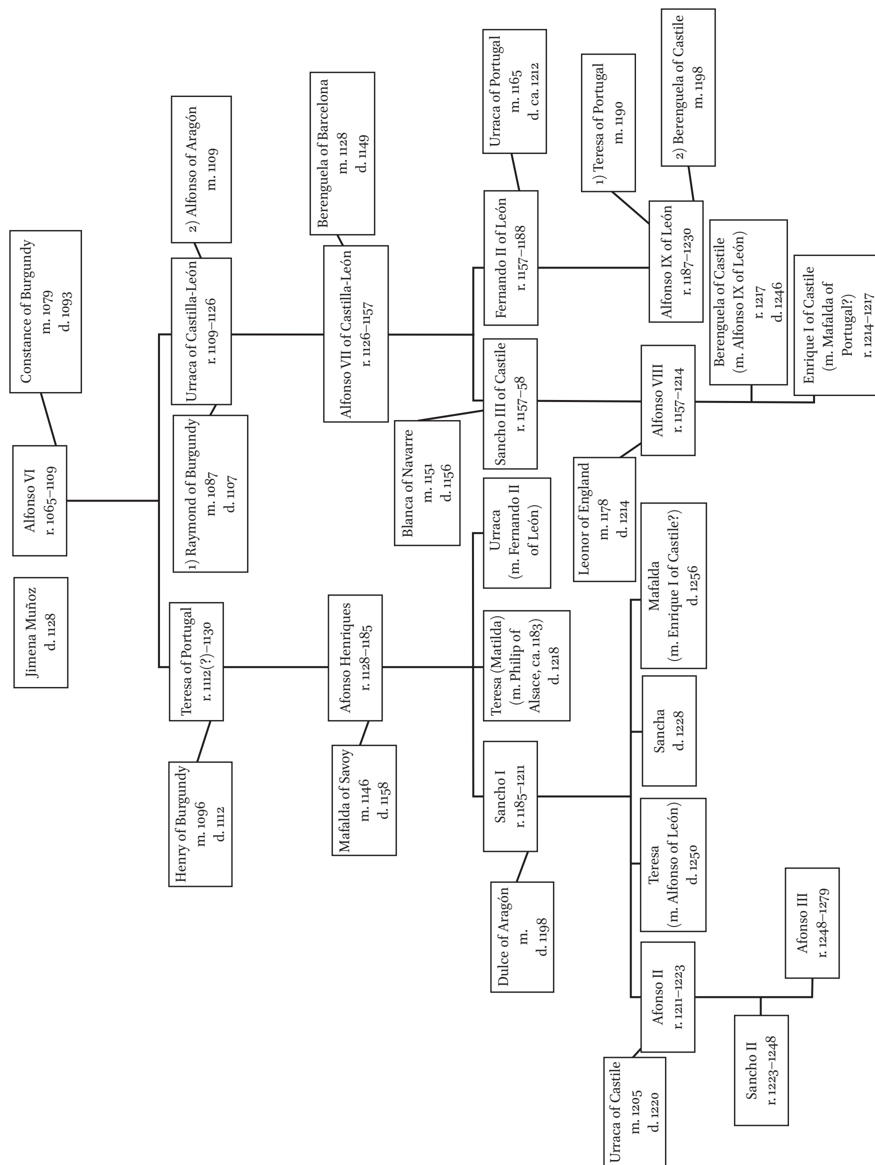
Figure 7b Interior, silver reliquary, 13th c. (Photo: Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca).

expenditure of wealth and accumulation of property for Cellas. The question remains how patronage, which was primarily political, as it was in the reign of Teresa I, or civic, as it was during Dulce's queenship manifested itself in the realm of art and architecture.

If we consider the history of queenship in early Portugal to have a kind of shape to it—an appropriate concept for the themes of making art and architecture—then we see an arc of female investment that finds its end in the dispersal of the goods of queen Mafalda to individuals and favorite establishments, and her investment in small elements of buildings and deluxe objects. This may serve as a metaphor for the state of queenship. Mafalda was the last of the daughter/sister-queens, the last of the medieval queens of Portugal who were not the kings' consorts. The family-based monarchy from which they derived their status as queens was no longer operative; this is perhaps best exemplified by the Church of Alcobaça, completed in their lifetimes, but without their participation or burial there.

This essay has attempted to trace the development of royal women's patronage in Portugal in the first generations of an independent Portuguese monarchy, suggesting that the nature of that patronage may have changed over time, as the nature of queenship itself changed. At the same time, I have suggested ways in which we might excavate royal women's patronage through chronicles, documents of practice, and even legend. The remaining physical evidence—especially small items such as chalices, reliquaries, book covers, and crucifixes—suggests connections between charitable impulses and artistic production. The cathedrals of Porto, Braga, and Coimbra; the monasteries of Santa Cruz, Santa Marinha da Costa, Lorvão, Bouças, Alcobaça, Cellas; the communities of Soure, Lavos, Canaveses, and Poiares: all were connected with the patronage of early Portuguese queens and with the building of the realm. Portuguese queens continued to endow, to construct, and to lend status to the Portuguese monarchy, but with the reconquest complete—thus Portugal "complete"—and queenship subsequently reconfigured, their patronage operated in a different capacity, no longer serving to buttress the identity of the Portuguese monarchy in the same monumental way.

Appendix



PART FIVE

PIETY AND AUTHORITY

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SUBVERSIVE OBEDIENCE. IMAGES OF SPIRITUAL REFORM BY AND FOR FIFTEENTH-CENTURY NUNS[1]

Jane Carroll

It has become a trope in studies of nuns and art to state that, in the majority of convents, book and art production followed reform. Like all tropes, this statement restates in simple form a richly complex truth. One case study that can provide the needed nuance to this truth is that of the *Schwesternbuch* from the Swiss convent of Töss[2] near Winterthur, written around 1340 by Elsbeth Stagel[3] (ca. 1300–ca. 1360), and copied and illuminated over a hundred years later in the reformed Dominican convent of St. Katharine's in Nuremberg (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 10a, ca. 1450–1470, fol. 3r, Fig. 1).[4] Exploring this manuscript, the only known illustrated *Schwesternbuch* from any country, provides a gloss to that trope

[1] I wish to thank Therese Martin and Anne Winston-Allen for their close reading of this essay. Their suggestions have improved it greatly.

[2] The modern spelling for the site is Töss, while the spelling most used for the *Schwesternbuch's* title is Tößs. This essay will use both spellings to make that distinction.

[3] Questions surrounding Elsbeth Stagel's authorship have existed since the essay by Klaus Grubmüller, "Die Viten der Schwestern von Töß und Elsbeth Stagel," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 98 (1969), pp. 171–203. The ongoing debate is discussed in Frank Tobin, "Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel. Was the *Vita* a Cooperative Effort?" in *Gendered Voices. Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 118–35; and David Tinsley, "Gender, Paleography, and the Question of Authorship in Late Medieval Dominican Spirituality," *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 26 (1998), pp. 23–31. For the purpose of this study, Stagel will be referred to as the author, following the belief of the fifteenth century.

[4] The manuscript is composed in two parts with the second section housed in the Wroclaw University Library (Cod. IV F 194a). This second part contains six historiated initials. It continues the Oetenbach Schwesternbuch, and continues with the *Leben der Adelheid von Freiburg und der Margarethe Stülinger*, the *Chronik des Inselklosters St. Michael in Bern*, and Caspar Kress's *Legende der hl. Euphrasia*. It is briefly examined in Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, "Die Fortsetzung des Oetenbacher Schwesternbuchs und andere vermißte Texte in Breslau," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 124 (1995), pp. 201–10. I have not yet been able to examine this volume and thus will not include it in this essay. The first volume is discussed in Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, vol. 1, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 67–69. We know little about Elsbeth except that she was born into a Zurich patrician family and entered the convent of Töss in 1337. For more on Elsbeth Stagel, see Alois Haas, "Elsbeth Stagelin," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Burghart Wachinger, 14 vols (Berlin, 1995),

Figure 1 Elsbeth Stagel writing (fol. 3ra), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

and offers a glimpse at a fifteenth-century moment when the nuns' agency and the reformers' goals found a delicate compromise.

In the prologue affixed to the fifteenth-century Nuremberg exemplar of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, the reform-minded Dominican Johannes Meyer (1422–1484) stated that he wrote out the text of the earlier Töss *vitae* for the scriptorium at St. Katharine's. He further amended the sister-book by adding a life of Elsbeth Stagel to the beginning material and a life of the mother of Heinrich Seuse (ca. 1295–ca. 1366), as well as a *vita* for Elizabeth of Hungary (1292–1338) at the end (fol. 67vb, Fig. 2).[5] Meyer may have focused on the Töss *Nonnenviten* rather than other fourteenth-century Dominican sister-books, such as Adelhausen or Engelthal, because of Elsbeth Stagel's long friendship with her spiritual advisor, the great mystic Heinrich Seuse.[6] Certainly the importance Meyer conferred upon the *vitae* is reflected in its careful execution at St. Katharine's. Klara Keiperin, the mistress of the convent's books after 1457, was one of three scribes who copied the volume, and the extensive illustration cycle was executed by the workshop of Barbara Gewichtmacherin (d. 1491).[7] The corrected manuscript is easy to read and joyously colorful.

As in any work copied from an earlier source, two agendas are simultaneously present in the volume. When dealing with a fifteenth-century

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vol. 9, cols. 219–223; Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, "Elsbeth Stagel," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. Marcel Viller, 17 vols (Paris, 1960), vol. 4, pp. 588–89.

[5] The additions and changes to the Töss chronicle are outlined in the Introduction found in Elsbeth Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ed. Ferdinand Vetter, in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1906), pp. vii–xxvi. Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles. Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, 2004), pp. 13–14, explains that Meyer amended the original *Töß* manuscript with his prologue and epilogue, as well as the biography of Seuse's mother. Seuse and Stagel corresponded for years about spiritual matters. Elizabeth of Hungary was a sister at Töss and the daughter of King Andrew III of Hungary (ca. 1265–1301). She was never a queen, although called one in the *Schwesternbuch*.

[6] In addition, the Töss stories have fewer visions connected with illness and death than most other *Nonnenviten*, whose tales often seem to follow a bout of extreme ill health on the part of the visionary.

[7] Klara Keiperin, née Baumgartner, was a Nuremberg patrician who was born in 1424, married in 1439, widowed in 1442, entered St. Katharine's in 1447, and died in 1498. During her time in the convent, she wrote all or part of eighteen manuscripts. Barbara Gewichtmacherin came to Nuremberg with a second group of reforming sisters from the cloister at Schönensteinbach (Alsace) in 1445. The two known manuscripts on which she worked as a scribe (Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek, Cent VII, 34 and Cent VI, 100) are in Alsatian and dedicated to her Prioress Gertrud Gewichtmacherin and Subprioress Ursula Tötin, both from Schönensteinbach. Barbara is better known as the illustrator of several texts from St. Katharine's. Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. XX–XXI, XXIX, 67–68.

Figure 2 St. Elizabeth of Hungary (fol. 67vb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

copy of a fourteenth-century work, it is necessary to tease apart the original purpose of the piece from its repurposed intent. Three major forces contributed to the fourteenth-century creation of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*. As Anne Winston-Allen correctly has argued, Elsbeth Stagel worked on her *Schwesternbuch* at a time of mystical flowering within the Dominican order. Stagel and her contemporaries, who wrote similar lives of their fellow nuns, recorded these hagiographic and thaumatographic

biographies to legitimize their convents.[8] While Dominican men had been called to preach, the justification for female Dominicans, aside from prayer, was less clear. A form of validation for their existence was implied in the spiritual power of female faith exhibited in the biographies they recorded—a power gained through direct contact with God, Christ, the Virgin, or the Saints.[9] No one could question God's favor or a cloister's existence when confronted with the evidence found in these *Schwesternbücher*. The visions contained in the nuns' lives also conveyed authority to women who were normally barred from contributing to contemporary theological discussions. Winston-Allen defines this development as empowerment, while Caroline Walker Bynum interprets it as outright rebellion by an excluded group.[10] Both readings represent aspects of a multi-layered truth.

In addition, the fourteenth century worried that the original piety of the Order's founders had been lost in the subsequent hundred years. As Elsbeth Stagel lamented in her sister-book, "the love of God is beginning to decline these days in many places in the hearts of men, and one would like to hear about earlier times."[11] It was hoped that examples of earlier faith could renew fourteenth-century Dominican nuns' spiritual devotion by reminding them of the expectations and traditions of their Order. Thus the composition of the *Schwesternbuch* from Töss in the fourteenth century, as well as other such books, served the nuns both within their cloister and within the Order.

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[8] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, pp. 207–08.

[9] The contents of the *Schwesternbücher* are carefully analyzed in Hester Reed Gehring, "The Language of Mysticism in South German Convent Chronicles of the Fourteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1957. Also Walter Blank, "Die Nonnenviten des 14. Jahrhunderts. Eine Studie zur hagiographischen Literatur des Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Visionen und Lichtphänomene," Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962; Georg Kunze, "Studien zu den Nonnenviten des deutschen Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Literature im Mittelalter," Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Hamburg, 1953; Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women. The Sister-books of Fourteenth-century Germany* (Toronto, 1996); Siegfried Ringler, *Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur im Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1980); and, in part, Charlotte Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2002).

[10] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 208; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 206.

[11] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Tößß*, p. 87. "Es beginnet ietz die götlich min an fil stetten erlöschen in der menschen hertzen, und möcht ain mensch über fil zites etwas hören…" Translated and quoted in part in Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 76, further translation is my own.

As Winston-Allen has pointed out, reformed fifteenth-century Dominican sisters were encouraged to write a very different type of story. As part of the Order's broad reforms in that century, male clerics urged the nuns to record in convent chronicles their foundation history and the subsequent growth of their community.[12] These chronicles had many fewer *vitae*, focusing instead on the founding myths that stressed piety and the establishment of a continuum within which contemporary nuns could place themselves. The implication, perfect for a reform, was not to deviate from that tradition. Also in keeping with the fifteenth-century reform's focus on practical spirituality were the recurring themes of character, competence, fortitude, and industry. The result was a series of chronicles that Winston-Allen sums up as "works that were not only generated by the reform but, at the same time, sought to shape, validate, and perpetuate it."[13] The main characters were workers imbued with simple faith. This model became the preferred fifteenth-century type.

The fifteenth-century copies of earlier *Schwesternbücher*, like the Nuremberg *Töß*, also were created during this time of Dominican reform. In keeping with that movement, the series of *vitae* in *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* contains a recurring theme of faith rewarded, which corresponds to principles of the reform. The copying of an earlier manuscript also would have reinforced the fifteenth-century desire to put sisters to work. And certainly the reform's reawakened interest in the history of the Dominican Order played a part in the selection of this volume for replication.[14]

Complicating the situation is the fact that the contents of *Töß* run counter to some of the primary goals of the reform, such as its emphasis on community, skepticism about female mysticism, and containment of women within the rules of the Order. If *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* was meant to inspire the sisters of St. Katharine's, the role models it provided were not in keeping with the concerns of the church hierarchy who met at the Council of Constance (1414–1417). The Observant reform focused on stricter practices, claustration and practical work while echoing the Council's caution to clerics to be wary of accepting any female visions or revelations.[15] During the fifteenth century, a time of reimposed

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[12] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 197.

[13] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 238.

[14] As Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 14, points out, the *Schwesternbücher*'s emphasis on poverty, virtue, and spiritual devotion would provide appropriate reading matter for the reformed sisters.

[15] Ute Stargardt, "Male Clerical Authority in the Spiritual (Auto)biographies of Medieval Holy Women," in *Women as Protagonists and Poets in the German Middle Ages: An*

male authority, any female deviance was discouraged. Yet the contemporary sisters of Nuremberg painted images into their *Töß* manuscript that stressed tales of extreme piety, mystical revelation, and individual empowerment, such as that of Mezzi Sidwibrin (Sidenweberin) who had an ongoing dialogue with the Virgin and Child (fol. 23rb, Fig. 3), which she related to her fellow sisters.[16]

While the *Töß* images are, on one level, subversive to the reform, it should be noted that the Nuremberg illuminators carefully chose which events to illustrate, avoiding the flamboyantly dramatic and focusing on moments of quiet connection between individual nuns and holy figures. Although the *Töß vitae* are filled with theatrical tales of shining lights, glowing rooms, and levitating protagonists, none of those more supra-magical instances are depicted. The dramatic details of such stories made fascinating reading, but they never found visual expression. Thus the reader is left to form interior pictures of Offmya von Münchwil, ill in bed at the end of her life and seeing a light enter the room, produce a cloth and a patten, and watching as the body of Christ lies down upon the plate.[17] Similarly, the artists choose not to portray Margret von Zurich watching Sister Juliana Ritterin fill with light and float in the air, or Beli von Wintertur absorb the light of the Holy Spirit until she flew around the room.[18] These extreme events certainly would not have been acceptable to the reform hierarchy, and they would not have helped to underscore the Nuremberg sisters' emphasis on power gained through calm exhibitions of piety and sanctity.

What is stressed by the Nuremberg images is a tone of intimate personalized spirituality, which pervades the *vitae* from Töss, as well as those of the convents of Diessenhofen, Ötenbach, and Weiler, sister-books that also were copied at St. Katharine's.[19] A further complication comes from the fact that all four convents were unreformed at the time their stories

Anthology of Feminist Approaches to Middle High German Literature, ed. Albrecht Classen (Göppingen, 1991), pp. 209–10. A discussion on the censorship arising from the Council of Constance can be found in Werner Williams-Krapp, " 'Dise ding sind dennoch nit ware zeichen der heiligkeit.' Zur Bewertung mystischer Erfahrung im 15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 20 (1990), pp. 61–71.

[16] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 28–29.

[17] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 32.

[18] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 36, 41.

[19] Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. 67–69, 78–79. The *Schwesternbücher* of Töss, Diessenhofen, and Ötenbach are found in Nuremberg's Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 10a. Weiler's *vitae* are found in Cent. VI, 43b, ff. 1r–16v without illustrations.

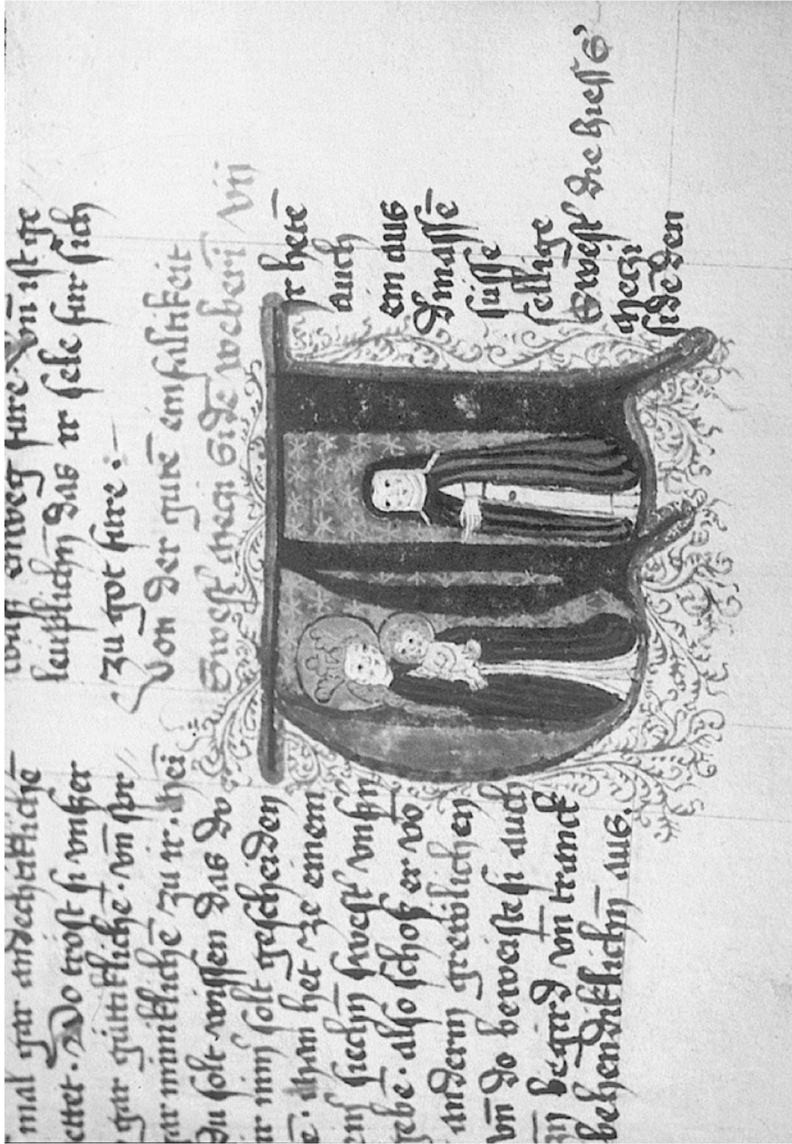

Figure 3 Mezzi Sidwibrin and the Virgin and Child (fol. 23rb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

were selected for copying at St. Katharine's.[20] If, as Bynum has stated, male religious power derived from the office held and female religious power was acquired through visions,[21] then the *Töß* illustrations and the *Schwesternbücher* tales seem to present the nuns with a path to agency at a time when possibilities were limited.

For the Nuremberg copy of *Töß* to be embraced by both the clergy who looked after the spiritual lives of the sisters, the *cura monialium*, and the nuns, it had to find a compromise that addressed observance and empowerment in a manner that each constituency could accept. On the one hand, it may be possible that the male religious viewed *Schwesternbücher*, *Töß* included, as directed at the reform, but not integral to the reform. Their stress on individual efforts and the power of faith to transform were acceptable themes within observance but not its focus. On the other hand, those same themes, with additional emphasis, also can become a call to self-empowerment—a call that the patrician daughters of St. Katharine's may have welcomed. The Nuremberg illustrations capture the ecstatic joy of piety and the personal reward of spiritual purity, while also celebrating the individual in contact with the holy. Thus the illustrated copy of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* attempted to balance these two agendas. Text and image worked in tandem to persuade the Dominican sisters of the reward of commitment, yet beneath that official rhetoric is the narrative of unmediated contact with God. To understand how and why these messages were created, it is necessary to examine more closely the illustrated copy of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* and the circumstances in which it was created.

Much is known about this volume, the book production at St. Katharine's, and the tumultuous history of reform connected to that cloister. The fifteenth-century reform was part of a larger movement that encompassed most Orders and emphasized strict observance. The plague and the Avignon papacy had loosened the oversight on many religious institutions, and in 1380 Master General of the Dominican Order Raymond of Capua

[20] Töss, Diessenhofen, and Ötenbach were never reformed and remained Conventual convents. They never rededicated themselves to a life of enclosure, prayer, and subservience to a male hierarchy. Weiler was reformed in 1478, but the St. Katharine's volume contains the hand of Sister Elisabeth Schurstabin, who left Nuremberg in either 1468 or 1472 for the convent of Maria Medingen, where she died in 1476. Thus the Weiler *Schwesternbuch* was copied before the cloister underwent reform. Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. 78–79. It should be noted that no *Schwesternbuch* or chronicle was written about St. Katharine's in Nuremberg.

[21] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, p. 22.

(ca. 1330–1399) began a reform of the religious communities under his control.[22] In 1388, the reform was broadened to include the female religious and an attempt was made to bring luxury-living Dominican nuns back to a life of discipline and proper piety. Especially appalling were the living arrangements favored by the Dominican nuns who often resided in comfort, retaining their jewels, feather beds, and linens. They were reported to be much addicted to rich food, gossip, and sloth. Such an existence ran counter to the Dominican goals of a life of voluntary poverty, religious devotion, obedience, and fasting. One house, Schönensteinbach in Alsace (founded 1397), was designated as the reform model for the province of Teutonia. There enclosure was enforced, dietary rules obeyed, and the hourly devotions performed by all. Newly devout nuns from that convent then could be sent out in groups of three to twelve to bring the remaining houses into line. In short order, the sisters of Schönensteinbach had reformed the convents of Unterlinden in Colmar (1419), the Steinen cloister of Basel (1423), St. Katherine's in Nuremberg (1428) and St. Nikolaus in undis at Strassburg (1431). These five convents became known for their intense prayer, austerity, self-reflection, inner devotion, and artistic production. All aspects of their religious life, including the making of manuscripts and tapestries, reflected the sisters' renewed commitment of their souls and hands to God's will.[23]

At St. Katharine's in Nuremberg, Meyer wrote that in 1396 and 1397 Prior Konrad of Prussia had unsuccessfully attempted to reform that wealthy convent,[24] but resistance was so great that, when he attempted

[22] The eyewitness account of this reform is found in Johannes Meyer, O.P., *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*, ed. Benedictus Maria Reichert, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1909).

[23] Much has been written about the late medieval reform of the Dominican Order; some are general histories while others focus on individual cloisters. Overviews of the reform can be found in Gabriel M. Löhr, "Die Teutonia im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien und Texte vornehmlich zur Geschichte ihrer Reform," in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1924); John Baptist Reeves, *The Dominicans* (New York, 1930); William A. Hinnebush, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. 2, *Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500* (New York, 1973); Eugen Hillenbrand, "Die Observatenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner," in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Berlin, 1989), pp. 219–71; and Benedict M. Ashley, *The Dominicans* (New York, 1990). For issues of reform as they affected the Clarissans, see, in the present volume, Eileen McKiernan González, "Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes."

[24] Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*, pp. 61–70. The story of St. Katharine's reform is discussed in T. von Kern, "Die Reformation des Katharinenklosters zu Nürnberg in Jahre 1428," *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins in Mittelfranken*, 31 (1863), pp. 1–20;

to deliver a papal bull calling for changes, two sisters threatened to hit him over the head with a large crucifix and drove him from the cloister. Afterward, in self-defense, Konrad allowed his brothers to carry bags of flour at the waist to throw in the faces of aggressive nuns. Despite this measure, the convent remained unreformed. A crisis was reached in 1428 when a wealthy widow took herself, and more importantly her fortune, to Alsace rather than live among the disorder of St. Katharine's. The Nuremberg city council was enraged at this loss of capital and requested that the Prior General bring their Dominican sisters under control.[25] With that goal in mind, ten sisters from Schönensteinbach were dispatched to Franconia (northern Bavaria).[26] For eight days, the reforming nuns were denied entrance to St. Katharine's, but with the backing of the town and the new General of the Order, Bartholomäus Texery (d. 1449), the Alsatian nuns were finally admitted and set about reforming the Franconian convent. Of the thirty-five sisters then residing at St. Katharine's, eight left for conventual cloisters, but the rest remained and recommitted themselves to the Dominican Order. The conversion of the Nuremberg nuns to observance was so complete that they in turn became the reformers for eight Dominican convents in southern Germany and Austria.[27]

Pivotal to the success of any reform was the ability to find practical work for the newly observant Dominican sisters. At St. Katharine's, as at other Dominican cloisters, it was a delicate task to find useful but undemeaning jobs for the patricians' daughters and the minor nobility housed there. In Nuremberg, the Schönensteinbach reformers reintroduced the

Johannes Kist, "Klosterreform im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, 32 (1963), pp. 31–45; and Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, pp. 110–11, 130, 146–47. Some of the initial resistance to reform may be due to the efforts of middle-class reformers to impose order on noble or patrician daughters.

[25] Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*, pp. 66–67.

[26] The ten nuns were a talented group: Gertrud Gewichtmacherin, who became the first reform prioress at St. Katharine's, Katherina von Mülheim, who became prioress at Tulln in 1466, Ursula Jotin, who became prioress at Pforzheim, Elysabeth Karlin, also a prioress at Pforzheim and a scribe, Anna Burgreffin, a subprioress at St. Katharine's, Margretha Kartheuserin, a singer and a scribe (thus also knowledgeable in Latin), Margretha Vornan, Ursula Wolsechin, Margretha Imhoff, a scribe, and Agnes Tafferin, a lay sister. They were accompanied by Brother Cunrat Spilberger. Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*, pp. 64–66.

[27] St. Katharine's took part in the reform of Tulln in Austria (1436), Pforzheim (1443), Heilig Grab in Bamberg (1451), Altenhohenau (1465), Maria Medingen by Dillingen (1467 and 1472), Heilig Kreuz in Regensburg (1476 and 1483), Gotteszell in Gmünd (1478), and Engelthal (1512). Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*, pp. 65–66; Lotte Kurras, "Ein Bildzeugnis der Reformtätigkeit des Nürnberger Katharinenklosters für Regensburg," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 68 (1981), pp. 293–296.

tradition of singing and writing. Soon after the Alsatian nuns' arrival at St. Katharine's, books began to be copied in vast numbers, both for consumption within the convent and to be sent to other institutions.[28] The Franconian sisters expanded their output by producing tapestries, woodcuts, and illuminations, as well as the manuscripts.

The St. Katharine's scriptorium that produced the *Töß* manuscript appears to have been led by Margareta Kartäuserin (active ca. 1430–1489), a prolific scribe who arrived at St. Katharine's with the original ten sisters from Schönensteinbach. A decade later another sister from Gebweiler, Barbara Gewichtmacherin (active ca. 1440–1491), came to Nuremberg and began a tradition of illumination.[29]

The Kartäuserin/Gewichtmacherin collaboration produced a distinctive style. The idiosyncratic calligraphy includes a broad, powerful, round cursive script that is an Alsatian import.[30] The painted style is comprised of stylized figures with minimal modeling, bright colors, and a decorative effect, with an emphasis on line and pattern. The effect is similar to that of a colorful textile piece. Christoph von Murr's eighteenth-century report attests to the success of the Kartäuserin/Gewichtmacherin pairing. Von Murr recorded that, during Margareta and Barbara's lifetimes, one of their volumes sold for 400 thaler, more than double the cost of a town house.[31] The style of the *Töß* illustrations reflects the decorative motifs found in Gewichtmacherin's images, but pares the elements down to their simplest forms, eliminating almost all modeling. Thus the miniatures may more accurately be placed within St. Katharine's workshop rather than attributed to the leader of that enterprise.[32] *Töß* does remain, however, one of

[28] The organization and output of the St. Katharine's scribes is described in Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. XII–XXXIII. She estimates that, at the height of its production, St. Katharine's owned about 500 volumes. Of those, the nuns created half. Today 147 manuscripts from the convent are housed in the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg.

[29] Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. XII–XIII, XIX–XXI. Also Christine Sauer, "Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Illuminierte Handschriften aus dem Dominikanerinnenkonvent St. Katharina in Nürnberg," in *Frauen-Kloster-Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 113–29.

[30] Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, p. XVI.

[31] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H. R. Reichs freyen Stadt Nürnberg und auf der hohen Schule zu Altdorf* (Nuremberg, 1778), pp. 77–78.

[32] One of Barbara Gewichtmacherin's illuminations is reproduced in color in *Frauen-Kloster-Kunst*, plate 9.

the most richly decorated of the Nuremberg workshop, which tended to be more restricted in the number of images included in a text.[33]

Nuremberg's copy of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* by Elsbeth Stagel is not the only one to survive. Two fragments and three complete copies of Stagel's *vitae* are known. Four copies are from the period of fifteenth-century reform, but only the example created in Nuremberg by the Kartäuserin/Gewichtmacherin workshop is illustrated.[34] That version of *Töß* is found in a *Sammelband* that includes, in addition to the chronicle of *Töß* with Johannes Meyer's additions, the *Schwesternbücher* from the convents at Diessenhofen and Ötenbach. Twenty-three historiated initials are scattered throughout the manuscript, all but two of which are connected to Töss's *Schwesternbuch*. The two outliers mark the beginnings of the additional biography and the opening of the *vitae* for St. Katharine's in Diessenhofen (fol. 85ra, Fig. 4).[35] Of the twenty-one miniatures that illuminate *Töß*, ten depict narratives or actions of some nature, primarily thaumatological, while the remaining eleven record portrait-like images of one or more nuns or lay sisters, and, in a single example of a secular woman, the mother of Heinrich Seuse (fol. 66ra, Fig. 5).[36]

The Nuremberg *Töß* illustrations represent an attempt to develop an iconography from the didactic and polemical aims of the original *Schwesternbuch* that could speak to both the reform and the Dominican nuns of the fifteenth century. That attempted reconciliation of disparate goals was undertaken by the St. Katharine's nuns when confronted with Johannes Meyer's recommendation of the Töss chronicle, along with those from Diessenhofen and Ötenbach, as worthy of the reformed sisters' attention. Certainly the historiated initials stress the rewards given those nuns exhibiting sincere faith, a message in keeping with the reform's desire

[33] The only product of the Gewichtmacherin workshop that matches *Töß* in the number of illustrations it includes is the related volume of Johannes Mayer's *Ämterbuch* (Ricketts 198, Lilly Library, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana).

[34] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. VII–XIV. Complete editions exist in the Stiftsbibliothek at St. Gall (Hs. Nr. 603, 15th c., copied by a female scribe, S. R. S., in St. Katharinental by Diessenhofen), the Stadtbibliothek in Überlingen (Hr. Nr. 22, 15th c., from the Dominican convent of St. Katharine called Zofingen by Constance), and the copy in the Stadtbibliotek in Nuremberg (Hs. Cent. V, 10a). Two partial copies can be found in the Stadtbibliothek in Zurich (C 162, 15th c.), and the Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek, Frauenfeld (y 105, in a 17th-c. collected volume).

[35] A complete list of the illustrations is found in Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, p. 68.

[36] A full description of the manuscript can be found in Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, pp. 67–69.

Figure 4 St. Katharine as a statue on an altar (fol. 85ra), *Das Schwesternbuch von Diessenhofen*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

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Figure 5 The mother of Heinrich Seuse with a rosary (fol. 66ra), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

for restored piety within the Order. In addition, the repeated images of nuns from Töss creates the impression of community so central to Meyer's hopes. These aspects of the *vitae* may have been of such paramount importance that Meyer could turn a blind eye to the mystical visions and terrestrial/celestial interactions peppering the three texts. If Meyer ignored this aspect of the sisters' chronicle, the Dominican sisters of St. Katharine's did not, and often it is exactly those forbidden miraculous experiences that are captured in the joyous images crafted by the patrician daughters of Nuremberg. Perhaps the prosaic narrative of the miniatures has allowed viewers to overlook or dismiss the multivalent messages present, just as Meyer must have focused upon the text's message of true belief and disregarded its message of personal empowerment. Yet to modern eyes, the absence of masculine authority in both the text and images can seem almost shocking in light of the goals of the Order's reform, especially the need for the *cura monialium* to control their nuns.[37]

For example, the Nuremberg manuscript's miniatures depict no adult males, despite the numerous recorded visions that focused on Christ's Passion. When such a tale received an historiated initial, the illumination depicted only the figure of a nun or nuns, as can be seen in the illustration of Anna Wansaseller and Sister Lucia. The two sisters told of a carving of Christ in the Chapter house, probably a *Vera Icon* type, speaking to them (fol. 36rb).[38] Instead of depicting the Savior explaining his redemption of their sins, the illustration delineates the calm figures of two mature women in command of their world. Such a clear elimination of all adult males may reflect the illustrators' desire to connect with their female audience, as well as a desire to model direct access to a less imposing divinity. By eliminating all adult male figures from the images, the Dominican sisters gain in stature. Their importance is accentuated.

In the Nuremberg copy of *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, Johannes Meyer altered the text, moving the story of Mechthilt von Stans[39] from

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[37] While the images exclude all male religious from their scenes, the text does very occasionally include a reference to a confessor, such as in the *vita* of Anna von Klingenow, which has a passing reference to her confessor, Brother Berchtold. Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 39.

[38] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 46–48, esp. 47. The Lord says to them, "Du solt mich bitten das ich dir din sund vergeb, als ich sy an dir erkenn, und das ich dir min marter geb ze eren, als ich sy erlitten han, und das ich dich miner muter befelch und sant Johannesen, als ich sy ain andren befalch, und das ich selb zü dinem end kom."

[39] Throughout the decades the transcription of names has changed depending on the scholar. I have used the names found in Vetter's transcription of Stagel.

the second half to the beginning of the *vitae*.[40] This change allowed the St. Katharine's *Töß* to open with a story whose theme of piety rewarded clearly reflected the messages of the fifteenth-century reform of the Order. Its illustration underscores Mechthilt von Stans' story (fol. 9va, Fig. 6; Color Plate 22). In Mechthilt's vision, empathy for Christ's suffering resulted in the *Herzenstausch* or "Exchange of Hearts." She asked for and received Christ's bleeding heart, allowing her to assume Jesus' pain, though the image only expresses her joy in this privilege. In making her petition, Mechthilt took St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), the most famous Dominican Tertiary, as her model and borrowed from her that vivid illustration of mystical espousal.[41] As Raymund of Capua's biography makes clear, St. Catherine, while praised by the Dominican hierarchy for her sincere love of God and her help to those in need, also was a woman who challenged and interfered with male authority. By following in the footsteps of her Dominican sister, Mechthilt modeled both extreme piety and a unique oneness with God that set both role model and follower apart from their fellow nuns.

Such extreme acts of personal grace may have been acceptable to Meyer as Mechthilt's actions also follow the advice of Heinrich Seuse, whose book Meyer recommended for the education of novices.[42] Seuse quoted Eternal Wisdom as saying, "No one can arrive at divine heights or taste mystical sweetness without passing through my human bitterness . . . Anyone who wishes to attain what you are seeking must tread the road of my humanity and pass through the gates of sufferings."[43] Mechthilt, by assuming Christ's heart, suffers for him in the prescribed fashion. In the historiated initial, an angel has delivered the Sacred Heart to Mechthilt and reverently wipes the blood with a cloth. The golden-haired angel displays an oversized set of blue wings and wears the crossed stole of a priest, introducing a necessary liturgical element into a scene concerning Christ's blood. In fact, the angel with his attitude of serving may allude to the priest at an altar handling the body and blood of Christ. Mechthilt, tentatively pressing her right hand toward the new heart, is the larger

[40] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. XIII–XIV.

[41] The idea of an exchange of hearts may have come from Galatians 2:20, "I no longer live, but Christ lives in me." Catherine of Siena told Raymond of Capua, her biographer, that in the summer of 1370, she had prayed for a clean heart. The Lord then appeared to her and gave her his own heart. Raymond of Capua, *Life of St. Catherine of Siena*, trans. George Lamb (New York, 1960), pp. 164–66.

[42] Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 172.

[43] Henry Suso (Heinrich Seuse), *The Exemplar: Life and Writings of Blessed Henry Suso, O.P.*, ed. Nikolaus Heller, 2 vols. (London, 1962), vol. 2, p. 10.

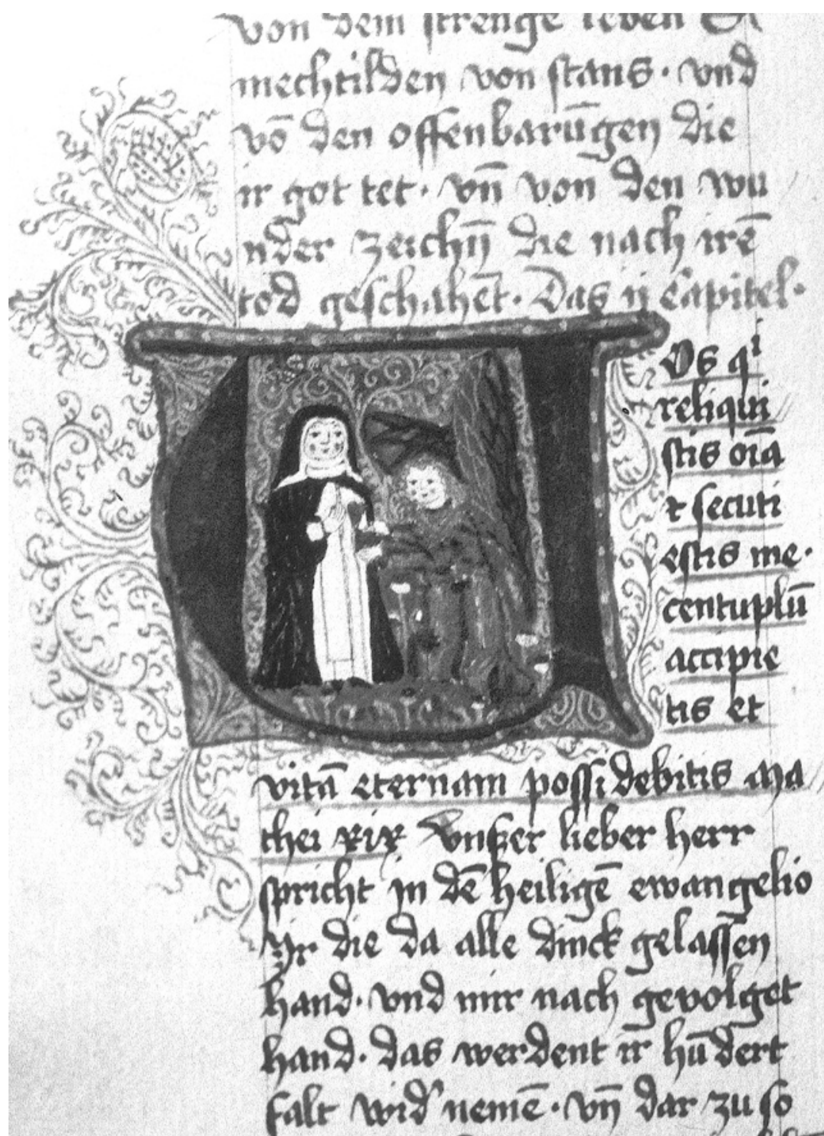
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Figure 6 Mechthilt von Stans and the *Herzenstausch* (fol. 9va), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibiothek Nürnberg). See color plate 22.

dominant figure and becomes the altar on which the Lord is present. She holds him within her body, like the eucharist, even though, as a woman, she was forbidden to touch Christ at the altar. As though overwhelmed with this honor, she stares in a trance-like state rather than interacting with the angel to her left. Mechthilt's vision has given her authority, and her miniature has reinforced that point.

The simple language of the story and the touching details of the image render ecstatic piety and mystical devotion in concrete terms, but the implications of the scene are far-reaching. Bynum has written that the male church leaders had a see-saw dynamic of first encouraging, then repressing female visionary devotion. Direct contact with God made such women powerful and valuable as aids in spiritual instruction, but also dangerous as mystical spouses who could speak to God unmediated by men.[44] Meyer, in promoting Mechthilt's story, may have hoped for a metaphorical analogy of sincere faith and corporeal reward. The Nuremberg sisters, however, painted a devotional image with liturgical overtones that captures the text's paradoxical messages of power through humility, thus reminding their fellow nuns that both states are possible.

The Dominican sisters of St. Katharine's also may have responded to the somatic nature of Mechthilt von Stans' story, as corporeal devotion was key to their faith. At the core of the reform was the belief, implicit in the *Imitatio Christi*, that a personal reenactment of Christ's suffering, preferably in a contemplative form, could instill piety.[45] Mechthilt's miniature could be read as a powerful visualization of the contemporary theological teachings of the *Imitatio Christi*. Its fifteenth-century revival followed the earlier tradition that Heinrich Seuse had set out for the fourteenth-century Dominicans at Töss. At a time when the Cathars were denying

[44] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Patterns of Female Piety in the Later Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Marti, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008), p. 179.

[45] Several scholars discuss the introduction of *Imitatio Christi* into the reform thinking of the Dominicans and late medieval piety. Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Vision and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998); Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984); Trisha Olson, "The Medieval Blood Sanction and the Divine Beneficence of Pain: 1100–1450," *Journal of Law and Religion*, 22/1 (2006/2007), pp. 63–129, esp. 89–92; Michael Camille, "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double-sided Panel by Meister Francke," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, eds. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen, 1998), pp. 183–210; and in a more female-focused approach, Bynum, "Patterns of Female Piety," pp. 172–88.

that the body could reflect the holy, Seuse saw practice of the *Imitatio* as a refutation of that teaching because of its possibility of union with Jesus and thus an understanding of salvation.[46]

Another road to salvation was penitential purgation, such as flagellation, which could be used to offer up one's suffering as proof of faith. Because flagellation could produce direct access to the divine, the act could give the appearance of being anti-clerical. In the Töss chronicle, for example, depictions of Margret Willin (Fig. 7) and Katharina Pletin (fols. 21vb, 34rb) showed female flagellants inflicting bodily pain as an affirmation of God's goodness, unaccompanied by any figure of ecclesiastical authority.[47] Such actions were part of what Barbara Newman has called a "radical democratization of grace."[48] The fifteenth-century Nuremberg illustration of Margret, for example, places her on her knees in a meadow. The red centers of the field flowers echo the red flecks on her arms and shoulders. She presses her hand to her heart in pledge and brandishes a red-tipped scourge, while staring steadfastly forward. She embodies the willing sacrifice who earns grace.[49]

Not only Töss, but also Ötenbach, Unterlinden, and Diessenhofen report scenes of group and individual flagellation.[50] As a purifying devotion, scourging reenacted the Passion, allowing the actor to punish the flesh while freeing a deeper compassion for Christ that, when properly done, could lead to redemption.[51] Although not endorsing such radical behavior, the later reformers may have believed that contemporized examples of self-inflicted suffering could remind the nuns of the repeated

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[46] Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," *Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), pp. 20–46. Also Bynum, "Patterns of Female Piety," p. 178.

[47] Willin's *vita* is in Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 25–28, and Pletin's is found in Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 43.

[48] Barbara Newman, "The Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women," in *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Marti, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008), p. 163.

[49] Margret Willin's story is more radical than the image. She rarely spoke, looked out the window, or ate. She wore a cilice or hairshirt and iron chain under her clothes to mortify her flesh, and she would punish herself three times a day with whips. She had a special devotion to a picture of Christ before the Judges, and experienced a vision of Christ tormented at the column. Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 26–27.

[50] Jeffrey Hamburger, "Women and the Written Word in Medieval Switzerland," in *Bibliotheken bauen. Tradition und Vision*, eds. Susanne Bieri and Walther Fuchs (Basel, 2001), pp. 122–60, esp. 151–52.

[51] For background and an examination of extreme flagellation, see Richard Kieckhefer, "Radical Tendencies in the Flagellant Movement in the Mid-fourteenth Century," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 157–76.

Figure 7 Margret Willin as a flagellant (fol. 21vb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/ Stadtsbibiothek Nürnberg).

need for purification of the soul. The Nuremberg illuminators at St. Katharine's certainly refer to this point in their images. They avoided the mortification-induced visions of both Willin and Pletin,[52] focusing instead upon the opportunity for physical atonement. In fifteenth-century fashion, the images also make an internal process concrete. Yet the act depicted is done voluntarily and makes the scourged nun into a Christ-like figure. *Imitatio Christi* confers power on those whose compassionate devotion allows them to make a blood sacrifice. Once again the paradox of power through humility is made visible in the direct illustrations of the Nuremberg *Töß*, standing in opposition to the simple humility desired by the reformers.

That principle is enlarged in the image of the Virgin's appearance before Sister Adelhait von Frowenberg (Uchthilt von Frabenberg, Adeheid von Frauenberg, fol. 38va, Fig. 8). Adelhait's story may have been selected for illustration in the Nuremberg *Töß* because, on one level, it proves that compensation awaits those who are truly faithful.[53] In Adelhait's biography, one of the longest in Töss's *Schwesternbuch*, she is described as industrious, humble, charitable, and devout. Such characteristics make her a perfect model for the newly reformed nuns. Her visions, however, are varied and of an intensely personal nature that clearly granted her an elevated position within the convent and its history. In one recounting, Jesus descends from the cross and she petitions to assume his suffering, much like Mechthilt's *Herzenstausch*. As she cries, her tears fall upon Christ's wounds, healing them. Her reward, which is illustrated, is the appearance of the Virgin who feeds Adelhait as her own child. In the miniature, a starry sky illuminates Sister Adelhait as she kneels on a flowered meadow before the Queen of Heaven. She is in the attitude of prayer and simultaneously drinking from Mary's breast.[54] The Virgin may be slightly larger to indicate her importance, but the two females overlap and merge into a single outline. The unusual act of feeding at the Virgin's breast is made

[52] Willin saw Christ both tormented and standing before her to chastise, and the Virgin reassuring her: Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 26–27; Pleitin was visited by an angel: Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 43.

[53] The story is found in Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 50–55.

[54] Clarissa Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation. Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 121 and 142, discusses Bernard of Clairvaux's reward from the Virgin of three drops of her milk and other stories that record how the Virgin's breast milk would cure the sick or dying. Atkinson points out that the Virgin mostly gave her breast to monks and priests.

Figure 8 Adelhait von Frowenberg at the Virgin's breast (fol. 38va), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

acceptable by the undramatic presentation of the event.[55] In keeping with the fifteenth-century agenda, the visionary qualities are minimized and the tangible aspects of the tale are stressed.

Reformers may have seen this story and its representation as holding special relevance for the newly reformed sisters of St. Katharine's. Adelhait's sense of her unworthiness and her presentation as a repentant sinner would have resonated within the circle of formerly lax nuns. They could read and view Adelhait's miracle as a sign that they too might expect Mary's forgiveness if they would rededicate themselves to a strictly observant life. The image promises that piety brings joy. The stress on strong primary colors, the repeated patterns of stars and lines, the rosy cheeks of the figures, all create a sense of happy ecstasy that would have been persuasive to the newly observant sisters.

In opposition to such a fifteenth-century reform reading is the image's stress on the individual, not the community. It is Adelhait alone who is suckled at the Virgin's breast. She has earned this reward and she experiences her mystical devotion in isolation. The scene can best be read as an allegory of personal spiritual nourishment, containing elements of *Imitatio Christi* and the somatic nature of the Dominican nuns' earlier piety. Adelhait's story incorporates both a message of committed faith designed for a reform-driven female audience and a message about the empowering possibilities of personal piety that seems almost subversive, given the fifteenth-century goals of the Order.

Adelhait von Frowenberg's *vita* is typical of the late medieval focus on the human Christ, a devotion that produced many visions of the adult Savior, as well as of the Infant Jesus.[56] Interactions between the nuns and the holy figures vary, but one common theme is the efficacy of tears. Adelhait's tears healed Christ's wounds, while Margret von Zurich wept for joy and pleased the Infant Jesus (fol. 29rb, Fig. 9; Color Plate 23). This stress on weeping is hardly surprising, as St. Catherine of Siena's *Dialogue*

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[55] The breast has a rich Christian association with nourishment and wisdom. See Carolyn S. Jirousek, "Christ and St. John the Evangelist as a Model of Medieval Mysticism," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, 6 (2001), pp. 6–27, and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), for a discussion of allusions to Christ's breast and spiritual nourishment.

[56] For example, at Töss alone, Christ as man and child appeared to Ita von Sulz (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 21) and Elsbet Schefflin (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 24); the grown Christ is present to Margret Willin (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 26) and Offmya von Münchwil (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 32); and the Christ Child visits Mezzi Sidwibrin (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 28) and Margret von Zurich (Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 36).

Figure 9 Margret von Zurich bathing the Christ Child (fol. 29rb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/ Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg). See color plate 23.

of Divine Providence (1378) had emphasized the grace to be found in the tears of the faithful.[57] St. Catherine outlined five stages of tears, beginning with the sensual tears of those consumed by the life of the flesh, passing through the tears of the heart, and culminating in tears of fire that held the power of the Holy Spirit. In the *Dialogue*, tears embodied spiritual emotion because "tears are the messenger that lets you know whether life or death is in the heart."[58]

Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß reflects St. Catherine's teaching and never more charmingly than in Margret von Zurich's tale.[59] Shortly before Christmas Margret had a dream in which she was allowed to bathe the Christ Child.[60] Her joy at this privilege and her wonder at the beauty of the Child were so great that she began to cry. As her tears fell into the tub, they miraculously turned to gold coins, which the laughing Child plashes. In Margret von Zurich's story, a task, bathing and dressing the convent's Infant Jesus sculpture, becomes a visionary experience, exhibiting that curious mixture of the mundane and the mystical that Bynum has analyzed as typical of the female religious.[61]

This dichotomy is clear in the image illustrating the event (see Fig. 9). Margret sits out of doors on a lightly drawn blue stool and washes the Child's right arm with a white cloth. Her attitude is that of someone performing a common task, not the radiance described in the text. Her tears are not visible. Before her is placed a small tub with high sides in which the naked Christ Child stands. He is golden-haired and charmingly plump. His left hand grips the side of the tub and there does not seem to be enough room for him to play in the water. At first glance, the historiated initial seems to have stripped the mystical elements from the tale and pared it down to its prosaic core. The story has become an emblem of work for the fifteenth-century reformers.

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[57] St. Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, ed. Suzanne Noffke (Mahwah, NJ, 1980), pp. 161–83.

[58] St. Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, p. 175.

[59] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 36.

[60] Francis Rapp, "La dévotion a l'enfant Jésus en Alsace: le piété des moniales dominicanes," *Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace*, nouv. ser. 22 (1975), pp. 136–38, discusses images of the Christ Child in the bath.

[61] Bynum's discussion of female religiosity pervades her scholarship. An encapsulation of the duality of female devotion can be found in her "'...And woman His humanity:' Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, eds. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman (Boston, 1986), pp. 259–60.

Yet Margret's simple job requires her to touch the body of Christ—an act forbidden to women by the church.[62] Despite this tenet, each year at Advent a few honored nuns would be selected to wash and clothe the Infant Jesus statues and cradles owned by so many of the Dominican convents.[63] The sculptures, like the wafer during Mass, were simultaneously the living Savior and the Bread of Life. A nun holding up a Christ Child statue to present him to worshippers during a Christmas Eve Mass could be viewed as the equivalent of a priest elevating the host during the eucharist. Both participants handle and display Christ's body. Even the exercise of tucking the sculpture into its bed finds a parallel with the *corpus verum* laid upon the altar. These statues and the devotions that developed around them are additional evidence of the tactile nature of late medieval faith, and its reverencing of the incarnate Lord.[64] Margret's experience washing the real Child is the somatic and ecstatic reenactment of those yearly devotions. The priest-like position she fills by handling the body of Christ is at odds with the restrictions being reimposed upon the Dominican sisters by the reform. By painting this part of Margret's tale, the Nuremberg nuns once again created an image that balanced between what was acceptable and what was unacceptable to the fifteenth-century reform. The miniature combines those disparate elements that make up female faith—the transgressive and the humble.

On the verso of the folio depicting Margret von Zurich's scene is an image of Anna von Klingow (fol. 29vb, Fig. 10).[65] Anna's approach to God was through interiorized mystic prayer, rather than a physical task such as

[62] Klaus Schreiner, "Pastoral Care in Female Monasteries. Sacramental Service, Spiritual Edification, Ethical Discipline," in *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Marti, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008), p. 225.

[63] Nina Gockerell, *Il Bambino Gesù. Italienische Jesuskindfiguren aus drei Jahrhunderten. Sammlung Hiky Mayr* (Vienna, 1998), pp. 11–13, contains a condensed history of the statues and practices. Also Josef Dünninger, "Weihnachtliche Motive in der Mystik der Dominikanerinnenklöster Maria Medingen und Engelthal," in *Bayerische Literaturgeschichte in ausgewählten Beispielen*, eds. Eberhard Dünninger and Dorothee Kiesselbach (Munich, 1965), p. 343.

[64] Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090–1153) youthful vision of the Virgin and Child convinced him of the importance of reverencing the Holy Infant. His teachings may have been an impetus for the convent statues. Lothar Zenetti, *Das Jesuskind. Verehrung und Darstellung* (Munich, 1987), pp. 25–26. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Franciscans and Dominicans, under the influence of St. Francis, seem to have isolated the Christ Child figure from the crèche scenes and elevated it to the status of an *Andachtsbild*. Hans Peter Hilger, *Das Jesuskind mit der Weintraube* (Munich, 1991), p. 20; and Hans Wentzel, "Christkind," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 10 vols. (Munich, 1954), vol. 3, pp. 590ff.

[65] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 36–40.

Figure 10 Anna von Klingow before the Christ Child on an altar (fol. 29vb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

Margret's, but it is similarly visionary. Her *vita* relates numerous incidents when Christ in his various forms appeared before her. Once, as she prayed before a *Vera Icon*, the painting came alive.[66] The event has parallels with the Mass of St. Gregory, when Christ appeared on the altar to convince worshippers of the truth of transubstantiation. Yet the Nuremberg sisters of St. Katharine's did not paint this vision of the risen adult Lord, and instead depicted a later event when the Christ Child was present.[67] One winter night, as Anna sat in the church's choir, she pondered Jesus' childhood. At that moment there appeared a young child with golden curls and

[66] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 37.
[67] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, p. 38.

bright glowing eyes that lit up the choir. As Anna was infirm and unable to go to the Christ Child, he floated to her and sat on her lap.

The image does not depict Anna's actual embrace of the Infant. Instead, perhaps to provide greater contrast with the previous illustration of Margret washing Christ, the St. Katharine's nuns painted Anna in fervent prayer before the altar. Together the illustrations convey two paths that can provide access to God—the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. To underscore the visionary power of her devotion, Anna does not gaze at the Child, but instead seems lost in a prayer whose tangible reward stands before her. Anna's miracle, like Margret's, is a form of eucharistic piety that teaches the fundamental tenet of transubstantiation. The Christ Child is a potent symbol of the mystery of incarnation,[68] a key teaching for returning lax nuns to a proper respect for the eucharist. This image seems more in keeping with the ideals of the fifteenth-century reform, yet it is also a testament to the force of one person's private devotion, a type of elevation of the individual that the reform sought to eradicate.

The illustrations for the nuns' lives in *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* end with a vision of sweet ecstasy (fol. 61rb, Fig. 11). Sister Elsbet von Cellikon (Tellikon) is depicted with her arms thrown wide to embrace what she calls "the rapture of the Cross."[69] Her cruciform pose models the object of her devotion. Although the experience must have included the assumption of Christ's pain, the story stresses her gentle and welcome acceptance of this burden. She embraces the experience in humility, but the reader is aware that she has earned this reward through her purity of faith and charity to all exercised over the ninety years of her life. This divine rapture was the culminating experience of a nun whose dedication to Christ had begun when she was six. The joy of Elsbet von Cellikon's vision and its accompanying image reflect the fact that, as Bynum has pointed out, women's revelations tend to be part of the continuity of their lives.[70] Thus Elsbet's story and illumination record an experience that stressed, not a moment of abrupt conversion, but constant and courageous suffering and its ultimate reward. While the singling out of an individual went against the declared goals of the Dominican reform, Elsbet's life represented the

[68] Rapp, "La dévotion a l'enfant Jésus en Alsace," p. 132. See also Hilger, *Das Jesuskind*, pp. 24–27.

[69] Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, pp. 90–94. The orant's pose was used in Early Christian times to indicate prayer. While such a connotation would work for this scene, it seems unlikely that the Nuremberg nuns knew of the tradition.

[70] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, p. 25.

Figure 11 Elsbet von Cellikon (fol. 61rb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–70 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg).

promise of reward for sincere faith, a message pertinent for the newly observant. Her story and her image spoke to both male and female religious—empowered females and reforming males—and thus embody compromise.

Conclusion

The opening trope of reform producing books holds true in Nuremberg's illustrated *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*. From the perspective of the Dominican male reformers, it can be said that the nuns' *Töß* manuscript reflected a language of persuasion that was integral to the achievement of the observant movement's goals. Illustrated scenes contemporized the mysticism of a past generation to make those earlier stories personal, practical, and relevant. The images were crafted carefully to exclude the countless glowing lights and shimmering figures, as well as the various levitations, mentioned in the chronicle. Instead, the scenes construct a world where Dominican nuns greet holy figures on equal terms with little fanfare. This more factual representation of visions is in keeping with the practical spirituality of the fifteenth-century reform, which returned to Master Eckhart's (1260–1328) premise that faith is about the substance of life, not its extraordinary moments.[71] Furthermore, the colorful and joyous miniatures made devotion appealing. Perhaps this celebratory quality helped make the images acceptable to the *cura monialium*. Moreover, by allowing the nuns to paint the scenes themselves, the images were used twice over in the service of reform—once to put the sisters to work and again as objects of instructional contemplation.

Small-scaled books such as *Töß*[72] probably were meant for private use. While the stories were certainly read aloud, the small-scale images require a personal concentration. The volume contains illustrations whose accessibility may have been calculated to engage the sisters, encouraging them to contemplate the *vitae* and transport themselves into the scenes. Yet it is this very devotional exercise that causes the fifteenth-century illustrations to be labeled antithetical to the carefully controlled world of the reform. Here the nuance of subversion is imparted to the trope of reformers' work. The text and historiated initials of *Das Leben der Schwestern*

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71 Richard Kieckhefer, "Meister Eckhart's Conception of Union with God," *The Harvard Theological Review*, 71/3–4 (1978), pp. 203–25, esp. 224–25.

72 The Töss manuscript measures 28.6 × 19.8 cm.

zu Tößs stress an individual's unmediated physical and verbal interaction with the divine, a leitmotif in the texts of all *Nonnenviten.* Even if the later Dominican reformers were drawn to the prevailing moral of the fourteenth-century *vitae*, that true devotion was a progression toward perfection acknowledged by one's peers and holy figures, they should have been perturbed by the conclusions to be drawn from the fifteenth-century images—that direct access to the sacred is possible without the aid of male intermediaries.

It is clear that the Nuremberg manuscript with its illustrations did not completely conform to the contemporary reform. In the text's stubborn insistence upon the power of female faith, it reminded the fifteenth-century Dominican sisters that they were the heirs of that earlier tradition of ecstatic devotion. The fourteenth-century Töss *Schwesternbuch* and its fifteenth-century historiated initials provided the nuns of St. Katharine's with a historical text and modern visuals to remind the sisters that an alternative to traditional hierarchical religious structure could exist. Each painted scene depicted their inherent right to deal directly with God and his saints, and even to touch the holy. This assertion, that Dominican nuns could ignore the restricted roles the reform wished to assign to them, may have been possible because the reform created a liminal moment for female religious.[73] In such moments, people search for symbols that can condense and unify the different poles of meaning present in a time of change; here the reform's practical communal belief is in opposition to mystical individual faith. The images in *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Tößs* attempt to reconcile both visions. Bynum points out that male saints' lives use female imagery to signal their liminality during major upheavals, highlighting St. Bonaventure's "Life of St. Francis" (ca. 1260) in which the saint is described as a mother cradling the Christ Child.[74] If her assertion is true, the reverse also can be imagined. The fifteenth-century Dominican nuns who illuminated *Tößs* signaled their unique moment in history by borrowing the masculine prerogatives of touching Christ and addressing the Holy, eliminating their male keepers. Their images remind

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[73] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," in *Anthropology and the Study of Religion*, eds. Robert L. Moore and Frank E. Reynolds (Chicago, 1984), pp. 105–26, discusses the effects of liminality upon female religious, especially at moments when the normal rules are suspended and the crossing of boundaries may be allowed. Bynum's thoughtful, selected use of Turner works especially well for discussing women's visual imagery outside the traditional iconography.

[74] Bynum, "Women's Stories," p. 110.

the reformed nuns that visions bring authority.[75] The Nuremberg illustrations of the *Schwesternbuch* of Töss certainly reference the reform's goal of personal piety, but they also may reflect the nuns' desire for theological relevance. The manuscript's images, therefore, represent a moment when obedience and subversion were able to coexist.

The Gewichtmacherin workshop's miniatures for *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß* produced no followers. Perhaps the illustrations' spiritual instructions on the connection of visionary faith and religious authority were deemed unacceptable by the nuns' *cura monialium*. It also is possible that the sisters may not have responded to such untraditional iconography in a properly humble manner. Alternatively, the tenuous balance between female empowerment and reform may have been too difficult to recreate in other objects. But the most plausible explanation may be that after ca. 1460–70, when this book was created, almost no copies of *Nonnenviten* were made during the Order's reform. What we are left with is a testament to that moment of delicate equilibrium when the Dominican female religious expressed their alternative sacred power while acknowledging the importance of their fifteenth-century reform.

[75] This connection of visuals and authority is discussed in Newman, "The Visionary Texts," pp. 151–169, esp. 152–54.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ELITE WOMEN, PALACES, AND CASTLES IN NORTHERN FRANCE (CA. 850–1100)*

Annie Renoux

What role did elite women play in the creation of palaces and castles in northern France from the mid-ninth to the end of the eleventh century?[1] I am concerned mainly with the highest echelon: women in the king's entourage, those in positions of authority (queens and abbesses), and those whose husbands were—or aspired to be—"territorial princes" (countesses).[2] The subject is fraught with difficulty, since even questions about purely masculine matters suffer from serious lacunae in the sources. Available texts are neither very numerous nor simple to decode. Archaeological evidence (in the form of excavations, studies of surviving elements of buildings and their decoration) is all too often deficient; even where good evidence remains, it is something of a challenge to detect real female involvement. On the other hand, where the bibliography is concerned, some excellent recent syntheses devoted to powerful women and women's power during the early and central Middle Ages have usefully highlighted the issues from a purely historical point of view.[3] They

* Translated by Graham Robert Edwards.

[1] "Northern France" refers to the part of the kingdom of *Francia occidentalis* north of the Loire.

[2] Because it is practical, useful, and clear, the term "prince" is loosely applied to rulers other than kings, essentially dukes and counts. Such usage does not imply that, juridically speaking, all the counts in question were actual *principes*.

[3] Among others, see Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc* (*VII*^e^–*X*^e^ *siècle*). *Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), esp. 363ff.; and her *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2001), esp. introduction, pp. 14ff., and the articles concerned with the counts' wives in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, pp. 21–29; with Queen Gerberga, pp. 30–38; on the journeys of queens of Francia in the tenth century, pp. 39–52; on the dower's origins, pp. 53–67; and queens' dowers in Francia, pp. 68–88. See also Emmanuelle Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées? Les veuves dans la société aristocratique du haut Moyen Âge* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2003); Claire Thiellet, *Femmes, reines et saintes* (*V*e–*XI*e *siècles*) (Paris, 2004); Eliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir. L'invention de la loi salique* (*V*e–*XVI*e *siècles*) (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrées, 2006), pp. 24–190; Armel Nayt-Dubois and Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz, eds., *Femmes de pouvoir et pouvoir des femmes dans l'Occident médiéval et moderne* (Valenciennes, 2009). These may be supplemented by various older

have shown how important this complicated period was to the history of women and authority. In the present study, my aim is to synthesize what we know about the roles played by elite women in the construction and use of palatine architecture in order to draw some overall conclusions from the rare surviving documentary and material evidence.

Briefly stated, western Francia after the Carolingian ascendancy experienced a time of crises and difficulties that came to a head in the final three decades or so of the ninth century. Raids by Norsemen and others, the ambitions of the great, and the weakness of royal authority combined to foster, from the end of the ninth century and throughout the tenth, the rise of "principalities" and a number of dynastic changes that began as temporary and became permanent (for instance, the establishment of the Capetians, from 987).[4] During the eleventh century, the kings, dukes, and counts, who had to face down the middle-ranking and lower aristocracy, gradually succeeded in consolidating their jurisdictions and by the end of that century had begun to recover their position of more centralized authority.[5]

These circumstances lent importance first to palaces and very soon after to castles as places where political business was conducted alongside everyday life in both the personal and religious spheres. Both types of residence were used by kings and the powerful as means of domination.

Paradoxically, this difficult period remained for a considerable time rather favourable to the higher echelons of the female elite. There were

studies including *La femme dans les civilisations des Xe–XIIIe siècles* (Poitiers, 1977), esp. the article by Jean Verdon on the sources; Michel Rouche and Jean Heuclin, eds., *La femme au Moyen Âge* (Maubeuge, 1990), esp. the article by Suzanne Wemple on the power of women in the tenth century, pp. 343–51; Stéphane Lebecq, Alain Dierkens, Régine Le Jan, and Jean-Marie Sansterre, eds., *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident* (*VIe–XIe siècles*) (Lille, 1999), esp. the article by Janet Nelson on Carolingian queens, pp. 121–32; Jean Verdon, *Les femmes de l'an Mille* (Mesnil-sur-L'Estrée, 1999).

[4] The Carolingian dynasty, descended from Charlemagne (742–814) and ruling in western Francia, was faced by a double threat. In the ninth century, especially toward the end of the second half, it had to deal with Viking raids on the western seaboard, the Paris Basin, and Flanders. These difficulties were aggravated by Muslim raids in the south and Hungarian raids (at the beginning of the tenth century) in the east. The Carolingians were also confronted by the ambitions of the great aristocratic families (those of counts and other ambitious nobles), which on three occasions (888–898, 922–923, and 936–954) managed to seize the kingdom and, from the end of the ninth century/beginning of the tenth, establish principalities that were more or less independent of royal tutelage.

[5] A good analysis of the background to this situation can be found in Philippe Contamine, ed., *Le Moyen Âge. Le roi, l'Église, les grands, le peuple, 481–1514*, Histoire de la France politique (Paris, 2002).

changes in the structures of power and kinship during the ninth century that led in the tenth century to the relative blossoming of elite women before circumstances, especially in the second half of the eleventh century, would favour a decline.[6] It was a time when, although the role of high-born women was already well-defined in private and in the home, they also saw their power increase appreciably in the public and political spheres.

The approach taken in the present study is, first of all, conceptual and geopolitical. Did these few women whose names we know use palaces and castles as a means to establish their power, just as male authority figures did? What was their place in the power system, and what actions did they take: did they themselves have authority to found and develop palace and castle sites? Second, did their involvement have a recognizable impact on the architectural plan? Did they exercise particular influence on these major centres, and were they personally responsible for their creation? We shall see that the tenth century was especially significant in this regard.

Queens and Countesses in the System of Palaces and Castles

As they moved about, kings and "princes" needed places in which to live and from which they could exercise their power. The construction of the palaces and castles that emerged from this necessity was primarily and predominantly, but not entirely, the business of men. In fact, the system left open the possibility for elite women to intervene.

When networks of palaces and/or castles under royal and "princely" authority began to be established, at the pinnacle were the royal palaces. This polysemic term here refers primarily to the major centres of government and privileged residences.[7] The *palatium* was both living space and

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[6] This "decline" is too complex to be discussed in detail in the present article. Some elements were actually well in place before the 1050s, such as the end of lay abbacy. It was notably an effect of Gregorian reform and of change in the concept of the palace, the rise in the power of lineages, and the growth in numbers of castles, among other things.

[7] On the palace and castle background, see my following publications: Annie Renoux, *Fécamp. Du palais ducal au palais de Dieu* (Paris, 1991); "Aux marches du palais: des mots, des concepts et des réalités fonctionnelles et structurelles," in *Aux marches du palais. Qu'est-ce qu'un palais médiéval? Données historiques et archéologiques, VIIe Congrès international d'Archéologie médiévale*, ed. Annie Renoux (Le Mans, 2001), pp. 9–20; "*Palatium* et *castrum* en France du Nord (fin IXe–début XIIIe siècle)," in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600*, eds. Gwyn Meirion-Jones, Edward Impey, and Michael

a place for the exercise and representation of royal power. The concept gained in potency under the Carolingian kings, who made it a determining structural element in their authority.[8] It was informed by a two-fold framework: one that was itinerant, based on the existence of a network where palaces were located close to abbeys and ordinary *villae*, and one where they were associated more or less consubstantially with Christianity and the Church. Accordingly, the notion of the "sacred palace" came to the fore. Being exclusive to the king, who was himself a sacred person (witness the anointing of Pepin the Short in 751) and, therefore, elect by God, the palace and its enclosure became in effect a sacred space.[9] It was a prefigurement of paradise, an open space of peace, where the secular and religious collaborated in "co-managing" humanity. It was there that foundational events, whether political or politico-religious in nature, took place, such as assemblies or the celebration of Christian feast-days. Within the palace genre a special category emerged, that of the somewhat rare "monastic palace."[10] Here, at the large royal abbeys, the kings would on occasion reside and issue documents. Some, like Saint-Denis near Paris, had a royal *domus* and provided a setting for palace-type functions.

The accession of the Capetians to the royal throne in 987 did not fundamentally alter the palatine concept but, as troubles intensified, the palace had to develop in response to a dual challenge. The first of these, pressure

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Jones, *British Archaeological Reports*, International Series, 1088 (Oxford, 2002), pp. 15–25; "Architecture, pouvoir et représentation en milieu princier et royal en France du Nord (X^{e}–XIe siècle)," in *Zentren herrschaftlicher Repräsentation im Hochmittelalter. Geschichte, Architektur und Zeremoniell*, eds. Caspar Ehlers, Jörg Jarnut, and Matthias Wemhoff, *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen*, vol. 7 (Göttingen, 2007), pp. 25–68.

[8] The present study addresses the western extreme of the post-Carolingian territories. There is an extensive bibliography on the Carolingians proper and their central places of power. See, as a starting point, Stuart Airlie, "The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Centre," in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, eds. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and Alastair J. Minnis (York, 2000), pp. 1–20.

[9] Pierre Riché, "Les représentations du palais dans les textes littéraires du haut Moyen Âge," *Francia*, 4 (1976), pp. 161–71; Renoux, *Fécamp. Du palais ducal*, pp. 471–82, 521–30, 656–59. See also my "Palais capétiens et normands à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle," in *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil. Actes du colloque Hugues Capet*, 987–1987. *La France de l'an Mil*, eds. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 179–91.

[10] For an overall recent examination of the question, see *Pfalz—Kloster— Klosterpfalz St. Johann in Müstair, Historische und archäologische Fragen*, ed. Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, 2 vols. (Zürich, 2011). As concerns the region and period addressed in the present study, see, in that work, Annie Renoux, "Palais et monastères: la question des *Klosterpfalzen* en France du Nord (IXe–XIe siècle)," vol. 2, pp. 81–97.

from the princes, did not undermine its conceptual basis. A small number of ducal palaces complemented the map of Carolingian and subsequently Capetian royal palaces. However, a more fundamental challenge arose as a consequence of the armed conflicts that occurred during this period. Such strife prompted the introduction of fortifications to the palace, which, on a conceptual level, had previously been a reflection of peace. Faced by physical attack, however, palaces needed defense, and fortification became a virtual norm from the last three decades of the ninth century on. Investigation of the two phenomena—palaces and castles—therefore becomes something of a single enterprise thereafter. The palace concept survived as such where kings were concerned, in spite of the social and political upheaval; but henceforth the kings' palaces were located within fortifications (*in castro*). The castle, with its fortified curtains-walls between bastions, thus becomes historically from this time on the all-embracing structure of reference. Some of these complexes included substantial towers or keeps. In the princely context, castle-style building is what we see from the outset. Even where dukes and counts claimed, like kings, to derive their power within their principalities from God and participated in managing Church affairs, the religious dimension was not equivalent, since these aristocrats had not received a sacred anointing. Almost without exception their buildings remained outside the palace system; in any case, dukes and counts preferred a show of armed force in the form of a solid fortress to the sort of more peaceful authority, informed by religion, that the palace embodied and symbolized.

In short, although the *palatium* remained fundamental to kings in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *castrum* came to have a central role at all levels of power. Within this initially dual and later primarily single system, the position of the female elite, comprising queens and "princesses," became a relatively beneficent one, although it needs to be viewed within the context of a society that was eminently and fundamentally patriarchal.

The Queen's Importance within the Palace

Between *castrum* and *palatium*, the palatine context was decidedly more favourable to women. Here queens intervened at different levels, justified primarily by their status as wife of a reigning monarch. Archbishop Hincmar of Reims in his *De ordine palatii* (ca. 882) showed how important the

queen was within the *palatium*, which was dominated by two chief persons and two spheres of power.[11] The king was the system's keystone, his function that of maintaining order in the kingdom as a whole. Although the queen's importance was secondary, given that she was his dependent, she nevertheless held sway in a major area. As the palace's mistress or lady (*domina palatii*), she was concerned with internal palace business, a task that went beyond mere private and economic management, for she saw to both the efficient functioning and the visual representation of power. She made sure that the palace was well kept and that its ceremonial was of high quality in order to command respect. From the end of the ninth century and throughout the tenth, this role went increasingly beyond what might be termed private and domestic, gaining in public and political influence. The chief reasons for this development lay in changes that affected power structures and the role of the Church. With the Christianization of marriage, the Church became more closely bound up with the monarchy and its political appointments. The queen, who, like the king, could also receive holy anointing, became the "consort of the realm" (*consors regni*). Hers, therefore, was a delegated authority in the exercise and display of royal power: it derived from her association with the king, and its mainspring was his will. She shared in the royal power (*regalis potestas*) and its Christian mission.

The queen thus had her own place within the palace, which comprised a sacred space of peace. She was wholly involved in its operations, not least because women had already long been generally associated as intermediaries in the organization of the sacred.[12] The queen was one of the pillars of the palace system both theoretically and practically, as much in what has been considered the private, domestic realm as in the public. She strengthened the *palatium*, but—the coin had a reverse side—she could weaken it if she was deemed unworthy for some reason, real or imagined. In concrete terms, a queen's actual influence varied according to the power of her personality and that of her husband.

[11] Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, eds. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, *Monumenta Germanicae Historica, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiquae* (Hannover, 1980), vol. 3, chpts. 13, 19, and 22.

[12] See, for the same period, the queens and their sacred constructions addressed in the present volume by Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Female Piety and the Building and Decorating of Churches, ca. 500–1150."

Generally speaking, the death of a king made his widow less secure, unless there was a regency. In such a case, the queen exercised public power in the name of an heir below the age of majority, though this did not, of course, systematically exclude male guardianship. Comparable levels of authority were to be had by the female elite in the great nunneries. Ninth- and tenth-century changes included the development of a system that placed lay abbots and abbesses from the royal entourage in charge of prestigious royal religious houses. Wives, mothers, and sisters of kings participated in this system. The abbey was designated an *honor*, and the women who held it controlled territorial taxes and thereby had public rights and powers. Some of these prestigious establishments, particularly those dear to the hearts of Carolingian and Robertian/Capetian monarchs, gave them hospitality and provided them with a base for the administration of power.[13] They were in effect "monastic palaces," royal nunneries endowed with palatine functions, where the ruler (save in the spiritual sphere) was the lay abbess.[14]

The abbey of Saint-Jean at Laon (in the present-day Aisne département) is a good case in point for the tenth century, as we shall see in due course. This establishment was held by the wives of tenth-century Carolingian kings and formed part of their dower.[15] Settled upon the wife by the husband at their marriage, the dower was a last area in which royal women could wield power.[16] Although their male counterparts tried to exert control, the women nonetheless—in theory at least—had room to manoeuvre in regard to both dowers and dowries, the latter proceeding from her parents. In this respect, queens and countesses were in similar positions. The same was becoming true of the places they inhabited, for although Saint-Jean at Laon was a "monastic palace," it was also fortified.

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[13] The Robertians were the Capetian kings' ancestors. In the tenth century, two of them, Odo (888–898) and Robert (922–923), became kings of western Francia, displacing the Carolingians, who were finally overthrown by the Capetians (in the person of Hugh Capet) in 987.

[14] Renoux, "Palais et monastères: la question des *Klosterpfalzen*."

[15] In modern English the words *dower* and *dowry* are occasionally, if inaccurately, used interchangeably. The correct use of *dower* refers to the property given to the wife by her husband (=French *douaire*), while *dowry* is reserved for property brought to the marriage by the wife (=French *dot*).—Translator's note.

[16] Régine Le Jan, "Aux origines du douaire médiéval (VIe–Xe siècles)," and "Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en Francie et en Germanie (VIe–Xe siècle)," in *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2001), pp. 53–67 and 68–88.

Elite Women and the Castle

In his *De ordine palatii*, Hincmar indicates that queens received gifts from their vassals.[17] Additionally, tenth-century narrative sources show them receiving homage from the great and taking part in military expeditions. As we shall see later, fighting was not something from which they were excluded; far from it, they could be very actively engaged in battle, as was Queen Gerberga (ca. 915–969) in the tenth century.[18] It was no different for other elite women, as the increasingly plentiful documentation during the eleventh century makes even clearer.

For complex reasons that cannot be addressed here for lack of space, few "territorial princes" had palaces, but we can still see that both they and their wives were affected by the changes taking place around the 950s. The women's power increased in the public sphere, as is attested, among other things, by the appearance of the title of *comitissa* (countess). Although they were not anointed, the countesses were *consortes* of their husbands and joined them in managing practicalities associated with religion.[19] The areas in which their interventions were privileged were the same as those for queens: marriage, regency, and dowers or dowries.

In the military and feudo-vassalic area, female elites were generally tolerated—grudgingly perhaps, but most likely because there was no other option!—and they were on occasion even encouraged. In concrete terms, that is, architecturally speaking, we may ask what these powerful women's actions amounted to. Were they able to establish, or at least manage, palaces and/or castles?

Female Elites: Building and Structuring Spaces of Power

Elite women played a significant and sometimes essential role in the construction and structuring of royal and princely spaces of power. As *consors regni*, the queen could accompany the king on itineraries to major foundations that rooted royal power within the *regnum* and established its parameters; she could also undertake journeys in her own right for a

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[17] Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, chpt. 22.

[18] For her battle flag with the inscription *Gerberga me fecit* and additional bibliography, see in the present volume the study by Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists' Portraits (9th–12th c.)," figure 3.

[19] Le Jan, "L'épouse du comte du IXe au XIe siècle: transformation d'un modèle et idéologie d'un pouvoir," in *Femmes, pouvoir et société*, pp. 21–29.

variety of reasons that might include politics, family, or piety, among others.[20] By helping to define a repertory of places of power and by further adding to these places' splendour, queens played an essential role in establishing and consolidating palace geopolitics within evolving networks of central and secondary places of power. In this way, they helped to create or manage palatine residences.

Although queens' actions were subject to kings' authority, queens could take part in ordering space within palaces and even on occasion entire palace sites, irrespective of whether there was a regency. Frederun (Frérone) (d. 918) offers a model illustration of this phenomenon. Having received in 915 from her husband, King Charles the Simple (d. 929), land earmarked for burial in the palace of Compiègne, the queen began building works there for the chapel of Saint-Clément, staffed by canons. After her early death, the king completed the construction in 918.[21] A second example is provided by Ogiva (d. ca. 951), Charles the Simple's second wife. When her husband died in 929, Ogiva kept her dower, which included property at Attigny and the monastery of Saint-Jean at Laon with its landed estates and royal buildings (*praedia et aedes regiae*).[22] The palace at Attigny, which around 916 had been one of Charles the Simple's major residences, was then no longer in active use, which may partly, though not totally, explain why it remained in Ogiva's holdings. This fact is symptomatic of something else, namely that even when demoted, not to say shut down, a palace site remained a source of legitimacy and could be reactivated. Thus a queen could on occasion act as the guardian of palaces in decline or hibernation, which remained nevertheless special, privileged places. She contributed to keeping their memory alive as royal residences. But she could also, by mobilizing her dower, play a major role in maintaining and consolidating palaces that were active as centres of power. As a palace site, tenth-century Laon, as we shall see, was vital to the Carolingian dynasty. Yet there were dangers, as later events in Ogiva's case showed, for the transfer of property was short-lived. When in 951 Ogiva married again, this time to Count Herbert III le Vieux, one of the bitterest enemies of her son King Louis IV (d. 954), the king hastily confiscated her dower. He retained Attigny for himself, and to his own wife,

[20] Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société*, pp. 39–52.

[21] Philippe Lauer, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893–923)* (Paris, 1940–49), pp. 178–79, 217–21.

[22] Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. and trans. Robert Latouche (Paris, 1930), vol. 1, p. 293.

Gerberga, he gave in dower the other major component of his mother's property, that is, the nunnery of Saint-Jean at Laon.

We see, then, that although a queen's power may have been vulnerable, it nonetheless existed. But could her field of action include the *foundation* of a palace? In order to answer this question, I shall consider three relevant examples: Étampes, a lay foundation; and Chelles and Laon, both ecclesiastical in nature (Fig. 1).

Helgaldus of Fleury, biographer of King Robert the Pious (996–1031), ascribed the construction of a *palatium* at Étampes to the king's wife, Constance (ca. 984–1032), daughter of the count of Arles in Provence.[23] It was a place whose location on the road from Orléans to Paris made it particularly attractive. Given that the author takes care to state that King Robert himself built a splendid palace in Paris, there is no reason to doubt his assertion that Constance built the palace at Étampes. That said, the queen's construction was not an entirely new centre of government and country residence, as the Robertians, the ancestors of the Capetian kings, had had a residence there from at least the beginning of the tenth century. But the queen did help to promote it to the status of *palatium* by making high-quality palatine improvements to the *castrum*, which the king took pleasure in using. Étampes at the very least, therefore, exemplifies "co-management" of a palace site, even if it was not a new construction wholly built by a woman.

Chelles and Laon enter into the aforementioned category of what are known, not always appropriately, as "monastic palaces." Twenty kilometres east of Paris, Chelles was a former Merovingian "palace" (*villa*) going derelict when Queen Bathilda founded a nunnery there, choosing it as her final resting-place.[24] This monastery was a favourite of the Carolingian rulers, who frequently set up family members in the office of abbess. One such was Gisela, a regular abbess, who was visited there by her brother Charlemagne in 798. Another was Ermentrude (ca. 825–869), wife of King Charles the Bald (d. 877). She was a lay abbess, and we know from an 861 document "elaborated at the monastery of Chelles" that the king stayed there.[25] In the tenth century, the establishment came under Robertian

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[23] Helgaldus of Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, eds. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1965), pp. 64, 102, 130.

[24] Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées?*, pp. 184–85, 298–300.

[25] Charles Tessier, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 3 vols. (Paris, 1952), pp. 15–16.

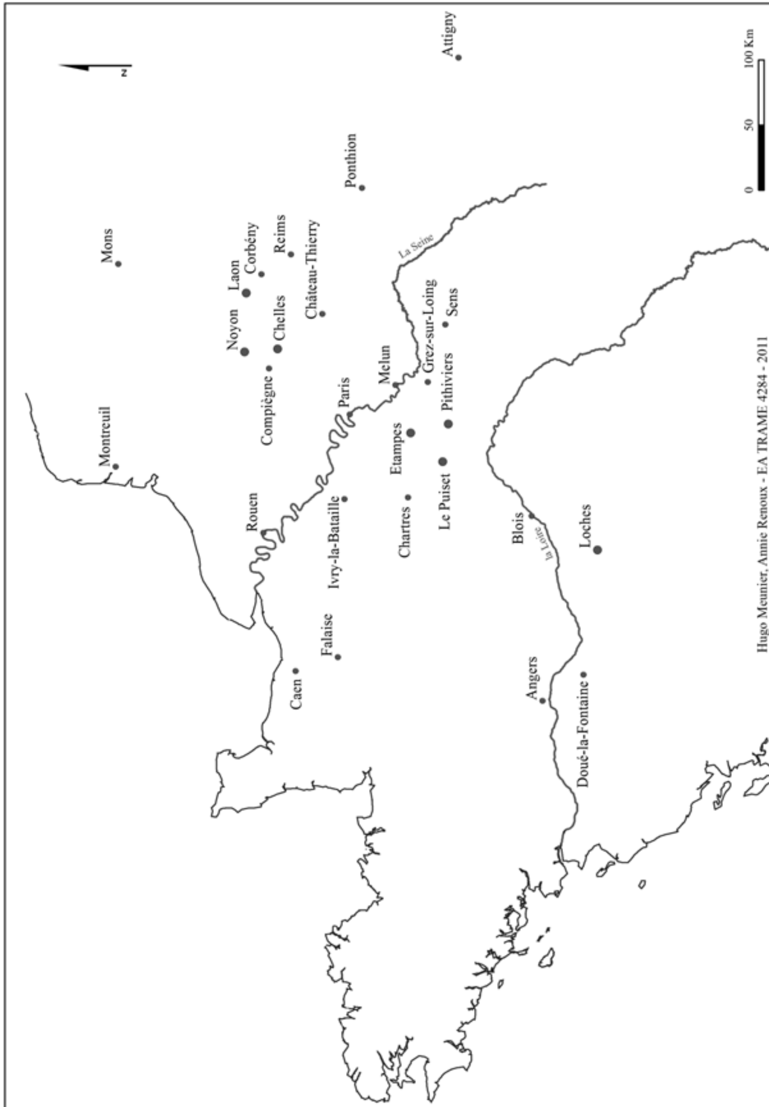

Figure 1 Map of places mentioned in text (Map: Hugo Meunier and Annie Renoux/© Ea TRAME 4284–2011).

control, which was challenged by King Charles the Simple in 922. Around the year 1000 it was the location of a Capetian palace; in 1008, Robert the Pious called a council and promulgated acts there, "*sedis nostrae palatio*."

Chelles was not a major strategically located residence, as the great dynastic palaces were by necessity. But it was far from an insignificant centre of power, especially under the early Capetian kings, and it certainly fulfilled palatine functions. But where, we may ask, did the monarch and his retinue actually reside when there on visit? The documentary sources tell us that Gisela, the sister of Emperor Charlemagne, undertook substantial building works within the monastery, but they do not specify enough to determine what exactly was built or just where the monarch stayed at Chelles. The abbess moved the monastic complex from its original site, enlarging and improving the religious architecture. It is likely (though definite proof is lacking) that Charlemagne would have stayed in the abbess's residence. Thereafter, apart from mentioning the damage done by Ottonian troops in 978, the documentary sources are all but silent about the architecture, so it is impossible to be sure either where the *palatium* mentioned in the eleventh century actually was or who decided upon its construction. For some historians, who regard Chelles as a prototypical *Klosterpfalz* or monastic palace, the ninth- to eleventh-century king's dwelling was simply—and vaguely—located within the abbey.[26] The only thing we can be sure of is that it was an institutional structure held in women's hands and that the king relied on it for government. But this palace complex was of a particular monastic type, and, as at Laon, we do not know to what degree the king may have taken the initiative in building.

Laon (present-day département of Aisne) had another royal palatine residence connected to a prestigious dynastic nunnery. In the tenth century, it was vital to the Carolingian kings that they should continue to hold this ancient fortified city. It was one of the last royal bastions against the ambitions and assaults of the magnates. Their palace at Laon is mentioned in a royal document of 921 and in another of 954, which styles itself as an "act in the palace of Laon within the monastery of Saint-Jean" (*actum in palatio Lauduni Clavati, apud monasterium Sancti Johannis*).[27] The nunnery of Saint-Jean was founded outside the walls (*extra muros*)

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[26] On "monastic palaces" with the examples of Chelles and Laon analyzed in greater detail, see Renoux, "Palais et monastères: la question des *Klosterpfalzen*."

[27] Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple*, pp. 255–57; Louis Ferdinand Lot, ed., *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et Louis V, rois de France (954–987)* (Paris, 1908), pp. 1–4.

in the seventh century by Salaberga, a woman of high aristocratic birth. Favoured by the Carolingians, the establishment quickly gained the benefit of castle-style protection linking it to the city. Queens Ogiva and Gerberga, who were married respectively to Charles the Simple and Louis IV, were lay abbesses and probably had a dwelling (*domus*) there, as determined by the separation of abbatial and conventual residences. In all likelihood the king also resided initially in the same dwelling. With the advent of greater fortification by the mid-tenth century, if not earlier, the situation became more complex. In 949, Louis IV put a *turris* (tower or keep) in the *domus regia*. The complex was besieged many times and given additional strengthening in 988 by Charles of Lorraine, the Carolingian rival of King Hugh Capet. Clearly the new construction works encroached on monastic land, though the documentary record is silent on the subject, and it would seem that the "royal court" which emerges in the documents was both *intra* and *extra muros abbatie*.

In tenth-century Laon, then, the abbesses, as far as we can judge, were the creative force responsible, whether directly or indirectly, for at least part of the *domus regia*. But the written record does not indicate that they took the initiative in castle building or in the other constructions mentioned in the tenth century. Does this imply that queens did not have the right to raise fortresses?

On the contrary, castle-based activities were not forbidden to powerful women, and there is evidence that queens were not alone in sponsoring such constructions. Other female elites from the upper and even middle echelons of the nobility were also involved, according to the texts that show them building, holding, and defending castles. In regard to castle-building, however, it must be admitted that there are very few contemporary allusions to women. A rare early medieval example of the phenomenon concerns Montreuil (in the present-day département of Pas-de-Calais). Susannah, the rejected wife of King Robert built a *castrum* nearby, as we shall see.

Later documentation is more plentiful, but it brings with it problems of reliability. The three best known allusions to women and castle-building are to Ivry (Eure département), Pithiviers (Loiret département), and Le Puiset (Eure-et-Loire département). They appear in two trustworthy ecclesiastical sources, both of which make reference to the early eleventh century. In a work written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, the talented Anglo-Norman cleric Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142) refers to the towers of Pithiviers and Ivry being built on the initiative of two local

countesses.[28] For his part, Suger (ca. 1080–1151), the famous abbot of Saint-Denis, speaks of Queen Constance having built Le Puiset Castle at the beginning of the eleventh century (on which more in due course).[29] The upshot of this is that two renowned churchmen—and who would dare to contradict Suger, a counsellor of kings?—both of them well informed, cultured, and hardly proto-feminists, regarded it as wholly normal for a queen and the wife of a count to build castles in the early eleventh century. Indeed, it may be thought, given the role of female elites in this period, that the documentation dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries may, by virtue of their character and social background, tend to understate a phenomenon that was less marginal than it appears.

"Hold all the castles and defend them, so that your enemies may have no part in them:" such was the counsel that Count Godfrey of Verdun urged upon his wife Matilda while he was being kept prisoner.[30] Such words had nothing unusual about them.[31] The control of castles is alluded to more frequently than their defense. Castles held by women could come under the command of their husbands, but exceptions were common, as during a regency or when held as dower. Two examples spring to mind. The first relates to Noyon; its chief relevance is that it shows how the phenomenon affected various levels of the aristocracy. The second concerns Laon yet again, and is an exceptionally informative case.

Needing to leave home on a journey in the early eleventh century, a *miles* (knight) of Noyon, who was guarding there the king's *turris* (castle-keep), is recorded as handing over its control to his wife, who resided there with her female servants.[32] The task was no easy one because the

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[28] Marjorie Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1969–80), vol. 4, p. 114.

[29] Suger, *La vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1929; rprt. 1964), chpt. 19, p. 132.

[30] "*Castra omnia sic tenete, sic defendite, ut nullam in his habeant partem aversari vestri*," Gerbert of Aurillac, *Correspondance*, ed. and trans. Pierre Riché and Jean-Pierre Callu (Paris, 1993), letter 50, vol. 1, p. 122.

[31] Queen Gerberga was similarly entrusted with taking care of the city of Reims in 946 by the "three kings" (that is, King Otto of Germania; her husband, King Louis IV of western Francia; and Conrad of Burgundy). See Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 1, p. 216. In 985, King Lothair entrusted his wife Emma with the defense of Verdun (Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 1, p. 130). There are many other instances, but the example of Laon is particularly relevant here, inasmuch as protection of the royal and country fortifications was entrusted respectively to Emma (927), wife of King Raoul of Burgundy, to the wife of Count Herbert (931), to Queen Ogiva (936), and to Queen Gerberga (953). See Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, and Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. and trans. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1905).

[32] Herman of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 14 (Hannover, 1883), pp. 274–320, esp. 319–20.

setting was extremely hostile. The king's enemies wanted to take the fortress, and a cruel ruse engineered by the bishop enabled them to achieve their ends. The bishop asked the knight's wife if she could make him a chasuble from a piece of silk that he owned.[33] She opened the tower gates to admit him in order to have a private discussion about the chasuble, and the rest of the story is easy to guess: the tower was taken and destroyed.

As for Laon, the case is all the more interesting as it occurs at the point where issues concerning palaces and castles come together. During the king's frequent absences, the fortified city of Laon and/or its royal *castrum* were entrusted to the queen, who was responsible for keeping watch and defense. Apart from the queens' role as *consortes regni*, the phenomenon had as its basis their holding as dower the Abbey of Saint-Jean de Laon and the presence of the *turris* built by the king in, or rather at the boundary of, the nunnery's main enclosure. The basic story of unfolding events is recounted with eloquence by two celebrated clerics of tenth-century Reims, Flodoard and Richer.[34]

When in 927 King Raoul left for his native Burgundy,[35] he entrusted the defense of Laon to his wife Emma I (ca. 894–934) and to the sons of Count Roger of Laon. Shortly after, in 928, the king concluded an agreement with the count of Vermandois by which he committed himself to placing Laon in the hands of the count. But Emma I refused initially to oblige him by evacuating the castle, although she was eventually forced to do so. Later on, it was Louis IV's turn to entrust the defense of Laon—and in particular the royal *turris* or *arx* (citadel)—to someone. The first designated was his mother Ogiva in 936; the second, his wife Gerberga some time after 945–946. In 953 Gerberga gave birth in Laon to twins, one of whom survived to become Charles of Lorraine. The event was full of meaning, for to be born in Laon, the "royal city," was a way of affirming and ensuring the continuity of Carolingian legitimacy. It fell to women, then, to confirm both the regal quality of the site and the hereditary rights

[33] Although this article is not the place to discuss the significance of textiles, the vignette provides evidence of the typical circumstance in which women, especially of the nobility, were involved in making vestments for the clergy. On that topic in this same volume, see Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, "Mere Embroiderers? Women and Art in Early Medieval Ireland."

[34] Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 1, pp. 116, 136, 292; vol. 2, p. 172; Flodoard, *Annales*, p. 51 (anno 931), p. 96 (anno 945), p. 100 (anno 946), p. 120 (anno 948), and p. 132 (anno 951). There is also an edition of Flodoard with English translation: Steven Fanning and Bernard S. Bachrach, eds., *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims, 919–966*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 2004).

[35] Raoul of Burgundy is one of those who reigned in western France during the tenth century, to the detriment of the Carolingians. He was king from 923 to 936.

of a young prince "born in the right place." Charles of Lorraine fortified his position there and imprisoned Lothair's widow Emma II (ca. 948–988) in Laon during his struggle with Hugh Capet.[36] At Laon, the recognition and exercise of royal power was largely communicated via the women of the royal family, as they were able to access and concentrate in their hands the monastic, palatine, and castle-based legitimacy that the site held and upon which local public power relied.

The tale told of the refusal—whether real or not, it matters little—by King Raoul's wife Emma I to relinquish Laon suggests that queens considered it legitimate, when the need arose, to adopt a personal policy. The following example of Montreuil affirms that fact and makes clear the mainsprings of female policy-making. Situated on the English Channel in the estuary of the Canche, the castle of Montreuil was a major centre for tolls. At the end of the tenth century, Queen Susannah held it as part of her dower. King Robert II, who had repudiated her, laid claim to the castle. He had difficulty in realizing his aim, for the queen who had been put aside attempted to hold onto her fortress. Finally dispossessed of the castle, she sought to regain control of the area by building a second castle near Montreuil so as to halt and profit from all shipping. Although the king was to have the last word, the following facts go some way to explaining the issues: Susannah's first husband had been Count Arnulf of Flanders (d. 988), by whom she had a son who succeeded his father as count of Flanders. Montreuil had previously belonged to the counts of Flanders before the king appropriated it.[37] Clearly the queen had a personal agenda and pursued it using the castle as a key piece. At the same time she was guided by a background of interests deriving from close male family ties.

Queens and countesses were thus at the very centre of the games that were played for power and the stakes the players fought over. Although they were often subject to their husbands' will, these women played an essential part in the ownership, management, and establishment of the residential spaces and command centres on which royal and princely government was based. Now we must ask: did they influence the actual architecture?

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[36] Local counts who were opposed to the king adopted the same policy. In opposition to the women supported by the established authority, they set up their own powerful women. In 931, Count Herbert of Vermandois, forced by royal troops to abandon Laon, left charge of the *arx* that he had built to his wife, who, under military pressure, was obliged to yield it to the king. On all this, see Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, and Flodoard, *Annales*.

[37] Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 1, pp. 142–48; vol. 2, pp. 286 and 288 (n. 1).

The Impact on Architecture by Female Elites

Determining the precise influence that elite women had on buildings is fraught with uncertainties in the absence of definitive evidence. Nevertheless, two questions are worth asking. First, did the women of the palaces and castles built by magnates manage to put their stamp on them? Second, were the rare constructions that we can ascribe to female agency distinct from those built under their male counterparts?

To begin with the aspects common to high-quality complexes, they all had two main centres: one noble (civil and religious), the other auxiliary (services and dependencies). The former included an *aula* or hall kept especially for the exercise of public power, ceremonials, and banquets; a much smaller *camera* or chamber; a *capella* or chapel; and in some cases a *turris* (keep), which either completed or was a substitute for all or part of the whole. Such a general classification has the merit of clarity, but is no more than moderately useful in capturing the complexities of real buildings in a period of change.[38] Tenth-century archaeological and documentary sources reveal a picture of multifunctional noble houses equipped with more or less well defined functions. Only a few large complexes, like the residence of the counts of Angers, had a hall that was clearly distinguishable from the prince's *camera* and the small chapel building that easily made up the whole. And then, far from appearing to be an exclusively private space, the *camera* would on occasion serve functions that were semi-private and semi-public, which begs the question of whether there was an additional *cubiculum* (small bedchamber) solely for private use.[39] As for castle-keeps, these were only just making an appearance in the tenth century and were not very numerous. Not until the eleventh century do we witness the above-mentioned tripartite or quadripatite division becoming more evident. This development is indicated in the documentary record by brief references to acts concluded "in the hall" (*in aula*), "in the chamber" (*in camera*), more rarely "in the chapel" (*in capella*), or even more exceptionally, as at Melun, "in the keep" (*in turre*).[40]

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[38] For more detailed analyses of concrete cases, see the articles mentioned above, note 7.

[39] Annie Renoux, "Espaces et lieux de pouvoirs royaux et princiers en France (fin IXe–début XIIIe siècle): changement et continuité," in *Palais royaux et princiers au Moyen Âge*, ed. Annie Renoux (Le Mans, 1996), pp. 17–42, and my "Architecture, pouvoir et représentation," pp. 25–68.

[40] Annie Renoux, "Les fondements architecturaux du pouvoir princier en France (fin IXe–début XIIIe siècle)," in *Les princes et le pouvoir au Moyen Age, Actes du XXIIIe congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur* (Paris, 1993), pp. 167–94.

This early change in the general plan and its component parts was linked to another regarding the buildings themselves. There was a tendency as time went on for increased division of internal space. Buildings belonging to persons of higher status tended increasingly to be divided up into a number of individual rooms, each with its own specialized function. Already somewhat detectable in tenth-century documentation, the phenomenon emerged clearly in the eleventh century and was even more apparent in the twelfth. It became a mark of wealth and power to have a large number of spatial divisions, each with well-differentiated purposes. It also reflected a rise in requirements in relation to public and private life.

What share did noble women have in these places? As far as we know, the female elites were not excluded from any part of the building, but nor was their presence always required; that doubtless depended on circumstances and the sorts of rooms involved. For the period under discussion, there are few contemporary texts that concretely place queens and countesses in ceremonial rooms; where they do appear, they are shown to be well situated, next to the monarch, taking part in the large banquets and ceremonies that went with the wielding of power. At the synod of 876, held in the palace of Ponthion (in the present-day département of Marne), Empress Richilda, wearing her crown, sat next to her husband, Emperor Charles the Bald, and in so doing dominated the rest of the prestigious assembly present.[41] In eleventh-century documents we find lists of persons present showing that queens and countesses on occasion witnessed official charters in prestigious locations, be they in the *aula* or one of those semi-public/semi-private *camerae* that come into view from time to time, as we shall see shortly in the case of Adela of Blois.[42]

The question of the space referred to variously as *cubiculum, thalamus*, or *camera* in private use is more complicated. Richer of Reims, for

[41] Félix Grat, Jeanne Vieillard, and Suzanne V. Clemencet, eds., *Les Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1964), ann. 876.

[42] Let us mention just two of the many examples: in 1060, King Philip I, acting with his mother (*cum regina matre sua*), confirmed by his subscription a charter in his *aula* or *camera* (as a textual variant has it) in the castle at Dreux (*Drocis castro in sua aula*; or *Drocis in sua camera*). In 1066, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, approved an act drawn up in his *camera* at Bayeux; his wife, Countess Matilda, was a witness (*apud Bajocas in camera Guillelmi ducis. + Signum Mathildis comitissae*). For Philip's charters, see Maurice Prou, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108)*, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1908), pp. 7 and 12. For William (pre-Conquest), see Marie Fauroux, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)* (Caen, 1961), no. 227, p. 437.

example, mentions the young King Louis V (at the time associated with his father King Lothaire) and Adelaïde of Anjou (ca. 947–993) refusing after their marriage in 982 to share a *cubiculum commune* or even sleep under the same roof for two whole years.[43] This at least suggests the existence of a place which would function either temporarily or permanently as a common bedchamber, which is what one would expect. Does the phrase, therefore, mean the owner's private apartments? The setting of the aforementioned synod of 876 might at first sight suggest this, for it is to the *cubiculum imperatoris* that the grandees of the Church go to meet Richilda and accompany her in grand pomp to the ceremony. Except that the empress was already dressed ceremoniously—crown included—which would suggest that what is being referred to is more a formal state room than a simple private bedchamber. In other words, we cannot be certain where the conjugal bed, ordinarily the defining criterion of the bedroom, was located.

All the same, parts of buildings reserved for more specifically female activities appear here and there in the written sources. So, too, does evidence to the contrary, which is especially frequent in the later references, that is, twelfth century and beyond. Decidedly more mobile than their wives and hedged about by other sorts of constraints, male rulers had their own chambers, the *cubiculum regis*, in their residences, where they did not necessarily sleep alone. Bodyguards, companions, and on occasion concubines might join them there. On the other hand, very occasional mentions in surviving documents suggest that elite women themselves, and quite early on in some places, had their own private apartments as well. Thus we read that at Mons (in present-day Belgium), the wife of the count of Hainaut had a private space known as the *dominae cubiculum* (lady's bedchamber).[44] The early eleventh-century example at Noyon cited earlier shows that this was not some privilege reserved to the very highest elite: the castellan's wife had her own *camera* in the *turris*, where she dwelt surrounded by servants. The problem in these two cases is the absence of a husband. In other words, when he was present, did he have a distinct and exclusive location, or did the wife's *thalamus* become *de facto* his? Inasmuch as the Mons example reveals the development of a small apartment for her two young sons (*natorum diverticulum*) in, or in close proximity to, the lady's chamber, the former of these hypotheses does not

[43] Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 2, p. 120.
[44] Richer of Reims, *Histoire de France*, vol. 2, pp. 16–18.

seem unlikely. It may be that what we have here is a witness to the rise of an architecture that was more tangibly connected with women's lives.

In short, within the acknowledged limitations of these textual allusions, there are suggestions that the presence of women and their associated maternal preoccupations led to increased numbers of exclusive locations and specific alterations intended to improve the living standards of elite women and their children, surrounded by servants as they were.[45] Such concerns about quality of life seem to have combined on occasion with a desire for aesthetics and outward display, which leads us to think beyond the notion of a simple private *cubiculum*. The long poem dedicated by Baudri of Bourgueil around 1100 to Countess Adela of Blois (ca. 1067–1137), William the Conqueror's daughter, abounds in rich detail.[46] Born on the Loire, Abbot Baudri (1046–1130), later archbishop of Dol in Brittany, gives a lengthy description of the adornment of the *camera* belonging to this powerful and efficient woman in charge of the county while her husband, Count Stephen-Henry, was on crusade. The chamber was sumptuously decorated throughout with hangings, paintings, statues, and floor-tiles; it resembled a pictorial encyclopedia.[47] The historical and cosmic complexity of it, including biblical and mythological scenes, a world map, and the story of the conquest of England, indicates that her chamber was one of pomp and display. Baudri's description was inspired by an actual building, but in the view of Jean-Yves Tilliette the poem does not have true documentary value, the intention being not to provide a view-from-life of the countess's private apartments, but rather to present an imagined chamber, a literary construction whose aim is to play up Adela's intellectual qualities and the vastness of her learning. Be that as it may, the text is nonetheless interesting for our purposes because it supports the basic hypothesis that in favourable circumstances, the highest echelons of the female elite were concerned with the aesthetics and representational value of their *camerae*, to the extent that the most cultured and powerful women would include in them programmes of art inspired by literature. Where they had actively taken over governmental

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[45] Given the limitations of space in the present article, the interesting question of how the relationships between elite women and their servants played out architecturally cannot be addressed here.

[46] Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carmina*, ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette (Paris, 1998–2002), vol. 2, *Carmina* 134 and 135, pp. 2–43 and 44–45. On the historical background, see Kimberly LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord* (*c. 1067–1137*) (Dublin, 2007).

[47] Jean-Yves Tilliette, "La chambre de la comtesse Adèle: savoir scientifique et technique littéraire dans le c. CXCVI de Baudri de Bourgueil," *Romania*, 102 (1981), pp. 145–71.

responsibilities, they might have at their disposal elaborately decorated state chambers just like their male counterparts.[48]

Where were such *camerae* located? While the general lack of physical evidence precludes a definitive overall answer, there is one link that ought not to be ignored, even if it was anything but systematic: that between the *turris* and the female apartments. In accounts relating to Laon, the connection is often implicit (references to seating, for example), although the royal castle included other buildings that could also contain rooms for female use. At Noyon, the nexus was clearly established. In such difficult times, the castle-keep was the best place to ensure protection of the women and the heirs to the title, be they young or yet unborn. And if the husband was absent, or if the property was held as dower, for example, it would have been legitimate for the *consors regni* to assume supervision and defense (perhaps through delegation), something which in itself reinforced her position.

The role of noble women in the ecclesiastical sphere is slightly better documented and, therefore, more evident. Their religious approach helped to redistribute to Church hands the royal *aedes et praedia* (civil royal buildings and landed estates) that were entrusted to them, as exemplified by Queen Frederun's gift to the abbey of Saint-Rémi at Reims of the domain appertaining to the palace of Corbény in Champagne. In purely concrete, architectural terms, elite women helped to increase the numbers of chapels in palace and castle complexes. Several examples have already been mentioned, that of Compiègne being particularly noteworthy. The construction of palaces and castles that are traceable through written sources to female agency strengthens this view, though it is difficult to be absolutely precise about the relative weight of female initiative.

Elite Buildings with Surviving Architectural/Archaeological Elements

The discussion has centred heretofore on documentary evidence for women's associations with palaces and castles; we turn now to buildings for which some structural elements still survive, beginning with Chelles as an example of a royal residence within a nunnery. Excavations close to the former abbey church of Notre-Dame, Chelles, have revealed a group of Carolingian masonry buildings that are consistent with the documented

[48] Carolingian queens had their own *camera* (treasury), their own staff, etc.

campaign of reconstruction led by Charlemagne's sister Gisela in the early ninth century. The monastic complex was moved some fifty metres away from the original site and it was given some larger structures (Fig. 2). Four well-crafted buildings, or fragments thereof, have been excavated, including a secondary church (marked no. 4 on the plan) and a large rectangular building (no. 3: 21 × 15 m.) plastered in white and divided up into small rooms. No cloister (*claustrum*) has come to light.[49] The rare points of comparison available show that the complex fits within known architectural norms for elite buildings. We may wonder whether this complex is where Charlemagne, and subsequently Charles the Bald, resided, and if so whether they were accommodated in the noblest of the guest buildings on the site or indeed, given their close ties with the abbesses, in the latters' own dwelling. In any case, we cannot identify any one of the excavated buildings specifically as a ruler's residence. The discovery of a wall one and a half metres wide and over thirty metres long argues in favour of the existence of a sturdy enclosure similar to that of a middling castle's curtain-wall from the ninth or tenth century.

This area was fundamentally reorganized at the end of the tenth century, that is, following the damage perpetrated by Ottonian troops. Three new constructions can be seen (no. 5: 12 m. wide by over 15.5 m. long; no. 6: very incomplete; no. 7: 3.5 m. wide by over 21 m. long), situated around a cloister (building no. 7 and a wall located further westward) We do not know who—perhaps the abbess herself?—was behind the rebuilding. Similarly, we do not know where the Capetian king stayed. Was it perhaps in building no. 5? The position of that building within the monastic enclosure—at the outside edge of a square cloister whose existence can be inferred—is consistent with the generally expected location of an elite residence, at least so far as is known.[50] At the same time, we recognize that the evidence thus far revealed, while highly suggestive, does not allow us to make a definitive identification.

Moving on to the example of Étampes, the excavations undertaken on the site of its palace in 1987 and 1995 were scarcely likely to reveal eleventh-century masonry remains as the zone concerned was then the

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[49] David S. Coxall, José Ajot, and Christian Charamond, "Les fouilles de l'abbaye de Chelles," in *L'Île-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet du Ve au Xe siècle* (Saint-Ouen-l'Aumôme, 1993), pp. 98–102; David S. Coxall, ed., *Fouilles sur le site de l'ancienne abbaye royale de Chelles, 1991–1992* (Chelles, 1994).

[50] For comparison, other examples are analyzed in Renoux, "Palais et monastères: la question des *Klosterpfalzen*."

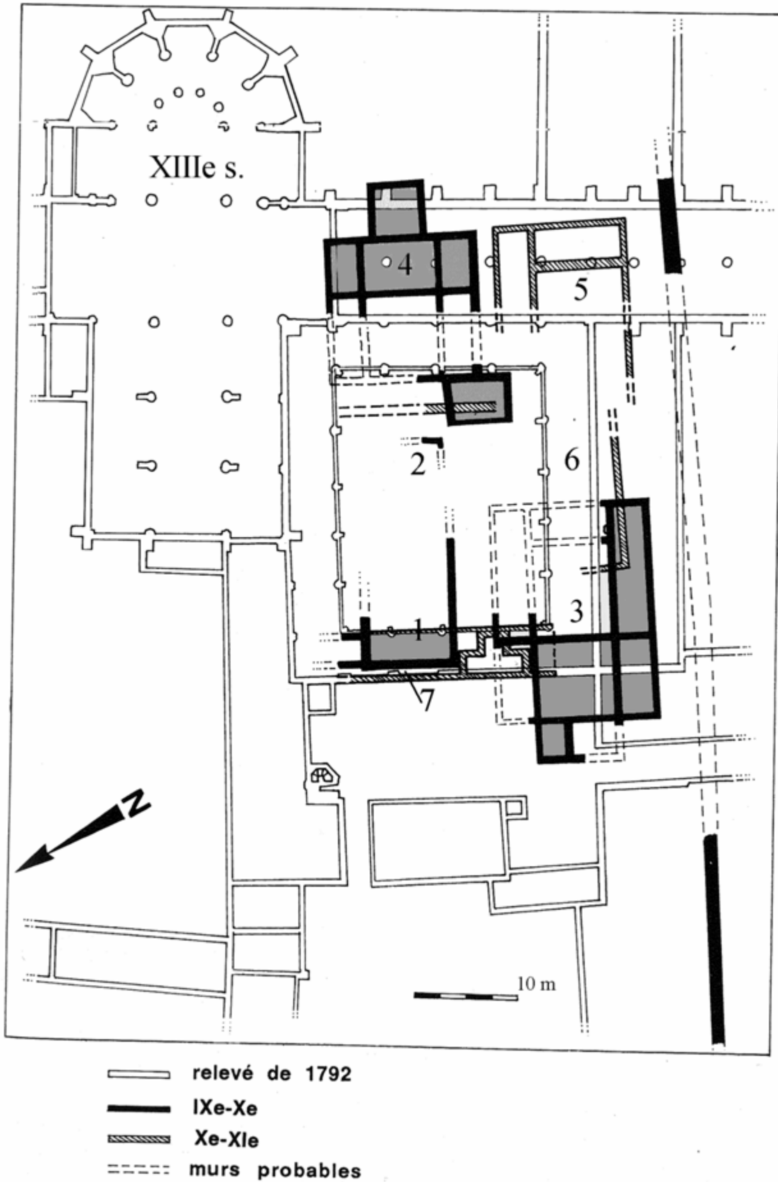

Figure 2 The Abbey of Chelles in the 9th–10th c. (Plans: David S. Coxall, José Ajot, and Christian Charamond, "Les fouilles de l'abbaye de Chelles," in *L'Île-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet du Ve au Xe siècle*, Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône, 1993).

gardens.[51] We have only documentary sources to rely on for a few data regarding Étampes. Queen Constance built there a *palatium nobile . . . cum oratorio*, which suggests a beautiful palace with an adjoining oratory. This was fitted into the earlier *castrum*. Helgaldus of Fleury appears to refer to her palace, calling it a *domus*. Her husband, King Robert, was fond of the place, going there with his men to eat luncheon and distribute alms. He would go to the *oratorium* to pray in the presence of his magnates, but it is also significant that the collegiate church of Sainte-Marie within the palace (*in palatio*) was said to have been built by him.[52] The queen thus did not have it all her own way in the palace, yet hers was a position of strength. She improved its capacity to reflect the monarchy's status through the quality of the building, which was simultaneously public and semi-private, and she strengthened its religious focus by including within the noble edifice, or perhaps at the edge of the complex, an oratory that was large enough to receive "the king, the abbot of Dijon, Count Odo, and the great and most powerful of the realm."[53]

As for palatine towers or keeps, some rare and valuable examples throw light on the architectural character of the castle site. The best known of such examples are the keeps at Ivry and Pithiviers, two large castles from the eleventh century.

The *turres* of Ivry and Pithiviers are alluded to by Orderic Vitalis. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, the Anglo-Norman chronicler tells how Countess Albereda, "wife of Count Raoul of Bayeux," built "a famous tower, huge and well fortified" at Ivry; its building required "much labour and expense."[54] The master

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[51] Michel Petit, "Le palais capétien d'Étampes," *L'Île-de-France médiévale*, 2 (Paris, 2001), pp. 131–36.

[52] On the palatial vocabulary used by Helgaudus of Fleury, see Annie Renoux, "Évocation morphologique des palais normands et capétiens à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle," in *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil. Actes du colloque Hugues Capet. La France de l'an Mil*, eds. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 193–200.

[53] The term used, that of *oratorium*, in the core of the narrative suggests that the episode described took place in the queen's oratory rather than in the church built by Robert in the palace.

[54] Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 4, p. 114: "*arx quam Albereda . . . fecit fortissima*," and p. 290: "*Haec nimirum est turris famosa, ingens et munitissima, quam Albereda uxor Radulfi Baiocensis comitis construxit, et Hugo Baiocensis episcopus frater Iohannis Rotomagensis archiepiscopi contra duces Normannorum multo tempore tenuit. Ferunt quod prefata matrona postquam multo labore et sumptu sepefatam arcem perfecerat, Lanfredum architectum cuius ingenii laus super omnes artifices qui tunc in Gallia erant transcenderat, qui post constructionem Pedveriis magister huius operis extiterat, ne simile opus alicubi fabricaret decollari fecerat*."

builder (*architectus, artifex*) was called Lanfred, and he had gained a reputation for excellence after building the keep at Pithiviers. Orderic adds that it was said (*ferunt*) that Albereda afterwards had him decapitated to prevent his building the same design elsewhere. This same citadel (*arx*) and fortification (*munitio*) brought about her own death, for her husband killed her when she tried to shut him out of it. A reference to its mighty fortifications also appears in Orderic's narrative when he mentions that the Bishop Hugh of Bayeux was able to hold the building for a long time against the dukes of Normandy. Orderic's account is corroborated by Robert of Torigni in 1142 in his interpolations to William of Jumiège's *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (Deeds of the Dukes of Normandy). Robert refers to this *turris munitissima* (highly fortified keep) that Raoul's wife Albereda built.[55]

The two-fold documentary witness suggests that it was indeed Albereda who was behind the structure that continued to be regarded as a "famous tower" a century later, and that she engaged an architect with a reputation for excellence that derived from his work on the keep at Pithiviers. She was apparently so concerned to hold her tower, come what may, that one is led to wonder whether the site was rightly hers by dower or dowry![56]

The context of Ivry is known, but plenty of issues remain unclear. Orderic was writing a century and a half later, compressing events that took place over some thirty years and including elements whose veracity was far from unquestionable, like the murders of Lanfred and Albereda. Count Raoul of Ivry was a famous character. He played a major role within the duchy of Normandy around the turn of the millennium (ca. 990–1017/20) under the rule of Duke Richard I (946–96) and his son Richard II (996–1026).[57] Having the same mother as Duke Richard I, Raoul was the first of the Norman counts to be named as such in the documentary record, in 1011 to be precise.[58] Not that it was possible, at the beginning of the eleventh

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[55] Elisabeth M.C. Van Houts, ed. and trans., *The* Gesta Normannorum ducum *of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni* (Oxford, 1992 and 1995), vol. 2, pp. 174 and 226. He adds some rather muddled comments about Albereda and her birthplace in the Pays de Caux (in the present-day département of Seine-Maritime), though it could be that he is speaking about another wife of Raoul.

[56] This would go some way to explaining her clash with Count Raoul.

[57] For the place of Raoul d'Ivry in eleventh-century Normandy, see David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London and New York, 1982); and Pierre Bauduin, *La première Normandie (Xe–XIe siècles)* (Caen, 2004).

[58] Marie Fauroux, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)* (Caen, 1961), no. 13: 1011. Count Raoul lists the gifts that he and his wife Albereda had made to

century, to assign an exact territorial base to the count's authority, for he held lands in various places in both Upper and Lower Normandy.

Ivry, situated at a key location on the southern border of the duchy, had been granted to the count by Duke Richard I, at least according to Robert of Torigni. In fact, all we really know is that Raoul held the site and its castle around 1011, after Albereda's death, and that he passed it on to his descendants; the castle was thus the fortified centre that guaranteed to this lineage its title of count. Raoul's son Hugh, bishop of Bayeux (ca. 1011–1049) as well as count, inherited Ivry and it was at the forefront of his campaign against Duke Robert and Duke William the Bastard (later known as the Conqueror). Albereda was Count Raoul's first wife and Hugh of Bayeux's mother. However, even her date of death is but vaguely known (ca. 1011 or just before), and her ancestry remains obscure; the twelfth-century narratives conjure up a beautiful heiress.

The real question here, of course, concerns the credibility of the sources that lie at the heart of this information. Orderic Vitalis is reckoned a "good historian," but the chronological distance between the date of construction (before 1011?) and his writing is less than reassuring. How much of it is invention? Both the building itself and the person who commissioned it are implicated. Is this fortress one of the early keeps that surface in the documentation around the mid-tenth century (and sometimes earlier), despite lacking architectural remains that date before the year 1000? Why was the castle so "famous"? Or was that just stylistics on the part of Orderic? Could a woman, even a countess, erect such an "exceptional" *turris*? Orderic relies on others' testimony (*ferunt*: they say) for witnesses that lend weight to his assertion, which is further supported by two sorts of clues. The first is archaeological: there are building remains on the site that can be dated to the end of the tenth century or beginning of the eleventh. The second concerns Pithiviers, as we shall see.

The keep at Ivry has been the object of concerted scholarly attention. Already in the 1970s, substantial exposures of masonry revealed imposing stretches of fortified walls in *opus spicatum* (herringbone pattern) surviving to the height of the first floor above ground level. More recently, two studies by Edward Impey (2002) and Dominique Pitte (2010), both based on exploration of the physical remains while the latter adds archaeological soundings, have tried to analyze more precisely the evolving shape of this

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Saint-Ouen at Rouen, followed by those he has made from his own property after Albereda's death.

squarish complex.[59] At some point, with its 32 × 26 metre ground plan that included a semicircular projection (the chapel's apse), Ivry reproduced in large part the ground plan, little-copied elsewhere, of the famous White Tower of London built 1070–1100 by William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy and King of England (Fig. 3). The keep included *aula, camera*, and *capella*, constituting what is sometimes called a "palace-keep" since the three basic components of a *palatium* were brought together under one roof within a fortified shell.

It will be useful here to summarize briefly the complex conclusions of Impey and Pitte without taking too dogmatic a stance regarding their observations. They both show that this sizable complex had fractured beginnings, with the result that evidence of the initial plan is partly masked by reconstructions.

According to Impey, the earliest building was L-shaped (Fig. 4), with walls over three metres thick and *opus spicatum* stonework. The walls were reinforced with squared buttresses built using dressed stone (Figs. 5, 6). The building as a whole had at least one upper floor, whose layout repeated that of the ground floor. The upper level was the noble floor: it comprised a large *aula*, 26.4 metres long by 11 metres wide (measured internally), and in one corner a chapel with a projecting apse, preceded by a sort of vestibule (Impey's Period 1a, see Fig. 4). The level below presented a similar appearance, but the premises' functions are hard to define. The largest room was equipped on the south side with a fairly small door and pierced by several round-arched windows whose narrow openings were splayed inside and out, the arches being built of alternating tile and dressed stone. It was only later, in Period 1b (perhaps following a change of plan) that the squarish construction resembling the Tower of London (and Colchester Castle) appeared. At that point, having stopped up the openings at ground level, the builders partially buried the exterior of the base. They retained the chapel, which would not be destroyed until later when it was replaced by a small circular tower. Impey, relying both on physical evidence from the building itself (for example, treatment of stone and use of tiles) and on the documentary record, dated this part of the complex's construction to before 1050, and more exactly to the period

[59] Edward Impey, "The *Turris Famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy," in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600*, eds. Gwyn Meirion-Jones, Edward Impey, and Michael Jones, *British Archaeological Reports*, International Series, 1088 (Oxford, 2002), pp. 189–210; Dominique Pitte, "Pour une relecture du château d'Ivry-la-Bataille (Eure)," in *Journées archéologiques de Haute-Normandie* (Rouen, 2010), pp. 219–24.

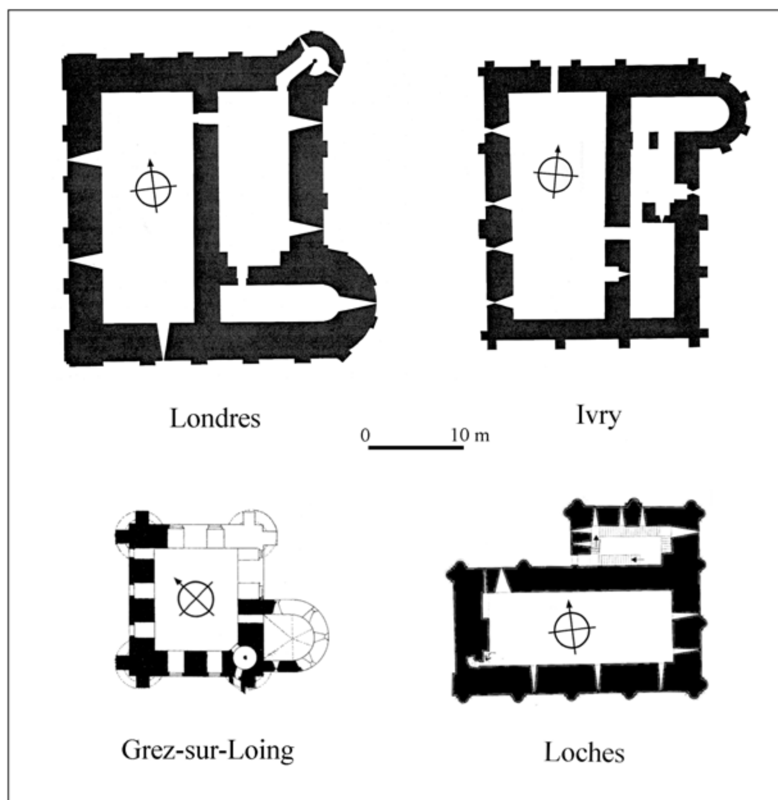
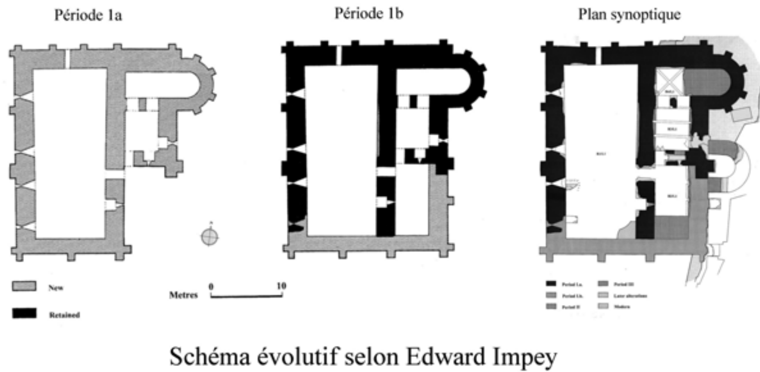


Figure 3 Keeps at the Tower of London (ground floor), Ivry (same), Loches (same), and Grez-sur-Loing (floor above ground). (Plans: A. Renoux after E. Impey, "The *Turris Famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy," in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600*, eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, M. Jones, *BAR* 1088 [Oxford, 2002]; J. Mesqui, "La tour maîtresse du donjon de Loches," *Bulletin monumental* [1998]; A. Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile-de-France du XIe au XIIIe siècle* [Nonette, 1983]).

1010–1020 (Period 1b). Ivry, therefore, could have served as a model for the Tower of London, rather than copying it.

Dominique Pitte suggested a somewhat different trajectory for Ivry, though there are some points of similarity in the two scholars' theories (see Fig. 4). After an on-site collapse, a buttress was discovered at the northeastern corner of the original construction, which along with other observations led Pitte to hypothesize that the initial building had a single-story *aula* (Salle 1) in *opus spicatum*, with buttresses, narrow windows, a door with a rounded arch (Pitte's Phase 1), and at least one floor above as suggested by the thickness of the walls (over 3 metres). According to Pitte,



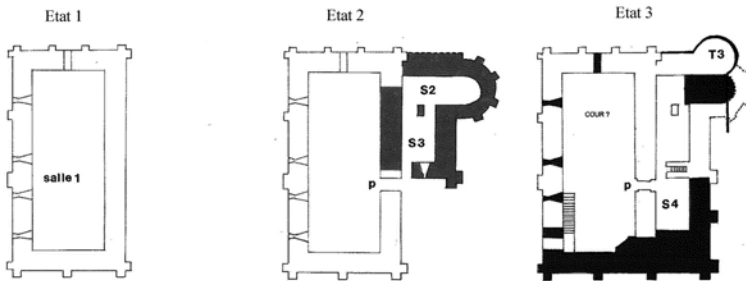


Schéma evolutif selon Dominique Pitte

Figure 4 Ivry, phasing plans according to Edward Impey and Dominique Pitte. (Plans: E. Impey, "The *Turris Famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy," in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600*, eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, M. Jones, *BAR* 1088 (Oxford, 2002); D. Pitte, "Pour une relecture du château d'Ivry-la-Bataille (Eure)," in *Journées archéologiques de Haute-Normandie* [Rouen, 2010]).

the chapel (S2) and the small adjacent space (S3) are later. They were added to Salle 1 after the east wall of this room had been partially rebuilt (Phase 2). Two doors (P) gave access to the *aula* and the chapel (via S3). Phase 3 was preceded by the rebuilding of the south wall and the addition of the southeastern corner so as to produce a rectangular plan, creating a new room (S4). The civil complex was converted into a *turris*; its openings were blocked up and its northern, western, and southern periphery buried under several metres of fill.[60] The chapel was demolished and a small

[60] The eastern side overlooks a sheer cliff.

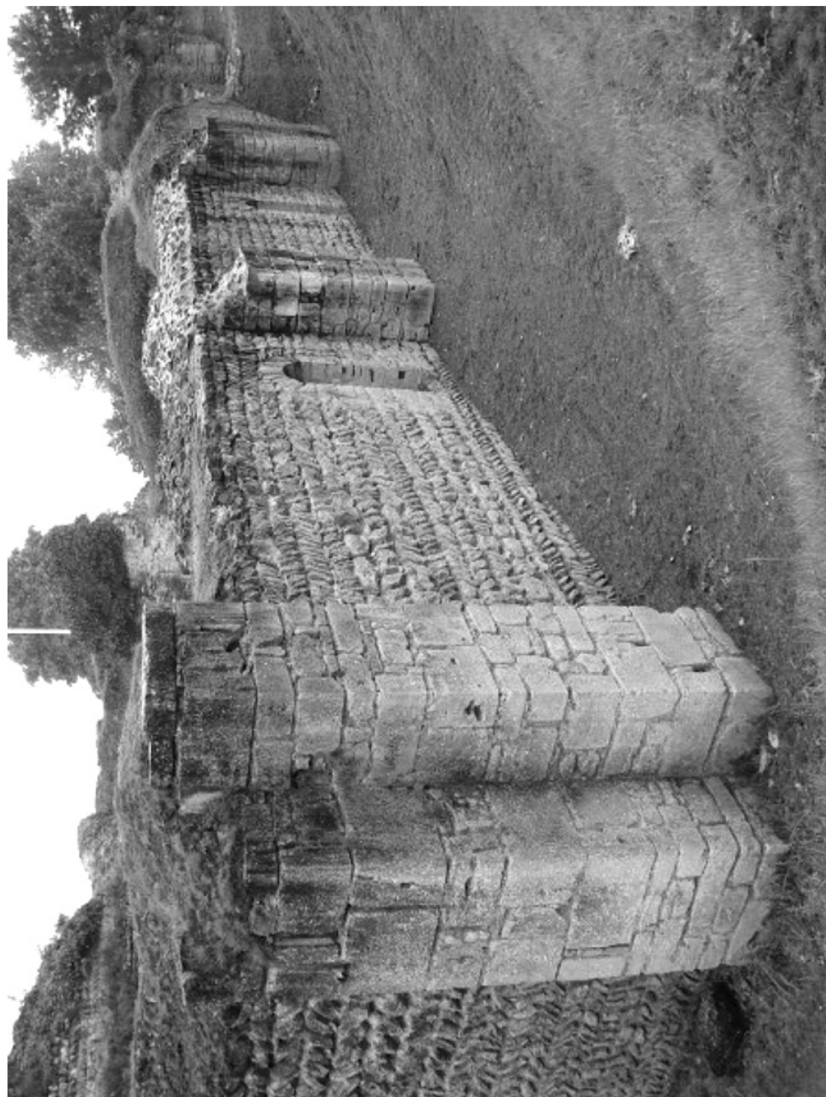


Figure 5 Ivry, external view, northwest corner (Photo: A. Renoux).

Figure 6 Ivry, internal view, north wall (Photo: A. Renoux).

circular tower erected in its place (T3, Phase 3). Phases 1 and 2 may date from the second half or the end of the tenth century, while Phase 3, that of the *turris*, may date from the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, but in any event before 1050.

Thus, according to Dominique Pitte, the *turris famosa* did not belong either to Phase 1 (a civil and residential building), or to Phase 2 (with chapel), which left only Phase 3 (without a chapel, perhaps?). In the judgement of Edward Impey, on the other hand, the *turris* belonged to Period 1b, which was neither Pitte's Phase 2 nor 3, but corresponded, to put it simply, to the plan of the Tower of London.

Until all the data resulting from Pitte's work is published and a thorough, professional, and well-ordered excavation takes place, it is difficult to determine definitive phasing. What we really need is to be able to determine once and for all what the initial stage of the building was, and then to adduce convincing supportive proof for the various phases of its evolutionary process.[61] For the present, some observations can nonetheless be made. In Pitte's Phase 1, Salle 1 with its walls over three metres thick is not a civil building. No *aula* dating from the tenth or eleventh centuries has walls of such dimensions. We are already dealing here with a fortress (*turris*), whose overall plan has yet to be established.[62] The remains that we are currently aware of do not as such permit the conclusion that we are looking at an *aula* converted into a keep, as in the case of Doué-la-Fontaine.[63] The partial reconstruction of the east wall of Salle 1 might suggest that some time elapsed between Pitte's Phases 1 and 2, but there is no

[61] According to Pitte, the lower part of the complex was not affected (given the holes for scaffolding, existence of a room under S4, etc.), and the south wall, as existing, is the result of a reconstruction. The question that needs answering, then, is what the current ground level corresponds to. Would there have been another level below it, one at least semi-subterranean? This question leads to others, especially to do with access. Was the "small" door in the north wall the main entrance, or not? Was the door situated on an upper level, or enclosed within a small structure built up against the main building (i.e., in a fore-building), and would it have been of stone or wood? Again, the rebuilding of the south wall raises the question of the original wall's appearance: might there have been a roughly square building right from the start? And so on.

[62] It includes an *aula* and more.

[63] Pitte has returned to the theory of Michel de Boüard, who reckoned Ivry to be similar to Doué-la-Fontaine (present-day département of Maine-et-Loire)—see de Boüard's "De l'*aula* au donjon. Les fouilles de la motte de La Chapelle à Doué-la-Fontaine (X^e^–XIe siècle)," *Archéologie médiévale*, 3–4 (1973/1974), pp. 4–110, concerning an *aula* of 23m by 16.5m built by the count of Anjou around 900 and converted around 950 into a keep by the count of Blois, who stopped up the openings on the ground floor, raised the building a storey, and provided it with a raised entrance accessed by an external wooden stairway fitted flush to the stonework.

certainty about it. Lastly, the discovery of the buttress in the northeastern corner of the room does not necessary mean that there was a Phase 1 truly distinct from Phase 2. The plans published by Edward Impey, in fact, suggest a connection between the chapel and the type of rectangular room seen at Grez-sur-Loing (present-day département of Seine-et-Marne), that is, a royal keep morphologically similar to Ivry and dating at the very latest to the first third of the twelfth century (15.3 × 12 m., see Fig. 3).[64]

To sum up the current situation: it is one of confusion. Yet two things seem certain. The relatively powerful position of high-born women makes it wholly credible that Countess Albereda should have ordered the building of a "famous tower" before 1011. It is more difficult to place and gauge the great "labour and expense" involved in the work done by Lanfred. What the complex data gathered by archaeologists and historians suggest is that the work was not undertaken entirely *a nihilo*, but consisted in a massive strengthening of the complex's military potential. The following comparison with Pithiviers points to Impey's Period 1b or possibly Pitte's Phase 3.

According to Orderic Vitalis, the keep at Pithiviers, a small town some forty-two kilometres northeast of Orléans, was erected before the tower at Ivry and by the same brilliant architect. Orderic's record is complemented by a *chanson de geste* written between 1180 and 1200 by Garin le Lorrain, who credited this "rich" and "great tower" to Héloïse of Pithiviers. In various passages of the story, Héloïse either acted alone or in concert with her son, Bishop Odalric of Orléans.[65]

These two high-born individuals are relatively well known through eleventh-century diplomatic and hagiographic sources. Héloïse was the daughter of a count and sister to Roger, Bishop of Beauvais (d. 1016), Count of Dreux, and chancellor to King Hugh Capet; she was also the sister of a palatine count, Hugh. Her husband, Reynard, lord of Pithiviers, was a great-nephew of Reynard the Old (d. 997), Count of Sens (in the present-day département of Yonne). When her husband died around 996–998, Héloïse acted as regent for at least fifteen years in her son Odalric's name;

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[64] On the first floor above ground level the building has only two rooms (one of which was no doubt used as a chapel in the tower). Plan taken from André Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile-de-France du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Nonette, 1983), p. 107, see the modern photographs and illustrations.

[65] "Hernaïs le farouche, neveu de Garin le Combattant et frère d'Odeon [Odalric], l'évêque en titre, qui avec sa mère Héluïs [Héloïse] au noble visage fit élever la grande tour de Peviers [Pithiviers]," *Garin le Lorrain, Chanson de geste du XIIe siècle*, trans. Bernard Guidot (Nancy, 1986), p. 58; "la belle Heloïs, qui tint Peviers et la riche tor fiste," *Li Romans de Garin le Loherain*, ed. Paulin Paris, 2 vols. (Paris, 1833), vol. 1, pp. 50 and 133.

he attained the episcopacy of Orléans around 1020 and died around 1036.[66] She had charge of the *oppidum* or *castrum* of Pithiviers, and undertook appreciable building works that increased the power and renown of the site. It occupied a strategic position on the ancient Roman road linking Orléans and Paris, an axis of major importance to the Capetian kings.[67] There Héloïse founded a collegiate church (Saint-Georges) for the good of her husband's soul, and obtained some famous relics for it.[68] Given the context and the nature of female initiatives in regard to castles, it is perfectly reasonable to accept that Héloïse built a fine keep at Pithiviers around the turn of the eleventh century, even if the sources that document the fact are later in date by one or two centuries.[69]

The tower itself was demolished in the early nineteenth century, but an engraving executed around the year 1800 shows that it might, at least in part, have been put up by the same architect who built Ivry, according to the forceful testimonial given by Orderic Vitalis (Fig. 7).[70] It was a tall, squarish tower with rectangular buttresses; in one corner it had a semicircular projection which would make it more comparable to Impey's Period 1b than to Pitte's Phase 3.[71] In other words, it has much in common with Ivry, the Tower of London, and the castle at Grez-sur-Loing. There are no longer any architectural remains to confirm the hypothesis of a building that might in part date to around the year 1000, but these convergences are enough to justify our regarding it as perfectly possible.

In sum, it is likely that at a certain point in their history, around the turn of the eleventh century, the towers at Ivry and Pithiviers had similar plans, namely, a vast and complex keep comprising, on an upper floor,[72] an *aula*, one (or two) *camera*(*e*), and a *capella* with a semicircular project-

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[66] Jules Devaux, "Essai sur les premiers seigneurs de Pithiviers," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais*, 3 (1885), pp. 168–78 and 250–65; 4 (1886), pp. 94–129 and 290–320; Georges Chenesseau, "Pithiviers," *Congrès archéologique de France*, 93 (1931), pp. 419–36.

[67] In the ninth century, the *villa* of Pithiviers was held by the bishop of Orléans.

[68] See Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cults of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 257–65.

[69] On what were the sources based? Perhaps a local oral tradition that Orderic Vitalis also used?

[70] Etching by Émile Vaucanu after a panel painting by Ange-René Ravault, published by Devaux, "Essai sur les premiers seigneurs de Pithiviers."

[71] In that case, Pitte's Phase 3 might correspond to the works undertaken by Hugh of Bayeux at the time of his 1028 revolt against Dukes Robert and William.

[72] At Ivry, the ground level was divided up in an identical manner, but we do not have information that would permit an interpretation as to function (regarding problems about entry, egress from the ground level, and so on).

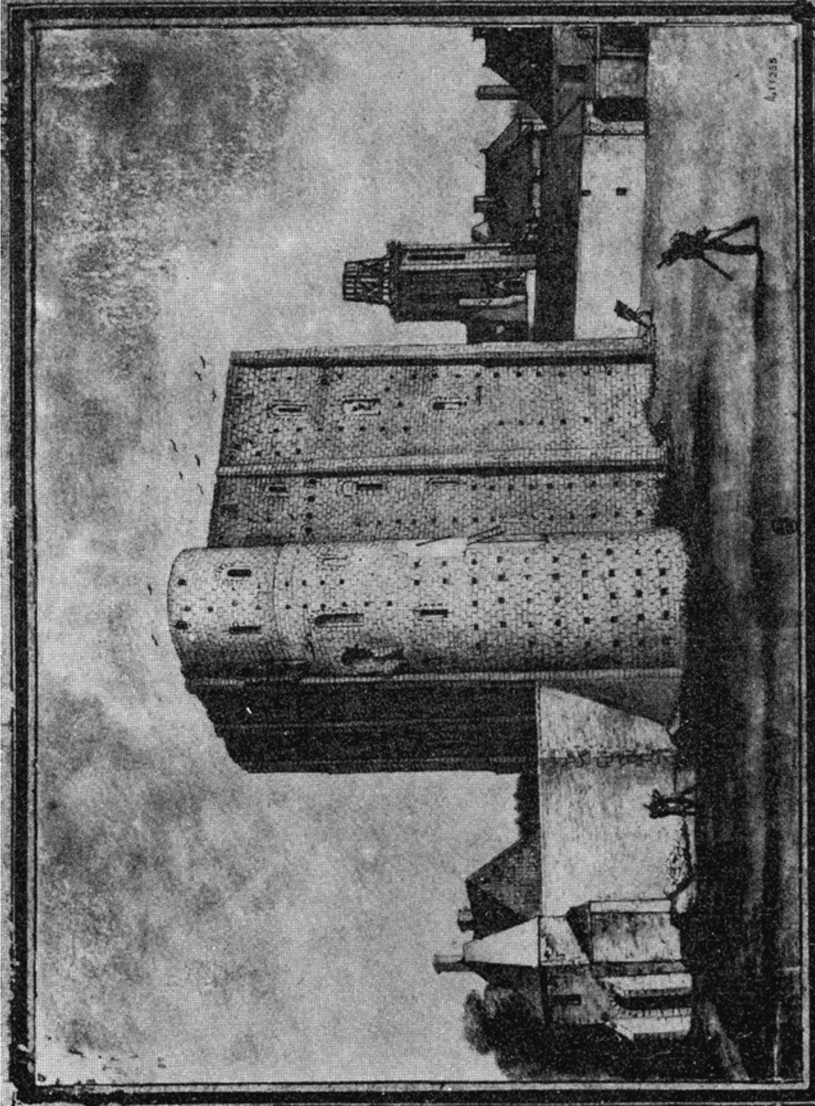

Figure 7 The Keep at Pithiviers around 1800 (d'E. Vaucanu after a drawing by A.-R. Ravault, published in Jules Devaux, "Essai sur les premiers seigneurs de Pithiviers," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais*, 4 (1886), pp. 94–129).

ing apse oriented toward the east. These keeps would in large measure have resulted from the choices made by two nobly born women, together with the input of a celebrated and talented architect.

Such towers and their complex plans show the degree of maturity that had early been reached in the area of large keeps built to an oblong ground plan, a level of sophistication confirmed by recent research on the comital keep at Loches, which dendrochronological analysis has dated 1012–1035 (Fig. 8). Loches' fine, monumental, rectangular structure (25 × 13.7 m., outer dimensions) with small fore-building (13 × 9 m.), has an elaborate plan.[73] The functional hierarchy of spaces, both vertical and horizontal, is made possible by specific accommodations. Exercise of power, pomp, piety, residence, and defense were combined harmoniously throughout five floors within an overall height of thirty metres: all this was made possible by a clever combination of rooms, where *aula*(*e*), semi-private or private *camera*(*e*), and other apartments were placed together in such a way as to complement one another. At Ivry, the poor state of survival does not allow a detailed spatiofunctional analysis, but even if the building did not necessarily achieve the same degree of sophistication as Loche, it would have been suitable for similar organization, and it certainly aimed at similar representational power. Ivry was probably designed and built slightly before Loches, but it forms an interesting evolutionary link, revealing that the period of prototypes was already by then largely in the past.

At Pithiviers and Ivry, Héloïse and Albereda were not fundamentally innovative. According to our current state of understanding, keeps were becoming more common from at least the second quarter of the tenth century, as exemplified by Château-Thierry and Laon. Further, keeps were built especially early on in the areas with which we are concerned, that is, western Francia and the Sens district (through Héloïse's husband), and including notably the towers at Rouen (before 996), Blois (ca. 955), Chartres (ca. 955), Doué-la-Fontaine (present-day département of Maine-et-Loire, ca. 950), and Sens itself (ca. 949–97).[74] They may not have invented a completely new type of castle, this "builder" duo of ours—or trio if we include Lanfred—but it seems likely that they can be credited with contributing to castle development by helping to create the sort of sophisticated plans

[73] See Jean Mesqui, "La tour maîtresse du donjon de Loches," in *Deux donjons construits autour de l'an mil en Touraine = Bulletin monumental*, fascicule spécial 1 (1998), pp. 65–125.

[74] The family of the tenth-century counts of Sens came from Touraine or Anjou. Reynard the Old (949–997) built a keep in the city of Sens, where he was count.

Figure 8 The keep at Loches (Photo: EA Trame).

that juxtaposed and combined spaces that were functionally and morphologically differentiated. Unfortunately, it seems equally likely that we shall never know for sure. The precise contribution made by these women to Pithiviers and Ivry is as conjectural as the model presented is hypothetical. Yet what is striking in those two places, when they are compared with the keep at Loches, is the place allotted to the chapel, which was manifestly an enhanced one within the complex, standing out both visually and functionally. At Ivry, which is better documented, the chapel is not a tiny oratory discreetly tucked away in some recess, but rather a fine centre for religious offices, covering fifty square metres (internal dimensions: 12 × 4.2 m.). The presence of the chapel could be appreciated from the exterior by virtue of its projecting semicircular apse facing east. Located on the noble floor—the first above ground level[75]—it opened onto a substantial vestibule (internal dimensions: 5.8 × 4.5 m.), which itself gave onto a large space (10 × 4.5 m.), the two rooms being suggestive of more or less elaborately developed pathways to wholly or partially private chambers.

The keep at Loches also had a good-sized chapel (8 × 5 m.). This was located on the second floor above ground in the small fore-building or vestibule that houses the access staircase below. The stairway led from ground level outside up to the first floor and the main *aula* (20 × 9 m.). Above, the chapel opened onto what was perhaps a large semi-exclusive area (possibly one or more chambers or an ancillary *aula*). There was nothing on the exterior to show where the chapel was located; visually, the most obvious function of the fore-building in which it was located was that of main entrance with a staircase designed to impress. Loches maintained the tradition of small oratories tucked away above systems of access in order to help protect them. The same feature is found (or rather inferred) in many other keeps, as for example at Caen. At Ivry—and at Pithiviers—the chapel is remote from the entrance and its accompanying grand staircase. The spirit behind the design was not exactly the same, being conceptually closer to a palace arrangement than to that of a castle. In effect, what we have at Ivry and Pithiviers is a fortified version of the *palatium nobile cum oratorio* built by Queen Constance at Étampes. The focus is more sharply concentrated on the religious dimension for its own sake and the desire to integrate it within the *turris*, which we could describe as a palatine keep, a truly ecclesiastical component. This form of integration is less common than that found for instance at Loches, but it

[75] It is not known, of course, whether there were additional upper floors.

is characteristic of the royal keeps at the Tower of London and Grez-sur-Loing; it also characterizes the castle at Falaise, built by Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy, in the early twelfth century, though that chapel is morphologically slightly different in that its externally projecting apse is squared-off.

Should the separation of entrance and chapel from each other and the emergence of a concrete religious component in the body of the *turris* itself (as evidenced by the projecting apse) be seen as the result of female influence? Perhaps. But we would be hard put to prove it. Even if we did, we should then need to ask whether it was not more concretely due to Church influence.[76] On the other hand, the hypothesis is encouraged by the trouble such powerful women took in general, during the tenth century and the early eleventh, to live in a residence worthy of the name, to integrate it, given their troubled times, within a fortified building, and to continue their role in care for the sacred (palace) alongside management of military concerns (castle). Put simply, even if women were intrinsically associated with the religious dimension of life, it is clear that the female elite were not alone in the architectural expression of religious sentiment. Thus, this hypothesis calls for prudence. What we can say is that our two countesses contributed to the propagation of a type of castle that was in the ascendancy among kings and princes, namely that of the residential keep. It is possible that their intervention—together with Lanfred's technical expertise—permitted the introduction of a spatiofunctional variation on a palatine type.

Powerful women were no less apt at keeping up to date with developments in constructing less ambitious castles as well, based on the simpler motte and bailey design. The motte was a particular type of castle that appeared in northern France during the tenth century. At its core, the motte itself was an artificial rounded mound of earth, six to twelve metres high and crowned by a wooden or stone rampart with castle buildings (a keep or other structures). Below extended the bailey, which was a non-raised area protected by an earth rampart (itself topped by a wooden palisade or a wall), and including various buildings ancillary to the castle.

[76] Such is at least intimated by, among other things, the background of our two countesses. Héloïse had a fairly exceptional religious policy, and it is not totally impossible that her son, the bishop of Orléans (or on the way to becoming so) played a part in the design of the *turris*. Albereda's son similarly became a bishop, though even allowing for doubts about Orderic Vitalis's chronology, his activities came after those of his mother.

For the castle of Le Puiset, in the Beauce district, we turn once again to Queen Constance, for whom it was a point of military support during her struggle with her sons, around 1025–1031; this conflict was ongoing even during the lifetime of her husband, King Robert. We know this from Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, who, writing in the twelfth century, refers a number of times in his *Life of Louis VI* to Constance's *castrum*, indicating that it had been regularly besieged by the Capetian kings since the time of Philip I (1078) in order to remove the pillaging lord who possessed it and used it as a base for attacking the property of both the countess of Chartres and the abbey of Saint-Denis.[77] From the Napoleonic cadastral survey and the various descriptors in Suger's narrative, the structure of the eleventh-century castle is revealed.[78] The complex consisted of a large oval mound measuring 420 × 260 metres (Fig. 9), at the center of which there was a motte and bailey (no. 2). A second motte, also possessed of a bailey, was grafted onto the periphery of the large mound (no. 1). Suger's account of the siege of 1112 speaks volumes. In order to deal effectively with the opposing party, ensconced in motte 2 and the enclosure, King Louis reused, for the purpose of erecting a castle, an old abandoned castle-motte that "had belonged formerly to his ancestors." This onetime royal motte (no. 1) is probably the *castrum* built by Queen Constance. It had been laid out in a way that was classic in its day, with an artificial mound possessed of two baileys, one smaller (immediate to motte no. 1) for the use of the household, and another, larger one, designed to provide a protected space for crops and peasant inhabitants. Subsequent to its construction but prior to 1112, the lord of Le Puiset appears to have abandoned part of the fortified plan (motte no. 1) and erected a new motte and bailey (no. 2) inside the larger, surviving enclosure.

Although the castle had been built a century before Abbot Suger wrote, the important point is that such a highly influential churchman, who was well acquainted with the site, considered it quite normal that a queen should build a castle that was in all likelihood a motte type, a style of castle in vogue at the time. In that case, Constance was probably quite happy to make use of and spread a model already known for its effectiveness. There is nothing in this that should surprise us.

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[77] Suger, *La vie de Louis le Gros*, pp. 132, 136–42, 158–68, 170.

[78] See Gabriel Fournier, "Le château du Puiset au début du XIIe siècle et sa place dans l'évolution de l'architecture militaire," *Bulletin monumental*, 122 (1964), pp. 355–74.

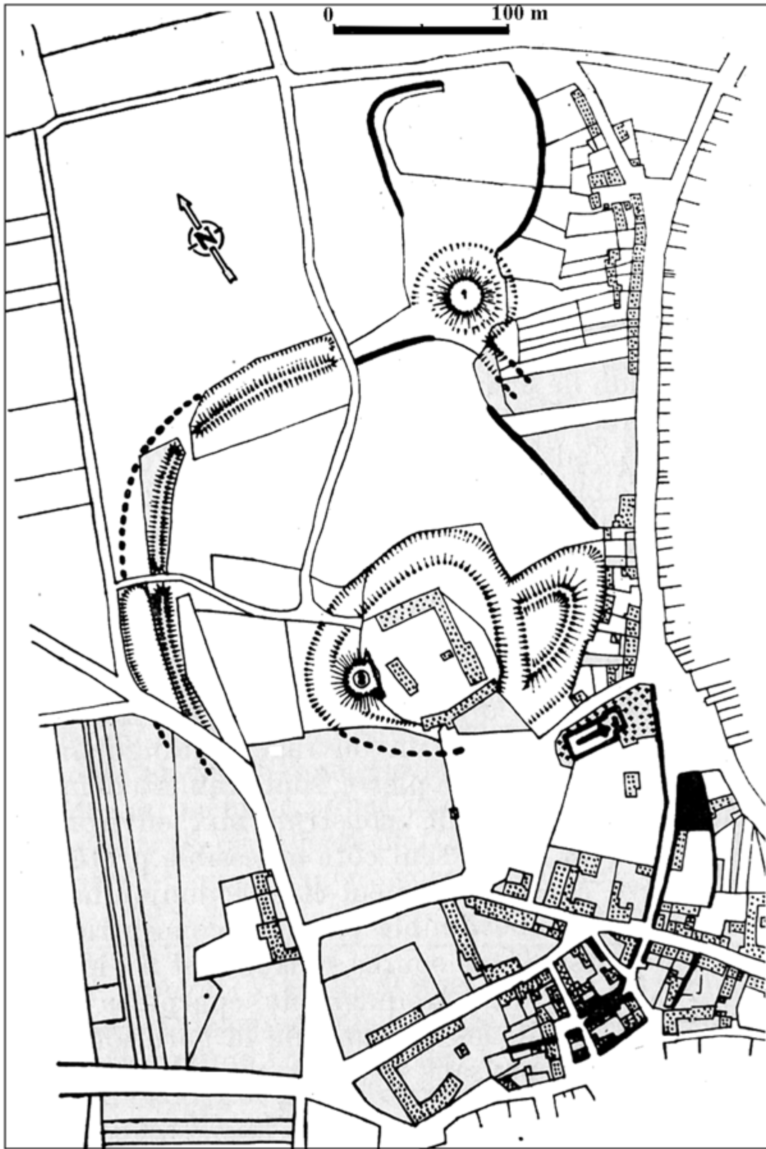

Figure 9 Le Puiset Castle according to the cadastral plan of 1839 (Gabriel Fournier, "Le château du Puiset au début du XIIe siècle et sa place dans l'évolution de l'architecture militaire," *Bulletin monumental*, 122 [1964], pp. 355–74).

Conclusions

This study has drawn together both textual and physical evidence to demonstrate that queens had major responsibilities within their palaces and that they helped to reinforce such establishments both conceptually and geopolitically. As the ninth century gave way to the tenth, their role largely surpassed the private and domestic spheres, and gained potency in both public and political life. Though subordinate to her king, a queen was nevertheless a *consors regni*; often she was anointed and consecrated; she participated in the exercise of royal *potestas* and its religious purposes. She helped to exalt the Christian and irenic facet of that power, which found its concrete expression in the *palatium*. As a woman, her role in the management of the sacred was a privileged one, that of *mediatrix*. She had a wide field of action in which she could express herself *mulieriter*; such opportunities could be even more potent on dower or dowry land. Where she was a regent and/or lay abbess in one of the prestigious monasteries possessed of palace-style functions, she could exercise truly major power. It is hardly surprising that in such contexts queens should help determine the evolving networks of residences, while wielding the palatine power on which royal governance was based. Queens co-managed, ran, and kept alive the memory of the royal *aedes* or *palatium*. They were able to share in the creation of such establishments and intervened, architecturally speaking, with or without their husbands' consent.

Although the systematic militarization of living arrangements from at least the last third of the ninth century might at first sight seem conceptually prejudicial to women, since it would seem to oblige them to act *viriliter*—a behaviour that could on occasion elicit either praise or condemnation—it did not affect the breadth of their field of action. On the contrary, such militarization reinforced their capacity for action, as is witnessed by the *comitissae* whose husbands based their power on networks of castles and who, though slightly later than the queens and neither anointed nor consecrated as countesses, nonetheless enjoyed a similar pattern of political evolution. Associated with their husbands, participating in the exercise of public power and its religious objectives, they, like the queens, had a duty of defense. In all likelihood, they took part in military expeditions and more regularly saw to the needs for oversight, defense, provisioning, and foundation of the *castra* into whose changing shape and design they also had an input. In the tenth and early eleventh century, the use—if not indeed instrumentalization—of femininity as

such was striking, whether it had to do with assuring the continuance of royal power in a vital center like Laon, establishing regional power at major sites like Pithiviers or Étampes, or stabilizing a valuable frontier zone, as at Ivry. In the end, although the degree was different, to attack a castle defended by a woman was in a sense like attacking the Church and its precepts; it also ran the risk of ridicule if unsuccessful. Female power was real, if vulnerable. The tutelage of a husband, or of some male individual at any rate, was never very far away, but it would appear that occasionally, as far as we can judge, it either did not exist (or was leastwise out of sight), or was strongly contested.

Surviving documentation does not allow us to ascribe with absolute certainty to elite women this or that particular influence in the architectural field. Contextual elements together with a few concrete data from written and archaeological sources show that royal and noble women helped spread models of palaces and castles that were at the cutting edge, as well as others undoubtedly less innovative. The *palatium cum oratorio* that Queen Constance built in the early eleventh century at Étampes would seem to belong to the category of multifunctional dwelling (*domus*) that grew in such numbers in the tenth and probably also eleventh centuries. The castle built by the same queen at Le Puiset would seem to be a classic of its type, though it looks to have been a relatively advanced example of the motte and bailey variety. As for the *turres* built by the countesses of Pithiviers and Ivry towards the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, the context is well understood, that of the early expansion in the construction of keeps or donjons that had begun previously in the tenth century.

Did these powerful women make an architectural mark? Contextual elements and a few precise examples suggest that they played a significant, perhaps decisive role, in at least two areas, those of the *camerae* and the *capellae*. Their mere presence, coupled with the functions nature had among other things given them, spurred the development of semi-private spaces designed especially for their use; these were likely to encompass improvements to the quality of life or upgrade the aesthetic appearance and representational value of a place. Their role in managing the sacred dimension, their piety, and the importance of their religious policies encouraged them to assure the development of worthy ecclesiastical premises.

Where castles were concerned, the approach is more complicated. The palatine keeps at Pithiviers and Ivry are excellent exemplars of the symbiosis between *palatium* and *castrum*. They represent a sort of high point in

the synthesis that elite women managed to bring to private, political, religious, and military prerogatives and preoccupations. With the unquantifiable assistance of a fine master mason—Lanfred—working either alone or with ecclesiastical (especially episcopal) support, Héloïse and Albereda probably helped to create a morphological variant on the large oblong keep which would in due course inspire the famous Tower of London. In these sophisticated building models, the ecclesiastical component, separated from the entrance with its military import and underlying symbolism, was given a major place both visually and functionally, while the other two essential palatine components, the *aula* and the *camera*, were glorified by means of fortification. Thus, while the paucity of written and material evidence makes it difficult to trace women's active involvement in early medieval French palaces and castles, this analysis demonstrates that proof of their participation can indeed be found. It is to be hoped that future research will carry the topic further forward.

CHAPTER TWENTY

REDRESSING IMAGES: CONFLICT IN CONTEXT AT ABBESS HUMBRINA'S SCRIPTORIUM IN PONTETETTO (LUCCA)[1]

Loretta Vandi

Dedicated to Mirella Biondi Nieri

Like so much of Lucca in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the female Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria at Pontetetto was caught up in the politics of reform. Moral integrity was the main concern of the monastic-reform movement, with chastity, obedience, and poverty as its basic tenets. Poverty, however, found few adherents in Lucca, so here we may speak only of "partial reform."[2] Written documents record some of the ways in which Pontetetto's remarkable abbess, Humbrina (in office between ca. 1089 and 1124), tackled the challenges of that particular climate in order to campaign for the independence of her monastery from the powerful chapter of regular canons at the Cathedral of St. Martino.[3] To do so, she played off the canons, who opposed the Gregorian reform, against the reforming bishops of Lucca and their allies, the popes.

Humbrina stepped into a long-lived struggle between the bishops and the canons. The turn-over of bishops during Humbrina's lifetime was high; between 1073 and 1128, six men held the see.[4] Anselm I, Bishop of Lucca

[1] Abbreviations: AAL = Archivio arcivescovile Lucca; ASL = Archivio statale Lucca; BSL = Biblioteca statale Lucca. I would like to offer my gratitude to Elaine Beretz and Therese Martin for their editorial assistance with this article, and to Pavlos Jerenis, whose comments were as helpful as ever.

[2] Hans-Martin Schwarzmaier, "Riforma monastica e movimenti religiosi a Lucca alla fine del secolo XI," in *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medievale* (Lucca, 1984), pp. 71–94.

[3] For Humbrina's career, see Almerico Guerra, *Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il secolo XII* (Lucca, 1924), p. 172; Roberto Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina a Lucca da Anselmo II (d. 1086) a Roberto (d. 1225)* (Lucca, 1996), pp. 166–67; in the ASL: documents with the signatures Fondo San Giovanni (14 November 1095), Fondo San Nicolao (25 November 1112), and Fondo Francesco Maria Fiorentini (19 June 1122); in the AAL: document E 31 (23 March 1111), and ms. 93, fol. 108v ("IIII Nonas martis obiit Humbrina").

[4] (1) Anselm II (1073–1086), who was in office when Humbrina and other nuns lived in the old Carolingian monastery built at Pontetetto by Bishop Jacopus in 802. See AAL DD 44. (2) Petrus, a schismatic (1081–ca. 1091), who was bishop when the church of St. Maria at

(1056–1061), who became Pope Alexander II (1061–1073), had earlier tried to reform the practices of the canons, especially by enforcing celibacy and limiting private property.[5] He expressed his agenda vehemently and publicly before the canons, the rest of the clergy, and the laity at the consecration of the restored Cathedral of St. Martino in 1070.[6] But the struggle to reform the canons continued under Anselm's successors, his nephew Anselm II (1073–1086), and Rangerius (1096–1112). In 1080 Bishop Anselm II, assailed from all sides on account of his zeal for reform, was obliged to flee Lucca. For the six years until his death, Anselm served as the spiritual advisor for Matilda of Canossa and the vicar for Pope Gregory VII in northern Italy.[7] During those years, the so-called schismatic bishop Petrus served in Lucca, under the aegis of the antipope Wibertus of Ravenna and the German emperor Henry IV.[8] When Rangerius took office in 1096, he attempted to reaffirm episcopal power by promoting the cult of Anselm II, who was already considered a saint.[9] Even so, the anti-Gregorian climate in Lucca continued unchecked, especially among the cathedral canons of St. Martino. It was during Rangerius' tenure that Humbrina took advantage of the struggle to redress what she saw as an improper interference of the canons in the life of her foundation. Eventually she also would turn

Pontetetto was built. According to the Edili Missal (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 111), fol. 164v, the church was consecrated on 14 May: "scte Marie ad martires, dedicatio huius ecclesie." (3) Gottifredus (1091–ca. 1095), who was faithful to Matilda and under whom the rebuilt monastery, which dates from before 1095, was begun. (4) Rangerius (ca. 1096–1112), during whose tenure the *Xenodochion* was built. The *Xenodochion* was complete by 1112, since a document (ASL, Fondo San Nicolao, 31 July 1112) reports that the rector of the hospital was "Rusticus presbiter ecclesie et ospitii predicte sancte mariae." (5) Rodulfus (1112–1 December 1118). (6) Benedictus I (1 December 1118–1128).

[5] Cinzio Violante, "Alessandro II," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1961), vol. 3, pp. 176–83.

[6] Romano Silva, "La ricostruzione della cattedrale di Lucca (1060–1070): un esempio precoce di architettura della Riforma Gregoriana," in *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073–1086) nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica*, ed. Cinzio Violante (Rome, 1992), pp. 297–309.

[7] On Anselm II's flight: see Cinzio Violante, "Anselmo da Baggio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1961), vol. 3, pp. 399–407, esp. 401–402 (with rich bibliography). See also *Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Bologna, 1987).

[8] Roberto Savigni, "L'episcopato lucchese di Rangerio (1096 ca.–1112) tra riforma 'gregoriana' e nuova coscienza cittadina," *Ricerche Storiche*, 27 (1997), pp. 5–37, esp. 20–23.

[9] Gabriella Severino, "La Vita metrica di Anselmo da Lucca scritta da Rangerio. Ideologia e genere letterario," in *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 223–71; Edith Pásztor, "La 'Vita' anonima di Anselmo di Lucca. Una rilettura," in *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 207–22.

to Rome for help, since Pontetetto had strong ties with the papacy as early as 1099.[10]

But the written documents of Humbrina's maneuverings tell only half the story. Intriguing evidence encoded in the iconography of a series of manuscripts made at Pontetetto during Humbrina's tenure as abbess give insight into the ways in which the monastery's struggle for independence shaped the nuns' self-awareness. Close analysis of the iconography and its comparison with imagery produced in the male scriptoria of Lucca during this same period reveals that the nuns of Pontetetto had a fierce sense of their powers as religious women, as well as a desire to experience the holy without the mediation of the male clergy.

My hypothesis is that Humbrina herself fostered this gendered self-awareness. Humbrina's use of art to express the nuns' evolving self-awareness was one of many examples of her patronage of art, a responsibility she inherited both with her office of abbess and from her noble family. Humbrina was probably the daughter of a rich landowner Bonus and his wife Ghisla.[11] Records show that she had a church and a monastery built on lands that for the most part belonged to her.[12] Around 1099, Humbrina also had a hospital built with the aid of her father.[13]

When she became abbess, Humbrina began a program of transcribing and decorating manuscripts for Pontetetto. My argument in this article recognizes for the first time that Italian nuns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were makers of works of art.[14] This is the case, even though

[10] See the document AAL AA 32, signature 25 March 1181.

[11] On Bonus and Ghisla: see the documents in the ASL with the signatures Fondo A, Fondo San Pietro (both dated 12 March 1087), and Fondo San Pietro (14 August 1115).

[12] On the church and monastery: see the documents cited in note 3. Very little has been written about Pontetetto. See, in brief, Paul F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia* (Berlin, 1908), p. 455; Giovanni Barsotti, *Lucca sacra. Guida storico-artistico-religiosa di Lucca* (Lucca, 1923), p. 225; Guglielmo Lera, "Alcune note sull'antico convento delle Monache Benedettine di Pontetetto," *Notiziario filatelico-numismatico*, 4/5 (1980), pp. 6–8; Marino Matteoni, *Pontetetto* (Lucca, 1994).

[13] Humbrina's mother had died in 1086. The document concerning the hospital is AAL, AA 32 (25 March 1181).

[14] Until now, that agency was accorded in Italy only to lay women, who are recorded in Bolognese contracts and who lived much later, in the 13th and 14th centuries. See Francesco Filippini and Guido Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna: documenti dei secoli 13. e 14.* (Florence, 1944). In the last quarter of the 13th century, Donella, a lay woman illuminator, produced a series of illuminations in medical and juridical texts used by teachers at the Bolognese *studium.* See Loretta Vandi, "The Woman with the Flower: Social and Artistic Identity in Medieval Italy," *Gesta*, 39 (2000), pp. 73–77. For the larger context of women artists, see, in the present volume, Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists' Portraits (9th–12th c.)."

the role of nuns as artists from the early Middle Ages on has long been acknowledged for other European religious institutions.[15] A group of manuscripts produced at Pontetetto allows insight not only into the scriptorium of the nuns, but it also provides evidence for the impact of events outside the monastery on the spiritual life and gender awareness of religious women, and specifically for the ways that their gendered spiritual life shaped the production of manuscripts, in their texts and especially in their imagery. Under Humbrina's leadership, her nuns used their artistic activity as a means to confront—this time, successfully—the canons' claims. A close analysis of the products of the scriptorium of Pontetetto thus provides an interesting case study of how politics, religion, and art were tightly intertwined.[16]

The production of manuscripts was a primary task of Benedictine life. According to the Rule, the religious were entrusted with the copying and dissemination of texts of the Divine Office as a way to preserve and hand on official prayer.[17] Pontetetto was one of a striking number of Benedictine monasteries, both male and female, in the area in and around Lucca (Fig. 1).[18] In accordance with the Rule, these foundations produced a good many manuscripts, although secure attribution to a particular scriptorium is difficult.[19] This is because only a few of them have inscriptions of own-

[15] A good survey of studies on medieval women artists remains Lila Yawn-Bonghi, "Medieval Women Artists and Modern Historians," *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*, 12 (1992), pp. 10–19. See also Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages. The Dark is Light Enough," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London and Chicago, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 3–21.

[16] Hans Martin Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jarhrhunderts: Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana* (Tübingen, 1972).

[17] *Regula sancti benedicti*, ed. Georg Holzherr (Casale Monferrato, 1992); Kate Lowe, "Women's Work at the Benedictine Convent of Le Murate in Florence: Suora Battista Carducci's Roman Missal of 1509," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London, 1996), pp. 133–46.

[18] For documents concerning medieval Lucchese monasteries, as well as churches and hospitals: see Giustiniano degli Azzi Vitelleschi, *Regesti dell'archivio di stato di Lucca* (Lucca, 1903–1911); Pietro Guidi and Enrico Parenti, *Regesta chartarum Italiae—Regesto del capitolo di Lucca* (Roma, 1910); Kehr, *Italia pontificia*; Barsotti, *Lucca Sacra.* See also Wilhelm Kurze, "Monasteri e nobiltà della Tuscia altomedioevale," in *Atti del 5° congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 347–78; Isa Belli Barsali, "La topografia di Lucca nei secoli VIII–XI," in *Atti del 5° congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo*, pp. 461–541; Enrico Coturri, "I monasteri e la vita monastica intorno a Lucca fino al secolo XIV," in *Atti dell'Accademia Lucchese di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 15–16 (1983), pp. 231–60.

[19] Documents from the 11th and 12th centuries record many wealthy canonries and monasteries of both sexes in the Lucchese region, but a scriptorium is attested only for some male institutions, such as St. Martino, St. Pietro of Pozzeveri, and St. Pantaleone. All

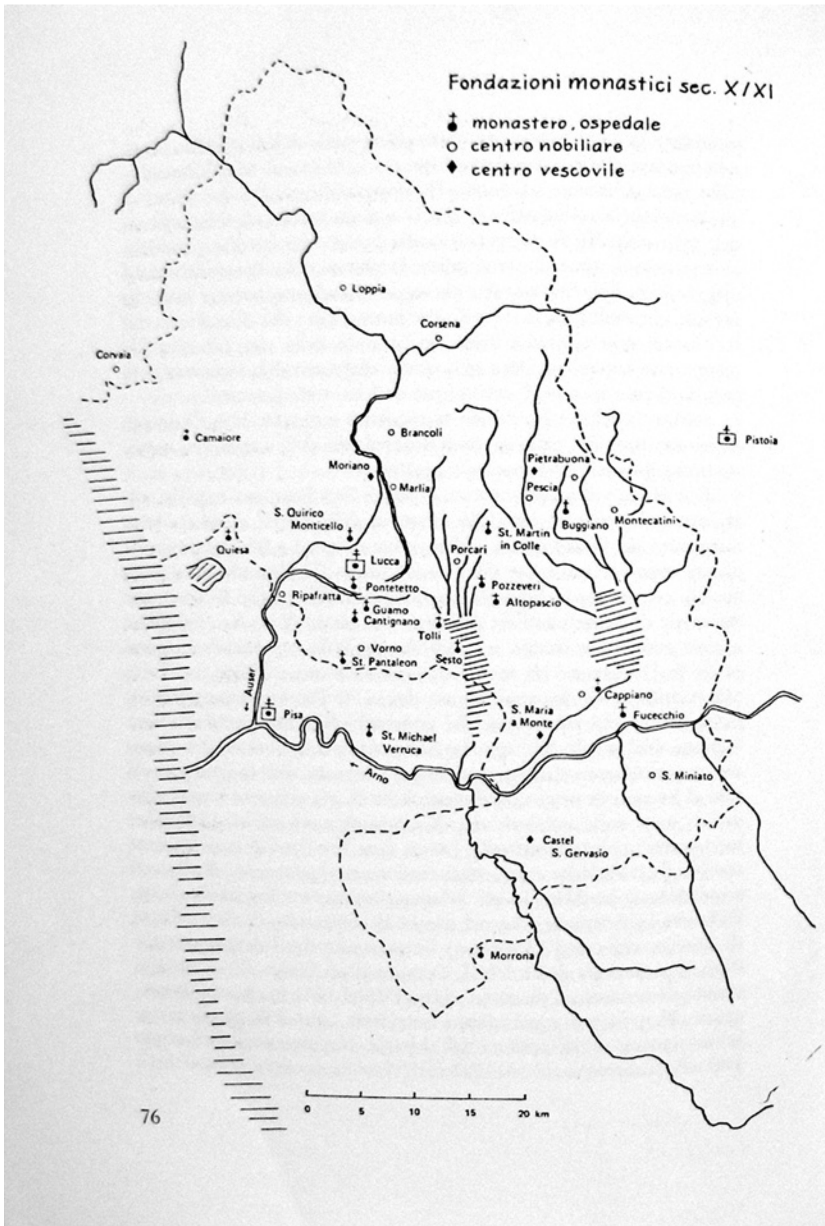

Figure 1 Map of 11th- and 12th-c. monasteries around Lucca: 1) monasteries and hospitals; 2) centers of the nobility; 3) episcopal centers (After H. Schwarzmaier, "Riforma monastica e movimenti religiosi a Lucca alla fine del secolo XI," in *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medievale*, Lucca, 1984, p. 76).

ership and/or are registered in the institution's inventories. Even when a manuscript is listed in an inventory, it is still unclear whether it originated at that institution or was a bequest from another monastery that had discontinued its own scriptorium or was dissolved altogether. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin this study with two preliminary tasks: to establish the kinship of four manuscripts, and to show that they were the work of a female scriptorium working at Pontetetto monastery. This will allow me to explain at the end of this article how Humbrina's administrative concerns and conflicts with the male clergy of the region shaped some characteristics of the style and iconography in four manuscripts produced in the monastery during the years of Humbrina's leadership.

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of these institutions either border on, or are close to, Humbrina's holdings: see Martino Giusti, "Le canoniche della città e diocesi di Lucca al tempo della riforma gregoriana," *Studi gregoriani*, 3 (1948), pp. 321–67; Martino Giusti, "Notizie sulle canoniche lucchesi," in *Atti della settimana di studio*, Mendola 1959 (Milano, 1962), pp. 434–54; Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, "Il capitolo di S. Martino e la riforma canonicale nella seconda metà del sec. XI," in *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 51–64. On St. Pietro of Pozzeveri and St. Pantaleone, see Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, pp. 461–63 and 456. St. Salvatore of Sesto and SS. Salvatore and Bartolomeo in Cantignano were other significant male foundations in the area, and their abbots sometimes entered into land exchanges with Humbrina. On St. Salvatore of Sesto, see Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, pp. 456–61. On SS. Salvatore and Bartolomeo in Cantignano: see Coturri, "I monasteri e la vita monastica," p. 242.

Lack of documents about artistic activity means that we have not as yet identified works produced at the other female institutions in and around Lucca that were as prominent as Pontetetto, such as St. Quirico in Casale and SS. Matthew and John at Rio de Valle near Guamo. Both belonged to the abbess Berta: see Giorgio Barsotti, "Il monastero di San Quirico in Casale," in *Venticinquesimo annuale del parroco di Guamo don Pellegrino Puccinelli* (Lucca, 1932), pp. 27–29; Coturri, "I monasteri e la vita monastica," p. 246; Savigni, *Episcopato e società*, pp. 169–71. St. Frediano at Tolle, near Pescia, was ruled by the abbess Eufrosina. The monastery and lands were offered to her by the bishop of Lucca, Gottifredus, at the very time when Humbrina was building her own. Eufrosina's monastery in this way was brought under the bishop's protection. See AAL document with the signature ++ R 3 (4 July 1091); also Amleto Spicciani, "Il monachesimo femminile lucchese alla fine del secolo XI e le origini di San Michele di Pescia," *Bollettino dell'Accademia Lucchese di scienze, lettere e arti*, 3 (1992), pp. 12–13. Documents indicate that St. Gioconda at Obacula was a large and wealthy female monastery until it was turned over to Camaldolese monks in 1192: Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, p. 483. St. Giustina was one of the oldest female monasteries inside the walls of Lucca. It was outstanding, even when compared with St. Giorgio, St. Ponziano, and St. Bartolomeo in Silice, all male institutions of great importance and all wealthy enough to support a scriptorium, even if no extant manuscript bears any signs of having been made there. See Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, pp. 440–41 (for St. Giustina); Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, pp. 441–43 (for St. Giorgio); Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, pp. 444–47 (for St. Ponziano). For St. Bartolomeo in Silice, see Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Italian Medieval Painting*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1954–1962), vol. 3, p. 225. On St. Giustina, see also Barsotti, *Lucca sacra*, pp. 224–25; Savigni, *Episcopato e società*, p. 246. On 9 July 1408, Pope Gregory XII closed Pontetetto monastery and combined it with St. Giustina: see Barsotti, *Lucca sacra*, pp. 224–25. On St. Giorgio, see also Giovan Domenico Mansi and Domenico Barsocchini, *Diario sacro delle chiese di Lucca* (Lucca, 1836), pp. 86–88.

My contention that the four manuscripts were produced at Pontetetto begins with the inscription in the back guard sheet of the Lucca Antiphonary (Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, 603; first quarter of the twelfth century), which reads: “Iste liber est monasterii sanctae Mariae de Ponte Tecto.”[20] Although the three other manuscripts lack such inscriptions of ownership, I will argue that they also were produced at Pontetetto: the Edili Missal (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 111; end of the eleventh century);[21] the Pistoia Antiphonary (Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R 69; first half of the twelfth century); and the Florence Commentaries on the Song of Songs (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 276; also from the first half of the twelfth century).[22] I am not the first to study these manuscripts, or even to connect them as a group. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dom de Puniet, a pioneering scholar of medieval music, had already recognized similarities between the musical notations in the Lucca Antiphonary and those in manuscripts 601 and 609, also of the Biblioteca capitolare.[23]

It is ironic that de Puniet correctly identified Pontetetto as the scriptorium that produced the Lucca Antiphonary on the basis of his belief, which later scholarship has proven to be false, that manuscripts 601 and 609 were produced there. During the 1950s, de Puniet’s assertions led E.B. Garrison to include the Lucca Antiphonary, the Edili Missal, the

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[20] On the Lucca Antiphonary, see Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 2, pp. 218–19 and vol. 3, pp. 241–46. The script is Caroline minuscule; the 255 folios (plus 2 guard sheets) contain the *Proprium temporis* (fols. 3r–114r); the *Proprium sanctorum* (fols. 114r–134v); the *Commune sanctorum* (fols. 223v–247v); and a *tonarius* (fols. 248r–256v).

[21] On the Edili Missal: see Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 234–36 with bibliography. See also Reginald Grégoire, “Liturgia e agiografia a Lucca durante gli episcopati di Giovanni II (1023–1056), Anselmo I (1056–1073) e Anselmo II (1073–1086),” in *Sant’Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 273–82, esp. 279. The codex is formed by 228 folios plus 6 guard sheets. The original missal ends at fol. 196v. A contemporary entry at the bottom of fol. 70v indicates that the book was made for the same church: “Istud quaternione scribere Mgo [Magno] et Rustica ad honorem beate marie virginis pro remedium animae eorum fecerunt.” For other letters similar in form to those in the Edili Missal: see Edward B. Garrison, “Additional Certainly, Probably and Possibly Lucchese Manuscripts: Two Early Lucchese Manuscripts from the Pisan Monastery of S. Gorgonio,” *La Bibliofilia*, 75 (1973), pp. 105–24, but esp. fig. 2, p. 107; fig. 6, p. 110; fig. 9, p. 113.

[22] On the Pistoia Antiphonary, which combines a Gradual with Temporal and Sanctoral: see Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 237–40. The content matches the *Sancti Gregorii Magni Romani Pontificis Liber antiphonarius. Ordinatus per circulum anni*, in *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris, 1895), 78: cols 641–724. See also Annamaria Ducci, “Il tema dell’effusione del vino: un problema d’iconografia in una miniatura lucchese del XII secolo,” *Rara Volumina*, 2 (1997), pp. 5–17. On the Florence Commentaries on the Song of Songs, see Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 240–41.

[23] Pierre de Puniet, *Un antiphonaire monastique, le manuscrit 601 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Lucques, Introduction to the facsimile edition = Paléographie musicale*, 9 (1906).

Pistoia Antiphonary, and the Florence Commentaries in the section of his comprehensive corpus of Italian medieval painting that he devoted to early Lucchese illumination. He did not, however, explore the connections in any detail.[24] In the 1980s, Gigetta Dalli Regoli and Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti refined Garrison's studies from a stylistic and chronological point of view.[25] Looking at the parallels suggested by these other scholars and doing so more closely and in greater detail has allowed me not only to establish that Pontetetto was the scriptorium for all four manuscripts, but also to uncover a tradition of women's art there.

Deeper analysis of the style and iconography of the four manuscripts as a group begins from the time-honored emphases on the overall structure (the conception) of the page and on the graphological and expressive elements (lines and colors) of the manuscripts. In medieval book production, each of these factors is unique to the place of its production. Each folio exhibits a unique relationship among three fundamental elements—script, historiated or figural initials, and ornamentation. Each scriptorium filled up the parchment surface in its own distinctive way. Capital letters have their own characteristics that depended on the kind of outline used. Colors show a specific gamut of hues and in addition were often applied

[24] Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 231–46. Garrison was the first scholar to put the surviving medieval manuscripts from Lucca into chronological order and he did this on the basis of their calendars, script, and style. Whenever he found a codex with an inscription of any kind, he confidently assigned its illuminations to the monastery once owning the work. Notwithstanding the fact that Lucca Antiphonary bore an inscription of ownership on its back guard sheets, he still asserted that in this case the work was not produced in the female institution of St. Maria, but that it was simply owned by the monastery. Because St. Maria was a female monastery, Garrison rejected any possibility that the manuscript was produced there, by stating that "no certain instance of the writing and illustrating of books can be pointed to in an Italian nunnery," *Studies*, vol. 2, p. 218. Such reticence is perhaps understandable, given the assumptions of the time when Garrison was working, and this should not detract from Garrison's contribution. His laborious survey of Lucchese medieval painting was the first attempt to put the large number of manuscripts held at Lucchese libraries into some kind of order. One of his chief accomplishments in that work was to identify a style—both in drawing and painting—particular to the Lucchese region and to recognize that that style resulted from well-organized scriptoria. For Garrison, however, there was never a question that those scriptoria must have been run by monks or canons, not nuns.

[25] Gigetta Dalli Regoli, "La miniatura lucchese tra la fine dell'XI e gli inizi del XII secolo: Forme di decorazione 'umbro-romana' e cultura grafica francese," in *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Modena-Parma, 1982), pp. 274–88; Gigetta Dalli Regoli, "Fiori e girali foliacei: moduli decorativi elaborati a Lucca all'inizio del XII secolo," in *Dai maestri senza nome all'impresa dei Guidi. Contributi per lo studio della scultura medievale a Lucca* (Lucca, 1986), pp. 11–17; Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, "Il Passionario 'F' e i manoscritti affini nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Lucca," in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica* (Florence, 1979), pp. 63–91.

in an idiosyncratic manner. Provided it is analyzed deeply enough, zoomorphic and phytomorphic ornament can also offer further clues to the place where the manuscript was produced.

Using these criteria to analyze the four manuscripts listed above indicates that they were produced in the same scriptorium, one other than those to which they have been attributed. While it is true that the four exhibit a variety of hands, both in script and decoration, it is more significant that they all have taken as their model—at least in the outline of the capital letters and the treatment of color—what might be called the "hand-in-chief." Further, they share some characteristics not found in any other groups of manuscripts. Two of these characteristics are related to the script; the rest, to decoration. Taken together, they argue quite strongly for their source in one and the same scriptorium. The shapes of initials—in particular the Ds, Is, Os, Qs, Ss, Us—have the same size and kind of line (whether straight or curved), and that shape has been carefully reproduced in each work (Fig. 2a). Musical notations (*neums*) above the letters are in the same form and ink (Fig. 2b). At the apexes of the letter or inside it, the usual acanthus ornament is supplemented by peculiar decorative leaves or lotus-like and palmette-like flowers, all swollen and tridimensional (Fig. 2c). Two have what might be termed a "fabric stamp," a golden bi- or tripartite bracelet encircling the stems that form the letter (Fig. 2d).

These four manuscripts exhibit a marked contrast with others produced in and around Lucca, especially those from the scriptoria of the canons of St. Martino and of the monks of St. Pietro of Pozzeveri.[26] The manuscripts from St. Martino and St. Pietro followed a homogeneous iconographic and decorative program from the outset. Rather high quality, they all include the same sequence of saints and martyrs and the same ornamental solutions. Their iconographic models owe as much to Roman, French, and English manuscripts as to Lucchese panel and mural painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[27] The Pontetetto nuns, by contrast, started

[26] Of all the scriptoria known to have operated in and around Lucca, only those of St. Martino and St. Pietro of Pozzeveri have a significant number of manuscripts securely attributed to them. The seventeen manuscripts produced at St. Martino are: Mss. 24–25, 40–41, 56, 68, 124, and F (all of the 11th c.); Mss. C, P+, 15, 20, 22, 36, 37, 38, 44, 48, and 85 (all of the 12th c.). The manuscripts produced at St. Pietro of Pozzeveri are: parts of Ms. 2 (11th c.); Mss. 9, 32, 42, 63, 89, and 601 (all of the 12th c.).

[27] The few examples of 12th-century painting from Lucca include a fresco in St. Frediano and another once in St. Ponziano: see Romano Silva, *La basilica di San Frediano a Lucca. Immagine simbolica di Roma Cristiana* (Lucca, 2010), plates 72–75. The naturalistic

Figure 2a Initial D, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 145r (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

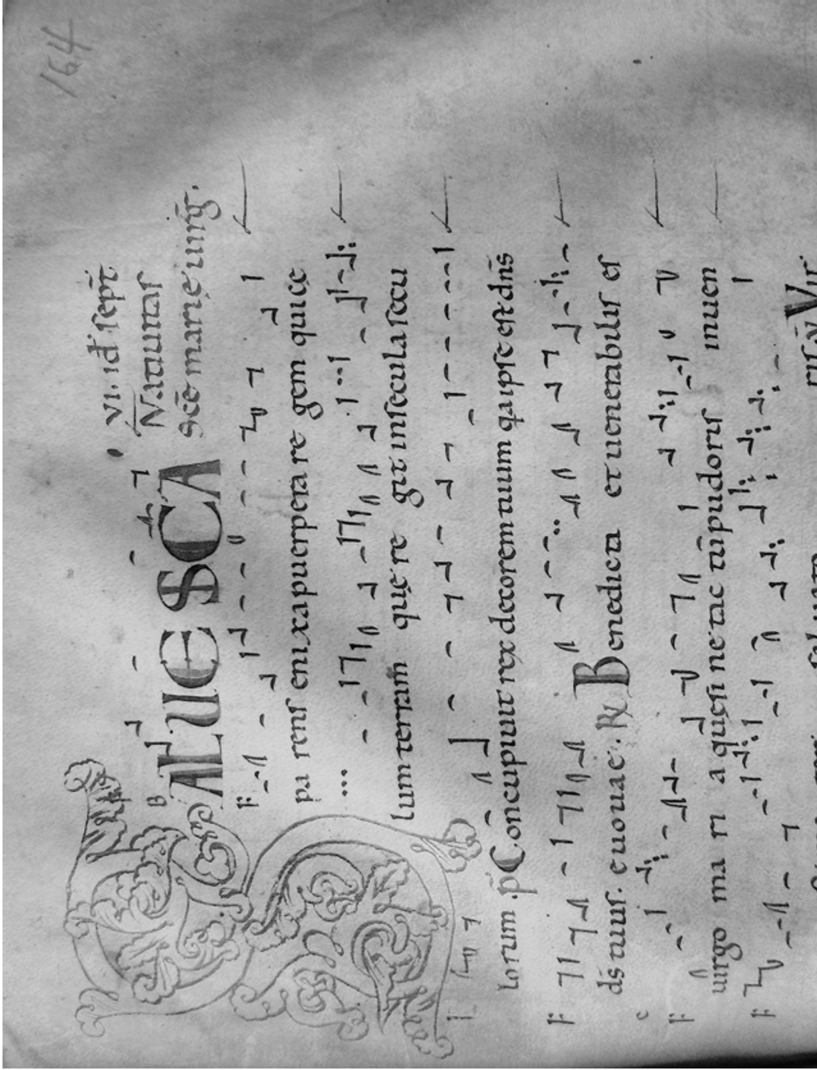

Figure 2b Initial S, Pistoia Antiphonary, ca. 1102. Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R69, fol. 164r (Photo: L. Vandi/Diocesi di Pistoia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, Prot. Aut. 21/2011).

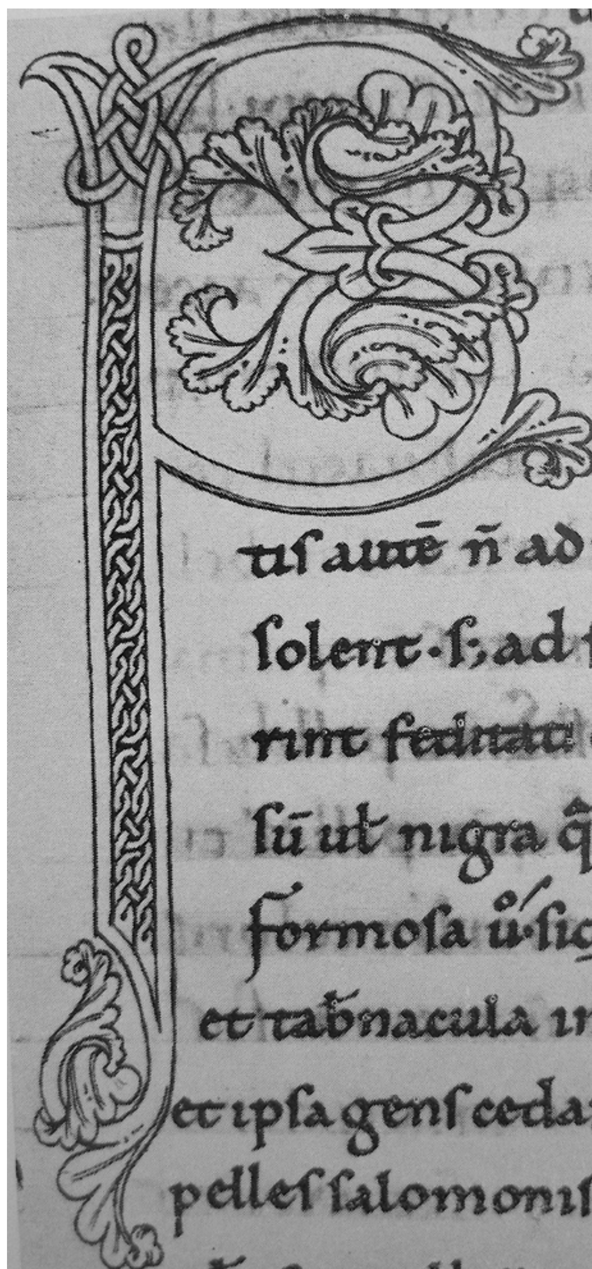

Figure 2c Initial F, Florence Commentaries on the Song of Songs, ca. 1110. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 276, fol. 47r (Photo: L. Vandi/Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence).

Figure 2d Initial C, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 220v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

discreetly, emphasizing good script and precise musical notation. It was only at a later stage of the scriptorium's history that they were concerned with elaborating sets of illuminations into what could be called programs.

The oldest manuscript under consideration here, the Edili Missal (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 111) was made around 1096. It includes only two ornamental initials that introduce the *Vere dignum* (Fig. 3) and the *Te igitur*. The purpose of both of them was to highlight the most solemn chants of the Eucharist.[28] Close to the end of the manuscript, however, there is a section in which the dignity of the formal parts of the communal liturgy gives way to a more direct approach to religion and to individual devotions. There, for the first time, prayers are composed *ex novo* and are dedicated to Mary instead of God. Since the church and monastery of Pontetetto were dedicated to Mary, a desire for a more personal, direct relation with the patroness is to be expected. But it is the tone of the prayers that is particularly striking. Rather than poignant personal requests addressed to the Virgin, these prayers seem instead to be reflections on Mary's chief qualities. The Edili Missal shows a simple relationship between the text of the liturgy and the images that merely point to key passages. And yet, the change of tone and the purpose of the prayers to Mary indicate an emphasis on female piety that will become more evident in later products of the scriptorium.

A complete artistic program, by which I mean one with an articulated iconography designed for a specific purpose, is not evident in this scriptorium until around 1112 when the Lucca Antiphonary (Lucca, Biblioteca

rinceaux used in Lucchese manuscripts, whose highly-drawn leaf and flower motifs are often populated with naturalistic animals or animal heads, seem to have been borrowed from the North. In his magisterial introduction to medieval miniatures, Otto Pächt provided the following northern examples for comparison: (1) From the Psalter of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, fol. 169r, at Psalm 109 (Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 11550; dated to the middle of the 11th century), in Otto Pächt, *La miniatura medievale. Una introduzione* (Torino, 1987), fig. 113, p. 82. In this pen-and-ink drawing, vegetation sprouts from the mouths of animals. (2) From St. Ambrose, *Commentary to the Gospels*, fol. 31v (Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 59; a Norman manuscript of the 11th century), in Pächt, *Miniatura*, fig. 115, p. 83. Note here how the interlace formed of animals sprouting vegetation follows the shape of the initial. (3) From St. Augustine, *Commentary to the Psalms*, fol. 1r, (Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, 131; a Norman manuscript of the late 11th century), in Pächt, *Miniatura*, fig. 124, p. 89. Note the zoomorphic mask in the middle of the initial B, from whose mouth sprouts inhabited vegetation that follows the outline of the letter.

[28] There is a striking similarity—due perhaps to the same model—between this letter and the one in a manuscript from the Carthusian monastery at Calci (now Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 55), fol. 253v: see Garrison, "Additional," fig. 2, p. 107; also *I manoscritti del fondo Certosa di Calci nella Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. Giovanna Murano (Firenze, 1996).

Figure 3 Initial V, Florence Edili Missal, ca. 1096. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS 111, fol. 10r (Photo: L. Vandi/Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).

capitolare, 603) was produced. Throughout this manuscript, the treatment of female saints is especially thorough, with detailed narratives that show them engaged in monologues and dialogues. These accounts carry an emotional charge that contrasts markedly with the tone of the corresponding sections devoted to male saints. In addition to the texts, its imagery is as varied as it is original.

Of the manuscripts under consideration here, the Lucca Antiphonary is the last one produced during Humbrina's tenure as abbess. When compared with the Edili Missal, the first in the group, the Lucca Antiphonary shows a striking evolution in style and iconography. The two other manuscripts within the group show intermediate stages in that evolution. The Pistoia Antiphonary (Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R 69) was produced around 1102, after the Edili Missal. The Florence Commentaries on the Song of Songs (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 276) was copied and decorated around 1110, just a few years before the Lucca Antiphonary.[29]

The Florence Commentaries is of less use in studying evolution within the scriptorium. Although it has many outlined ornamental letters, it contains only one illumination. The Pistoia Antiphonary, on the other hand, preserves evidence of a critical stage in the development of the Pontetetto scriptorium. There are two distinct styles in the manuscript. The first of these is exemplified by three drawings of austere design carried out in brown ink with no added color; they introduce the feasts of the Resurrection (fol. 93v), St. George (fol. 137v) (Fig. 4), and St. Michael (fol. 167r). These drawings are linked not only through a masterly use of line, but also through their adherence to models circulating in the larger area around Lucca, models that originated from the scriptorium of the Cathedral of St. Martino and also from the lesser-known scriptoria of the Monasteries of St. Giorgio and St. Michele Canonica.[30]

The second style in the Pistoia Antiphonary is characterized by a good many illuminations, which are as colorful as they are expressive. The change in style is the most distinctive feature of this manuscript, and it is a significant departure from the style of the immediate region. I would argue that this stylistic shift points to the Pontetetto nuns themselves as the active agents of artistic change, and I would suggest further that they

[29] The Florence Commentaries contains only one figural illumination, although it has many decorative letters in outline. I have dated it to the first quarter of the 12th century because of its marked similarities with the Lucca Antiphonary: see also Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 3, pp. 240–41.

[30] Giusti, "Le canoniche," p. 339; Giusti, "Notizie," p. 444.

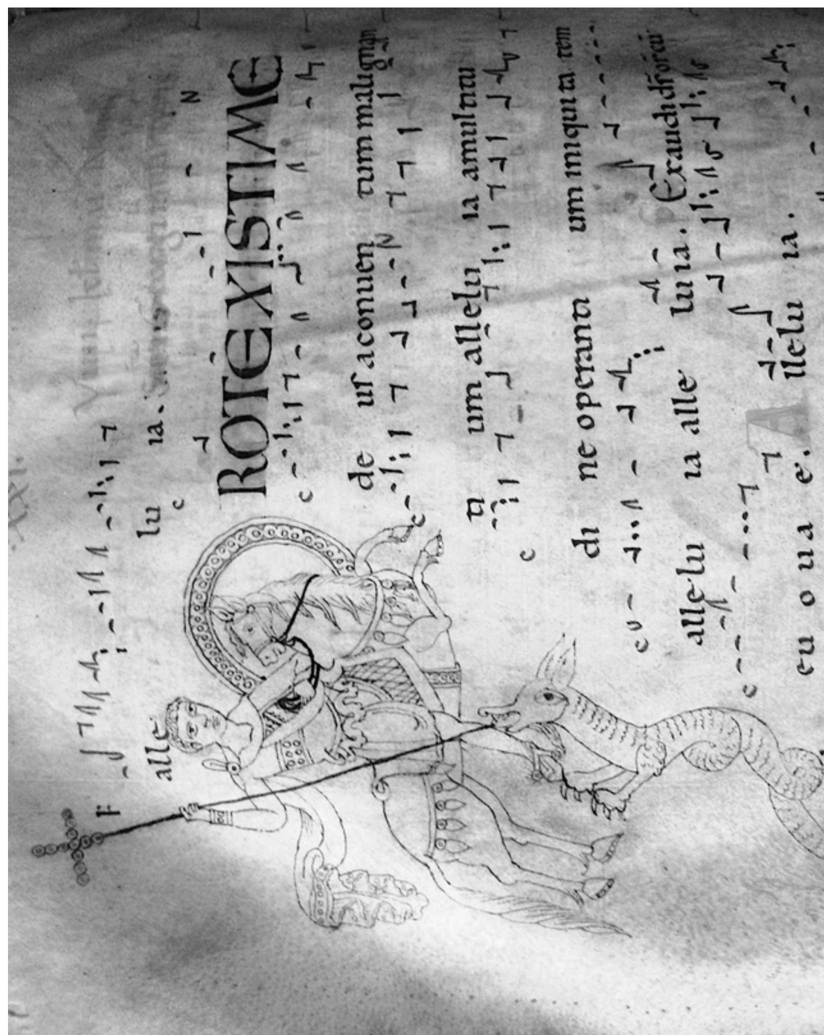

Figure 4 Initial P, Pistoia Antiphonary, ca. 1102. Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R69, fol. 137v (Photo: L. Vandi/Diocesi di Pistoia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, Prot. Aut. 21/2011).

effected this change consciously to make a point about their independence, not—as has been argued before—that they lacked suitable models. Additionally, there is good evidence of models for the newly expressive images from other than the three male scriptoria at St. Martino, St. Giorgio, and St. Michele.[31]

The new style in the Pistoia Antiphonary departs from those elements of the text that mark the major feast days connected to the patrons of the three male communities: the Resurrection of Christ connected with the cathedral; St. George slaying the dragon connected with the eponymous monastery, and St. Michael enthroned connected with the church of St. Michele in Foro.[32] In the twelfth century, these festivities were occasions when the clergy of the city visited the church at Pontetetto. Except for this intrusion into the manuscript (reflecting an intrusion by the male hierarchy?), the Pistoia Antiphonary has an almost perfect homogeneity of contents. In fact, all but one of its illuminations depict saints, martyrs (female and male), and other earlier followers of Christ. The single exception is an image of the Madonna with Child (fol. 160r) (Fig. 5) contained in the G of the *Gaudeamus* that introduces the text of Mary's Assumption. This is remarkable for being the only illumination in a large section of twenty folios that is dedicated exclusively to the Virgin Mary. It is also in the wrong place in the manuscript, a point of interest in this regard. Given other patterns in the imagery at Pontetetto, I doubt that this was a mistake on the part of the nuns. Instead, I would explain it as an early example of their independent interpretation of sacred texts. In this instance that independence took the form of what is (on first impression) an odd correlation of text and image.

That this correlation should be recognized as intentional is attested by a depiction of Mary kneeling before Christ (Fig. 6) on folio 110v of the Florentine Commentaries, which as we have seen was also produced at Pontetetto a few years after the Pistoia Antiphonary. Here the Pontetetto nuns found a perfect correspondence between text and image; so the discrepancy in the Pistoia Antiphonary did not result from ignorance of the tradition of representing this scene or illustrating this text. Further, the discrepancy could not have been due to a lapse of time between writing the script and painting the decoration of the Pistoia Antiphonary, because

31 See AAL Mss. 15, 36, 58, and 601.

32 Martino Giusti, "L'Ordo officiorum della cattedrale di Lucca," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Città del Vaticano, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 523–66, esp. 551–52.

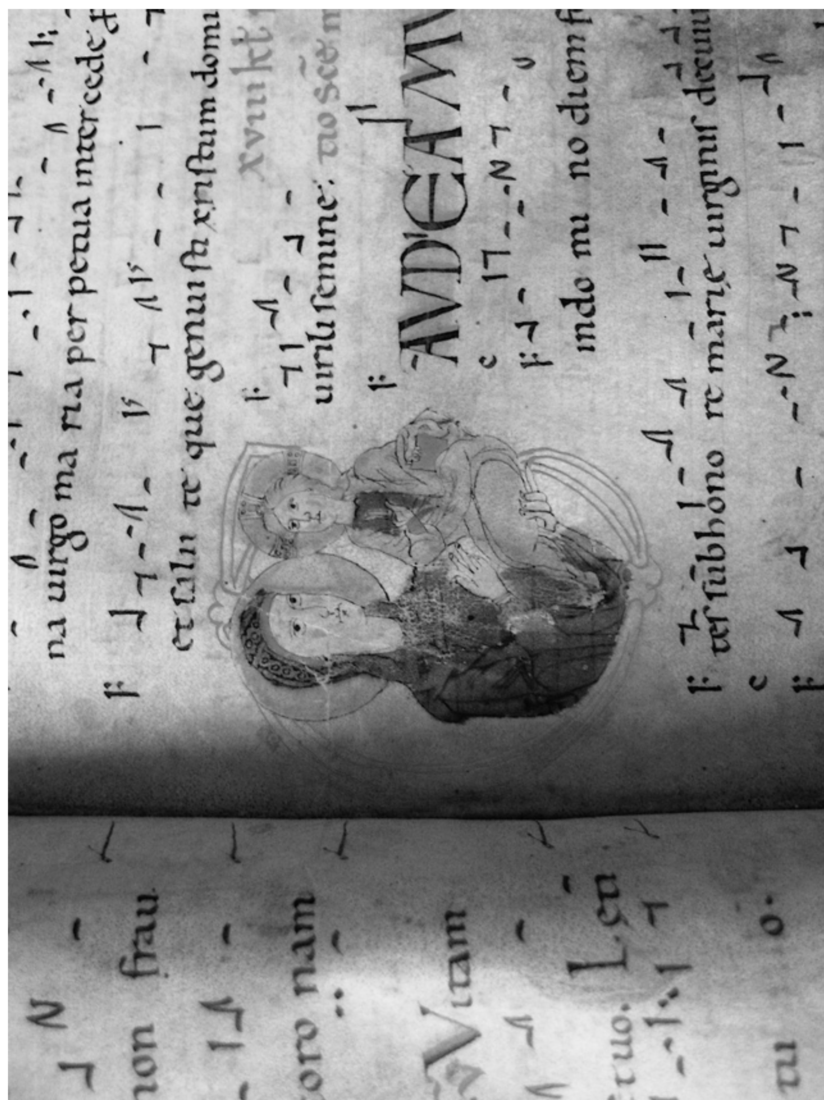

Figure 5 Initial G, Pistoia Antiphonary, ca. 1102. Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R69, fol. 160r (Photo: L. Vandi/Diocesi di Pistoia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, Prot. Aut. 21/2011).

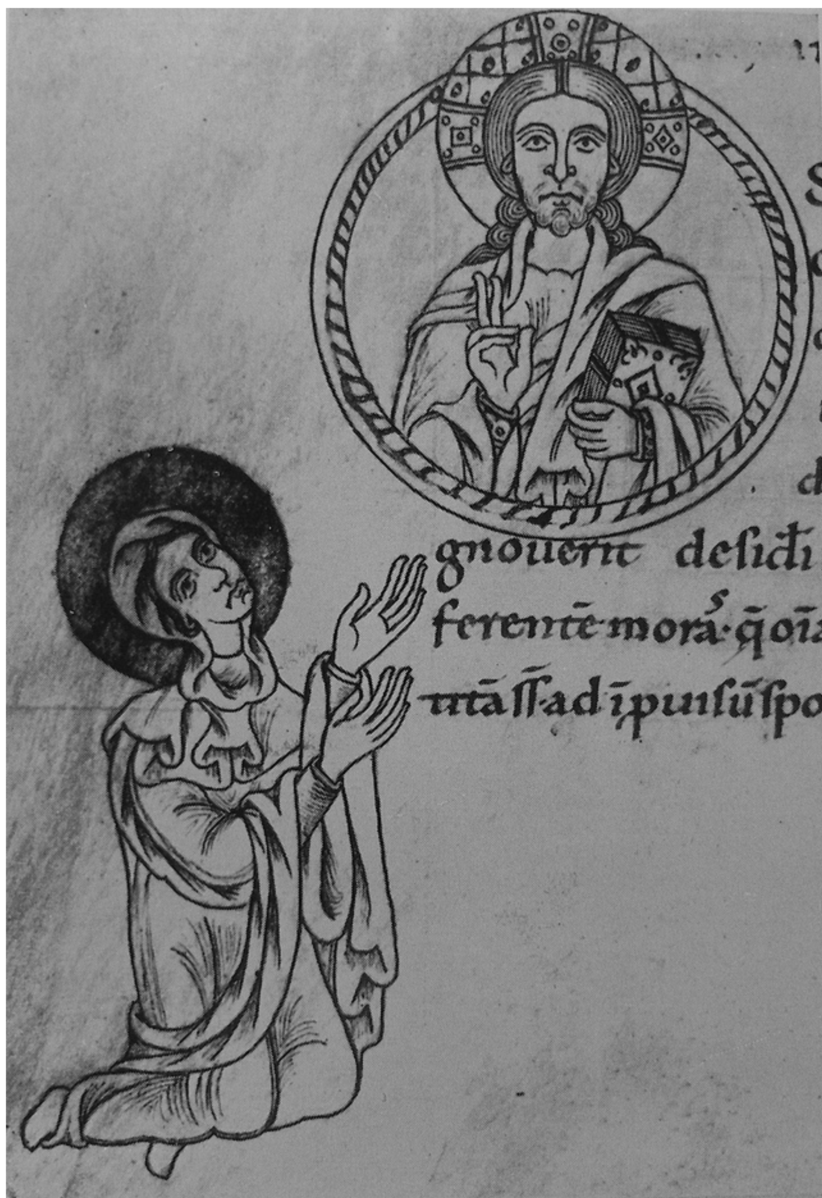

Figure 6 Mary kneeling before Christ, Florence Commentaries on the Song of Songs, ca. 1110. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 276, fol. 110v (Photo: L. Vandi/ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana).

the reddish orange ink used for enhancing the brown characters of the script was also employed for the figures. Even more crucial for my argument here: there is a theological logic for connecting an image of Mary's motherhood with her Assumption. Although separated temporally in the narrative of Mary's life, the episodes are closely related in their emphasis on Mary's role as mediator between humans and God. The coexistence in the same space of Mary's motherhood and her assumption to Heaven underscores for the reader-beholder the fundamental importance of the two episodes for religious history and a devotee's expectations. This logic suggests a conscious purpose in linking the image of Mother and Child with the text of the Assumption in the Pistoia Antiphonary.

This image of Mary (see Fig. 5) stands apart from the three above-mentioned illuminations, copied from known models, in the earlier part of the manuscript. At the same time, this figure shares a pronounced rejection of refinement with other images for the most part contained in the later sections of the manuscript. All seek to bring the naked meaning into focus. Jutting out from an irregularly outlined letter drawn in red ink, Mary holds her Son in her left hand. Details emphasize the close relationship between mother and son: they have the same bearing and their features have an identical expression. Instead of gold, their haloes are simply water-colored in yellow, creating a striking contrast between red, blue, and green on the one hand and the pale yellow on the other. A similar expressiveness is evident in the depiction of an unidentified early Christian on fol. 125v (Fig. 7), which was executed in bright and contrasting colors spread on the parchment with vigorous strokes. This differs from the rapid, sometimes uneven, outlines evident in the depiction of St. Bartholomew (fol. 46v) (Fig. 8). When I say that the meaning becomes 'naked,' I do not mean that it lacks force of line, intensity of colors, or other expressive features. What I am observing instead is the way in which the Pontetetto nuns, when dealing with those subjects—Mary, female martyrs, believers—in which the members of the female community best recognized themselves, sought to free the image from anything subtle or recondite. Could the purpose of doing so be to remind the beholder not to indulge oneself by lingering on the image, but to seek deeper meaning in the text itself? The expressiveness in the later parts of the Pistoia Antiphonary is equally distinct from the style of the male scriptoria at Lucca, which had provided the models for the earlier initials in the Pistoia Antiphonary.

The changes introduced into the Pontetetto scriptorium during the creation of the Pistoia Antiphonary were continued with the Lucca

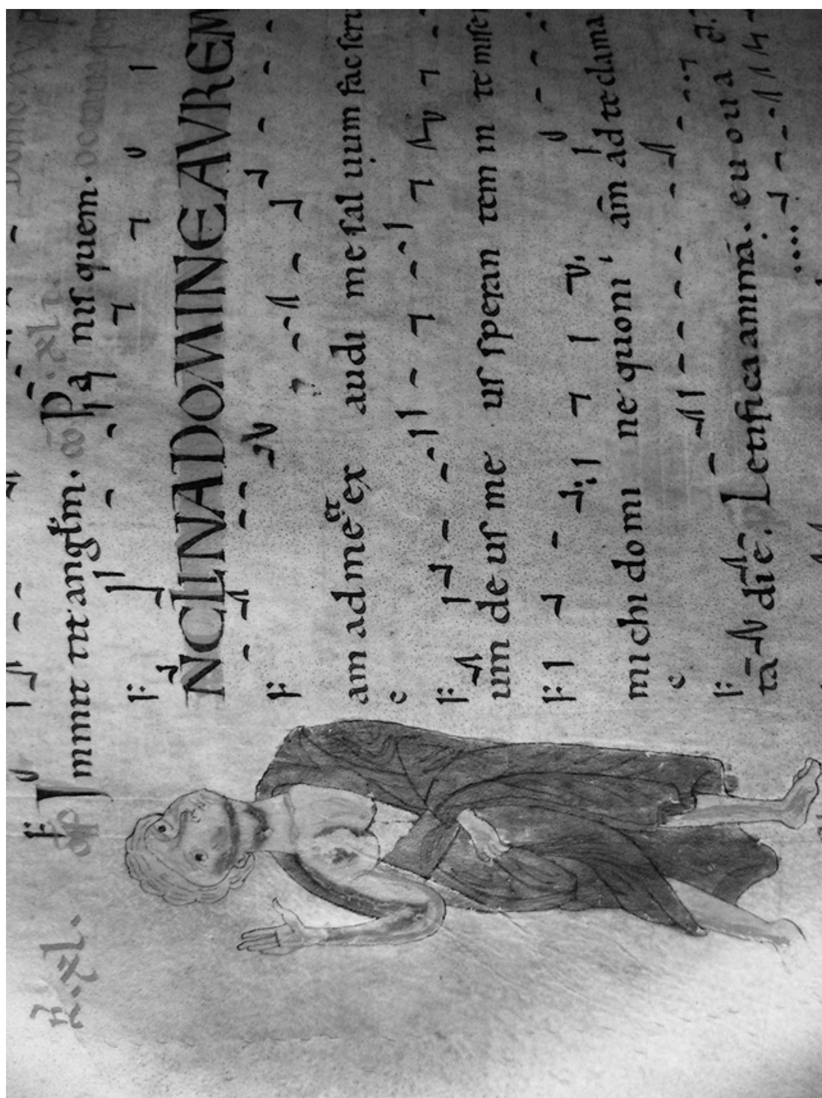

Figure 7 Initial I, Pistoia Antiphonary, ca. 1102. Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R69, fol. 109v (Photo: L. Vandi/Diocesi di Pistoia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, Prot. Aut. 21/2011).

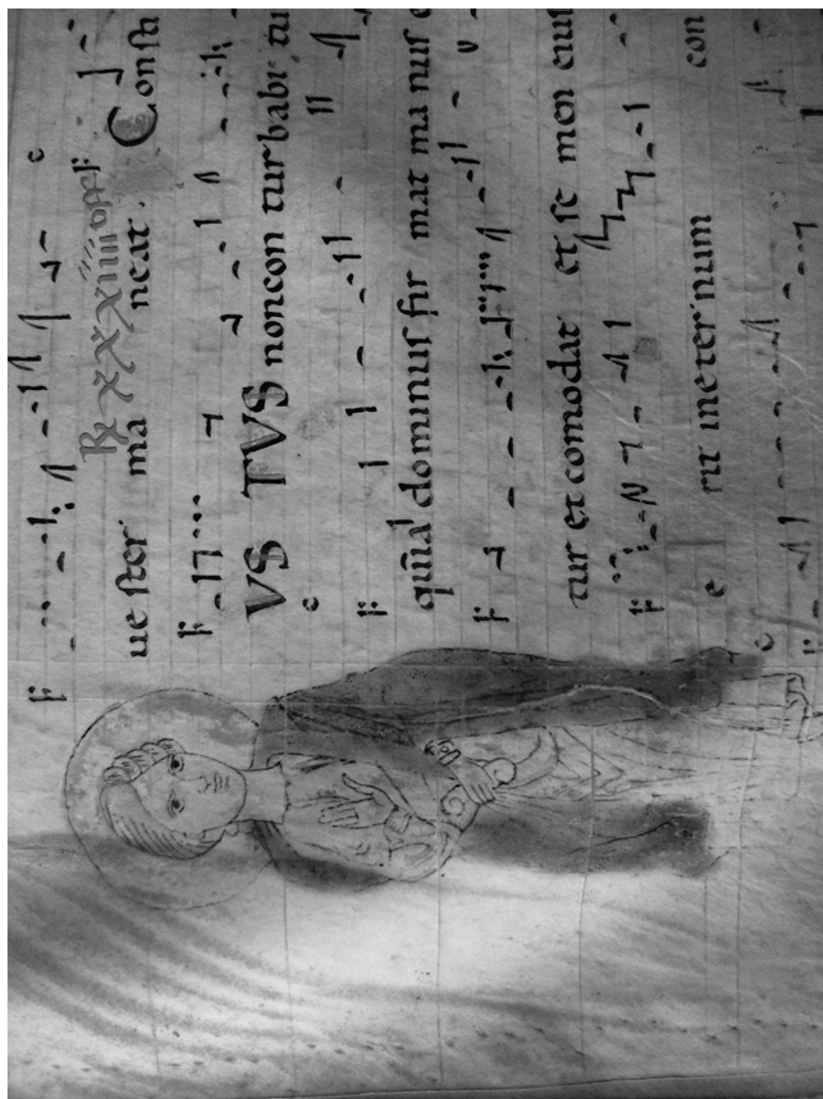

Figure 8 Initial I, Pistoia Antiphonary, ca. 1102. Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile, R69, fol. 46v (Photo: L. Vandi/Diocesi di Pistoia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, Prot. Aut. 21/2011).

Antiphonary, produced in the second decade of the twelfth century. The two manuscripts display a similar general structure of the page and many parallels in the shape and forms of bodies and faces in the initials. Certainly, the fact that they both were antiphonaries accounts for some of those similarities. But other close parallels in style and execution between the two argue strongly that they were the products of the same scriptorium. They share an almost "expressionistic" mode of spreading color that gives way to regular chromatic surfaces, while at the same time they retain the range of color and the arrangement of sign and space that does not depart from the earlier pattern.

The Lucca Antiphonary contains two distinct parts. One third of the manuscript presents the usual texts that were sung by the bishop and the town clergy during the three-day feast called *Rogationes*, which took place immediately after Easter Sunday.[33] The initials in this portion of the manuscript are decorated with gold, as for example the *Adventus Domini* on fol. 3v (Fig. 9) and the Maries at the Sepulcher on fol. 88r. Although produced by two different hands, the initials share an emphasis on the institutional aspect of religion. Their hierarchical schemes, absence of expressiveness, and the lavish use of gold present events in a visual mode that differs from the specific interests of the Pontetetto nuns; that is, the emotional sharing of their common spiritual life, guided by "decorum." The rest of the Lucca Antiphonary contains illuminations of saints' lives and the passions of the female martyrs. It is this part of the manuscript that is most closely related to the Pistoia Antiphonary.

Here, too, there are evident contrasts with the male scriptoria in and around Lucca. This becomes especially clear when we compare contemporary illuminations of the same saints made in Lucchese male and female

[33] On the *rogationes* or *litaniae minores*: see Mansi and Barsocchini, *Diario sacro*, 129–34, esp. 134. According to the *Ordo officiorum*, the sequence of litanies in St. Maria read as follows: "Cum autem intrant ecclesiam S. Mariae dicitur ant. Regina Coeli. Et dicti ibi lectione, oratione et profetia exeuntes dicunt R. O gloriosa etc. et aliud Foelix valde: postea ant. Christe resurgens. Ego sum Alpha. Deinde lectio S.M.O. cum organo, et sic per ordinem cantentur usque ad Sanctum Petrum majorem." At the end of the manuscript (fol. 242v) there is a *tonarius*, in which the *discantus* is included in the tropos *Regi regum glorioso*: see Francesco Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di discantus," *Rassegna gregoriana*, 11 (1912), cols 5–10; Giacomo Baroffio, "I tropi nei codici italiani: orientamenti bibliografici e inventario sommario dei manoscritti," *Rivista liturgica*, 91 (2003), pp. 555–96. On music in Lucca during the Middle Ages: see Domenico Agostino Cerù, *Cenni storici dell'insegnamento della musica in Lucca* (Lucca, 1871); Luigi Nerici, *Storia della musica in Lucca* (Lucca, 1879).

Figure 9 Initial A, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 3v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

scriptoria.[34] Two contemporary depictions of St. Agatha, one created by St. Martino canons and the other by Pontetetto nuns, provide an instructive case study. The Lucca Passionary C (Lucca, Archivio arcivescovile, Passionary C) made for the canons of St. Martino presents Agatha in a completely frontal view (fol. 76r) (Fig. 10; Color Plate 24). This is undoubtedly the best posture for the saint to engage the reader's attention in the details of the image. St. Agatha is shown tied hand and foot to a tree trunk. A torturer, whose face has been erased, is cutting off the saint's right breast with a rope. Agatha's position reminds us of representations of Marsyas at the stake,[35] and it is striking how much Agatha's body and face have been drawn to underscore their sensual properties. Even if her hips and legs are completely covered by a light blue drapery, their outlines remain distinct.

Agatha's breasts, tinted in a pale rose, stand out from red sections of flesh. The same shade of red delineates her bust and arms, matching the hues used for the torturer's tunic and the body of the letter. This illumination challenges, at least in part, Madeline Caviness's argument that the style of the male illuminators during the "Romanesque" period lacked corporeality and thus did not "elicit or suppress sexual responses."[36] The illumination of Agatha under discussion here was certainly painted in the "Romanesque" period, and yet it has a marked corporeality. Further, it is hardly an exception. It seems a problem to define this image in terms of sexual response and to link plasticity (read: naturalism) with sensuality while characterizing bi-dimensionality as the opposite. This is related to an even larger issue of how an historian measures the threshold of sexual arousal and whether we are warranted in assuming that medieval men saw women in the same way they do today.

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[34] On the manuscripts from St. Martino, see Pietro Guidi and Ermenegildo Pellegrinetti, *Inventari del vescovato della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca* (Roma, 1921); Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Catalogue des passionnaires de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Lucques," *Subsidia hagiographica*, 52 (1971), pp. 77–124; Edward B. Garrison, "Three Manuscripts for Lucchese Canons of St. Frediano in Rome," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1975), pp. 1–52; Gigetta Dalli Regoli, "Testimonianze relative al 'Volto' e alla 'Croce' nei manoscritti miniati lucchesi," in *Lucca, il Volto*, pp. 95–108; Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, "La festività dell' 'Exaltatio crucis' nei passionari lucchesi del XII secolo," in *Lucca, il Volto Santo*, pp. 109–21; Charles S. Buchanan, "Spiritual and Spatial Authority in Medieval Lucca: Illuminated Manuscripts, Stational Liturgy and Gregorian Reform," *Art History*, 27 (2004), pp. 723–44; Grégoire, "Liturgia e agiografia a Lucca," pp. 273–82, esp. 279.

[35] On the iconography of Marsyas in the Middle Ages, see: Edith Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of Italian Renaissance. An Inquiry into the Meaning of Images* (London, 1996).

[36] Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 99.

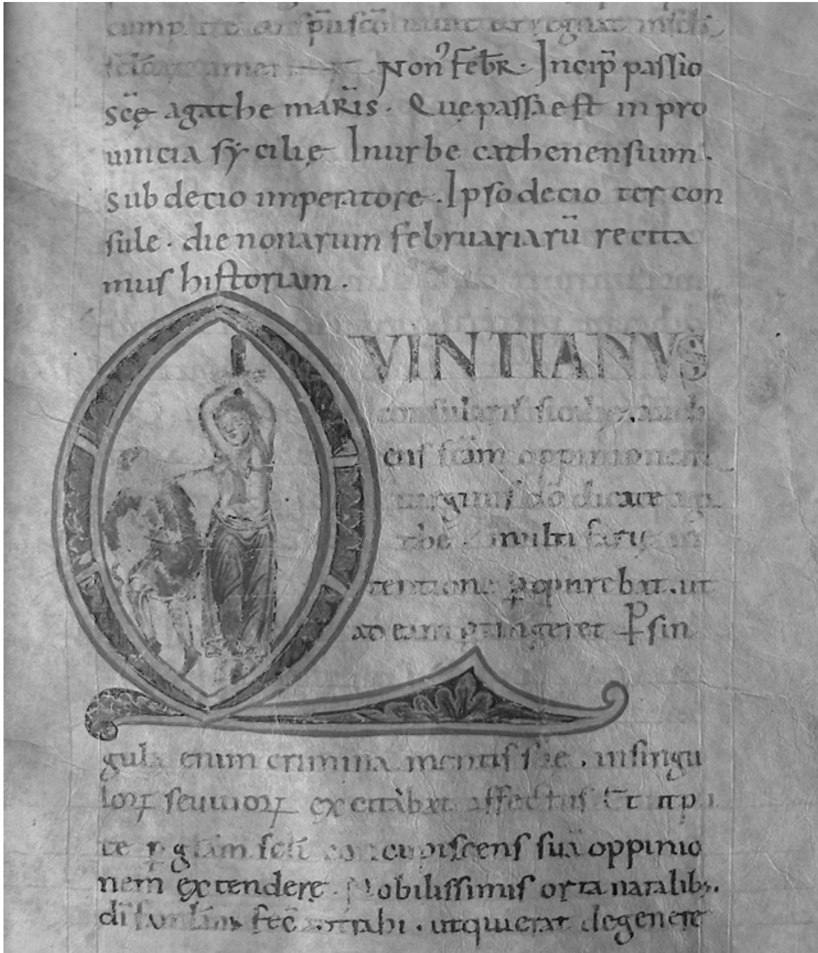

Figure 10 Initial Q, Lucca Passionary C, ca. 1110. Lucca, Archivio arcivescovile, Passionary C, fol. 76r (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca). See color plate 24.

A much better use of the image of Agatha, at least for my purpose here, is to contrast it to the ways in which the Pontetetto nuns portrayed her in the Lucca Antiphonary. Here the depiction of Agatha (fol. 154v) belongs to another category of imagery altogether (Fig. 11; Color Plate 25). She is represented half-length, veiled, and cloaked inside a medallion. Only one breast is visible, and it is attacked by a man whose facial features also have been erased. The emphasis on hands is particularly striking in this image. There are the destroying hands of the torturer inside the medallion, directly in opposition

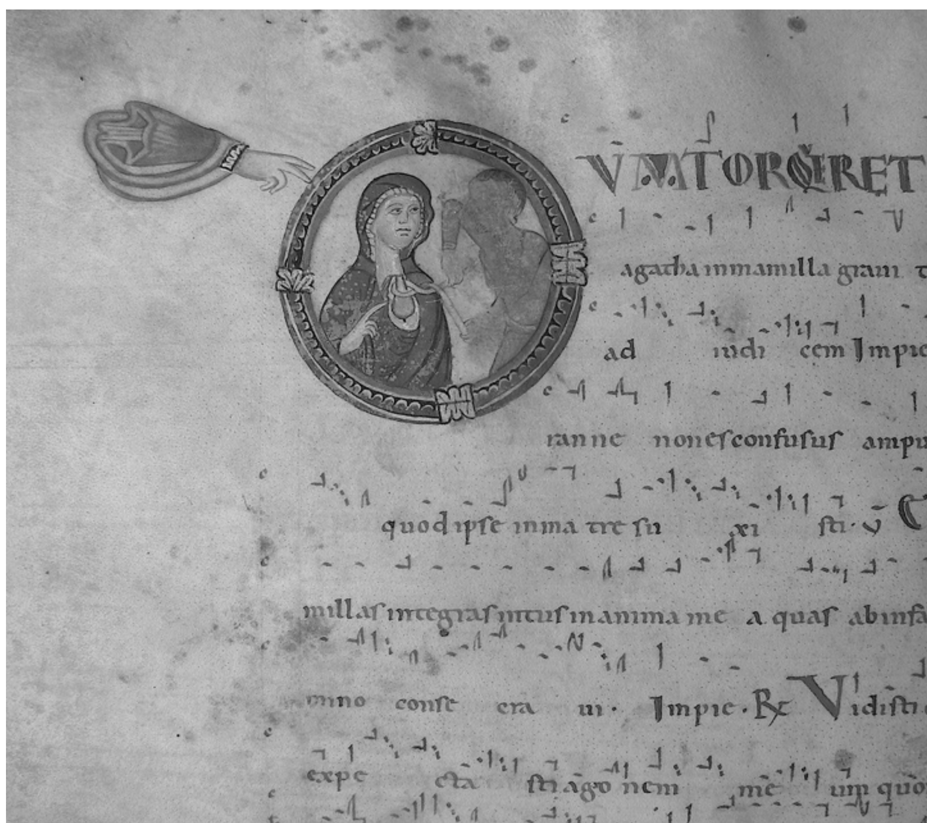

Figure 11 Initial D, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 154v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca). See color plate 25.

to the restoring hand of God outside the medallion. Even more compelling is Agatha's right hand pointing beyond the medallion at the text. Impassible in the face of suffering, she firmly indicates the place in the text where her story is narrated. This gesture would become a visual *topos* in the philosophical and medical manuscripts of later centuries to come.[37] As we will see, this association is also appropriate for the story of Agatha's martyrdom.

The importance of Agatha's gesture in the Lucca Antiphonary is made even clearer by again contrasting it to another image of the saint in a

[37] There are many examples in Alessandro Conti, "Problemi di miniatura bolognese," *Bollettino d'arte*, 2 (1979), pp. 1–28; Alessandro Conti, *La miniatura bolognese. Scuole e botteghe 1270–1340* (Bologna, 1984).

nearly contemporary manuscript (now in Rome, Archives of St. Giovanni in Laterano, A 79), which was copied and decorated in the male scriptorium of St. Pantaleone del Monte Pisano close to Lucca.[38] As in the Lucca Antiphonary, Agatha in the St. Pantaleone manuscript is represented half-length, fully dressed with only one breast visible (fol. 127r) (Fig. 12). In the manuscript from St. Pantaleone, however, that breast is so small as to pass almost unnoticed. Her hand gestures are so slight as to be indicating only the image itself.

Agatha's broader gesture in the Lucca Antiphonary is part of a general trend in the imagery within the manuscript as a whole that draws the reader/viewer to link text and image in an explicit way. This provides opportunity for splendid insight into some of the values of the nuns at Pontetetto. Agatha's gesture, and gestures like it, are completely absent in the manuscripts made by and for the canons of St. Martino. But it is the norm in the Lucca Antiphonary: saints, martyrs, and even Jesus make gestures that invite the reader to enter into a narration tightly-woven of dialogues, monologues, and invocations. These give an added dimension to the images, in that they invite involvement with the text and gain deeper meaning from the words.

Here, too, the written depiction of Agatha is an excellent representative of the manuscript as a whole. In her monologue, she proclaims her belief that her breast was a weapon for salvation as well as a sign of spiritual motherhood and virginity through martyrdom. The nuns' version skipped St. Peter's intervention found in the traditional narrative and instead stressed Agatha's suffering and how it put her into a direct relationship with Christ. Agatha ends her moving speech with "I never took a fleshy medicine for my own body but only from Jesus Christ who heals all things with his words alone."[39] That faith confers upon the believer a power with no need of intermediaries.

Although it is expressed variously, this idea is a constant in the tales of female saints and martyrs throughout the Lucca Antiphonary, such as those of Cecilia (fol. 220v), Lucia (fol. 140v) (Fig. 13; Color Plate 26), and Agnes (fol. 145r). As did the image and tale of Agatha, these other saints convey to the reader a message of moral strength and determination. Even

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[38] Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 178.

[39] Lucca Antiphonary, AAL, Ms. 603, fol. 156r: "medicinam carnalem corpore meo numquam adhibui sed habeo dominum jesum christum qui solo sermone restaurat universa."

Figure 12 Initial Q, Lateran Passionary A 79, first quarter of the 12th c. Rome, Archives of St. Giovanni in Laterano, A79, fol. 127r (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico del Capitolo Lateranense).

a non-martyr like Esther claims that God “put salvation in female hands.”[40] The depiction of Esther comes at the center of the manuscript, on fol. 124v, and she is shown listening attentively to words coming from Heaven (Fig. 14). Here, too, is a contrast to the treatment of the same subject in the Passionary C for the St. Martino canons, where Esther appears only in the last section of the manuscript. This part was added in a later period and marked out only with a geometrical initial at its beginning (Fig. 15).[41]

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[40] Lucca Antiphonary, AAL, Ms. 603, fol. 124v: “domine deus magne et mirabilis qui dedisti salutem in manu feminae.”

[41] AAL, Passionary C, fol. 237r; see Charles S. Buchanan, “Late Eleventh-Century Illuminated Initials from Lucca. Partisan Political Imagery during the Investiture Struggle,” *Arte*

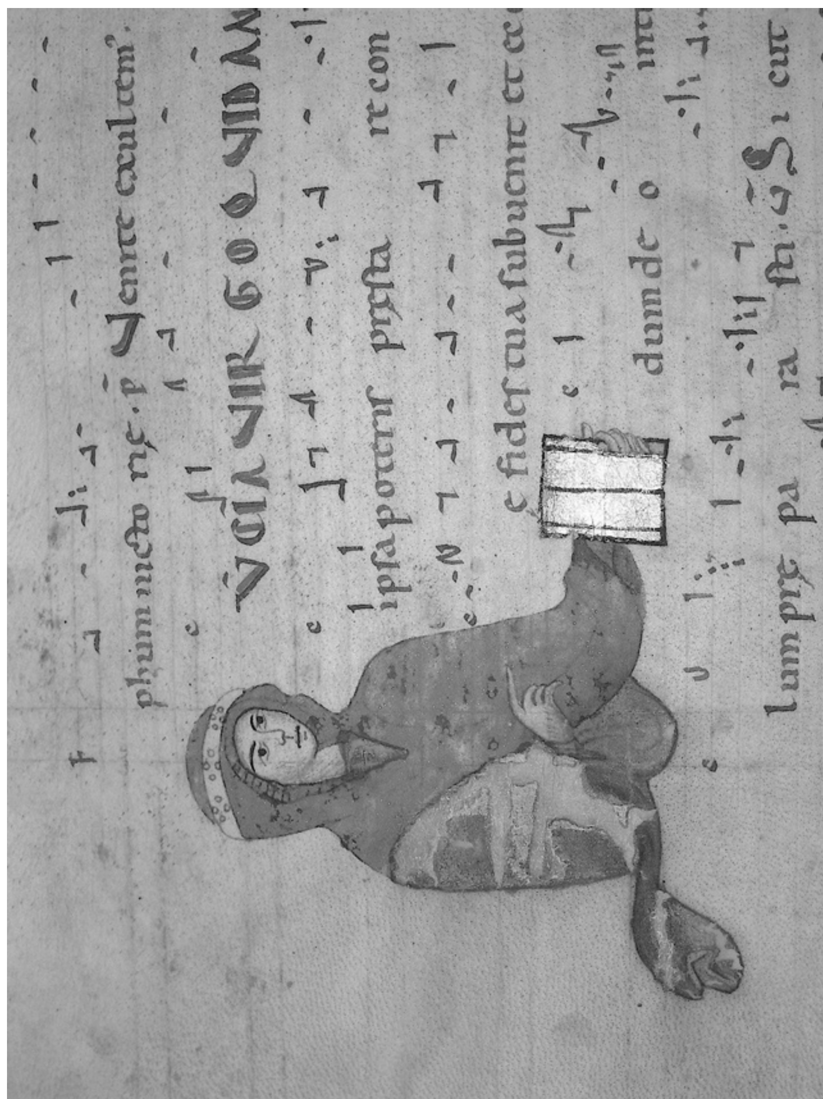

Figure 13 Initial L, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 140v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca). See color plate 26.

Figure 14 Initial D, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 124v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

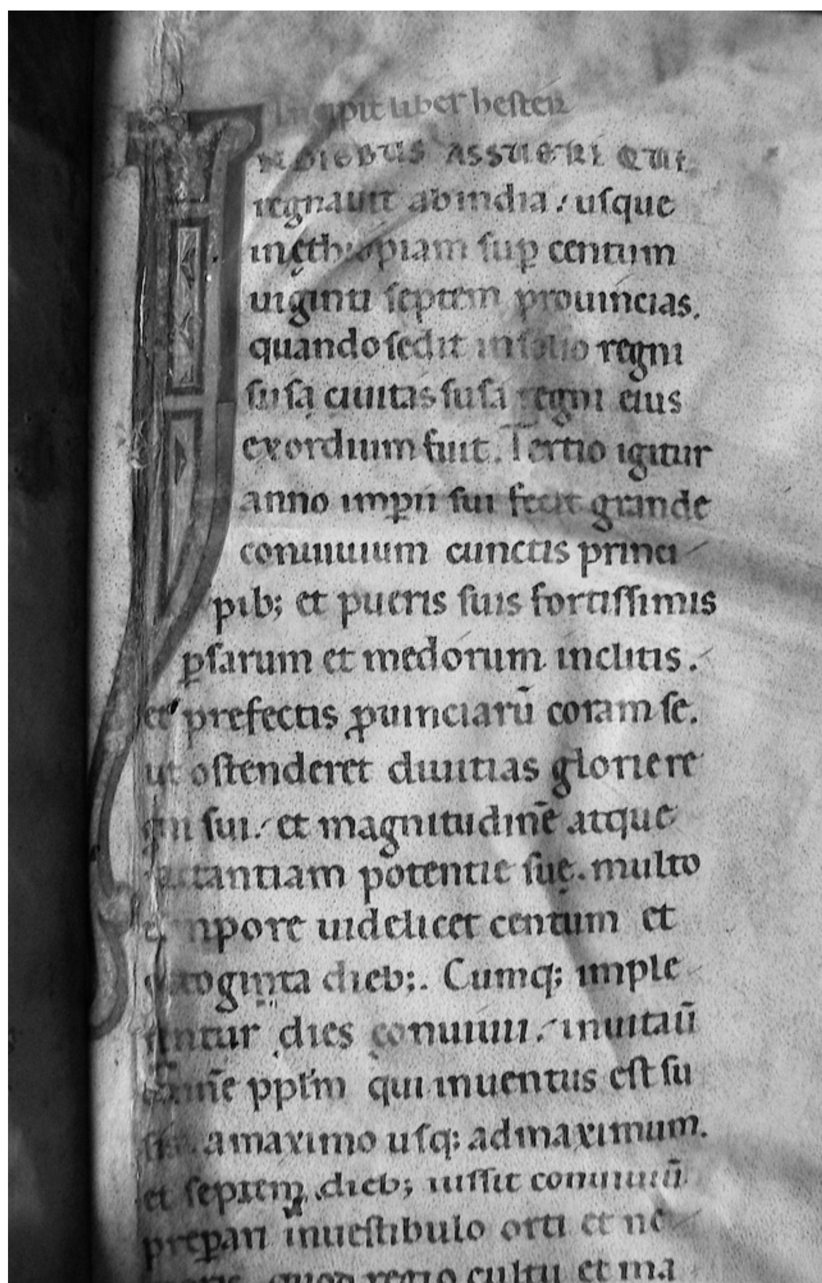

Figure 15 Initial I, Lucca Passionary C, ca. 1110. Lucca, Archivio arcivescovile, Passionary C, fol. 237r (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

The expressive features of both written and visual composition in the Lucca Antiphonary showed a marked coherence in disregarding the conventions that shaped the imagery and text of the manuscripts made for St. Martino. The St. Martino canons thought imagery was to be focused on the miraculous aspects of religion, and through flights of high rhetoric in the narrative they used language as a barrier between the image and the believer. By contrast, the illuminations of the Lucca Antiphonary give a sense of the direct experience by the reader/viewer with the saint or the divine. Christ himself is represented throughout the manuscript either in half-length (fol. 213r) or metonymically as a right hand emerging from a folded mantle, as in folios 57r, 97r, 124v, 145r, 154v, 179r, and 238r. Most commonly by far, however, Christ is depicted engaged directly in dialogue with the female martyrs.

Disregard of conventions followed the same pattern in the smaller figural images. These are so striking that it is possible to see in them an original interpretation of the saints' and martyrs' life. What traditionally formed an iconographic attribute here has become an essential part of the saint's body. This is achieved by condensing into one image two ways of representing the saint: the face or bust of the saint her/himself; and either the instrument of her/his martyrdom or another object related to her/his spiritual life. In the combination, both representations are magnified. In all cases, the saint's face is positioned frontally and engagingly on the object, such as in the images of St. Mary Magdalene (fol. 90v) (Fig. 16), St. John the Baptist (fol. 180v), and St. Lawrence (fol. 189r). St. Mary Magdalene is by far the most ingenious image. The upper part of her body emerges from an ointment jar, one of her customary iconographic attributes. The text's incipit, however, demanded a letter M, and so the nun illuminator formed it out of two large and marvelous wings. The wings are painted in an intense blue, a precious color that substituted for gold in almost all parts of the manuscript. This reminded the reader/beholder of the angel who says in the lines on the right, "Non est hic, surrexit," and thus also recalls Mary Magdalene's special role in the story of salvation.

The ornamentation in the Lucca Antiphonary supports and strengthens the message of the figural illuminations. While this ornament does not play out fancifully along the margins as in thirteenth- and fourteenth-

medievale, 22–23 (1998–1999), pp. 65–74; Charles S. Buchanan, "A Late Eleventh-Century Illustrated Hagiographic Lectionary from Lucca (Biblioteca Capitolare, Passionario C): Expression of Ecclesiastical Reform," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1997.

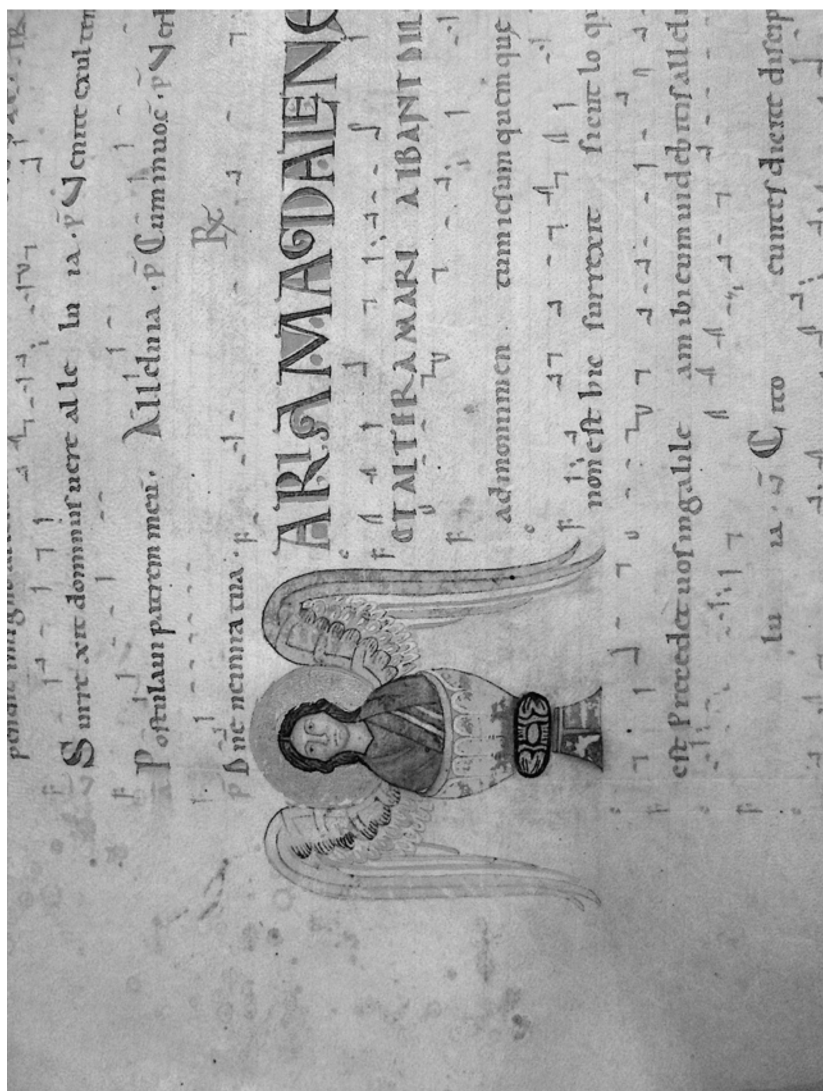

Figure 16 Initial M, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 90v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).

century illumination,[42] at the same time it is far from a series of simple and generic patterns. In several cases, in fact, it is employed instead of figuration to introduce an important section of liturgical prayers. These capital letters are large and filled with intricate designs, sometimes made precious by the application of gold, as in the C for St. Cecilia on folio 220v (see Fig. 2d). In all the other initials, there are acanthus leaves of the type we have already seen as a hallmark of manuscripts made for the Pontetetto nuns, as for example in the heading introducing St. Scholastica on folio 156v.[43]

The Lucca Antiphonary, produced in the second decade of the twelfth century, gives every appearance of being a work designed for a clearer and more articulated aim than the earlier ones made by and for the nuns at Pontetetto. But nothing in my argument thus far has addressed the question of why the nuns changed their style and iconography to assert their independence. The answer is found in the place of Pontetetto within the ecclesiastical administration of Lucca, and particularly in the stressful politics of reform there. I would argue that Humbrina and her sisters used the text and illumination of the Lucca Antiphonary to make a statement about their role as women living under and passing on the Benedictine rule and the creativity they found as women working together. The use of models from male institutions in the Edili Missal and the early parts of the Pistoia Antiphonary likely resulted from close connections, especially liturgical ones, among the communities. When the Pontetetto scriptorium consciously deviated from the models provided by the male monasteries, it is equally likely that it was to express the ways the nuns saw independence in their spiritual and material lives as part of their identity. I recognize that this is at odds with what some contemporary scholars have associated with the "*cura monialium*;" that is, the predominant role of priests and confessors in controlling programs of prayers and contemplation in women's houses.[44] Two pieces of evidence, however, support

[42] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992).

[43] I refer here to fols. 19v (*Hodie*), 220v (*Cantantibus organis*), and 156v (*Sancti monialis autem femina*). Garrison described Lucchese ornamentation of the early 12th century in this way: "Everywhere one finds the same lithely scrolled stems, the same rounded and scallop-edged leaves, curling upon themselves or folded longitudinally, everywhere the same tulipoid, lotiform and corniform flowers," Garrison, *Studies*, vol. 1, p. 181. See also Dalli Regoli, "Fiori e girali foliacei," p. 12. But Garrison did not take enough notice of the important variants in ornament in the Lucca Antiphonary.

[44] See especially the work of Jeffrey F. Hamburger, for example "Art, Enclosure and the 'Cura monialium:' Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta*, 31 (1992), pp. 97–128.

my assertion. First, there is the well-documented fact, mentioned above, that during the twelfth century the clergy of the city visited the church at Pontetetto only on major feast days.[45] The break in style within the Pistoia Antiphonary comes at precisely those parts of the text. One might ask exactly how stressful and demeaning the nuns found these intrusions of the male clergy into their church. Might we see the change of tone and imagery within the Pistoia Antiphonary as an indication that the nuns felt it acutely on (at least one!) occasion in the years when the manuscript was being produced?

The second body of evidence strengthens this possibility. Written documents about the position of the Pontetetto monastery in the ecclesiastical life of Lucca, and especially the role of Abbess Humbrina in asserting the independence of Pontetetto, indicate that the nuns had to fight for autonomy. A document written in Velletri on 25 March 1181 dates from well after Humbrina's death, but it relates to the administration of the monastery and hospital during her lifetime. The source of the document was Lucius III, a pope of Lucchese origins, whose own mother, Navilia, ended her days as a nun in Pontetetto monastery.[46] Because of this or out of unease about circumstances not recorded, Lucius looked again at the letter sent to Humbrina by Pope Pascal II (1099–1118), addressing her concerns and those of her father about the hospital they were building. Lucius also looked at the letter from Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153), who had eagerly confirmed all the previous privileges for Constantia, Pontetetto's abbess at that time.

Two documents from Humbrina's own day give a background to those papal interventions and help us to understand the historical context for the activities of the Pontetetto scriptorium.[47] The first dates from the autumn of 1112, likely the very year in which the Lucca Antiphonary was produced. One day not long before 25 November, Humbrina apparently infringed the *Constitutiones* by leaving Pontetetto to travel to the church of St. Pietro Maggiore in Lucca.[48] Albertus and Benedictus, canons of

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[45] See Giusti, "Ordo officiorum," pp. 551–52.

[46] AAL, document with the signature AA 32, 25 March 1181. See also AAL, Ms. 93, Obituary, fol. 116v, II Nonas Augusti (4 August): "Obiit Navilia monaca nostre congregationis mater domini pape."

[47] The documents I refer to here were signed on 31 July 1112, and 25 November 1112, both in ASL, Fondo San Nicolao.

[48] *Constitutiones monialium sanctae Mariae de Pontetecto*, AAL, Ms. 93, fol. 8r: "Capitolo come la Badessa nè le monache possa iscire fuori del Monisterio, nè ricevere dentro dallo Monisterio nulla persona di qualunca stato si sia." On this manuscript, see Antonio

St. Martino, were waiting for her there. Humbrina's purpose was to act as an "*internuntia*" between Berta, abbess of the monastery of St. Quirico in Casale, and the St. Martino canons, a role Berta herself had entrusted to Humbrina.[49] To sum up the problem in modern parlance: Humbrina was seeking redress for a case of extortion. Perhaps in a moment when the see of Lucca was vacant,[50] the St. Martino canons threatened to persuade the bishop of Pisa not to consecrate Berta's newly founded second monastery, dedicated to SS. Matthew and John in Rio de Valle. To prevent this, Berta agreed to allow the St. Martino's canons the rights to ratify the election of the abbess of SS. Matthew and John, to approve exchanges of property, and even to set punishments. Humbrina's purpose on that day in 1112 was to argue that such an agreement was an interference that contravened the Benedictine rule and should, therefore, be annulled. The judge eventually found in favor of Humbrina and Berta.

Unfortunately, we do not have an act with the signatures of the canons of St. Martino, which would have confirmed that Berta's problems were finally resolved. From what we can read in subsequent documents, though, Berta herself and the abbesses who succeeded her seem to have

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Zaccaria, *Iter litterarium per Italiam* (Venice, 1762), vol. 4, pp. 1–19; Carlo Minutoli, *Capitoli delle monache di Pontetetto. Scrittura inedita del secolo XIII* (Lucca, 1863; rprt. Bologna, 1968). This manuscript of the *Constitutiones* begins with 26 chapters, which are a vernacular translation of one of the diverse rules of the Benedictine Order (fols. 1r–11v). Then follow 78 folios (40 chapters) that contain St. Benedict's rule in Latin (fols. 12r–89r). This section ends on fol. 89r with: "Dom.na abbatissa Lucia fecit fieri hoc opus pro anima sua, sororumque suarum et parentum suorum, anno D.MCCLXXVIII. Et siquis istud furatur fuerit, anatema sit." The profession of faith on fol. 90r reads: "Qualis sit profession. In nomine summe et individue trinitatis / ego soror tal, promitto stabilitatem meam et conversionem / morum meorum et obedientiam sanctam regulam / sancti patri nostri beati benedicti in hoc sancto monasterio / qui est constructum ad honorem sancte marie virginis et aliorum sanctorum in presentia abbatisse nostre reverentissime donpne tal / et huis sancte congregationis ut post excessum vite / presentis societatem sanctorum percipere me in sede apostolorum. Amen." Fols. 91r–104v contain Latin summaries of the homilies on the gospels from the first Sunday of Advent to the anniversary of the church's dedication. Fols. 105r–118 contain Bede's Martyrology (with music in letters) and is also a *necrologium*, listing the names of benefactors and nuns.

[49] See ASL, Fondo San Nicolao, 25 November 1112. The abbess Berta (died ca. 1126) had a very active tenure during which she founded two monasteries and busily bought and exchanged land. A large number of documents attest to all of this: see ASL, Fondo San Nicolao for 11 June 1104; 19 February 1105; 21 September 1106; 19 October 1106; 23 March 1107; 23 June 1107; 10 March 1109; 23 December 1111; 24 December 1111; 31 July 1112; 25 November 1112; 7 May 1113; 10 October 1114; 28 November 1114; 4 December 1114; 9 February 1117; 31 December 1122.

[50] Rangerius died on 25 January 1112 (AAL, Ms. 618, fol. 140r): "viii Kal. Feb. Obiit Dominus Rangerius Lucanus episcopus." His successor Rodulfus was elected in that same year, although we do not know in exactly which month.

continued undisturbed in the buying and exchanging of land.[51] Of course, this is not a proof that they acted independently of the canons' interests, since the abbesses could have acted either with the canons' permission or on the canons' behalf. But the very fact that no document records any sort of controversy after 1112 argues *e silentio* that the canons had ceased making claims.

It seems possible to me that this was a long and deep-seated conflict, not simply a single dispute. The timing and the issues involved in the conflict with the canons seem an excellent fit with the growing gender-awareness and autonomy I have traced in the imagery produced in Pontetetto scriptorium during this period. No one can tell with any certainty, of course, but who can deny the evident parallels? How could this tense state of affairs not have influenced the way the nuns saw themselves?

Or to reframe it more prosaically: how many hurdles did Humbrina have to clear? Did these hurdles combine with Humbrina's interest in art to compel her to commission imagery and texts that spoke of female bravery and independence? Certainly, that is how Humbrina is remembered. The verses of her epitaph (she died on 4 March 1124) praised her as an uncompromising woman, who "with no hesitation founded this house, built this church, and married Christ forever, an example, a pillar of the Order, a holy guardian of the rule, light and honor of the lady abbesses."[52]

The eulogist, of course, was speaking of Humbrina's career in retrospect, emphasizing the outcomes of her actions rather than the process by which she achieved what she did. But the eulogist's phrase "with no hesitation" hints at the Humbrina I have presented here. This characteristic served her well, as I have shown, in disentangling Pontetetto from the control of

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[51] Abbesses Gemma (Berta's immediate successor) and Constantia were cases in point: see ASL, Fondo San Nicolao, 31 August 1126; and ASL, Fondo San Nicolao, 25 June 1145. In a document issued in his palace at Moriano on 9 February 1117 (ASL, Fondo San Nicolao), bishop Rodulfus ratifies Berta's ownership of the Church of St. Quirico in Casale with all its appurtenances. It is explicitly stated there that neither the bishop nor canons of St. Martino might ever deprive Berta of her power to govern and administer the church. Witnesses to the document were "Henricus presbiter, Petrus et Albertus diaconi, Henricus causidicus, Rusticus et Teuthus."

[52] Her epitaph still remains on the north wall of the church of St. Maria at Pontetetto: "Cui locus iste datur, fratres, Umbrina vocatur / Non retrahendo pedem praesentem condidit aedem / Templum construxit, Christo quoque per saecula nupsit. / Norma columna gregis custos sanctissima legis / Abbatissarum lampasque decus Dominarum, / Condita sarcophago jacet hoc memoranda virago. / Pro qua Virgo pia natum deposce Maria / Ut sibi sit requies, sit pax, sit gloria perpes / Ipsa die quarta martis fit more coacta, / Martis quarta dies est sibi facta quies. / Deposita est autem hic Sinsima foemina IIII / Nonas Martis Anni Domini Mille Centum XXIIII."

the male clergy of Lucca and the political circumstances into which this entanglement drew the nuns. Humbrina's resourcefulness was evident in the ways she used the tensions between the bishops of Lucca, allied with the reforming popes, and the canons of St. Martino, who opposed reform, to achieve independence for the monastery of Pontetetto.

While the written documents record the impact of Humbrina's actions on the world outside Pontetetto, artistic evidence gives insight into the impact of this struggle inside the monastery. Humbrina used her patronage of art to articulate what independence meant to her and her nuns. In the hands of nuns, as resourceful as their abbess, the scriptorium of Pontetetto developed a distinctive iconography that emphasized female agency and courage, images that themselves served as intermediaries between the nuns and God. This makes a strong argument against the traditional understanding of nuns as passive creatures whose contact with the outside world—and with the divine—was always mediated through male clergy. Through their innovative use of imagery, Humbrina and her nuns have left intriguing evidence of their self-awareness as women living under the Rule and working together.

CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

EMMA OF BLOIS AS ARBITER OF PEACE AND THE POLITICS OF PATRONAGE[1]

Mickey Abel

Emma, Countess of Blois (950–1005), wife of William IV, Duke of Aquitaine, was a powerful woman who founded the abbey of Maillezais in western France (Fig. 1). We know this by way of a chronicle account written by Peter of Maillezais that had been commissioned by his abbot, Goderan, a Cluniac brought in to reform the abbey in 1060 by William VIII, Emma's grandson.[2] The chronicle was written in 1067 or, significantly, two full generations after Emma's life.[3] And thus while the monk's account was ostensibly about the founding, building, and political legacy of the late tenth-century abbey of Emma's era, it can be said to be more contextually

[1] I want to acknowledge George Neal, who as my research assistant co-authored the earliest version of this material to be delivered at the International Medieval Conference at Kalamazoo, Michigan in 2007. I also want to thank Lisa Perfetti for her productive editorial comments and Clark Maines who contributed significantly to the development of my thought.

[2] Peter of Maillezais (Petrus Malleacensis), *De antiquitate et commutatione in melius Malleacensis insulae et translatione corporis sancti Rigomeri*, in *Patrologia Latina* [hereafter PL], ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146, columns 1247–1272C. See also the edited versions by Charles Arnauld, *Histoire de Maillezais* (Niort, 1840); Joseph-Louis Lacurie, *Histoire de L'abbaye de Maillezais depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours* (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1852); Louis Brochet, *Histoire de Maillezais* (Paris, 1989); and Louis Delhommeau, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de L'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Maillezais, au diocèse de Luçon (Vendée) depuis sa foundation (v. CMLXXVI) jusqu'à son érection en éveche par le Pape Jean XXII* (Paris, 1961).

[3] The foundation legend was studied as one part of a multi-disciplinary colloquium on the abbey in Poitiers, 2002. The proceedings were published as *L'abbaye de Maillezais: Des moins du marais aux soldats Huguenots*, eds. Cécile Treffort and Mathias Tranchant (Rennes, 2005). See, in particular, Édina Bozóky, "La légende de foundation de Maillezais," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 17–28. For the popularized version of the story, see Edwine Apps, *Maillezais: The Story of a French Abbey* (La Creche, 2002). The story is also recounted briefly in René Crozet, "Maillezais," *Congrès archéologique de France: La Rochelle* (Orléans, 1956), pp. 80–83; and in Marie-Thérése Camus and Yves Blomme, "L'abbatiale Saint-Pierre de Maillezais," *Congrès archéologique de France, Vendée* (Paris, 1993), pp. 161–63. For Emma's story within the larger hagiographical context, see, in the present volume, Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Female Piety and the Building and Decorating of Churches, ca. 500–1150."

Figure 1 Maillezais Abbey, western end and remains of south facade, ca. 1080. View from the canal to the south (Photo: M. Abel).

revealing of the mid-eleventh century, the tumultuous period under Abbot Goderan's reforming regime.[4]

From an architectural historian's point of view, Peter's chronicle is suggestive most particularly because of this multi-temporal dimension,

[4] Lucien-Jean Bord, *Maillezais: Histoire d'une abbaye et d'un évêché* (Paris, 2007), p. 18, acknowledges this anachronistic correlation.

Figure 2 Maillezais Abbey, ruins, aerial view showing 1070, 1080 and 1540 building phases (Photo: Image-in-air.com, public domain).

which speaks to its potential to illuminate the motivations behind the similarly multi-phased construction history of the monastery. Today, all that remains of the great monastic church, thanks to a fortification project in 1588, followed by the use of the site in 1791 as a stone quarry, is the northern wall, a section of the transept, and the western narthex/tribune with its now-truncated stair turrets (Fig. 2).[5] We know, however, from archaeological work on the site that the Romanesque church was the result of three distinct phases of construction which were carried out ca. 1010, 1050/70, and 1070/90.[6] The present site is not the location of the original abbey founded by Emma, but rather that associated with a

[5] Jocelyn Martineau, "Deu cents ans d'archéologie d'une abbaye fortifiée," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 445–60.

[6] Marie-Thérèse Camus, "Imaginer l'abbatiale romane de Maillezais," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 253–74, proposes two slightly different chronologies. The later Gothic building phases are traced by Yves Blomme, "La construction en style gothique," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 275–88.

second, relocated abbey, attributed (as we shall see below) to the patronage of her son, William V (r. 995–1030), together with the subsequent expansion that included the prominent western narthex and tower initiated under her grandson, William VIII (r. 1058–1086; see the Appendix for a genealogy and list of dates). Emma's abbey had been located approximately four kilometers away at the eastern end of the same slightly elevated limestone outcropping that once defined the dimensions of the island of Maillezais, situated in the ancient Gulf of Pictons (Figs. 3, 4). Like the abbey buildings, this topographical setting is hard to envision today because the gulf has been drained, causing the outlines of the medieval island to disappear into the landscape (Fig. 5).

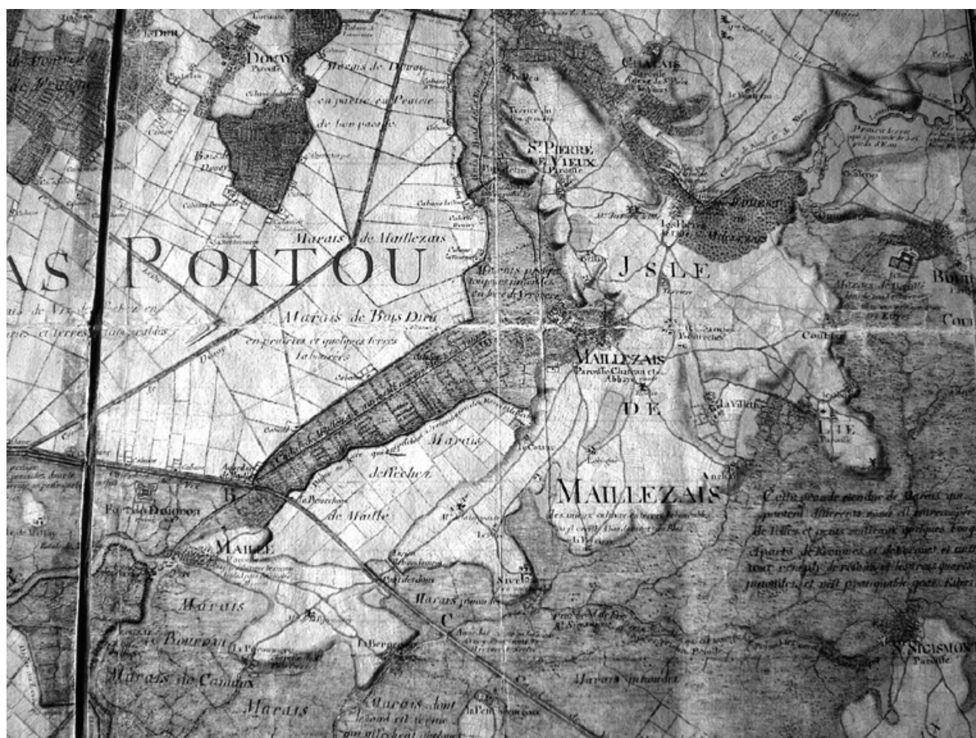

Figure 3 Map showing Maillezais Abbey, 1715, Claude Masse, *Atlas de Claude Masse*, 131 H Vincennes, Bibliothéque du Génie (Photo: N. Faucherre, "Topographie médievale de l'île de Maillezais," in *L'abbaye de Maillezais*, eds. Cécile Treffort and Mathias Tranchant, Rennes, 2005, fig. 5).

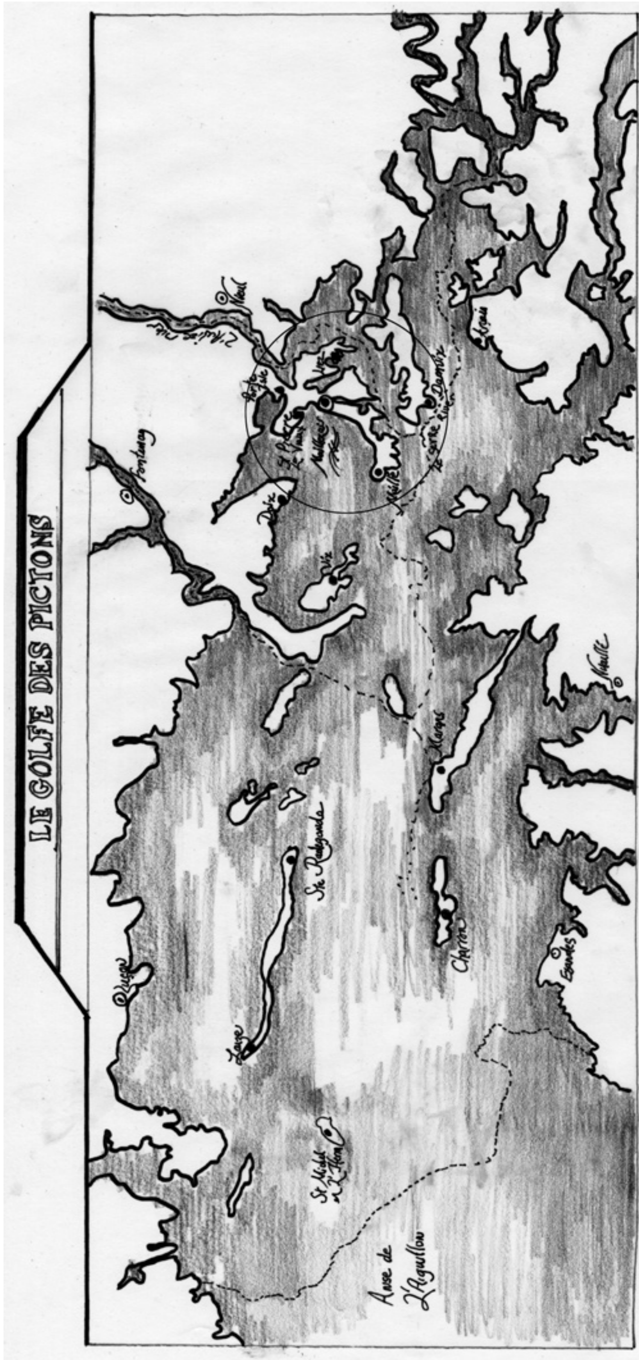

Figure 4 Gulf of Pictons (Photo: M. Abel, after drawing by Giraudeau, Fountenay-le-Comte).

Figure 5 Maillezais Abbey, 1080 north side and 1400 fortified west façade (Photo: M. Abel).

With so little material evidence, the chronicle has proved to be of great importance for understanding the history of the site.[7] Beyond its ability to illuminate the socio-political context underlying and supporting the abbey's early building program, which facilitates a temporal correlation with the archaeological data, this document also presents us with a particularly descriptive, albeit retrospective, picture of Emma as the original

[7] Other historical documents of relevance to the story of Maillezais Abbey include cartularies from ecclesiastical foundations associated with the dukes of Aquitaine, such as the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers*, ed. Louis Rédet (Poitou, 1874); *Monographie du Cartulaire de Bourgueil: des origines à la fin du Moyen Age* (Tours, 1962); "Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoit" in *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, ed. T. Grasilier (Niort, 1871); and *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent*, 2 vols., ed. Alfred Ricard (Poitiers, 1886). Maillezais is also mentioned by Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon d'Ademar de Chabannes*, ed. Jules Chavannon (Paris, 1897); and Rodulphus Glaber, *Raoul Glaber: Les cinq livres de ses histoires (900–1044)*, ed. Maurice Prou (Paris, 1886).

patron and "maker" of the abbey. Especially intriguing is the manner in which Peter characterizes this information.

On the surface, an initial analysis demonstrates that Peter wants us to recognize Emma's political power in terms of her foundational support of the abbey, her managerial agency in the abbey's building activity, and her role as familial dispute mediator. It is less clear why, in conveying the details of these activities, Peter sees the need to highlight the various emotional characteristics of Emma's behavior. Shifting among the descriptions of her states of inspiration (*inspirare*),[8] wisdom (*sapiens*),[9] anger (*furor*),[10] piety (*pius*),[11] insightfulness (*prudens*), and strength (*potens*),[12] Peter's colorfully explicit portrayal defies the more traditional notion that medieval texts are "ambiguous" and revealing only of "a gender system designed to keep women's voices silent."[13] Because of this perceived tendency to "color" the facts, many earlier historians who studied this document have challenged its historical credibility. Like them, I, too, am compelled to question whether Peter's description of Emma's patronage and her role in the activities of the monastery was intended to be read as historical fact.[14] I would suggest, however, that the foregrounding of both the retrospective aspects of Peter's crafting of the chronicle and the effects his dramatically enhanced portrayal of Emma would have had on contemporary audiences facilitates a new understanding of often elusive issues such as the political, social, and economic motivations behind the various building phases. Importantly, this more contextually specific approach also clarifies how contemporary men in positions of power perceived the

[8] Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, *La fondation de l'abbaye de Maillezais: récit du moine Pierre* (La Roche-sur-Yon, 2001), p. 100; Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, I [fol. 247 b]. All references to Peter's chronicle are taken from Pon and Chauvin's edition and French translation.

[9] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, I [fol. 247 a].

[10] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, I [fol. 248 a].

[11] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, I [fol. 249 v° b].

[12] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, I [fol. 249 a].

[13] Ulrike Wiethaus, "Introduction," in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, ed. Ulrike Wiethaus (Syracuse, 1993), pp. 2–11.

[14] Louis Halphen, "L'histoire de Maillezais du moine Pierre," *Revue historique*, (1908), pp. 292–97. More recently scholars such as Elisabeth Carpentier, "Un couple tumultueux en Poitou à la fin du Xe siècle: Guillaume de Poitiers et Emma de Blois," in *Marriage et sexualité au Moyen Âge: accord ou crise?*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris, 2000), pp. 201–15, have noted the general "rehabilitation" of Peter of Maillezais as a creditable author. Those reassessing this source are Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*; Lucien-Jean Bord, *Maillezais*; and Guy Oury, "La reconstruction monastique dans l'Ouest: l'abbé Gausbert de Saint-Julien de Tours (v. 990–1007)," *Revue Mabillon*, 54 (1964), pp. 69–124.

political actions of aristocratic women, particularly in regards to their role in monastic patronage.[15] More than a simple literary topos,[16] I argue that Peter's purposeful employment of Emma's emotional character signals that Emma was exceptional, not so much because she was female or because she played a significant role in the founding of Maillezais abbey, as phenomenal as that might have been. Rather, Peter recognized the effective potential of using her story in the construction of a narrative that would promote the goals of the contemporary political powers, and in the memory of those who held, dispensed, and in some cases, abused that authority.[17] While Peter's story may not have been entirely factual, it was no doubt intended for a particular purpose.[18]

I will return to the retroactive or anachronistic aspects of Peter's narrative, but in order to address adequately the emotional anomalies within this text, it is useful to begin by setting up the framework within the current scholarship on the emotions by social historians and specialists in gender studies. The latter have identified three basic ideas that underlie

[15] Brian Patrick McGuire, "Affectivity in Monastic and Scholastic Material Cultures: A Comparison," in *Emotions and Material Culture*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna, 2003), pp. 133–51, makes the case for very specific historical contexualization of our analysis. He sees a clear shift in the general notion of emotional "affectivity" taking place in the 12th century. Similarly seeing a significant shift in the 12th century, Piroska Nagy, "Les traces invisibles: de la materialité des larmes spirituelles au Moyen Âge," in *Emotions and Material Culture*, pp. 151–64, separates the earlier monastic thought of Gregory the Great, which she sees as mystical and oriented towards the interior, from the scholastic codification or materialization of the 13th century.

[16] For the use of power as a literary topos, see Susan Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995).

[17] Here I follow the lead of Patrick Geary, "Monastic Memory and the Mutation of the Year Thousand," in *Monks & Nuns, Saints & Outcasts*, eds. Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 19–37, who reminds us that a "monastic culture's control of the past through the written record was . . . effective. By determining what was worthy of memory and how these memorabilia would be recalled, monks effectively established what the past was and would be." Catherine Peyroux, "Gertrude's *furor*: Reading Anger in an Early Medieval Saint's *Life*," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 36–58, tells us on p. 43 that "the text was not a passive reflection of cultural data, but an intervention in a dialogue for which we only have one voice—the author's." Dick Harrison, *The Age of Abbesses and Queens* (Lund, 1998), pp. 341–45, cautions that modern historians need to be aware of the stressing of negative stereotypes, such as ambition, immorality, and emotional behavior that say more about the chroniclers, their intended audiences, and the historians who study them than they do about the women and their roles in society.

[18] Gerhard Jaritz, "Preface," in *Emotions*, pp. 5–6, stresses that "material objects should always be seen in context with the humans who created, used, and evaluated them," for the "material world depends on the immaterial one." This includes thoughts, ideas, opinions, and emotions.

our understanding of gender relations in the Middle Ages, which can be used to structure the underlying implications of Peter's text: one, that such gender relations are "organized within family roles through male lines of inheritance;" two, that they are "idealized by religious doctrine;" and three, that they are "maintained by an ideology of *habitus*—the common-sense knowledge of how to proceed as a woman in one's community."[19] While Peter's depiction of Emma can be shown to align itself with all three of these tenets, it is the chronicler's emphasis on her emotional character that points to the usefulness of a more focused analytical model originally proposed by historian Barbara Rosenwein. Building on the early work of Lucien Febvre and the sociologists of the 1970s Annales School, particularly Marc Bloch's concept of "mentalités," Rosenwein incorporates the reception theory of Stephen Jaeger, Robert Holub, and Hans Robert Jauss in her initial historical exploration of the emotions.[20]

More recently, these ideas have been adapted by scholars of other disciplines within medieval studies.[21] The more broad ranging interest in the emotions represented by this newer scholarship has grown out of pragmatic developments in neuroscience, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy, where the emotions are viewed as representing a cognitive process of perception and appraisal that is automatic, quick, non-reflective,

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[19] Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994), p. 14.

[20] Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review* 107/3 (2002), pp. 821–45. See also Lucien Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire: comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?" *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 3 (1941), pp. 5–20; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. Manyon (Chicago, 1961; *La Société féodale*, ed. Michel Albin [Paris, 1939]); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideas, 932–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985); Robert Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1984); Hans Robert Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis, 1982). For an introduction to the Annales School, see André Burguière, "La notion de 'mentalités' chez Marc Bloch et Lucien Febvre: deux conceptions, deux filiations," *Revue de synthèse*, 3rd ser., 111/12 (1983), pp. 333–48.

[21] For example, see Keith Opdahl, *Emotion as Meaning: The Literary Case for How We Imagine* (Lewisburg, 2002); Lisa Perfetti, ed., *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Gainesville, 2005); Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet, eds., *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005); Piroska Nagy, ed., *Le Moyen Âge en émoi, Critique*, 63 (2007); and Jartiz, ed., *Emotions and Material Culture.* This interest is also represented in conference sessions such as that at the 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 2007, "Hell Hath No Fury?: The Politics of Women's Emotions," organized by Lisa Perfetti and the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship, where an early version of this article was first presented. In October 2010, an *Internationale Interdisziplinare Tagung* on the emotions, "Gestaltete Gefühle: Strategie, Transformation and Rezeption," was organized by Johanna Scheel and Martin Büchsel in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

and followed by action and readiness. In this reappraisal, the emotions are thus seen in opposition to the older literary notion where the emotions were understood to act as "conduits" of meaning that "flow in a fluid manner" directly from the author who creates them to the reader.[22] The newer, cognitive understanding has served in turn to re-inform historians, economists, and political scientists on strategies for the analysis of the emotions.[23] Supporting the neurologic notion that some emotions are hardwired, certain instances of emotional talk or gestures that alter the state of the speaker, and which are visible in language, cultural practices, and moral beliefs, are viewed as "performative."[24] These "emotive" instances are recognized as indicative of particular cultural proclivities, and thus the analytical highlighting of their contextual use serves to illuminate what Opdahl calls the "affective codes"[25] dictating the expression of emotion. Understood to be socially constructed, these affective codes are thus identified with the cultural conventions; they illustrate the processes by which "the emotions are managed and shaped by society and by individuals."[26]

Where Foucault gave us the notion of a "common discourse" and Boureau labeled this "habitus,"[27] gender theorists would refine our discussion of the emotions by asking us to look at the ways in which an emotional discourse is gendered. As with other cultural conventions, the gendering

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[22] Opdahl, *Emotion as Meaning*, pp. 60–69, suggests that a reader of a text comes to understand meaning, motives, and reactions through the experiential identification with the character's emotion or emotional behavior. This understanding is delivered in a controlled, precise, and objective manner by the author who constructs the character of the subject. Meaning is engendered through an emotional response, which allows the reader to identify with the subject and meaning.

[23] Nagy, *Le Moyen Âge en émoi*, pp. 3–9.

[24] Barbara Rosenwein, "Introduction," in *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 1–31, esp. 18. The "performative" aspect of the emotions is also explored by William Miller, *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, 1993), p. 108; and Daniel Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (Ithaca, 2003), pp. 100–01, who find evidence in medieval saga literature and court records respectively.

[25] Opdahl, *Emotion as Meaning*, p. 60. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet, "Pour une histoire des émotions: l'historien face aux questions contemporaines," in *Le Subjet*, pp. 15–53, esp. 17, propose that "mapping" emotional concepts and words used in the Middle Ages would be an insightful way to interpret the infrastructure of medieval thought.

[26] William Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Cultural Anthropology*, 38/3 (1997), pp. 340–51, cit. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions," p. 837.

[27] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1978; *Histoire de la sexualité* [Paris, 1976]); Alain Boureau, "Propositions pour une histoire restreinte des mentalitiés," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 44 (1989), pp. 1491–509.

of a subject within a cultural discourse is also performative; there is an authorial script dictating the performance that is reinforced by way of cultural rehearsal.[28] It is, however, the particular relationship between a female subject and an authoritative voice that is revealing of the source of power where the discourse is created—the voice of sanction and the author of the script. This authority serves to sustain the subject's agency.[29] But, as Lisa Perfetti cautions, these cultural discourses cannot, and should not, be reduced to a single system or code, particularly when we identify emotive markers in terms of sexual difference.[30] We need to remember that, at the core, the binary male/female opposition casts women as less endowed with rational capabilities and thus inherently more emotional.

In addressing the emotional characteristics within a historical text, it is again Rosenwein who leads the way by foregrounding the possibilities for this type of analysis. While not directly addressing the feminists' concerns, she suggests that "emotives" are revealing of particular "emotional communities," made up of constituent players, which she defines as "a group of people with a common stake, interest, value, or goal."[31] She maintains that it is through the analysis of these communities that not only will cultural conventions surface, but through them, the culturally-specific discourse will become accessible.[32]

In my exploration of the socio-political underpinnings of Maillezais abbey's founding and building chronology within Peter's chronicle, this

[28] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Construction: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," in *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore, 1990), pp. 270–83, esp. 277.

[29] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories of Subjection* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 4–7.

[30] Perfetti, *The Representation of Women's Emotions*, pp. 2–5, also notes that, from a literary point of view, this line of thought makes most rhetorical figures female as they "embody" the abstract. Pamela Sheingorn, "Subjection and Reception in Claude of France's Book of First Prayers," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. E. Staudinger Lane, E. Carson Pastan, and E. Shortell (Aldershot and Burlington, 2009), pp. 313–32, discusses the value and power of this more specifically female discourse.

[31] First suggested in her 2002 article "Worrying about Emotions," p. 832, Rosenwein develops the concept of "emotional communities" in her anthology, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006). A predecessor of the idea is attributed to Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), who coined the term "textual communities."

[32] Elaborating on Rosenwein, Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's Past*, pp. 127–52, suggests that emotions may not provide us with accurate information, but they presuppose concepts of social relationships and are thus encoded with well-understood social conventions. In order to interpret them, we have to contextualize them within a distinctive political culture or discourse.

theoretical model has been both fruitful and revealing. The identification and assessment of the "constituent players" implicated in and through the telling of Emma's story suggest three distinct emotional communities. Isolating these players into community clusters facilitates a more targeted analysis of the cultural production and reception of Emma's emotional states, as well as the contextually specific meaning entailed in them.[33] Each community has, therefore, had a different impact on my understanding of the abbey's architectural history. These groups are, first, the community of modern historians who have essentially ignored or dismissed Emma's contributions to the history of Maillezais abbey and the local political arena in favor of the acts of the men who surrounded her—her husband, son, grandson, Abbot Goderan, and even the chronicler Peter.[34] With this in mind, I question how Emma's erasure affects the telling of the larger contextual picture surrounding Maillezais abbey, particularly the abbey's significant role in the Peace of God movement, given that this era is more generally painted in the masculine terms of warfare, violence, and male ecclesiastics.[35] Specifically, how does the dismissal of Emma's role undermine our view of women as powerbrokers capable of influencing the actions of men within this political movement or having an impact on the making of a major architectural project?

The second community is comprised of those affiliated with the monastery—the monastic brothers, Emma's biographer, Peter, and his abbot, Goderan. In contrast to the omissions that characterize the first community, the questions that surface in the analysis of this second group, where Emma's behavior was specifically highlighted, center on Peter's motivation for his distinctive characterization. Did he emphasize her emotional states in order to elicit a specific reaction from his readers? If these readers were primarily the community of monks, how would they have understood Peter's depiction of Emma's emotional outbursts? If, on the other hand, the intended audience was to be the commissioning abbot Goderan, one has to question the conditions of the commission. Was Emma's

[33] For reception theory as I employ it, see Madeline Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (New York, 2005), pp. 65–85.

[34] Dyan Elliot, "The Priest's Wife: Female Erasure and the Gregorian Reform," in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*, ed. Constance Berman (New York, 2005), pp. 123–55.

[35] The Peace of God movement, which began in the 10th century, was a "popular councilor movement combining ecclesiastical legislation on the regulation of warfare and the establishment of social peace." See Richard Landes, "Peace of God," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William Kibler (New York, 1995), pp. 713–14.

emotional character prescribed to be read as reflective of the turmoil within the contemporary political context, and thus in relation to the need for Goderan's reform? Or was it meant to be suggestive of the benefits of the abbey's economic well-being under the abbot's guidance? It is here that the anachronistic aspects of Peter's portrayal become the most contextually relevant. I argue that Peter used Emma primarily to substantiate the spiritual underpinnings of the abbey's foundation in the tradition of hagiography, thereby building a case for the subsequent political justification of its physical relocation under Emma's son, William V. Similarly, I suggest that the Cluniac abbot, Goderan, needed a morally righteous but politically strong figure such as Emma to act as the "peace-weaver" to negotiate that political space between ducal and monastic interests, particularly as they pertained to the extensive building activity at the abbey initiated by Emma's grandson, William VIII, but carried out under this reforming abbot's watch.[36]

Finally, the third community is that comprised of Emma's extended family—not only her father, brothers, and cousin from her Touraine homeland, but importantly her marital family, including her son, grandsons, and their wives, all defined by her husband's role as the Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou. The question of audience also applies to this familial community. If the chronicle was written specifically for the contemporary duke (Emma's grandson), how was it to be used? Was it meant as a simple family memorial or did it serve a political purpose connected to Emma's role as wife and mother, given the fact that she was the political glue connecting two interdependent, yet often conflicting families? Was it this pivotal position in the politics of the familial community that provided her the freedom to act out her emotional states in a public way not sanctioned for other women? And how did this behavior replicate or deviate from that of the men in the familial circle? What powers among these men sustained and supported Emma's emotional agency? Is there evidence that Emma's emotional character, as defined by Peter, served to inform the behavior of her female descendants, particularly those more contemporary to the writing of the chronicle? Here I maintain that the often conflicting interactions of these familial characters had

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[36] The term "peacemaker" or "peace-weaver" is coined in relation to medieval women by editors Lillian Shank and John Nichols in their anthology with the same name, *Medieval Religious Women II: Peaceweavers* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), p. 9. They define "peace-weavers" as women who mediate with gentleness, compassion, and courage to foster peace, reform, and reconciliation through the authority of lives of prayer and poverty.

a direct impact on the abbey's financial outlook, by way not only of these family members' changing marital status and multiple offspring delivered by consecutive wives, but also by consequence of their fluctuating habits of donation. Moreover, I argue that Peter's use of Emma as a "role-model" in regards to these family issues is especially revealing of the monastic perspective on both the role of women within the court and the tenuous relationship between on-going patronage and programs of construction.

Foundational to all these questions has to be the observation that Emma's story has been both constructed and deconstructed primarily by men; what we know of Emma has been filtered mainly through the various viewpoints of male authors and historians.[37] Turning again to Lisa Perfetti, who, having demonstrated quite effectively that this fact should not deter us, reminds us that the identification of the emotive instances within texts written by men can be quite productive as "markers," drawing our attention to places where the social issues related specifically to women can be traced.[38] It is, therefore, with the monastic community that I begin, for it is through Peter acting as the community's authorial voice that we can best address not only his intentions, but also his credibility as a historical source.

The story line of Peter's chronicle of the abbey of Maillezais opens with the recounting of a hunting expedition in the western frontier of Poitou.[39] A knight in the hunting party of the young countess Emma and her new husband, William, is rendered blind after he sees a wild boar run into an abandoned church and hide under the altar. Following a popular model for foundation legends, Peter uses this episode primarily to introduce his readers to the wilderness setting of western France in the late tenth century, and thus situate the interaction of the two main characters, the Duke of Aquitaine and his wife Emma, within the spiritual topography of the abbey's founding.[40]

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[37] Although the historians Édina Bozóky, "La légende de fondation de Maillezais," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 17–28, and Sylvie Rafalo, "Les ducs d'Aquitaine et de Maillezais (vers 970–vers 1100)," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 319–42, mention Emma in their analyses of Maillezais' foundation legend and political history, neither highlights her role in these events or in relation to the chronicle.

[38] Perfetti, *The Representation of Women's Emotions*, pp. 2–5.

[39] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247].

[40] Bozóky, "La légende," pp. 25–27. Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, 1995), pp. 57–65, points out that the Benedictine model for an origin story is contingent upon the discovery of the holy place that has been forgotten, abandoned, and essentially left wild.

The more interesting and telling aspect of Peter's introduction is the fact that it was Emma who was dramatically "moved"[41] by way of her mystical wisdom to comprehend the boar's actions as a sign from God that an abbey should be founded on this frontier site.

> Following the suggestions of this wise woman . . . when these events were repeated emphatically to the countess, [she] managed by God's mercy to reveal it to us.[42]

Moreover, it is Emma who recognizes God's wishes in her husband's actions. He reciprocates by bowing to her intuitive powers in this arena.

> And the wife, as it were, having the intuition that God inspired her husband's feelings, said to him, "It seems it is not without reason that such happenings have come in your time; I think that God has called you thus to great deeds." He responded, "I admit that such is my thought; but . . . tell me which resolution could be ordered for the common good."[43]

Calling on hagiographic models to color the hunting event in the mystical shades of revelation, Peter paints Emma as the sole female involved in this male hunting expedition, thus suggesting the taboo of her embodied sexuality in her association with the wild animal. The central conceit—the hunting party in pursuit of a beast of preternatural size—was actually a common trope found in monastic foundation stories of medieval France.[44] Implying through his description that Emma was more physically inclined to perceive this metaphysical message because she was female, Peter depicts her as predisposed to be open to sensual stimulation and an emotional response.

From the viewpoint of emotional staging, it is the dramatic nature of this initial episode that leads me to suggest that Emma's role in the foundation

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[41] Perfetti, *The Representation of Women's Emotions*, p. 6, delineates the etymology of emotion as coming from the Latin *movere*, "to move out from." Emotions, therefore, "include the idea of the force of movement, a kind of passion exerting its force on the body."

[42] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 b], "*Nam ad suggestionem femine prudentis . . . Que, ubi comitisse indicata sunt, quid super his tractaverit sequentia Deo propicio perdocebunt*," PL 146.1251D-1252A.

[43] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate*, 1 [fol. 247 b], "*Mulier vero, quodammodo presagans mariti animos a Deo inspiratos, 'Non ab re,' ait 'mi domine, opinor, talia diebus tuis contigisse, quin potius per hec conjecto te ad majora quedam Dominum provocare.' At ille*: *'Fateor,' inquid, 'hec mea est cogitatio.' Verum . . . dicito, quo utrum conveniat rei communi deliberetur, consulto*," PL 146.1252A-1252B.

[44] Bózoky, "La légende," p. 26. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 57–61, explores the various permutations of beasts in foundation stories who share the similar function of being a divine messenger expressing God's will.

of Maillezais should not be downplayed or ignored, as seems to have been done by both early and modern historians.[45] Accounting for the fact that the commissioning abbot's goal, at a base level, would have been to establish the abbey's divinely ordained origins, and acknowledging that Peter's telling of the story isolates our understanding of Emma to within his own ecclesiastical realm of experience, we should understand that in these legends the rediscovery of an ancient location of spiritual activity served both to legitimize and historicize the sacred quality of a site, establishing a sacred lineage—a past or history that can be drawn on in times of future crisis.[46] Importantly, Emma's role in the founding event presents her as an intercessor—one who can receive and understand God's messages, a role more commonly associated with a saint. In similar manner to the use of the topos of the preternatural beast, the employment of dramatic emotion here conveys not only the importance of Emma's mystical act, but signals that Peter was looking to accepted models in his construction of her character. Given that the chronicle was written long after Emma's death, it further suggests that Peter intended these emotional markers to resonate with his contemporary audience, particularly at the intersection of the monastic community with the broader familial community.

It is in this space, specifically as it was played out during the era of the Peace of God (970–1120), that the idea of an intercessor saint used to back up episcopal and ducal power had long been established practice.[47] The most visible aspect of this appropriation of saintly authority was the extensive processing of the local saints' reliquaries, which came to be a hallmark of the oath exchange that served as the culminating event of a Peace Council.[48] Like so many other authors of the era, Peter's origin story

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[45] See note 2.

[46] Amy Remensnyder, "Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 195–99, suggests that this creation, as a "gate of Heaven," makes reference to Genesis 28:17.

[47] The literature on the Peace of God movement is abundant. In general, see the essays in Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992), as well as Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Les institutions de paix en Aquitaine au XIe siècle," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 14 (1961), pp. 415–87; Stephen D. White, *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-Century France* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2005); and William Brown and Piotr Górecki, eds., *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003). The general concepts underlying the Peace of God as a "popular movement" have been criticized by Dominique Barthélemy, "La paix de Dieu dans son contexte (989–1041)," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 40 (1997), pp. 3–35.

[48] Daniel Callahan, "The Cult of Saints in Aquitaine," in *The Peace of God*, pp. 165–83.

drew on the particular hagiographic tradition familiar to his local region. In light of the fact that Peter devotes an entire section of the chronicle to the abbey's convoluted search for relics[49]—too long to relate here—I would argue that he was keenly aware of the gap in the abbey's history, particularly the fact that there was no "in-house" intercessory saint on which to draw when constructing this "origin" event. When seen from the point of view of Peter's mentor, the reforming Cluniac abbot looking for support for the extravagant building program that was to take shape under his management, it seems clear that Peter recognized the problem the lack of relics represented in terms of the monastic community's spiritual validity.

Seeking a retroactive remedy for this lacuna in the abbey's heritage, Peter turns to the most popular female saint of the region—St. Radegund.[50] Using Radegund's *Vita* as a model, he creates what has been termed a "fantastic transformation of reality,"[51] where an aristocratic female such as Emma, imbued with the appropriate characteristics, could believably assume a spiritual role within the founding event. In this literary construction, Peter's complex portrayal of Emma of Blois replicates Radegund's life on several levels. First and foremost, Emma, like Radegund, was depicted as an emotionally demanding (*postulatum*)[52] woman of noble birth who came to exercise her position of power in the realm of monastic patronage by way of her aristocratic marriage.[53] Radegund's mystical inclinations

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[49] See Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, pp. 20–21, 149–58. The relics of St.-Rigomer are not thought to have been installed until at least the second dedication under William V, sometime after 1010.

[50] Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, p. 183, n. 75, make the connection between Radegund's *Vita* and Peter's text. Even in Peter's day, Radegund's convent remained both a powerful political and religious center.

[51] Remensnyder, "Topographies," p. 196, suggests that this type of origin legend evolved over time and thus represented what she calls "imaginary memory."

[52] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 a] and [fol. 248 v° b].

[53] Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 17–57, highlights the differences between Radegund's *Vita* written in 587 by Fortunatus, who was a poet, friend, and spiritual advisor to Radegund, and that written twenty years later by the nun Baudonivia, Radegund's confidante and companion, suggesting that Baudonivia, because she was female, stressed Radegund's more worldly endeavors outside the confines of the monastery. Suzanne Wemple, "Female Spirituality and Mysticism in Frankish Monasteries: Radegund, Balthild and Aldegund," in *Medieval Religious Women: Volume Two, Peaceweavers*, eds. Lillian Shank and John Nichols (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 39–54, esp. 44, holds that Baudonivia's portrayal of Radegund is also more emotional than Fortunatus' version because the two authors were writing for different reasons. Patterns of female aristocratic patronage, particularly as they are tied to maintaining the memory of the family, are explored in Emmanuelle Santinelli, "Les femmes et la mémoire: le rôle des comtesses dans la France occidentale du XIe siècle," in *Sauver son âme et se*

were, however, initiated by more horrific events than the sight of a wild boar. Wife of the sixth-century Merovingian king Clothar, Radegund had witnessed the slaughter of her family as the work of Frankish retaliation against acts committed by her uncle. Carried off as war booty and forced to marry Clothar, she eventually escaped this marital bondage to settle on land belonging to her by dowry, founding the abbey of St.-Croix in Poitiers, and thereafter she was protected by bishops.[54] Importantly for the comparison to Emma and her long-standing relationship with the monastic community of Maillezais, it was Radegund's personal alliance with these bishops, supported by her continued political activism on their behalf, that served to convince Clothar to assist his estranged wife in funding the monastery that still bears her name.[55] Affiliating Emma and her role in the foundation of Maillezais with this locally familiar female saint serves to reiterate the intentional nature of Emma's characterization detected in the retroactive aspects of the chronicle's conception.[56]

Further clarifying the intentional mirroring of Radegund's life, Peter stresses that, like Radegund, Emma used her bridal dowry (*dotis*) to finance the building of "her" abbey at Maillezais.[57] Here illuminating the realm of the familial community, Peter's story corroborates other sources that tell us that Emma received both a dowry and a dower—or money and property from both her husband and her father—at the time of her marriage, again pointing to the political importance of the marital union to the two families.[58] Emma's dowered property did not, however, include

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perpétuer: transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge, eds. François Bougard, Cristina La Rocca, and Régine Le Jan (Rome, 2005), pp. 459–84.

[54] Marie Anne Mayeski, *Women at the Table: Three Medieval Theologians* (Collegeville, MN, 2004), pp. 105–07.

[55] Suzanne Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 61. More recent scholars taking up these issues include Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, 2009); Constance Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001); and Marion Kaplan, *The Marriage Bargain: Women and Dowries in European History* (New York, 1985).

[56] Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, look to both Carolingian and Ottonian models for Emma's affiliation, citing Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens: Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté feminine autour de l'an Mil* (Sigmaringen, 1986), p. 237; Jean Verdon, *Les femmes en l'An mille* (Paris, 1999).

[57] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 b], PL, 146.1254C. Dowry, dower, and inheritance in relation to aristocratic women are discussed by Amy Livingstone, "Aristocratic Women in the Chartrain," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 44–74, esp. 54–59.

[58] Carpentier, "Un couple," pp. 207–11; Michel Dillange, *Les comtes de Poitou, ducs d'Aquitaine (778–1204)* (Mougon, 1995), p. 109.

the land on which the abbey was to be built, which Peter makes clear was part of the duke's family legacy. It is, therefore, interesting that in his long description of the island topography where Maillezais was to be built, in the middle of the ancient Gulf of Pictons, at the mouth of two navigable rivers, Peter does not let on that the founding of an abbey in this particular location had less to do with Emma's divine wisdom (*sapientia*)[59] than with its politically strategic importance for Emma's husband as the duke of Aquitaine. Historians have demonstrated that control of this local geography was a significant component of ducal power over the region, as this gulf was renowned for its deep inland accessibility, facilitating the devastating incursions of the Vikings, Bretons, Normans, and Arabs into the heart of Poitou.[60] In this sense, the foundational site of the abbey was not so much the mystical revelation of Peter's telling, but rather the location of a long-uncontrolled "no-man's-land" situated strategically between the two territories claimed by William's and Emma's families. As such, this area represented the weak link in the duke's defensive line. We should, therefore, read Peter's aligning the mystical foundation with the geographical reality as a political message signaling that the two familial domains were united safely under the duke's protection in alliance with God.[61] His placement of Emma at the center of this connection served to restate her importance in the political union represented by her marriage.

Less oblique, however, is Peter's depiction of Emma's role in the actual building process. Emma claims ownership of the project through her financial support. Peter reinforces this fact by emphasizing her repeated petitions (*rogitare, postulare*)[62] for the installation of her cousin, Gauzbert, as abbot, along with thirteen of his monks from St.-Julien of Tours, the most important monastic foundation in Emma's homeland.[63] As with the

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59 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 246 v° b].

60 For this aspect of the abbey's history, see Yves Le Quellec, *Petite histoire du Marais Poitevin* (Le Crèche, 1998), pp. 17–20. For the regional abbeys destroyed in this era, see Rafalo, "Les ducs," p. 323.

61 Mickey Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen: Land Reclamation, Canal Navigation and the Strategic Building Program at Maillezais Abbey," *Avista Forum Journal*, 20/1–2 (2010), pp. 12–23.

62 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 a].

63 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 a], "*Cui ille: 'Sicut' inquid 'tu in principio petisti, quia et ego alias intend, tu hanc rem prudenter disponere memento; queque vero utiliter perfeceris, michi complacere credio.' Tum illa Gaubertum, monasterii sancti martiris Juliani abbatem quod Turonus habetur, ad se accersiens totius ordinem rei enarrat, seque illic tredecim fratres, quorum unus prior diceretur, titulare velle, et ex suo eos cenobio prestolari, si ipse votis ejus annueret, predicat*," PL 146.1253D.

physical presence of the abbey, both Emma's own monetary contributions to the abbey and her financial negotiations in its favor made public and visible the political partnership between the new monastery and the two families, facilitated by her brokered marriage linking the powerful houses of Blois and Poitou.[64]

With this "building" episode, Peter turns away from the depiction of Emma's *sapientia*, as demonstrated in the foundation episode, to move towards the more traditional colors of the *mulieris sanctae* or holy wife.[65] Using her to set the standard for maintaining the family heritage, he implies that it was Emma, specifically acting as wife and mother, who carried the spiritual connection between the living and the memory of souls of the dead. As Emmanuelle Santinelli has demonstrated, donation inscriptions recorded throughout Emma's life illustrate that her own continued reference to the familial legacy, particularly that of her husband and his paternal family, was tied to the well-being of the abbey.[66] Peter draws attention to Emma's awareness of the public perception of this family line when he highlights the fact that she specifically named her son after his father.[67] And although Emma may not herself have had physical access to the finished monastery, the fact that her son was buried

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[64] Livingstone, "Aristocratic Women," pp. 53–54, states that for "most of the Middle Ages, aristocrats tended to view marriage as a political tool . . . that could be dissolved if enough pressure was brought to bear." Schulenburg, *Forgetful*, pp. 6–7, sees the events of this era which initiated a long period of reform as limiting and transforming opportunities for women to act in powerful positions, as sanctions by the church instituted gender-specific regulations that affected women's autonomy and independence. She notes that it is "within the irregular powers of the medieval family and the intersection of public and domestic spheres that women achieved positions of power where they could control wealth and property."

[65] Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, pp. 1–7, sees the "holy wife" as only one aspect of saint's lives that were held up as exempla for the "proper deportment" of noble women. She refers to Elizabeth Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (New York, 1994), in cautioning that "women saints were transgressors, rule-breakers, flouters of boundaries," and thus using them as models for secular women was somewhat dangerous.

[66] Santinelli, "Les Femmes," pp. 462, 467, 479, has suggested that one of the primary functions of aristocratic females' monastic patronage in western France was the perpetual memory of the paternal legacy of their husbands. Emma's case is complicated by the fact that she founded two abbeys, and as Santinelli notes, Emma also perpetuated the memory of her own family. In 995 Emma had her brother, Eudes I of Blois, confirm her founding donations in the name of their parents. In the year 1000 Emma had her son, William V, make a donation to Bourgueil, a monastery that she founded in her homeland, in the name of his parents to reconfirm the relationship between the two families.

[67] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* I [fol. 247 v° a], PL 146.1252C, "*filium concipit, quem paterno nomine appelavit.*"

in its cloister signaled this same concern with legacy, while retroactively supporting both her original claim of ownership and Peter's assertion of her starring role in the abbey's foundation.[68] So great, in fact, was Emma's presence within the *mentalité* of this monastic "emotional community" that when the donation charters for the new abbey of Maillezais were recorded, one year after her death, she was still listed as one of the founders present as a witness.[69]

Building on Emma's role as holy wife in the construction and economic support of the abbey, Peter's next episode—which we will call "the marriage"— provides us with a descriptive excursion through the tumultuous, on-and-off status of Emma and William's conjugal union. Here his characterization of Emma as the beleaguered and emotionally unpredictable wife signals the real crux of the matter; the financial fate of the abbey hinged on the tenuous permanence of this marriage alliance. From the distance of Peter's point of view, the enduring vitality of the abbey could be credibly linked to the success of this troubled couple in their protracted efforts to find common ground in their marriage. Moreover, Peter may have purposefully set Emma and her marriage up as a model for the contemporary nobility who supported the abbey in his era because, as I will illustrate, their behavior was similarly threatening to the financial prospects of the abbey, particularly as it was about to undertake an extensive building campaign.

To this end, it is telling that Peter shifts the parameters of his depiction of Emma yet again at the conclusion of the marriage episode, this time showing Emma to be the prudent, discreet, capable, strong (*prudenciam cum potenciat*),[70] and wise peace-weaver (*sapientia, clementia*)[71] as she mediates the familial factions while negotiating a settlement to her marriage woes. We will come back to this last aspect of Emma's character, which I note here to illustrate the foil Peter creates on either side of the marriage episode in order to dramatize the anger and vengeance Emma displays at its center when she discovers William to have been involved

[68] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 17, notes that burial of one's male relatives within a monastery is a sign of "ownership." William IV was buried in St. Maixent in Poitiers after having taken the habit at St. Cyprien. William V's first two sons were buried next to him in Maillezais. See Rafalo, "Les ducs," p. 334.

[69] Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, pp. 20–21, 60, n. 141; Jean-Yves Delaistre, "Emma, comtesse de Poitiers," Master's thesis, Université de Poitiers, 1985, pp. 58–61.

[70] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a], PL 146.1256A.

[71] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 a]; and [fol. 247 v° b]. In general, see the articles in Shank and Nichols, eds., *Medieval Religious Women*.

in an illicit sexual liaison with the wife of the neighboring viscount of Thouars.[72]

Peter's graphic depiction of Emma's anger at this betrayal can be contrasted with the virtue of patience more characteristic of her earlier portrayal as holy wife. But where anger was in general considered a deadly sin because it was seen to be self-indulgent, recklessly destructive, and naturally leading to violence and vengeful behavior, Peter depicts Emma's anger as virtuous, in the manner of the righteous zeal attributed to the wrath of God.[73] It was an anger that, as Richard Barton states, could "marshal the passions and thus focus energy to fight constructively against evil."[74]

In similar manner, the vengeance one might expect to develop from this type of betrayal could also be seen from two sides of the same coin. In the biblical sense, vengeance was believed to be God's prerogative, based on the law of *talion* from Exodus 21:24—what we might call "an eye for an eye" or "tit for tat."[75] Stephen White shows, however, in his study of contemporary evidence of vengeful acts, that individuals acting in this manner were quite often represented as undergoing an "emotional transformation" that was contrary to the sinful state of anger.[76] He suggests that the cultural convention dictating this behavior followed a familiar script that was initiated with a personal injury, and led to shame, anger, or grief, but then changed to the enmity, loathing, and hostility that ultimately brought on the act of revenge. Significantly, if these acts ended in some form of mutually agreed upon compensation as a way to balance the wrongs done—a negotiated settlement—then vengeance could be seen in the positive light of "peacemaking."[77]

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[72] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 a], PL 146.1252D, "*Toharcense adisse oppidum, ac cum conjuge vicecomitis admisisse adulterium.*"

[73] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fols. 247 v° b–248 a].

[74] Richard Barton, " 'Zealous Anger' and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France," in *Anger's Past*, pp. 153–70.

[75] Daniel Smail and Kelly Gibson, eds. *Vengeance in Medieval Europe* (Toronto, 2009), pp. xv–xvii.

[76] White, "Politics of Anger," pp. 141–42.

[77] It was this notion of peacemaking that was the political essence of the Peace of God movement. The goal of the local bishops attending a Peace Council was to form alliances with regional nobility as a means of establishing an authority for the maintenance of the Peace. The political/ecclesiastical alliances formed at a council led to both the creation of new religious institutions and an increase in financial and political support for abbeys and churches already in existence. See, in general, Head and Landes, eds., *The Peace of God.*

This process of emotional transformation within a dispute or conflict seems to be the model that Peter followed in his depiction of the countess' reaction to her husband's infidelity. When Emma hears the shocking news of her husband's illicit actions, she retreats in shame, reproaching her husband in humiliation.[78] Shame turning to anger (*furor*),[79] she separates from her husband to return to her homeland and family in the Touraine. In a meaningful detail for my investigation of the architectural history of the abbey, Peter links Emma's reaction to the progress of building at Maillezais: her betrayal and dramatic retreat were publicly manifested in the discontinuation of both her financial support and the construction process. And although the project was clearly important for the duke's political agenda, he refused to contribute to its progress in her absence.

In order to stress further Emma's sense of impropriety and jealousy, and thus justify her ensuing vengeful behavior, Peter goes on to relate a corollary incident where the countess finds herself riding in the same party as the offending viscountess of Thouars. Emma leaps from her horse and viciously attacks her husband's mistress, inviting the men in her party to "have their way with her."[80] Here Peter seems to be characterizing her violent reaction in terms of the "righteous indignation" her betrayal deserves in order to signal the positive social realignment that would result from the negotiated settlement following its public performance. This settlement reunited the couple and served to re-initiate the construction activity at Maillezais.

Again, re-contextualizing our reading of this story retroactively away from Emma's era to the time contemporary with Peter's writing suggests that he could well have contrived the details of this marital event in order to make a not-so-subtle reference to the long-standing dispute between the viscounts of Thouars and the counts of Poitou that continued even as he composed his chronicle. From a foundational point of view, it is interesting to note that, geographically, Thouars—the site of the sexual liaison—was located about half-way between the Poitevin Maillezais and

[78] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 v° a], PL 146.1252D, "*Cujus flagitii dedecus, ubi primum comitisse innotuit, jamajm marito molesta existere, cotidieque despectum sui improperare cepit. Ille quoque quamplurimis verbis sese excusare gestiens, postquam advertit femineam levitatem sedare non verbotenus posse, querimonias ejus statuit surda aure postponere.*"

[79] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 v° b].

[80] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 v° b], PL 146.1252D-1253A, "*Irruens ergo tot impetus in eam, de equo quam turpiter precipitat, ac multiplicibus contumeliis affectam, comitantes se quatinus libidinose nocte, que imminebat, tota ea abuterentur, concitat.*"

Emma's Touraine. The same position of mediation cannot, however, be said of the politics of the three regions, with the viscounts of Thouars vacillating in their allegiances between the counts of Poitou and the Touraine. Some historians depict the situation as a productive rivalry that manifested itself in a game of "philanthropic one-upmanship" to include the building of monasteries. These historians cite instances like that in which Agnes of Blois (987–1034), Emma's niece, married Geoffrey II of Thouars, a profitable uniting of the two factions that engendered contributions to abbeys in all three regions—Poitou, Blois, and Thouars.[81]

Documents contemporary with the writing of Peter's chronicle, however, paint a more violent, destructive picture of the relationship between these familial parties.[82] Of particular interest is an account of William VIII, Emma's grandson, who in 1069 was called from Maillezais to the neighboring abbey of Luçon to quell a revolt fomented by the reigning viscount of Thouars, Aimery IV.[83] Considered "cold-blooded," William's actions here are recorded as having been particularly violent, burning the abbey and massacring many innocents in the process.[84] What makes this story compelling in terms of Peter's construction of Emma's character is the generational correlation of the players implicated in the event. While William VIII was Emma's grandson, Aimery IV, son of the philanthropic Agnes of Blois and Geoffroy II of Thouars mentioned above, would have been the grandson of the viscount of Thouars who offered his wife to Duke William IV, Emma's husband.

In light of this relationship, it is also important to remember that it was this same William VIII who installed the reforming abbot Goderan, who in turn commissioned Peter's chronicle. Peter emphasizes the fact that Emma's strength comes through her ability to negotiate a peaceful and prosperous resolution to her marital difficulties, and in the process ensure the monastery's future.[85] It is tempting to suggest that he highlights the positive settlement of William IV's transgressions against Emma metaphorically to signal the need for publically visible retribution on the

[81] Rafalo, "Les ducs," pp. 320–26; Hughes Imbert, "Notice sur les viscomtes de Thouars," *Mémories de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 20 (1864), pp. 321–431.

[82] Giles Bresson, *Abbayes et prieurés de Vendée* (Olonne, 2005), p. 86.

[83] Dillange, *Les Comtes*, p. 154. Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778–1204*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1903), p. 301, cites the *Chronique des églises d'Anjou* for this episode.

[84] Richard, *Histoire*, pp. 298–301.

[85] Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, pp. 75–96, illustrates that while repudiation following acts of adultery was the rule in the Carolingian era, in the 9th century laws began to favor negotiation and reconciliation.

part of William VIII in response to his own misdeeds. As White's analysis of anger and social violence demonstrates, it is specifically the culmination of violent social actions in a mutually agreed upon compensation that was not only the accepted method for balancing a wrong done, but what differentiated socially tolerated anger from that deemed destructive. With this in mind, it seems plausible that Abbot Goderan commissioned the chronicle in response to William VIII's deeds and that Peter used the post-settlement, "virtuous" end to Emma's story as an exemplum for her grandson. History shows us that Peter may have put this forward as a model for William VIII. Like his grandfather, this William paid dearly in restitution for his misdeeds for the remainder of his life, only receiving full absolution from Pope Alexander II at his death in 1086 when his son, William IX, undertook the rebuilding of Luçon. Here, too, Peter's construction of Emma's story foreshadows the events of William VIII, for he tells us that her own son, William V, similarly undertakes the rebuilding of Maillezais after the death of his father, Emma's philandering husband.[86] Seen in light of William VIII's actions, William V's building program can be similarly linked to the retribution of wrongs done by his father, in memory of his mother (*perpetuam memoriam*).[87] Peter's portrayal of this episode is, therefore, revealing in that it provides an explanation for the magnificence of William V's gift to the abbey of the entire island of Maillezais and his stipulation that a grand new abbey be built in honor of his mother on the prominent site of his parents' palatial residence.

Within this same episode, the construction of Emma's emotional character also signals how Peter understood the difference between a woman's role in a marriage and that of her husband. Pointing again to the similarities with St. Radegund's story, Emma is depicted as if she perceived her obligations as an aristocratic wife, first, in terms of service to the religious community, demonstrated through her faith and the construction of the monastery. In this building activity, the husbands of both Emma and Radegund were necessary in their provision of financial support. While Peter gives Emma sole credit for the mystical foundation of Maillezais, he predicates the actual building on the noble couple acting in matrimonial concert. Even though he treats the betrayal and the treatment of Emma as scandalous (*dedecus*),[88] Peter seems to understand the implications of the

86 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 250 a]–[fol. 253 a].
87 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 250 a].
88 Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 v° a].

marital conflict from both sides. In depicting Emma's emotional outbursts, we see him sympathizing with the countess' public humiliation in having to deal with a faithless husband.[89] On the other hand, he indicates that he was also aware of the duke's plight as he contended with the repercussions of his wife's exasperating (*exasperare*)[90] vocal and public anger. As Lisa Perfetti notes, emotional states such as those ascribed to Emma and William tend to define relationships—they illustrate a person's position relative to other individuals, families, or groups.[91] As indicators of behavioral states, emotions situate the individual in the larger ethical and moral universe. Our understanding of the parameters of Emma's marital universe are, however, complicated by the fact that women were expected to behave differently according to their status and position, as Suzanne Wemple demonstrates; daughters and wives were to be perceived as passive and submissive, where the same women acting as heads of the household or as property managers were to be self-assured and resourceful.[92] For Peter, Emma and Radegund share in their proficiency in negotiating both roles in relation to the "interminably bad behavior" (*vehementer exorrebat*)[93] of their husbands.[94]

Stressing this bifurcation of her wifely roles, Peter depicts Emma as a divinely inspired, diplomatic mediator; he strikes a balance between her actions as the forgiving wife and the wise business manager. Like Radegund acting as the "peace-weaver," negotiating disputes between feuding kings,[95] we know from documents associated with the Peace of God that contemporary queens and aristocratic women like Emma were often called on to participate in peace councils either with their husbands or acting in their stead.[96] As the holders of the purse strings, these women

[89] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 247 vº b].

[90] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a].

[91] Perfetti, *The Representation of Women's Emotions*, p. 2.

[92] Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, p. 120.

[93] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 a].

[94] Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, p. 107.

[95] Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, pp. 44, 73–74, 178, notes that St. Radegund negotiated a peace agreement as two kings fought over Poitiers. She cites a revolt of the nuns at Poitiers as the reason behind Baudonivia's portrayal of St. Radegund as a "peacemaker." Venantius Fortunatus, "The Thuringian War," in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara and John Halborg (Durham, 1992), p. 93, says that Radegund "was always solicitous for peace and worked diligently for the welfare of the fatherland. Whenever the different kingdoms made war on one another, she prayed for the lives of all the kings, for she loved them all... So through her intercession, there was peace among the kings. Mitigation of war brought health to the land."

[96] Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, pp. 67–68.

wielded great power in forming alliances between the crown, bishoprics, and monasteries, negotiating deals that benefitted the Church as well as the court, even as they reigned at times as dowagers or regents.

An example of this official behavior related to our understanding of the range of Emma's role in regional politics is Adèle of Blois (d. 1137), a distant relative of Emma's who is known to have attended the peace councils of 1096 and 1099 with Bishop Ivo of Chartres, when her husband, Étienne, was away on crusade.[97] Like Peter's familiarity with the politics surrounding the viscounts of Thouars and their relationship to the actions of William VIII, he was most likely aware of the precedent of women like Adèle acting in official capacity as negotiating mediators during the era of the Peace of God.[98] Within this contemporary context, where Peter himself might be seen as the middleman between the interests of his abbot and the duke, his characterization of Emma acting in conflicting roles, first of angry, betrayed wife and then even-handed negotiator, should be seen against the backdrop of the chaotic and tenuous peace in the political landscape—suggestive of the tumultuous, irrational tone of the larger picture of social discord, which necessitated the mediation emblematic of the Peace movement.[99] Her anger at her husband's transgressions can be said to be similar in tone to these political events, that is, smoldering, lasting several years, and in need of on-going mediation. It is in this light that we should assess the fact that in 990, shortly after the negotiated reconciliation of their marriage in 989, William IV staged a grand consecration

[97] Kimberly LoPrete, "Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Leadership," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, pp. 7–44; and her *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord* (*c. 1067–1137*) (Dublin, 2007). Adela, who was married to the son of Emma's nephew, was no doubt politically privileged because she was the daughter of William the Conqueror and the mother of Stephen, King of England.

[98] In his discussion of the political disputes of the Touraine, Stephen D. White, " '*Pactum . . . Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium*'—The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," *American Journal of Legal History*, 22/4 (1978), pp. 281–308, esp. 287, 293, illustrates a tradition of women in roles of power acting as mediators or arbitrators, negotiating disputes and passing judgment in official venues.

[99] Stephen D. White, "Feuding and Peace-making in the Touraine around the Year 1100," in *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-Century France*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005), pp. 195–263, esp. 201, finds that "feuding was common in eleventh- and early twelfth-century France, where feelings of family solidarity were intense." See also Mickey Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context: The Dispute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement," *Gesta* 47/1 (2008), pp. 51–66.

of the abbey, inviting many of the same political and ecclesiastic figures who attended the Peace Council he had chaired at Charroux in 989.[100]

Unfortunately for the continued well-being of the abbey, the marital peace signaled by William's public consecration was not long lasting. Although we are not told the reason, Emma, exasperating (*exasperate*) her husband, retreated to the Touraine a second time in 991 at her maltreatment (*male tractatam*).[101] Taking advantage of her exile, however, Emma established, with her family's support, a rival monastery at Bourgueil, retrieving her abbot/cousin Gauzbert to install him as abbot at this new foundation.[102] Thus appearing more calculating in her vengeance, Emma's patronage served to hold William's political agenda hostage, and set the stage for a new, more rigorous round of negotiations. Further escalating the tenor of the dispute, William retaliated by removing Emma's monks, and placing "her" Maillezais under the control of St. Cyprien in Poitiers.[103]

The duke and countess did finally reconcile in 993. In an interesting twist on the more common trope of women being sent off to a convent, here the terms of the reconciliation seem to have ushered in William's permanent retirement to St.-Maixent, which paved the way for Emma's return to Maillezais and the beginning of the reign of their son, William V.[104] On the surface, one might assume that Peter's purpose in narrating this final, post-reconciliation episode was to show wifely forgiveness. I would argue, however, that the emphasis on Emma's pro-active role in the mediated negotiation that led to the public reconciliation of their marriage and the reuniting of the interests of the two families points to Peter's depiction of Emma: as successful negotiator, her portrayal revalidated the

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[100] Bord, *Maillezais*, p. 37.

[101] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a].

[102] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 248 v° b]; and Apps, *Maillezais*, pp. 13–24. The exact date of the foundation of Bourgueil is contested: the charter date is 990, while records of occupation of the abbey date back to the 970s. See Michel Dupont, *Monographie du cartulaire de Bourgueil*, Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Touraine, 56 (Tours, 1962), pp. 161–62; Oury, "La reconstruction," pp. 82–83; Lacurie, *Histoire de l'abbaye*, p. 6; and Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, p. 25. Historians, such as Thomas Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005)," *Speculum*, 74/3 (1999), pp. 666–72, give William IV credit for founding not only the abbeys of Maillezais (987) and Bourgueil (990), but also a hospice near St.-Hilaire in Poitiers.

[103] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a].

[104] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a]. See also Bord, *Maillezais*, p. 35; and Richard, *Histoire*, p. 136, cit. *Chronicle d'Adémar*, p. 156. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, p. 120, notes that retirement of a spouse to a monastery brought freedom and autonomy to the wife, allowing her to shift to a more active political role.

significance of the political alliance originally established by the couple's parents.[105]

This marital union also served to reinforce the notion that the stability of a married couple working in harmonious collaboration was beneficial to the prosperity of the monastery. As Emma renewed her financial relationship with Maillezais a second time, her real coup, brought about by judicious use of tears and prayers (*atque fletuum et precum varietate instigata*),[106] was the retention of her family's control over the abbey she built at Bourgueil, with her abbot/cousin now in charge of both monasteries.[107] Serving to rebalance significantly the power relationship between the counties of Blois and Poitou, this gain for her family included the re-installation of the monks from St.-Julien, who had been ousted by William in Emma's absence.[108] This more equal relationship between the two counties, the two abbeys, the two families, and the marital couple remained the status quo until William IV's death in 996. For Peter's purposes, the re-establishment of the political balance set the stage for the relocation and construction of the new abbey to be initiated by the donations from couple's son, Willian V.

The totality of the preceding episodes—the origin story, building process, betrayal, retreat, and reconciliation—when seen retrospectively from Peter's era two generations later suggests that this was not meant as a simple memorial to the wife of the founding duke. Rather, Emma's significance for Peter did not end with her death, but continued on as role-model for her descendants, Peter's contemporaries. The actions of the two intervening generations illustrate their contribution to Peter's focus on Emma's emotional character in the construction of an exemplary model for female patronage in the wake of ill-conceived marriages.

As suggested above, Peter tells us that at Emma's death and in her venerable (*venerabilis*)[109] memory, her son, William V donated to the abbot of Maillezais the land on which his great-grandfather's hunting lodge sat, the

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[105] Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, p. 122, suggests that the biological function of daughters in the marital alliance was primarily not to dilute the blood line. Women were considered for their potential as both political and economic assets. As family was the most stable instrument of government, power came to be tied to land held in common by the husband and wife.

[106] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 a].

[107] Richard, *Histoire*, p. 140, cit. *Cartulary de Bourgueil*, pp. 21–23.

[108] The history of the two houses remained intertwined for some time. William V elevated a monk named Theodelin to abbot of Maillezais at Gauzbert's death in 1007. Theodelin took on Gauzbert's role as abbot of Bourgueil in 1012. See Delhommeau, *Notes*, XIV.

[109] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 249 v° b].

same lodge Emma had insisted William IV transform into their palace.[110] In fact, William gave Maillezais the entire island. Furthering his own political goals, William V stipulated that a new abbey was to be built on this more strategic location at the western-most edge of Maillezais Island, facing out to the open gulf.[111] Looking to the past, the charter documenting the new foundation made reference to William I's founding of Cluny and was witnessed by nobility from both the counties of Blois and Poitou, as well as Angers, Limoges, and Thouars, thus replicating the entourage who had both participated alongside William IV in the Peace Council at Charroux in 989, and attended the original consecration staged in 990.[112] I would argue that with this prestigious entourage, Peter would have us see William V mirroring the negotiated harmony his mother had initiated by her return to Maillezais in that earlier era. It is, therefore, significant that, as we shift our focus to the period of time contemporary with the writing of the chronicle, the sense of *longue durée* puts Peter's depiction of William V's devotion to his mother's memory in the context of her grandson, William VIII, and his struggle with the marital legacy of his own parents.

Here, again, Peter seems to be using a comparative model. His inclusion of William V's role in the history of Maillezais—the donation of land to rebuild the abbey and memorialize his mother's work—seems fairly straightforward. Having grown up at his mother's side and away from his father, William V's rebuilding of Maillezais can be seen as a metaphorical repudiation of his father's misdeeds.[113] The strategic relocation of the abbey could thus be additionally justified in terms of honor and familial affection. As we will see, the actions of Agnes of Burgundy, third wife of William V and mother of William VIII, may have been perplexing both

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[110] Peter tells us that Emma came to her son before dying and asked him to protect Maillezais "in eternal memory of me" (*quatinus ob mei perpetuam memoriam*). See Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, pp. 122–23; Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate* 1 [fol. 250 a]. This lodge was once one of the provincial palaces built by William III, Tête d'Europe (935–963). See Emmanuel Barbier, "Maillezais, du palais ducal au réduit bastionné," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 202–03.

[111] The original abbey was built on the site of the abandoned chapel of St. Hilaire highlighted in the origin story. The move to the site of the palace positioned the abbey to better control the waterways. See Bord, *Maillezais*, pp. 13–15; Michael Costen and Catherine Oakes, *Romanesque Churches of the Loire and Western France* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 44–45; Rafalo, "Les ducs," pp. 326–33; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu, une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2006), pp. 508–15.

[112] Rafalo, "Les ducs," p. 331; Delhommeau, *Notes et documents*, no. V; Bord, *Maillezais*, pp. 36–37; Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, pp. 108–109, 179, n. 62.

[113] Dillange, *Les comtes*, p. 113; Bernard Bachrach, "Towards a Reappraisal of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine (995–1030)," *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), pp. 11–21.

to Peter and his reforming abbot. Agnes' marriages and acts of patronage are, however, quite enlightening in terms of Peter's emotional depiction of Emma.[114]

Like her mother-in-law, Agnes was recorded as possessing a complex, multifaceted personality that proved to be a "thorn" in the political, economic, and spiritual calm of both the monastic community and the Poitevin court. In this light, Agnes' actions cast a long shadow on the reputation of her son, William VIII, for the purposes of my argument on familial female patronage sought by the Maillezais community. A brief tracing of this patronage history illustrates that although Emma was not the first countess of Poitou to patronize monastic foundations,[115] she did set the standard for the next generations, including Agnes.[116] Following Emma's precedent, Agnes contributed to the reconstruction of St.-Hilaire in Poitiers, where her husband was lay abbot;[117] in support of her

[114] Without giving specific examples, Marie-Thérèse Camus, *Sculpture romane du Poitou: les grandes chantiers du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), p. 227, suggested that Peter saw Agnes as the model for his depiction of Emma.

[115] In general, see Constance Berman, "Women as Donors and Patrons to Southern French Monasteries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, Imagination*, eds. Constance Berman, Charles Connell, and Judith Rothschild (Morgantown, 1985), pp. 53–69, esp. 55, who notes that women giving to male foundations was not uncommon and was often done for the benefit of the souls of their husbands and sons. Marie-Thérèse Camus addresses the female patronage of western France in "Tours-porches et function d'accueil dans les églises du Poitou au XIe siècle," in *Avant-nefs & espaces d'accueil dans l'église: entre le IVe et le XIIe siècle*, ed. Christian Sapin (Paris, 2002), pp. 260–80. See also Costen and Oakes, *Romanesque Churches*, pp. 150–51, who follow the various strands of this female patronage through to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Emma's most famous great-great granddaughter.

[116] Emma's founding of Maillezais in her husband's homeland seems to have emulated the strategy of her mother-in-law, Adele of Normandy, who founded the abbey of La Trinité in Poitiers (ca. 963/69) after marrying William III. Following Emma's precedent, her daughter-in-law, Aumode of Gevaudan (first wife of William V), supported a rural abbey—St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe—reflecting her husband's more broadly based political interests and the abbey at Ligugé. See Camus, "Tours-porches," p. 263.

[117] Isabelle Soulard, "Agnes de Bourgogne ou la tentation du pouvoir," in *Les femmes du Poitou au Moyen Âge* (Le Crèche, 1998), pp. 140–50. In addition to serving at St.-Hilaire, William V was lay abbot at Nouaillé and St.-Jean-d'Angély. See Costens and Oakes, *Romanesque Churches*, pp. 45, 150. Dillange, *Les comtes*, p. 131, notes that a fire in Poitiers provided the occasion for many contributions on William V's part. William V retired to Maillezais in 1029 and was buried in the cloister in 1030. See Bord, *Maillezais*, pp. 50–51. For others buried at Maillezais, see Robert Favreau, "Les inscriptions médiévales de Maillezais," in *L'abbaye*, pp. 121–34. Bord, *Maillezais*, p. 52, notes that with the early deaths of William's two oldest sons, William VI (1038) and Eudes (1039)—sons born by his first and second wives respectively—Agnes served as regent until 1044 for the son she produced, who served as William VII (1039–58). This son was succeeded by Agnes' second son, William VIII (1058–86).

two sons' interests, she founded both the Monastery of St.-Nicolas in Poitiers (1050) and the hospice next to it, establishments she continued to fund throughout the rest of her life.[118] Examined through the eyes of the monastic community, Agnes' patronage activity would have meshed nicely with Emma's model as outlined by Peter.

More revealing in terms of Peter's emotional portrayal of Emma and the building chronology at Maillezais, however, was Agnes' political persona, which was radically different from—one might say, the polar opposite of—the one Peter gave Emma. Rather than the peacefully inclined negotiator, Agnes had the reputation for being shrewd, self-serving, and difficult.[119] These particular behaviors began to surface with the death of William V in 1030 and can be traced to the subsequent question of the succession of his four sons, mothered by three different wives: Agnes' two sons were the last in line. To ensure their succession, she made some strategic maneuvers, the most visible of them her re-marriage in 1032 to Geoffroi Martel (r. 1040–1060), son of Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, and significantly the political rival of both William IV, Emma's husband, and Agnes' own first husband, William V. The political intrigue of Agnes' second marriage, at least from the vantage point of the extended familial community, is exemplified by her actions in concert with this new husband and Aimery IV of Thouars, grandson of the Viscount of Thouars implicated in Emma's story. In a move tied directly to the succession of Agnes' sons, she, together with Geoffroi Martel and Aimery, conspired against the legitimate heir, William VI, imprisoning him for three years and ruining his health to the point that he died shortly after being released.[120]

From the point of view of the monastic community, Agnes' re-marriage was problematic on two fronts; as I will show below, it violated the Church's moral code and served to drain Maillezais's coffers. While Agnes' dubious involvement in the political affairs associated with the promotion of her own sons most likely warranted the notice of the reforming abbot, Goderan, the illegitimacy of her marriage to Geoffroi Martel would certainly

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[118] Camus, *Sculpture Romane*, p. 221. Santinelli, "Les femmes," p. 471, notes that this donation was made after Agnes's divorce from Geoffroi Martel and does not mention him. Dillange, *Les comtes*, pp. 146–47, lists other foundations to which Agnes gave: St.-Florent de Saumur, St.-Maixent, St.-Jean-d'Angély, Charroux, St.-Hilaire in Poitiers, and St.-Michel-en-l'Herm.

[119] Penelope Johnson, "Agnes of Burgundy: An Eleventh-Century Woman as Monastic Patron," *Journal of Medieval History*, 15/2 (1989), pp. 93–104.

[120] Dillange, *Les comtes*, pp. 138–40. Eudes, William V's second son, died in battle the following year.

have been a relevant issue.[121] Because the couple was related in the fourth degree, the church forced Geoffroi to repudiate Agnes in 1047.[122] Goderan would have been fully cognizant of the moral offense through his relationship with Agnes' son William VIII, who seems to have paid little attention to his mother's marital example, as his own third marriage was contested on the same grounds.[123] Abbot Goderan is recorded as having played a role in William VIII's negotiations with the pope to maintain the status of the duke's illegitimate marriage for the benefit of the son it had produced.[124] Given this personal intervention, it seems plausible that the Cluniac reformer would have encouraged Peter to emphasize the positive outcome of Emma's troubled marriage, with its negotiated settlement, particularly as it had a direct benefit to the financial well-being of the abbey.[125] Unfortunately, the church-enforced dissolution of Agnes' second marriage had the opposite effect on Maillezais' economy. After the divorce, her patronage took a decidedly personal turn. Largely for her own benefit, she subverted a significant portion of Maillezais' substantial revenue to found the Abbaye-aux-Dames in Saintes (1047), notably on

[121] Goderan and Agnes were allied politically from the beginning of his time at Maillezais. Richard, *Histoire*, p. 281, suggests that Agnes's last official act before fully handing over the reins of power to her son was to witness Hugh of Cluny install Goderan as abbot in 1060. In addition to Agnes, William VIII, and Hugh, this event was attended by the bishops of Poitiers, Saintes, and Angoulême, as well as abbots of the region.

[122] Dillange, *Les comtes*, p. 138.

[123] Dillange, *Les comtes*, pp. 157–58. Richard, *Histoire*, p. 307, cit. *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Marchegay and Mabille (Paris, 1870), p. 404, notes that William VIII separated in 1069, the year after his mother Agnes died, from the marriage she had arranged for him. He then married Audéarde, his fourth cousin. This marriage to Audéarde produced a son, William IX, in 1071. Pope Gregory VII demanded the marriage be annulled when he came to Poitou in 1075. This action was, however, a political problem, for it made the heir to the duchy a bastard, as William VIII had no brothers. Instead, as Richard, *Histoire*, p. 322, states, Audéarde "officially disappeared," her name never again appeared as duchess until after her husband's death. All the while she continued to raise her children.

[124] See Richard, *Histoire*, pp. 323, 380. Dillange, *Les comtes*, p. 159, shows that as penance for this immoral marriage, the pope demanded that William found and extend privileges to a new monastery. The church of St.-Jean in Poitiers, which had already been dedicated in 1069, was thereafter transformed into a major abbey, re-dedicated as Montierneuf in 1076. William VIII was buried there when he died in 1086.

[125] It is intriguing to speculate whether the Cluniac Goderan was familiar with the dedication to the *Vita* of the Empress Adelaide, written by Odilio of Cluny (r. 994–1049). Called a *speculum reginarum*, or mirror for the conduct of queens, this document describes in detail the empress' exalted deeds. See Odilio of Cluny, *Vita Sanctae Adalheidis Imperatricis*, in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, eds. Martinus Marrier and Andreas Quercetanus (Brussels, 1915), pp. 354–69, cit. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, p. 23. Pon and Chauvin, *La fondation*, p. 39, make reference to this document, suggesting that it may have influenced Peter's depiction of Emma.

territory controlled by her second husband.[126] Eventually taking the habit and retiring to this abbey, Agnes was hardly a political recluse from this time until she died in 1068. She is said to have been instrumental in the election of Goderan, the reforming Cluniac, as bishop of Saintes in 1067, even as he maintained his abbacy at Maillezais.[127]

In terms of the next phase of Maillezais' building history, William VIII finally shed the yoke of his mother's control with her death in 1068.[128] Reviving the family interest in his grandmother's abbey at Maillezais, he re-established the donations that Agnes had diverted.[129] Asserting his own political largesse, he made a substantial contribution to support a massive building campaign there to be managed by the reforming abbot, Goderan.[130] This program of construction featured the erection of the distinctive narthex and multi-story tower appended to the western façade of William V's church. Such an addition was significant in that it served to make the abbey visible from far out to sea, and in doing so, it highlighted the abbey's strategic geographic location in relation to the duke's political domain, the same domain defined by his grandparents' marriage, but challenged by Agnes' marriage to the Angevin Geoffroi Martel. I have argued elsewhere that the visual correlation between the abbey's prominent siting on the western coast of the island, at the mouth of two rivers, and the new visibility of the narthex façade and tower, was meant to signify

[126] René Crozet, *Saintes: ville romaine et romane* (Paris, 1971), p. 22; Johnson, "Agnes," pp. 93–104; Claude Baudin, "Les comtesses de Poitou, duchesses d'Aquitaine," Master's thesis, Université de Poitiers, 1995, pp. 10–38, 49–67; Bord, *Maillezais*, pp. 52–53. Richard, *Histoire*, p. 286, cit. *Cartulary de Notre-Dame de Saintes*, pp. 21–22, suggests that Agnes had her son, William VIII, who had now successfully assumed the title of Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, confirm her donations to Saintes in the name of his parents. This act served to link the property obtained under the auspices of her illegitimate ex-husband to the patrimony and protection of the house of Poitou and the family of her first husband. Santinelli, "Les femmes," p. 464, notes that this happened in 1067 and, significantly, Geoffroi Martel is not mentioned.

[127] Richard, *Histoire*, p. 303. Goderan died in 1074; for his chronology, see Bresson, *Abbayes*, pp. 94–95.

[128] This liberation included the annulment of the marriage Agnes had arranged for him. See Dillange, *Les comtes*, p. 154.

[129] Richard, *Histoire*, pp. 312–13, cit. Grasilier, *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, p. 41, states that he also gives the abbey of St.-Étienne de Vaux to Maillezais as a dependent after installing in it monks from Maillezais.

[130] The donations to Maillezais under each of the dukes and the dates of construction phases are charted in Bord, *Maillezais*, pp. 68–72. Richard, *Histoire*, p. 333, notes that Maillezais continued to prosper as a result of William VIII's donation of substantial property in Bordeaux and its increased alliance with Cluny.

Maillezais' renewed political power in the region.[131] Peter's chronicle further supports this understanding.

As stated at the outset, an analysis of Peter's depiction of Emma is important to the architectural history of Maillezais not only because it opens an alternative avenue for understanding the successive construction phases, but also because it serves to highlight the roles played in this process by the aristocratic women of the Poitevin court. The chronicle adds nuance to the standard association by modern historians of William IV with the founding of the first abbey at the island's port; his son, William V, with the donation of the land for the abbey's relocation and the initial construction of the new building; and William VIII, the grandson, with the addition of the western narthex and tower to this only recently completed building. Acknowledgment of the implications of Peter's text from the vantage point of each of the "emotional communities" refines my reading of the political motivations within the monastic mindset. This monastic view is particularly instructive when we look at Maillezais' building history retroactively, that is, from the vantage point of Peter and his abbot. From this angle it becomes clear that the milieu of contemporary events, particularly those surrounding the actions of Agnes of Burgundy—her self-serving political ambitions and her troubled marriages—shaped and colored Peter's characterization of Emma, even as he looked to local hagiographical tradition for a spiritual model. Most telling in this picture is Agnes' diversion of the familial patronage. From this perspective the conflict between Abbot Goderan's goals for the monastery and Agnes' interests becomes clear, especially given that the repercussions of her actions significantly jeopardized the revenue flow necessary to support the construction of the narthex/tower that was to signal the strength of the abbey in its newly-reformed status under Goderan's leadership. By contrast, Emma's behavior, as constructed by Peter, underscored what the monastic authors would have seen as positive characteristics for a patron and aristocratic wife. Through her, Peter and Goderan created the spiritual justification for the original founding and consecration; the memorializing impetus for the abbey's relocation and rebuilding under her son; and the moral imperative for its continued support.

The challenge for this study has been, as Barbara Rosenwein states it, "to put together the objects of material culture with the emotions expressed,

[131] For a description and analysis of the importance of this building program to the abbey's economy, see Abel, "To Sea," pp. 12–23.

shaped, and disregarded by the community that prizes or demeans those goods."[132] Building on Karl Morrison's recommendation that we have to "read within the silences of the text,"[133] in the case of Peter's chronicle the significant revelations come from his focus on Emma's emotional behavior. Bringing together what remains of the built environment at Maillezais abbey with these highlighted instances of Emma's emotions, as they were characterized in Peter's chronicle, understood by her contemporaries, and reflected on by her descendants, produces a new understanding of the social and political issues surrounding the various building phases of the abbey. These instances indicate that the connections between patronage and architecture are much more subtly complex than the standard litany of historical dates might suggest.

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[132] Barbara Rosenwein, "Emotions and Material Culture: A 'Site Under Construction'," in *Emotions*, pp. 165–72, esp. 171.

[133] Karl Morrison, *History as a Visual Art* (Princeton, 1990). For the use of Morrison's approach as it applies to medieval chronicles, see Lucy Pick, "Gender in the Early Spanish Chronicles: From John of Biclar to Pelayo of Oviedo," *La corónica*, 32/3 (2004), pp. 227–48.

The Dukes of Aquitaine
(Names in bold are mentioned in the text.)

Auvergne Counts
William I (the Pious) (r. 893–918), Founder of Cluny
William II (the Younger) (918–926)

Counts of Poitou
Ramnulf I (r. 845–866)
Ramnulf II (r. 877–890)
Ebles-Mancer (870–935) (r. 890–892 and 902–935)
1 (m. Aremburge)
2 (m. Emillane)
—son, William III (Tete d'Etoupe) (r. 927–963) (d. 963)
(m. Adele of Normandy)
—son, William IV (Fier a Bras) (r. 963–995) (d. 996)
(m. Emma of Blois 968) (950–1005)
—son, William V (Le Grande) (r. 995–1030) (969–1030)
1 (m. Aumode of Gevaudan)
—son William VI (Le Gros) (r. 1030–1038)
2 (m. Brisque of Gascony)
—son Eudes (r. 1038–1039)
3 (m. **Agnes of Burgundy (regent 1039–1044) (d. 1068)**
(remarries Geoffroi Martel, 1032, divorces 1047)
—son, William VII (Aigret) (r. 1039–1058) (d. 1058)
—son, William VIII (Gui-Geoffroi) (r. 1058–1086)
1 (m. Garsend of Perigord)
2 (m. Matheode de la Marche)
3 (m. **Audéarde of Burgundy**)
—son, William IX (r. 1086–1126)
1 (m. Ermengarde of Anjou)
2 (m. Philippe of Toulouse)
—son, William X (r. 1126–1137)
(m. Aenors of Chatellerault)
—daughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine (r. 1137–1204)
(m. Louis VII of France)
(m. Henry II of England)

Counts of Blois
Thibaut le Vieux, Viscount of Tours (r. 940–975)
(m. Liedgard of Vermandois)
—son, Thibaut I le Tricheur (d. 962)
—son, Hugh (d. 985)
—son, Odo (Eudes I) of Blois (d. 996)
(m. Bertha of Bourgogne, 967–1016)
—daughter, (Agnes of Blois, 987–1034)
(m. Geoffroy II of Thouars (985–1043)
—daughter, Emma of Blois (950–1005)
(m. William IV, Duke of Aquitaine, Count of Poitou)
—son, Eudes II (r. 996–1037)
(m. Sancerre of Berry, ca. 1030)
—son, Thibaut III (r. 1037–89)
(m. Gersande of Maine)
—son, Étienne (r. 1089–1102)
(m. Adèle (d. 1137) (daughter of William the Conqueror)

Viscounts of Thouars
Geoffroy I (ca. 876)
—son, Savary I of Thouars (903–926)
—son, Adhemar (903–925
—Aimery I of Thouars (ca. 935)
(m. Aremburge)
—son, Savary II of Thouars (c. 955)
—son, Aimery II of Thouars (900–956)
(m. Alienor (b. 899)
—son, Herbert I of Thouars (925–988)
(m. Aldered) (929–1020)
—son, Aimery III of Thouars (ca. 1000)
1 (m. Elvis)
2 (m. Melisende)
—son, Herbert of Thouars (ca. 1010)
—son, Emmo of Thouars (ca. 1010)
—son, Aimery of Thouars (ca. 1010)
—son, Thibaut of Thouars (955–1007)
—son, Raoul I of Thouars (b. 963)
—son, Savery III (955–1007)
—son, Geoffroy II of Thouars (985–1043)
(m. Agnes of Blois 987–1034)
—son, Aimery IV (1015–1093)
(m. Auremgarde (1025–1084)

Important Dates in the History of Maillezais Abbey

- Mystical foundation .... ca. 968/70
- 1st abbey building program begun 972
- 1st abbey building program delayed 975/78
- 1st abbey building program resumed 988
- 1st abbey building consecrated 990
- Abbey of Bourgueil consecrated 991
- Second quarrel between Emma and William 993–95
- Land donation for new abbey 997–1010
- Relics of St. Rigomer translated 1014
- New abbey enlarged 1050–70
- Maillezais becomes a dependent of Cluny 1057
- Abbot Goderan's tenure 1060–73
- Peter's Chronicle written 1067–70
- Narthex/tower added to new abbey 1070–90

PART SIX

MEMORY AND MOTHERHOOD

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

NIMBLE-FINGERED MAIDENS IN SCANDINAVIA: WOMEN AS ARTISTS AND PATRONS

Nancy L. Wicker

In the eleventh century, a mother named Gunnvor commemorated her skillful daughter Astrid by building a bridge and commissioning the carving of a runestone at the farm of Nordre Dynna in Hadeland, Norway (Fig. 1).[1] The Dynna stone is one of the most intriguing examples of women's patronage and female artistry during the Viking Age.[2] While the names of few female artists and patrons are known from medieval Christian Europe, an even smaller number have been identified in Scandinavia from the time of the pagan Vikings and their predecessors through the period of Christianization, so the presence of the names of both mother and daughter provides a delightful window into Viking-age society (ca. 800–1050) that invites meditations on the roles of these women. The mother mentioned on the Dynna stone sponsored both the runestone itself and a bridge, and the daughter was clever at some unnamed art or craft, which I propose may be jewelry-making, textiles, or even stone carving. Perhaps she made and inscribed jewelry that signified her status, embroidered scenes similar to the carvings visible on this monument, or designed and possibly carved pictorial scenes on stones such as this one from Dynna.

After a detailed examination of the Dynna memorial as an example of patronage and the production of women in various arts, I turn to a general discussion of women as patrons and artists in early medieval Scandinavia and consider whether the roles they held reinforced or subverted society's expectations for them. I look back to the Migration Period of the fifth

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[1] Norwegian Viking-age runestones are published in the runic corpus, *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*. The Dynna stone is no. 68 in the first volume by Magnus Olsen, *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer* (Oslo, 1941), vol. 1, pp. 192–202. The stone varies from 0.16 to 0.54 m wide × 2.28 m high. Since 1879 it has been located in the Museum of Cultural History, Oslo.

[2] The greatest number of runestones date to the late Viking Age during the eleventh century; see Birgit Sawyer, *The Viking-Age Rune-Stones: Custom and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 28–35, for a discussion of the chronology of runestones.

Figure 1 Runestone from Dynna, Norway, first half of the 11th c. (Photo: Ove Holst/The Museum of Cultural History, Oslo).

and sixth centuries for examples, as well as to the Viking Age of the ninth through eleventh centuries, suggesting that runestones, bridges, textiles, needlework, and jewelry were products that women—both elite and non-elite—most likely conceived and produced or commissioned.

The Dynna Stone in the Context of Runic Monuments

The Dynna stone was originally raised at the farm of Nordre Dynna in Gran parish, Hadeland district in the county of Oppland, approximately seventy-five kilometers north of Oslo. In 1879 it was moved to the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History where it still stands. The reddish sandstone is characteristic of the Ringerike area north of Oslo, a region that gives its name to the eponymous late Viking animal style.[3] This style is most visible in lobed tendrils at the top of the broad side of the stone and in a frieze of knotted foliate lobes carved below a horse that displays animal-style details of spiral hips and double contour (Fig. 2); in more developed form, the Ringerike style decorates additional stones from nearby Vang and Alstad.[4] Similar designs also embellish metalwork, such as the gilt bronze weather vane from Heggen in Modum, Buskerud, Norway.[5] In the context of these other Ringerike-style works, the carvings on the Dynna stone can be dated stylistically to the first half of the eleventh century, and the group of Ringerike stones (Dynna, Vang, and Alstad) is also dated philologically and historically to the first third of the eleventh century.[6] The language of the inscription is known as Old Norse or Old Icelandic, and the inscription is written in the sixteen-character runic row that developed by the beginning of the Viking Age.[7] The runes, which run vertically along the narrow side of the stone to the right of the pictorial scene, read: "Gunnvor, Þrýðrik's [Thrydrik's] daughter, made a bridge in memory of Astrid, her daughter. She was the handiest maiden in Hadeland" (Figs. 3, 4).[8]

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[3] Signe Horn Fuglesang, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style: A Phase of 11th-Century Scandinavian Art* (Odense, 1980).

[4] David M. Wilson and Ole Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, 2nd ed., (London, 1980), pp. 130–32.

[5] Horn Fuglesang, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style*, p. 45 and n. 90, p. 210.

[6] Horn Fuglesang, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style*, pp. 57–58.

[7] Erik Moltke, *Runes and Their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere* (Copenhagen, 1985), p. 28.

[8] Transliteration: **kunuur x kirþi x bru x þryikstutir x iftirasriþi x tutur x sina x suuasmarhanarst x ahaþalanti**

Figure 2 Dynna stone carvings (Drawing: Matthew L. Murray©).

Normalized runes:

ᚴᚢᚼᚢᚢᚱ x ᚴᛁᚱᚦᛁ x ᛒᚱᚢ x ᚦᚱᛦᚱᛁᚴᛋᛏᚢᛏᛁᚱ x ᛁᚠᛏᛁᚱᚭᛋᚱᛁᚦᛁ x ᛏᚢᛏᚢᚱ

x ᛋᛁᚿᛆ x ᛌᚢᚢᛆᛋᛘᛆᚱᚼᛆᚿᛆᚱᛋᛏ x ᚭᚼᛆᚦᛆᛚᛆᚿᛏᛁ

ᚴᚽᛒᛒᚦᛔᚽᚽᚱᛏᛦᚢᛦᚢᛁᚭᛒᚼᚼᛆᛌᚭᚠᚠᚼᛉᚠᛚᛰᚼᛋᛋᛋᚡᛒᚽ

Transliteration:

kunuur x kirþi x bru x þryikstutir x iftirąsriþi x tutur x

sina x suuasmarhanarst x ąhaþalanti

Normalized Old Norse transcription:

Gunnvor gerði brú, Þryðriks dóttir, eptir Ástriði, dóttur

sína. Sú var mær hǫnnurst á Haðalandi.

English translation:

"Gunnvor, Þryðrik's daughter, made a bridge in memory of

Astrid, her daughter. She was the handiest maiden in

Hadeland."

Figure 3 Inscription on the runestone from Dynna (After: Terje Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, Woodbridge, 2005, p. 105).

Even though the Ringerike animal style that is associated with traditional pagan Nordic designs is used on the Dynna composition, the overall iconography of the stone has been interpreted as the Christian Epiphany and Nativity.[9] Starting at the top of the approximately three-meter-high stone, an angel or Christ stands above the star of Bethlehem, which shines down on the three Magi mounted on three Ringerike-style horses, stacked one above another (see Figs. 1 and 2). Under the lowest of the horses, a horizontal band of foliate lobes separates the Magi from a field that is turned ninety degrees clockwise and contains the stable of the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. Christian narrative subjects are extremely rare on runestones. Dag Strömbäck identifies carvings on a runic rock-outcropping

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Old Norse transcription: *Gunnvor gerði brú, Þrýðriks dóttir, eptir Ástriði, dóttur sína. Sú var mær hǫnnurst á Haðalandi.*

English translation by Terje Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 105.

9 Peter Anker, *The Art of Scandinavia* (London, 1970), vol. 1, p. 172.

Figure 4 Placement of the inscription on narrow side of the stone, upper portion of the Dynna runestone (Photo: N.L. Wicker).

at Sika in Frötuna parish, Uppland, Sweden, as the Adoration of the Magi—thus iconographically comparable to the Dynna scene.[10] However, Strömbäck's theory has not convinced many scholars, and the Sika depiction has usually been described as an illustration of contemporary worshipers approaching and standing inside a Christian church (Fig. 5).[11] Thus the Dynna Epiphany and Nativity remain unparalleled and are among the earliest pictorial Christian scenes in Scandinavian art.

We should briefly consider typical inscriptions and depictions on runic monuments so that we can understand how remarkable the Dynna stone is. Objects with runic inscriptions are some of the most common art forms of medieval Scandinavia. Klaus Düwel reports that over 6,500 runic inscriptions on stones, weapons, jewelry, amulets, and coins have been found.[12] Contrary to popular opinion, runic inscriptions are not inherently pagan; a runic script can be used to write anything: pagan curses or Christian prayers, but also business transactions, ownership labels, personal notes, and love declarations.[13] In fact, around two-thirds of the Viking-age

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[10] Dag Strömbäck, *The Epiphany in Runic Art: The Dynna and Sika Stones* (London, 1970), pp. 16–19; contra: Claiborne Thompson, "Review of *The Epiphany in Runic Art: The Dynna and Sika Stones*," *Scandinavian Studies*, 44 (1972): 130–31, and see discussion by Henrik Williams, "Vad sager runstenarna om Sveriges kristnande?" in *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. Bertil Nilsson (Uppsala, 1996), p. 56.

[11] Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, II:3 (Stockholm, 1946), pp. 399–403. The carved area of the stone is 0.68 m wide by 2.43 m high.

[12] Klaus Düwel, *Runenkunde*, 4th ed. (Weimar, 2008), p. 3.

[13] Runic inscriptions in Denmark and the former Danish provinces (Blekinge, Halland, and Scania) now in Sweden are indicated by the catalog numbers in Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* (Copenhagen, 1941–1942), abbreviated as "DR." The runic inscriptions of Sweden are published in the sixteen volumes of the standard catalog of *Sveriges runinskrifter* (Stockholm, 1900–1981), by province, for instance *Södermanlands runinskrifter*, *Upplands runinskrifter*, etc., and each is designated by an abbreviation for the province, "Sö" for Södermanland, "U" for Uppland, etc., plus the catalog number. I list runic inscriptions as transliterated from runes into Latin characters, then with a translation into Old Norse (Proto-Norse or Latin in a few cases), and finally, an English translation.

There are a few runestones with pagan curses such as the pre-Viking stone from Stentoften (DR 357, Jacobsen and Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, 1941–1942, pp. 400–405) in Blekinge, Sweden, where the inscription ends with:

Transliteration: **herAmAlAsAz | ArAgeu we(l)Aduds| |sA þAt bAriutiþ**

Proto-Norse transcription: *Hermalausaz argiu, Weladauþs, sa þat briutiþ*

Translated by Peter G. Foote as "a malevolent guile's death for the man who breaks it [the memorial]!" Moltke, *Runes and Their Origin*, p. 140.

Invocations to God, Christ, and Mary are common on the Viking-age stones; for example, a stone at Risbyle (U 160, Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson, *Upplands runinskrifter*, I:1 [Stockholm, 1940], pp. 237–38), Täby parish, Uppland, Sweden, ends with the following prayer:

Transliteration: **kuþ * ilbi * ons * at * uk * salu * uk * kusþ muþiR * li anum lus * uk baratis**

Figure 5 Runic carving on rock outcropping, Sika, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/Swedish National Heritage Board).

runestones—and eighty percent (around 1,000 stones) of those from the core area of Uppland, Sweden—are Christian, as deduced from crosses carved on the stones and inscriptions that contain prayers invoking Christ and the Virgin Mary, often in the form of "may God and God's Mother help his (or her) soul."[14] Yet most of the Christian inscriptions on these 2,000 stones are contained within carved bands of sinuous snake-like creatures derived from pre-Christian animal ornamentation, reflecting the pervasive syncretism of the period of conversion in Scandinavia.

Old Norse transcription: *Guð hialpi hans and ok salu ok Guðs moðiR, le hanum lius ok paradis.*

Translation: "God and God's mother help his spirit and soul, grant him light and paradise." Sven B.F. Jansson, *Runes in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1987), p. 113.

Secular uses of runes are best attested in over 650 messages inscribed in Old Norse and Latin on wooden sticks that were discovered in archaeological excavations after a 1955 fire at the medieval (post-Viking-age) Bryggen wharf in Bergen, Norway. For a summary in English, see Karin Fjellhammer Seim, "A Review of the Runic Material," in *The Bryggen Papers* (Oslo, 1988), pp. 10–23, and Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, pp. 173–202. The corpus of Bryggen inscriptions is published by Aslak Liestøl, *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*, 6:1 (Oslo, 1980), and James Knirk, ed., *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer*, 6:2 (Oslo, 1990). I list only a few examples.

A business transaction, Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 188:

æinnriþi: þeta:atu mer at giallda .... *Eindriði! Þetta átt þú mér at gjalda* ....

"Eindriði! This is the payment you owe me .... "

An ownership label, Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 185:

Souæk a rþæþr þisa. *Sólveig á þræðr þessa*. "Solveig owns this thread."

A curious personal note, Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 191:

Gya:sæhir:atþu:kakhæim, *Gyða segir at þú gakk heim*, "Gyða says you have to go home!"

A love declaration, Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 193:

an ek sua:kono mans at mer:þyki kaltr æltr:en ek em uinr:uifs þæsua

Ann ek svá konu manz at mér þykkir kaldr eldr. En ek em vinr vífs þessa.

"I love that man's wife so much that fire seems cold to me. And I am that woman's lover."

And even love poetry, Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 193:

Unþu:mær:ank: þær:gunnildr:kys mik kanekþik

Unn þú mér ann ek þér, Gunnhildr! Kyss mik. Kann ek þik.

"Love me. I love you, Gunnhildr! Kiss me. I know you."

There are also runic inscriptions in Latin rather than Old Norse, including prayers, such as:

aue maria gracia Plena dominus tekum benedicta tu in mulieribus

Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus.

"Hail, Mary, Full of grace, the Lord is with you: blessed are you among women," Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 181, but also a quotation from Vergil:

omnia:uniciþ :amor:æþ :nos:cedamus:amori

Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori.

"Love conquers all; even I must give in to love," Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 182.

[14] Sawyer, *The Viking Age Rune-Stones*, p. 125.

Figure 6 The "great beast" on rune stone at Jelling, Denmark, before ca. 987 (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/Swedish National Heritage Board).

Another example of pagan-Christian syncretism is visible on the inscribed three-sided boulder of Harald Bluetooth at Jelling in Denmark. This runestone is familiar to students and specialists in European medieval art due to the nearly canonical status conferred by its inclusion in art history survey textbooks.[15] These general works illustrate the remarkable image of Christ bound by serpents on one side of the stone; however, the second side displays an animal-style "great beast" that is more typical of Viking art (Fig. 6).[16] The third side of the stone includes a conventional

[15] Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2002), p. 217; Marilyn Stokstad, *Art History*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2008), p. 461.
[16] Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pp. 119–20.

runic formula that specifies who raised the monument for whom, but the dedication is remarkable because it adds unique information about the history and Christianization of Denmark:

"King Harald ordered these monuments made after Gorm, his father, and after Thyra, his mother. That Harald who won for himself all of Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian."[17]

Because of its extraordinary declaration, the Jelling stone has been regarded as "Denmark's baptismal certificate," certainly not a typical runestone.[18]

More characteristic stones are found throughout Scandinavia. According to Düwel, 168 inscribed raised stones or stone outcroppings are known in Denmark, 51 in Norway, and over 2,500 in Sweden, particularly in the province of Uppland north of Stockholm, where there are more than 1,250.[19] Although these monuments may seem surprising in a culture that did not build domestic or religious structures of permanent materials, stone had been used extensively in prehistoric Scandinavia for funerary architecture and defensive structures for millennia.[20] Most Viking-age runestones

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[17] The large boulder at Jelling is designated DR 42 in the Danish corpus of runic inscriptions; see Jacobsen and Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, pp. 65–81. The stone is 1.62 m wide by 2.43 m high. Transliteration of the runes:
(side A) **haraltr : kunukR : baþ : kaurua**
kubl : þausi : aft : kurm faþur sin
auk aft : þąurui : muþur : sina : sa
haraltr (:) ias : sąR * uan * tanmaurk
(side B) **ala * auk * nuruiak**
(side C) *** auk * t(a)ni (* karþi *) kristną**
Old Norse transcription: *Haraldr konungR bað gorva kumbl þausi aft Gorm faður sinn auk aft Þórvi móður sína. Sá Haraldr es séR vann Danmrk alla auk Norveg auk dani gærði kristna.* English translation (above): Anthony Faulkes, ed., *A New Introduction to Old Norse, Part II: Reader*, 3rd ed. (London, 2005), p. 226.

[18] Moltke, *Runes and Their Origin*, p. 212.

[19] For Denmark and Norway, numbers cited are from Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, Appendix 1, p. 167; for Sweden, Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 3, cites updated totals.

[20] Megalithic funerary constructions comprise dolmens, cairns, cists, and passage graves of the Neolithic Period of the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, including a spectacular example with pictorial rock carvings at Kivik in Scania, Sweden (Klavs Randsborg, "Kivik: Archaeology and Iconography," *Acta Archaeologica*, 64 (1993), pp. 1–147). Among the Bronze Age and Iron Age monuments are stone alignments and fortresses including Eketorp on the island of Öland (Kaj Borg, Ulf Näsman, and Erik Wegraeus, eds., *Eketorp: Fortification and Settlement on Öland, Sweden: The Monument* [Stockholm, 1976]) and stone arrangements associated with graves as at Birka in Uppland, Sweden (Anne-Sofie Gräslund, *Birka IV: The Burial Customs* [Stockholm, 1981], pp. 67–71). For a brief English summary of stone architecture in prehistoric Scandinavia, see Marian C. Donnelly, *Architecture in the Scandinavian Countries* (Cambridge, MA., 1992), pp. 5–11, 16–17. For an overview of the pan-Scandinavian material, see Göran Burenhult, ed., *Arkeologi i Norden*, 2 vols. (Stockholm,

were carved as memorials to the dead, yet only rarely did they mark the location of burials.[21] Besides commemorating the dead, other purposes of these inscribed stones include making inheritance claims, marking land boundaries, indicating fords across watery landscapes, gaining absolution, and aggrandizing the reputation of the one who raised the stone.[22] The majority of the inscriptions are formulaic, of the type "X raised (or carved) this stone in memory of Y," with additional phrases that explain family relationships, offer prayers for the dead, and give information about the circumstances or place of death. Frequently, the rune-carver is also identified in the inscription. Rather than memorializing royalty, numerous runestones honor individual Viking warriors and traders who traveled or died in distant lands. For instance, among the numerous Swedish examples are monuments to Ragnvald from Ed who had been to Greece as "leader of the host," Spjällbude who died in Russia, Ulv who took three

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1999); for Denmark, see Jørgen Jensen, *Danmarks Oldtid*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 2001–2004); and for Sweden, see Lars Larsson, Thomas B. Larsson, and Birgit Arrhenius, *Stenåldern, Bronsåldern, Järnåldern* (Lund, 1994).

[21] Anne-Sofie Gräslund, "Runstenar, bygd och graver," *Tor*, 21 (1987), pp. 241–62, discusses how the connection of runestones to graves and church cemeteries varies even within the province of Uppland.

[22] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, discusses runestones as indicators of property and inheritance; see also discussion below. An example of a stone that marks land boundaries is from Ågersta (U 729), Löts parish, Uppland, Sweden. The pertinent part of the inscription is:

han . byki . agurstam . hier mn . stanta . stan . miþli . bua .

Hann byggi Agursta(ðu)m. Hiær mun standa stæinn miðli byia.

"He lived at Ågersta. Here shall stand the stone between farms," Jansson, *Runes in Sweden*, pp. 97–99; Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, VI:1 (Stockholm, 1953), pp. 259–65.

Many stones mark "bridges," which are usually causeways across wet areas rather than stone constructions; see Birgit Sawyer, "Women as Bridge-builders: The Role of Women in Viking-age Scandinavia," in *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600*, eds. Ian Wood and Niels Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 211–24, and discussion below.

Some scholars suggest that raising a runestone was a way to gain absolution or indulgence for the patron who erected the monument; see Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 125. Most stones explicitly list who commissioned the stone in honor of the dead and thus enhance the reputation of the patron; however, on a few stones, the person who erected the stone is also the one who is honored, as we see on four almost identical stones of Jarlebanke at Täby in Uppland, Sweden, with the most complete, U 164, as follows:

× iarlabaki × lit × raisa × stain × þisa × at sik × kuikuan ×× auk bru × þisa × karþi × fur ont × sina × auk ain ati × alan × tabu × kuþ hialbi ont hans

Iarlabanki let ræisa stæina þessa at sik kvikvan, ok bro þessa gærði fyr and sina, ok æinn atti allan Tæby. Guð hialpi and hans.

"Jarlabanki had these stones raised in memory of himself in his lifetime. And he made this bridge for his soul. And alone he owned all of Tæby. God help his soul," Jansson, *Runes in Sweden*, p. 108, and Wessén and Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, I:1, pp. 244–51.

"gelds" of protection money in England, and also Christians such as Osten who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died in Greece.[23] However, records of such exciting travels characterize only a minority of runestones; many stones memorialize the farmers who led mundane lives at home. Occasionally, women are remembered on runestones, as on the Dynna monument.

Although the Christian images on the Dynna stone are rare, its inscription presents a variant of the typical runestone formula that lists who sponsored the stone and who is commemorated. This inscription is relevant for our examination of women as makers of medieval art for three reasons: 1) the stone was sponsored by a woman and commemorates another woman, 2) the mother "made" or sponsored the runestone and the construction of a bridge, and 3) the daughter is described as "skillful" or "nimble-fingered," although we do not know what particular skill she had. In addition, the apparently Christian subjects of the pictorial carvings contribute to our understanding of Viking society by communicating that the mother, the daughter, or both women were Christian during this period of conversion to Christianity in eleventh-century Scandinavia.

Women as Subjects and Objects of Runic Inscriptions

While runestone inscriptions typically list both the patron as the "subject" who sponsored the erection of the stone and the (usually) deceased person as the "object" of the commemoration, certainly more runestones were raised both by and for men than for women, with over ninety-two percent of all stones memorializing men.[24] However, women's names appear both as subjects and as objects of commemoration; that is, stones were raised by and for women. In her study of runestones as indicators of property and inheritance, Birgit Sawyer found that women are mentioned on thirty-three percent of all Viking-age stones.[25] Women were even more involved in runestone dedications in the Upplandic region, where the

[23] Jansson, *Runes in Sweden*, 1987: Ragnvald at Ed, pp. 41–43; Spjällbude at Sjusta, pp. 48–50; Ulv at Yttergärde, pp. 77–80; and Osten at Broby, Täby, pp. 71–72.

[24] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 36, Table 2–3.

[25] Birgit Sawyer, "Familjen, förmögenheten och fromheten: Kvinnornas roll i dragkampen om egendom under äldre medeltid," in *Manliga strukturer och kvinnliga strategier*, eds. Birgit Sawyer and Anita Göransson (Gothenburg, 1987), pp. 62–78, p. 64.

number of runestones is the greatest and women's share is thirty-nine percent.[26]

While women act as the subject (the sponsor) of the inscription alone or with their husbands, sons, and brothers on twenty-seven percent of all runestones, females are the object of the commemoration on only four percent of stones (seven percent including joint memorials with their husbands).[27] A woman often commemorates her male relatives. For instance, a widow raised a stone for her husband and son at Aspa, Ludgo parish in Södermanland, Sweden (Fig. 7), where we read: "Astrid had these monuments made in memory of Anund [her husband] and Ragnvald, her son," followed in verse by: "They died in Denmark, were men of rank in Röninge, and swiftest of deed in Sweden."[28] Although the inscription on this stone does not explicitly state that Anund was Astrid's husband, ten stones from this vicinity mention the same family members and fill in missing data to make the family relationships and the woman's status as a widow clear. This example from Aspa demonstrates the complicated familial bonds and inheritance patterns that are recorded on runestones, especially when widows are involved.

Although women often dedicated memorials to their husbands, occasionally a husband commemorated his wife. A housewife, who had probably been in charge of the family estate while her husband was away on Viking expeditions, was celebrated in an inscription on a stone at Hassmyra in Fläckebo parish, Västmanland, Sweden, which is still *in situ* along the road (Fig. 8): "The good yeoman Holmgöt had this stone raised to Odindisa his wife," followed by verse: "There will not come to Hassmyra a better mistress who holds sway over the farm. Balle the Red cut these runes. To Sigmund was Odindisa a good sister."[29] The woman honored on

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[26] Anne-Sofie Gräslund, " 'Gud hjälpe nu väl hennes själ': Om runstenskvinnorna, deras roll vid kristnandet och deras plats i familj och samhälle," *Tor*, 22 (1989), pp. 223–44.

[27] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 36, Table 2–3, and Appendix 2, p. 168.

[28] Transliteration: **Ostriþ : lit : -ira : kum . . . usi at : anunt auk : raknualt : sun : sin : urþu : ta . . . R :—tan . . .—. . . ku : ua-u : rikiR : o rauniki : ak : snialastiR : i : suiþiuþu**

Old Norse transcription: *Astrið let gœra kumbl þausi at Anund ok Ragnvald, sun sinn. Urþu dauðiR* [*i*] *Danmarku, vaRu rikiR a Rauninigi ok sniallastiR i Sveþiuþu.*

This inscription was discovered in 1937 (just after completion of the publication of the inscriptions of Södermanland in 1924–1937) and published by Sven B.F. Jansson, "Sörmländska runstensfynd," *Fornvännen,* 43 (1948), pp. 286–90, 295–97. The stone is 0.74 m wide by 1.98 m high.

[29] Vs 24. Transliteration: **Buonti kuþr hulmkoetr lit resa ufteR oþintisu kunu seno kumbr hifrya til hasuimura iki betr þon byi raþr roþþalir risti runi þisa sikmuntaR uaR . . . sestR kuþ.**

Figure 7 Runestone at Aspa, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Nils Lagergren/Swedish National Heritage Board).

Figure 8 Runestone at Hassmyra, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/ Swedish National Heritage Board).

the stone must have been considered exceptional not only by her husband but also by the entire household. While a man (the subject) raising a stone to his wife (the object) is rare, it is even more unusual for women to comprise both categories of subject and object on a stone, as at Dynna where the mother Gunnvor raised a stone to her daughter Astrid. Let us now consider whether there are reasons besides personal bereavement that would explain why a mother would commit resources to raise a stone for a daughter.

Birgit Sawyer's overall thesis is that runestones are concerned with property and inheritance.[30] She proposes that tenth- and eleventh-century runestones of the Viking Age reflect changing inheritance patterns to a system in which, according to twelfth-century Christian laws, kings were entitled to the property of individuals without heirs.[31] Thus it was important to establish a clear line of inheritance to ensure an orderly passing of property within families. Property—specifically land—normally went to sons, brothers, or fathers, but sometimes to women through their deceased male relatives. Some runestones explain complicated family situations, including "reverse inheritance" when a widow inherits because her husband and children pre-decease her. An inscription on a runestone at Hillersjö, Hilleshögs parish, Uppland (Fig. 9), demonstrates a convoluted genealogy, tracing the acquisition of paternal inheritance first by a daughter and then by her mother, as follows:

> Read! Germund took Gerlög, a maiden, as wife. Then they had a son before he [Germund] was drowned and then the son died. Thereafter she had Gudrik as her husband. Then they had children but only one girl survived, her name was Inga. Ragnfast of Snottsta had her as wife. Thereafter he died and then the son. And the mother [Inga] inherited from her son. Then she had Erik as her husband. Then she died. Then Gerlög inherited from Inga her daughter. Torbjörn skald carved the runes.[32]

Old Norse transcription: *Boandi goðr Holmgautr let ræsa æftiR Oðindisu, kunu sina. KumbR hifrøya til Hasvinmyra æigi bætri, þan byi raðr. Rauð-BalliR risti runiR þessaR. SigmundaR vaR* [*Oðindis*] *systiR goð,* Sven B.F. Jansson, *Västmanlands Runinskrifter* (Stockholm, 1964), pp. 69–76. The stone is 1.22 m wide by 2.15 m high and is now located at Fläckbo Hembygdsgård.

[30] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*.

[31] Birgit Sawyer, "Women and the Conversion of Scandinavia," in *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Lebensbedingugen—Lebensnormen—Lebensformen*, ed. Werner Affeldt (Sigmaringen, 1990), p. 275; Birgit Sawyer, "Viking Age Rune-Stones as a Source for Legal History," in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, ed. Klaus Düwel (Berlin, 1998), pp. 770–72; and Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 84.

[32] U 29. Transliteration:… **raþ| |þu kaiRmuntr -ik * kaiR[l]a[uk *] (m)aytumi| |i þa * finku * þau sun * aþ han * truknaþi * in sun to : siþan : þa + fi(k) (h)(u)- —þrik * ha-**…

Figure 9 Runic carving on rock outcropping at Hillersjö, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/Swedish National Heritage Board).

The inscription explains that the woman Gerlög was the rightful inheritor after two husbands, all her sons, grandchildren, two sons-in-law, and finally her last daughter all pre-deceased her. To understand who could read and understand this complex inscription, we should consider that many runestones were raised along roads so that they were visible to all who passed by.[33] Certainly not everyone would be able to read runes, but some level of literacy must have been widespread—in fact, the very propagation of statements about inheritance on these monuments depended upon passers-by being able to read these inscriptions.[34]

The Dynna stone, raised by a mother for her daughter, is unusual because women are both the subject and the object of the inscription. In fact, women commemorate other women on only 0.4 percent of all runestones.[35] Although the Dynna inscription is far simpler than the Hillersjö example, the subjects (commemorators) on both, Gunnvor and Gerlög, apparently were widows. Just as Gerlög established her unusual right to inheritance on the Hillersjö stone, Gunnvor, the mother on the Dynna stone, provided evidence of her ancestry from Thrydrik to claim her rightful inheritance through her daughter. She most likely marked her land with a stone that publicized the girl's death since, as Sawyer notes, women did not inherit in Norway unless there were no remaining male relatives.[36]

(þ)(i)nsa * þa * finku þa(u) [bar](n) . . . (i)(n) maR ain lifþi * [hu]n hit ‘. . . g[a] ‘ h(a) . . . fik raknfastr * i * snutastaþum * þa uarþ han tauþr * auk * sun * siþan * in * moþir kuam + at sunar ‘ arfi ‘ þa ‘ fik hun ‘ airik ‘ þar ‘ uarþ hun tauþ ‘ þar kuam ‘ gaiRlauk at arfi ‘ inku tutur sinar þurbiur(n) ‘ skalt ‘ risti runar.

Old Norse transcription: . . . *Rað þu! GæiRmundr [f]ikk GæiRlaug møydomi i. Þa fingu þau sun, aðan hann drunknaði. En sunn do siðan. Þa fikk ho[n] [Gu]ðrik. Ha[nn] . . . þennsa. Þa fingu þau barn. En maR æin lifði; hon het [In]ga. Ha[na] fikk Ragnfastr i Snutastaðum. Þa varð hann dauðr ok sunn siðan. En moðiR kvam at sunaR arfi. Þa fikk hon Æirik. Þar varð hon dauð. Þar kvam GæiRlaug at arfi Ingu, dottur sinnaR. Þorbiorn Skald risti runaR,* in Wessén and Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, I:1, pp. 34–41. English translation (above): Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, pp. 49–50. The carved area of the outcropping is 2.80 m wide by 1.86 m high.

[33] Anne-Sofie Gräslund, "Late Viking-Age Runestones in Uppland: Some Gender Aspects," in *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West*, eds. John Sheehan and Donnchadh Ó Corráin (Dublin, 2010), pp. 113–23, esp. 113.

[34] Various reading and writing abilities in the Viking Age have been considered by Jan Meijer, "Literacy in the Viking Age," in *Blandade runstudier*, 2 (Uppsala, 1997), pp. 83–110, who distinguishes between "active" and "passive" literacy, and by Terje Spurkland, "Viking-age Literacy in Runes—A Contradiction in Terms?" in *Literacy in Medieval and Early Medieval Scandinavian Culture*, ed. Pernille Hermann (Odense, 2005), pp. 136–50, who discusses "literacy in runes" as a "vernacular literacy."

[35] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 40.

[36] This differs from Sweden where women could inherit if merely no children survived, according to Sawyer, "Women as Bridge-builders," p. 217.

The Dynna and Hillersjö examples illustrate that widows might make public assertions about the legality of an unusual inheritance circumstance so that it would not be questioned. In particular, it was important for a widow to display her claim prominently on a grave mound or by the roadside where it could be seen by all and presumably read by many.

Women (Especially Widows) as Patrons Raising Stones and Building Bridges

The Dynna stone is germane to the current discussion of women as patrons and artists of medieval art not only because the mother Gunnvor had a stone raised for her daughter, but also because she "made" a bridge, which we interpret to mean that she sponsored the construction of a bridge. However, before we examine Gunnvor as a patron of architecture, we should consider the likelihood that she physically "made" the stone. We may easily reject that a woman could be the stonemason who hewed the piece and lifted it into position atop the grave mound as at the farm at Dynna, but this assumption is problematic and deserves more attention. The "signatures" of dozens of male carvers of runestones are known, such as the prolific Öpir, who signed forty-nine stones and to whom another fifty or so stones have been attributed stylistically.[37] In addition, one female name, Gunnborga the Good, is recorded as the runemaster who "made" the runes on a stone at Jättendals Church in Hälsingland, so it clearly was possible for a woman to make a runestone.[38] However, we must remember that, as Claiborne Thompson warned, even with inscriptions that indicate that a person "carved," "hewed," or "made" runes, we are not certain whether the runemaster who planned an inscription also carved it into the stone.[39] It is also true that the majority of runestones, including the Dynna stone, are unsigned, so we may ask whether some of these unclaimed monuments may have been "made" by women. Yet we

[37] Marit Åhlén, *Runristaren Öpir: En monografi* (Stockholm, 1997), p. 11.

[38] Sven B.F. Jansson, "Ett par hälsingska runstenar (Jättendal och Hög 1)," *Hälsingerunor: en hembydsbok* (1951), pp. 8–14; and Marit Åhlén, "Runinskrifter i Hälsingland," *Begyggelse-historisk tidskrift*, 27 (1994), pp. 33–50, esp. 47–48. Thorgunn Snædal, in "'Rodiaud gjorde mig'—en kvinnlig runristare på Gotland," *Gotländskt Arkiv*, 61 (1989), pp. 99–104), cites a whetstone from Gotland inscribed with runes that read: "Rodiaud [a female name] made me," thus suggesting that women could make such a tool. However, Judith Jesch, in *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge, 1991), p. 46, mentions a brief runic inscription indicating that a man polished a knife for a woman as negative evidence for women's involvement in manual tasks.

[39] Claiborne Thompson, *Studies in Upplandic Runography* (Austin, 1975), p. 76.

must also admit that while a woman might formulate the runic content or the pictorial design for a runic inscription, it may be less likely that she actually carved a runestone or physically "built" a bridge, as indicated on the Dynna stone.

Other papers in this collection discuss women as patrons of bridges but avoid explicit deliberation on whether women actually built those structures;[40] similarly, I assume that the women who "built" bridges in Scandinavia during the period of conversion to Christianity were patrons who sponsored construction rather than manual laborers. There are 120 runic inscriptions in Sweden that mention bridges, but the Dynna stone is one of only two such inscriptions in Norway. Women are especially associated with these runestones, and they sponsor bridge-building even more frequently than they are commemorated with a bridge. Although women are the object of a memorial on only seven percent of all extant inscriptions, sixteen percent of bridge inscriptions memorialize women; in addition, with no more than twenty-eight percent of all stones put up by women, Sawyer finds that an impressive forty-two percent of bridge-stones were erected by women, and Gräslund shows that fifty-five percent of Upplandic bridge inscriptions mention women.[41]

Bridge-stones sponsored by women may memorialize men or women. A prominent example where a woman built a bridge to commemorate a man is on a rock-outcropping at Ramsund in Jäders parish, Södermanland, Sweden (Fig. 10), where rich figurative carvings illustrating stories of the legendary Nordic hero Sigurd the Volsung (who overcame the dragon Fafnir and the dwarf Regin) overshadow the bridge-inscription by a woman for her husband: "Sigrid, Alrik's mother, Orm's daughter, made this bridge for the soul of her husband Holmger, Sigröd's father."[42] The Norwegian Dynna stone that tells of a mother making a bridge for her daughter is not the only bridge-stone both raised by a woman and celebrating a woman. At *Hargs bro* ("Harg's bridge") in Skånela parish,

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[40] See, for example, Miriam Shadis, "The First Queens of Portugal and the Building of the Realm."

[41] Sawyer, "Viking-Age Rune-Stones as a Crisis Symptom," p. 221; Anne-Sofie Gräslund, "Kristnandet ur ett kvinnoperspektiv," in *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. Bertil Nilsson (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 313–334, esp. 327; and Gräslund, " 'Gud hjälpe nu väl hennes själ'," p. 228.

[42] Sö 101. Transliteration: . . . **siriþr : kiarþi : bur : þosi : muþiR : alriks : tutiR : urms : fur * salu : hulmkirs : faþur : sukruþar buata * sis ***.

Old Norse transcription: . . . *Sigriðr gærði bro þasi, moðiR Alriks, dottiR Orms, for salu HolmgæiRs, faður SigrøðaR, boanda sins*, Erik Brate, *Södermanlands Runinskrifter* (Stockholm, 1924), pp. 71–73. The carved area is 4.70 m wide.

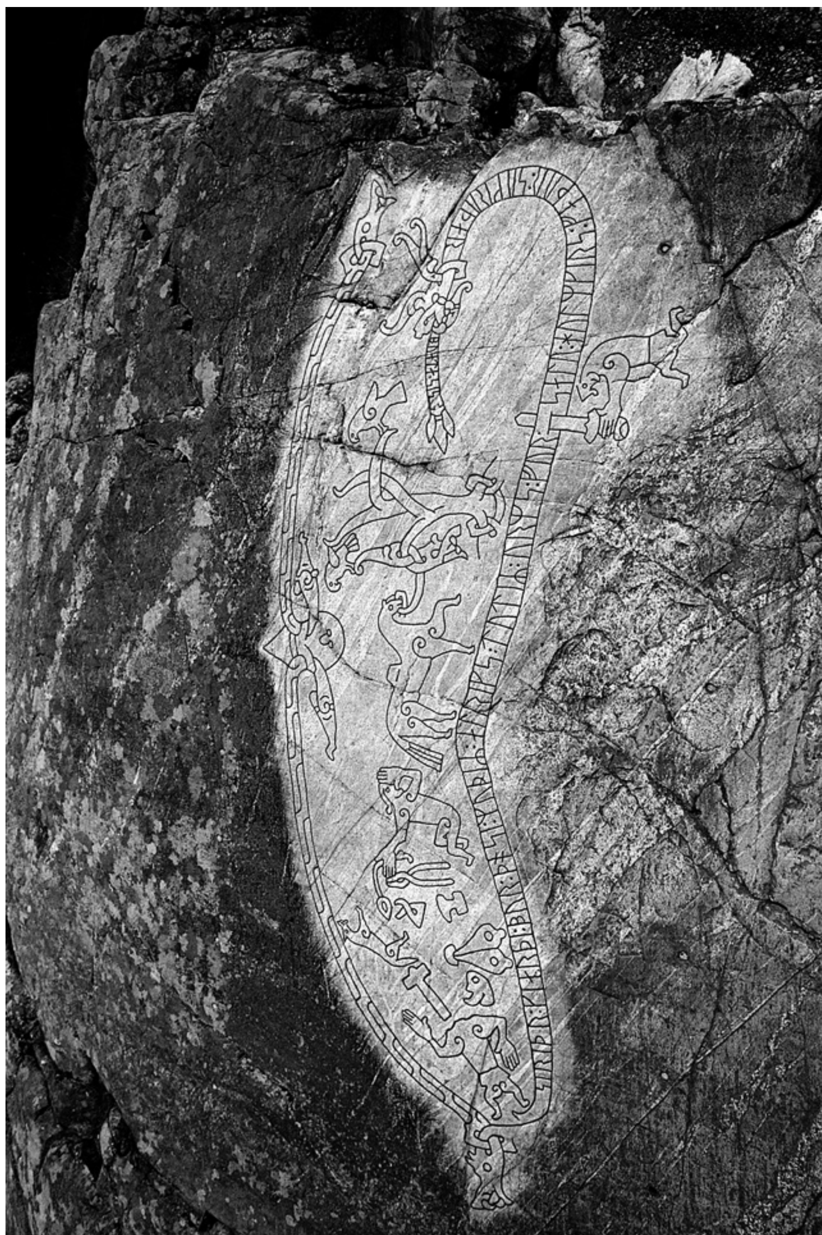

Figure 10 Runic carving on rock outcropping at Ramsundberget, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/ Swedish National Heritage Board).

Uppland, Sweden, a woman commemorated her daughter on a rock outcropping bordering a low area: "Ingrid had the bridge made in memory of Ingigerd, her daughter. Ingivaldr, Ingimarr [and] Karl had [it made] in memory of their sister."[43] Building a bridge must have been an important act that was worthy of the memory of the deceased and would reflect positively on the sponsor of the structure.

It should be noted that these so-called "bridges" mentioned on runestones were not large structures of stone blocks, as in southern Europe; instead, they may have been log footbridges or causeways over low marshy areas and bogs. A runestone was often erected on the high bank marking a safe route across a treacherous path, and some stones are still visible in such locations, such as those on either side of a ford at Ullunda, Tillinge parish, Uppland (Fig. 11).[44] During the period of conversion to Christianity in Scandinavia, a preliminary step before erecting churches was improving roadways by building these bridges or causeways, thereby facilitating communication for wayfarers and missionary activity, as well as encouraging trade and political contacts beyond the local community.[45]

Medieval sources from shortly after the Viking Age stress that the church encouraged the construction of bridges. A letter from the year 1208 mentions a bridge at Kulsbro that was sponsored by and named after Bishop Kol in Linköping, Östergötland, Sweden.[46] In addition, his contemporary Bishop Bengt in Skara, Västergötland, was praised for the many bridges he had built.[47] Sawyer also relates that Wulfstan, archbishop of York in the eleventh century, "urged anyone who had the means 'to facilitate the people's journeying by bridges over deep waters and foul ways'."[48] Building a bridge could be construed as a pious act that would benefit the greater

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[43] U 311. Transliteration: … **inkriþ ' lit ' kiara ' bro ' iftiR * inkikiari ' totur ' sin inkihualtr ' inkimar ' karl ' litu ' at ' systur s'i[n].**

Old Norse transcription: … *Ingrið let gæra bro æftiR Ingigærði, dottur sina. Ingivaldr, Ingimarr, Karl letu at systur sina,* Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, II:1 (Stockholm, 1943), pp. 22–24.

[44] U 792. Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, III:2 (Stockholm, 1951), pp. 379–85. The stone is 1.19 m wide by 1.65 m high.

[45] Carl F. Hallencreutz, "De berättande källorna, påvebreven och tidiga prov på inhemsk historie-skrivning," in *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. Bertil Nilsson (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 115–40, esp. 135.

[46] *Svenskt Diplomatarium, Bd. 1, 817–1285*, ed. Johan Gustaf Liljegren (Stockholm, 1829), p. 159; and Wessén and Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, VI:1, p. 59.

[47] Wessén and Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, VI:1, p. 59; Henrik Williams, "Vad sager runstenarna om Sveriges kristnande?" in *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. Bertil Nilsson (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 45–83, esp. 61.

[48] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, pp. 134–35.

Figure 11 Runestone at Ullunda, Sweden, 11th c. (Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg/ Swedish National Heritage Board).

community as well as gain recognition or perhaps even absolution for the person who sponsored its construction.[49] Property that was given to build a bridge or a church was exempt from tithe; thus, sponsoring a bridge was a good deed that was equivalent to building a church.[50] Widows—such as Gunnvor who raised the Dynna stone, Sigrid who had the Ramsund carving made, and Ingrid who made the monuments at Harg's bridge—had more control over their own finances than other women.

[49] Henrik Williams, "Runstenstexternas teologi," in *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. Bertil Nilsson (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 291–312, esp. 296; Ragnar Kinander, *Smålands Runinskrifter* (Stockholm, 1935), vol. 1, pp. 8–9; and Aslak Liestøl, "Innskrifta på Eiksteinen," *Stavanger Museums Årbok* (1972), pp. 67–76.

[50] Wessén and Jansson, *Upplands Runinskrifter*, VI:1, p. 271.

Women who sponsored such stones were making a public announcement not only that they had accepted Christianity but also that they had the resources to raise a stone and carry out a public act of generosity that benefited the entire community. While women from all levels of society often converted to Christianity before their husbands, wives who commissioned runestones and bridges were from families of high social status.[51] Sawyer concludes that these women served metaphorically as "bridges between paganism and Christianity, . . . bridges between different families over which property passed."[52] In the context of conversion, committing family assets to Christian bridge-building—perhaps over the objections of male relatives—could even be considered subversive.

A Skillful Daughter, Unusual Carvings, and Textiles

After focusing on the mother and her good deeds, I will now consider what the daughter who is commemorated on the Dynna stone accomplished to be described as "the most nimble-fingered," taking into account whether the unusual pictorial scenes carved on the stone were connected to her skill. The inscription labels the daughter Astrid with a word that is of particular interest to the discussion of women as makers of art, *hönnurst,* the superlative of the feminine nominative singular of *hannarr*, a rarely used adjective. As early as 1865, Sophus Bugge investigated this word, which Terje Spurkland translates into English as "bright, deft, handy."[53] The Cleasby-Vigfusson Icelandic-English dictionary chooses "skilled" to translate the term, while Birgit Sawyer describes Astrid as "accomplished," and Dag Strömbäck labels her with the evocative expression "nimble-fingered."[54]

The superlative of the adjective is indicated, so Astrid was not only skillful (or nimble-fingered, etc.) but the *most* skillful. Many runestone

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[51] Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 58–59 and 205, reminds us of the status of these women; and Anne-Sofie Gräslund, "The Role of Scandinavian Women in Christianisation: The Neglected Evidence," in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1300*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 483–96, esp. 492, itemizes reasons why women were amenable to conversion.

[52] Sawyer, "Women as Bridge-builders," p. 224.

[53] Sophus Bugge, "Sjældne Ord i norrön Skaldskab," *Tidskrift for philologi og pædagogik*, 6 (1865), pp. 89–92; and Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes*, p. 106.

[54] Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 239; Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, p. 40; Strömbäck, *Epiphany in Runic Art*, p. 8.

inscriptions qualify personal characteristics with the words "more" and "most," and also use the positive adjectives "good," "better," and "best" to distinguish the one who is commemorated. The inscription on the Hassmyra stone raised by a husband to his wife Odindisa stated that "no better mistress" would come to the farm, and she is also described as a "good sister." Sawyer reminds us that women had to be "unusually rich or of extraordinary social status" to be memorialized and proposes that the adjectives "good" and "best"—whether in reference to men or women—do not refer to excellence in skill but rather indicate elite status as *boni homines*.[55] These "good" people may have been remembered on runestones because there was both a personal and political need by the survivors to mark the status of the deceased and to secure their own positions by association with these talented, elite individuals. Astrid must have been both very skilled and of high status to be commemorated as she was.

Astrid's mother Gunnvor wanted her daughter to be remembered as the most skillful, but we must speculate about the activity at which she was considered clever. The term "nimble-fingered" suggests someone who works delicately with the hands, such as with textiles or needlework, and in 1941, Magnus Olsen proposed that Astrid was skillful at weaving or embroidery.[56] Jenny Jochens notes that the Old Norse sources "are all but silent on the essential preliminaries of spinning the thread and weaving the cloth," so we look to other sources of information.[57] Textile production has long been identified by archaeologists and ethnologists as labor that women could do while maintaining a home and caring for children.[58] Such work can be temporarily laid down if a child or the fire needs attention, whereas men's work such as hunting would be more difficult to interrupt. Although there are, of course, later ethnographic examples of men as weavers, Jochens concludes that for medieval Scandinavia, "as in most comparable societies, these tasks were almost surely performed by women."[59]

Even within textile work, various tasks such as spinning, weaving, and embroidery require different skills and time-commitments, as pointed

[55] Sawyer, *Viking-Age Rune-Stones*, pp. 69 and 107.

[56] Olsen, *Norges Innskrifter*, p. 201.

[57] Jenny Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society* (Ithaca, 1995), p. 134.

[58] For example, Judith K. Brown, "Economic Organization and the Position of Women among the Iroquois," *Ethnohistory*, 17 (1970), pp. 151–67, and her "Note on the Division of Labor by Sex," *American Anthropologist*, 72 (1970), pp. 1073–078. See also Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years* (New York, 1994).

[59] Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society*, p. 134.

out by Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh.[60] Of these tasks, spinning would be the most portable and ubiquitous, but tapestry-weaving on a large, heavy loom was dependent upon a stable, elite household of the type that could afford to raise a memorial stone. Although culturally constructed from the modern, Western perspective, the view that young maidens from elite families spent their leisure time at fine needlework is widely held.[61] While discussing Viking-age textiles, Margareta Nockert refers to the weaver as "she," thus upholding the assumption that women made tapestries.[62] A few textual sources that may reflect Viking-age Scandinavia, including the Icelandic Poetic Edda (also known as the Elder Edda) and the later Icelandic sagas, reinforce this view. In the Eddic "Second Lay of Gudrun," which relates the Sigurd cycle of stories, we learn that Gudrun's mother tries to assuage her daughter with the promise that she will provide girls to do her "delicate weaving."[63] In the *Volsunga Saga*, a late thirteenth-century prose rendering of the Sigurd stories, both Queen Gudrun and the valkyrie Brynhild (one of the female assistants of the god Odin who choose the slain in Norse mythology) are described as weaving and embroidering tapestries: Chapter 34 mentions that "Gudrun wove a tapestry on which she depicted many great deeds," and Chapter 25 begins with the observation that "more skilled in handicraft than other women, she [Brynhild] embroidered her tapestry with gold and on it stitched stories of the noble deeds that Sigurd had wrought."[64] Another source that mentions weaving

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[60] Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh, *Genuskonstruktioner i nordisk vikingatid: Förr och nu* (Gothenburg, 1998), pp. 204–09.

[61] See Madeline H. Caviness, "Anglo-Saxon Women, Norman Knights and a 'Third Sex' in the Bayeux Embroidery," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*, eds. Martin K. Foys, Karen Eileen Overbey, and Dan Terkla (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 85–118, esp. 86–88 on assumptions about women using needle and thread.

[62] For instance, Margareta Nockert, "Textilkonsten," in *Signums svenska konsthistoria: Den romanska konsten* (Lund, 1995), pp. 336–55, esp. 342.

[63] Normalized Old Norse: "*Gef ec þér, Guðrún, gull at þiggia, fiǫlð allz fiár, at þinn fǫður dauðan, hringa rauða, Hlǫðvés sali, ársal allan, at iǫfur fallinn. Húnscar meyiar, þær er hlaða spiǫldom oc gora gull fagrt, svá at þér gaman þicci," Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius*, eds. Gustav Neckel and Hans Kuhn, 4th ed. (Heidelberg, 1962), *"Guðrúnarqviða ǫnnor,"* p. 228.

English translation: "Gold I will give you, Gudrun, a great deal of treasure from your dead father, red-gold rings, all the precious bed-hangings of Hlodver's hall, for the fallen prince; Hunnish girls to do your delicate weaving, to work in gold for your pleasure." *The Poetic Edda*, intro. and trans. Carolyne Larrington (Oxford, 1996), "The Second Lay of Gudrun," stanzas 25–26, p. 199.

[64] Normalized Old Norse: "*Gudrun . . . slo borda yfir henne ok skrifade þar a maurgh ok stor verk . . . .*" and "*Hun kunne meiRa hagleik enn adrar konur. Hun lagde sinn borda med gulle ok saumadi a þau stormerki, er Sigurdr hafde giorth*," *Volsunga Saga ok Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar*, ed. Magnus Olsen (Copenhagen, 1906–1908), Chpt. 34, p. 86 and Chpt. 25, p. 58.

is the *Darraðarljóð* ("The Song of the Spear"), an Old Norse skaldic poem quoted within the thirteenth-century *Njáls saga*. This poem tells of twelve valkyries who "weave" the fate of the men who die at the Battle of Clontarf in the year 1014, thus providing more evidence that women were weavers.[65] These passages from the Eddas, sagas, and skaldic poetry reinforce our idea that elite ladies—as well as valkyries—created pictorial textiles.

The tapestries and embroideries that were produced by these women adorned the interiors of the wooden and earthen architecture of the Vikings, as we learn from Chapter 26 of *Volsunga Saga*, which describes that the "interior of the hall was decorated with paintings and tapestries."[66] Wall hangings blocked drafts, making large, dark halls warmer and more festive. In Chapter 116 of *Njáls Saga* the women are supposed to "clean the house and put up the hangings, and make ready" the house for an important visitor."[67] Such textiles were major art forms in Scandinavia, not minor decorative arts, and the subjects of the hangings must have been significant. The *Volsunga Saga* informs us that the heroic deeds of Sigurd formed the subject of embroidered tapestries, and weaving a narrative tapestry was explicitly compared to writing. Although Jesse Byock translates the sentence from Chapter 34 cited above as "Gudrun wove a tapestry . . .," Lena Norrman points out that it would more accurately be translated as "Gudrun wrote heroic deeds on a tapestry," since the verb *skrifaði* or "wrote" is used; she also reminds us that the Old Norse word *bók* means both "book" and "tapestry," thus connecting the written and woven recounting of stories.[68] Three finds of textiles, one from Oseberg in Norway and two from northern Sweden, may give us an idea of what such narratives looked like.

English translation: *The Saga of the Volsungs: The Norse Epic of Sigurd the Dragon Slayer*, intro. and trans. Jesse L. Byock (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 93 and 73.

[65] Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society,* pp. 136–37. Old Norse: *Brennu-Njáls Saga*, ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson (Reykjavík, 1954), Chpt. 157, pp. 454–58; English translation: *Njal's Saga*, intro. and trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson (Harmondsworth, 1960), Chpt. 157, pp. 349–51.

[66] Normalized Old Norse: "*Þer gengu inn i þa inna faugru haull. Salrinn var skrifadr innann ok miok silfri buinn*," *Volsunga Saga ok Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar*, Chpt. 26, p. 62; English translation: *The Saga of the Volsungs*, p. 76.

[67] Old Norse: "*konur skulu ræsta húsin ok tjalda ok búa . . .*," *Brennu-Njáls Saga*, Chpt. 116, p. 289; English translation: *Njáls Saga*, Chpt. 116, p. 238.

[68] Lena Norrman, *Viking Women: The Narrative Voice in Women Tapestries* (Amherst, NY, 2008): *wrote* heroic deeds, p. 32, and *bók* meaning "book" and "tapestry," p. 3. In the present volume, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh also finds parallels between textile-work for women and manuscript-writing for men in "Mere Embroiderers? Women and Art in Early Medieval Ireland."

The pertinent weavings that date from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries are all of the soumak technique, in which a flat pattern is formed by weft threads that overlay the warp at a slight angle.[69] The Oseberg woolen weavings were found in the eponymous ship burial, where the grave chamber is dated dendrochronologically to AD 834.[70] A set of textiles with a woolen weft over a linen warp from Överhogdal, Härjedalen, had long been considered to date to the twelfth century, but radiocarbon dating done in 1991 showed that they could be as early as 800 or as late as 1100, thus within a wide range of dates that cover the period of the Dynna stone.[71] Another soumak linen and wool tapestry from Skog, Hälsingland, is dated to the thirteenth century (Figs. 12, 13; Color Plate 27). All of these soumak weavings are usually referred to as tapestries.

The subjects of these Norwegian and Swedish weavings are enigmatic. The textiles from the Oseberg ship burial depict a parade frieze of horses, wagons, men, and women that differ markedly from the ornamental animal-style art of almost all of the wood-carving from this ship find. The only other exception to the animal style in the material from Oseberg is a pictorial scene on the wooden cart that has been identified as Gunnar in the snake pit, an episode from the Sigurd cycle of Nordic hero stories in the *Volsunga Saga*; the subjects of the Oseberg weavings, however, have not been identified as any recognizable narrative.[72] It is taken for granted that men did the woodworking, as emphasized by the names that Haakon Shetelig gave to "masters" that he identified by their styles of carving: "the Academic Master," "the Baroque Master," etc., but the Oseberg weavings have been attributed to women.[73] The Oseberg figural textiles and mostly animal-style woodcarving may in fact reflect gendered approaches to different media in Viking art.

The subjects of portions of the Swedish weavings lend themselves to identification more easily than the figures marching across the Oseberg frieze. While many sections of the Överhogdal pieces are ornamental patterns, the scattered pictorial scenes are identified by Lena Norrman as

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[69] Anne Marie Franzén and Margareta Nockert, *Bonaderna från Skog och Överhogdal och andra medeltida väggbeklädnader* (Stockholm, 1992), p. 16.

[70] Niels Bonde and Arne Emil Christensen, "Dendrochronological Dating of the Viking Age Ship Burials at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune, Norway," *Antiquity*, 67 (1993), pp. 575–83, esp. 581.

[71] Franzén and Nockert, *Bonaderna från Skog*, pp. 101–104.

[72] Anker, *Art of Scandinavia*, p. 194.

[73] For the wood carvings, see Anker, *Art of Scandinavia,* pp. 86–98; for the textiles, Bjørn Hougen, "Osebergfunnets billedvev," *Viking,* 4 (1940), pp. 85–124.

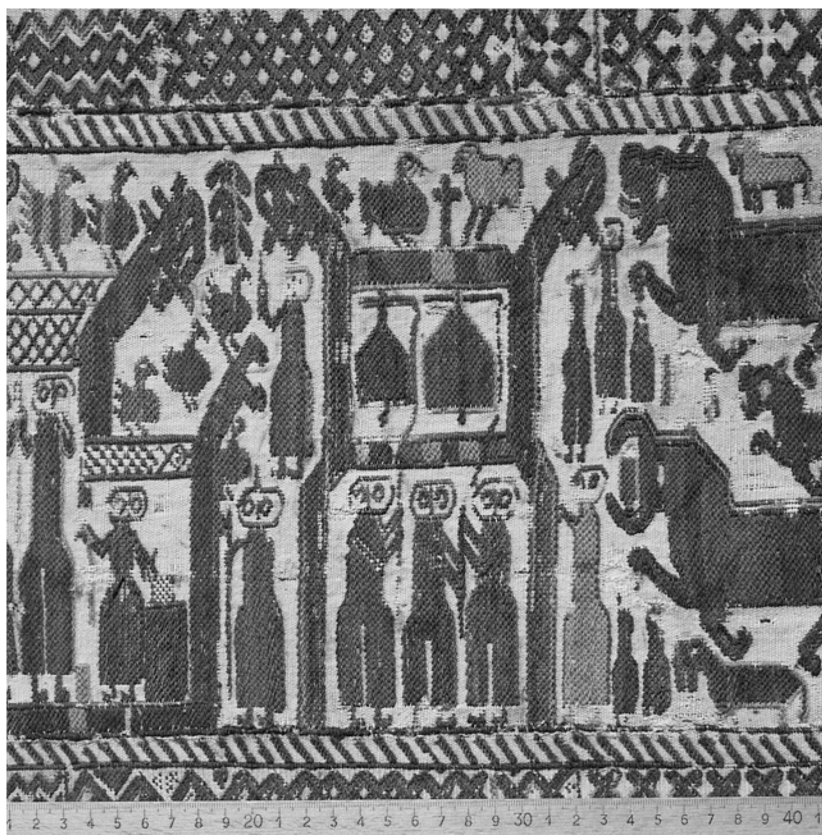

Figure 12 Detail of church and bell-tower from a wool soumak weaving on linen warp from Skog, Sweden, 13th c. (Photo: The National Historical Museum, Stockholm). See color plate 27.

another part of the Sigurd cycle, which was a common pre-Christian theme in Scandinavia.[74] One section of the Skog piece depicts a church with a cross and bell-tower and has been interpreted as representing the metaphorical battle between Christianity and Nordic paganism during the conversion period (Fig. 12; Color Plate 27).[75] Another part of this wall hanging

[74] Norrman, *Viking Women*.

[75] Franzén and Nockert, *Bonaderna från Skog*, pp. 53–54; and Aron Andersson, *The Art of Scandinavia*, (London, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 389–91. The wool soumak weaving on linen warp is a strip 1.18 m long with a height varying from 35.5 to 38 cm. It is now in the National Historical Museum in Stockholm, inv. no. 15275.

Figure 13 Detail of gods, saints, or the Trinity from a wool soumak weaving on linen warp from Skog, Sweden, 13th c. (Photo: The National Historical Museum, Stockholm).

displays three standing figures that have traditionally been identified as the three major Nordic gods with their attributes: the one-eyed god of wisdom Odin, the thunder-god Thor with his hammer, and the fertility god Freyr with a stalk of grain (Fig. 13). However, the so-called "Odin" was not originally one-eyed—instead, it has been discovered that threads for a second eye once were present but were pulled loose.[76] Therefore, the entire identification of the pagan gods on this piece has been toppled. Alternatively, the scene has also been identified as the Christian Trinity; the Scandinavian saints Olof, Knut, and Erik; or the Three Magi by various scholars.[77] With the conversion to Christianity, the subjects of wall hangings in Scandinavia probably changed from scenes of pagan heroic stories to Biblical iconography, as we see carved on the Dynna stone dating to the eleventh century. In fact, the two earlier examples of tapestries discussed here (Oseberg and Överhogdal) depict pagan iconography and the latest one (Skog) shows a Christian church and bell-ringers.

Magnus Olsen proposed that the pictorial scenes carved on the Dynna runestone were inspired by one of Astrid's textile creations, and he also made the ingenious suggestion that the subject of the three Magi making their way at night under the star of Bethlehem was especially suitable for a bridge-stone that marks a safe crossing site for travelers.[78] If the Dynna stone displays Astrid's skill at weaving figural scenes, she may have produced wall hangings similar to the Skog tapestry. The stylistic differences between the Dynna Ringerike carvings on stone and the Skog weaving may merely reflect variations due to their materials, but the subjects of both are explicitly Christian and they were made during or shortly after the period of conversion. Sawyer states that "the fact that most rune-stones in Uppland are ostentatiously Christian suggests that there it was the Christian faith that was deviant" at this time.[79] The same might have been true in Hadeland, Norway, where the Dynna stone was raised. Thus, women raising stones and weaving tapestries that display Christian iconography could have been overtly subversive acts in the eleventh century as these females attempted to change the status quo from a milieu of pagan male domination to a Christian mentality.

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[76] Franzén and Nockert, *Bonaderna från Skog*, pp. 56–57, fig. 54.
[77] Franzén and Nockert, *Bonaderna från Skog*, pp. 54–59.
[78] Olsen, *Norges Innskrifter*, pp. 201–202.
[79] Sawyer, "Viking-Age Rune-Stones as a Crisis Symptom," *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 24 (1991), p. 102.

Finding Women Through Runestones, Textiles, and Jewelry

I have used the Dynna stone to launch a discussion about art sponsored by and created by early medieval Scandinavian women. By highlighting Olsen's suggestion that Astrid was a tapestry-maker, we add a woman's name to the list of known artists from early medieval Scandinavia. Cataloguing names was important during the "add women and stir" phase of feminism, but I am more interested in understanding this society in which women could raise runestones, build bridges, weave tapestries, and carry out other craft activities than I am in registering their names.[80]

It is easy to imagine nimble-fingered Astrid as skillful in the textile arts, but I would like to propose another possibility for women's creative handiwork—jewelry-making. The focus of my research for many years has been metalwork, specifically gold bracteate pendants dating to the Migration Period of the fifth and sixth centuries AD (Fig. 14).[81] I examine technical details of bracteates such as punch impressions, and together with a contemporary goldsmith, I have attempted to replicate early jewelry techniques.[82] This practical hands-on experience led me to consider both the physical requirements for jewelry-making and whether women could have been involved in the production of bracteates and other jewelry; indeed, I have previously proposed that women could have made these pendants.[83] The basic techniques of small-scale metal fabrication for jewelry—similar to spinning and weaving in their physical requirements for space—can easily be carried out in the home; in fact, the jeweler with whom I consult in Seattle works out of a professional studio located in

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[80] For instance, compare Nancy L. Wicker and Bettina Arnold, "Introduction," in *From the Ground Up: Beyond Gender Theory in Archaeology*, eds. Wicker and Arnold (Oxford, 1999), p. 1; Charlotte Bunch, *Passionate Politics: Essays, 1968–1986* (New York, 1987), p. 140.

[81] The standard catalogue of bracteates is *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit: Ikonographischer Katalog* (Munich, 1985–1989), by Karl Hauck and numerous associates, with bracteates indicated by their "IK" (*Ikonographischer Katalog*) number. The bracteate illustrated here is IK 429 from Fredriksdal near Hälsingborg, Scania, Sweden, and is in Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum, Lund, Sweden, inv. no. 6606. Its diameter is 3.0 cm.

[82] Nancy L. Wicker, "On the Trail of the Elusive Goldsmith: Tracing Individual Style and Workshop Characteristics in Migration Period Metalwork," *Gesta*, 33 (1994), pp. 65–70.

[83] Nancy L. Wicker, "Situating Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates: From Typology and Iconography to Gender, Agency, and Visual Culture," in *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, eds. Liv Helga Dommasnes, Tove Hjørungdal, Sandra Montón-Subías, Margarita Sánchez Romero, and Nancy L. Wicker (Budapest, 2010), pp. 73–74, and my " 'The Four Smiths' and the Replication of Bracteate Techniques," *Arkæologi i Slesvig/Archäologie in Schleswig* (2011), pp. 33–44.

Figure 14 Gold bracteate from Fredriksdal near Hälsingborg, Sweden; ca. 500–550 AD (Photo: Bengt Almgren).

her home. Many activities including small-scale trading may have been carried out as a home-craft by Viking women. Anne Stalsberg interprets small folding scales buried with women in the Viking settlements in Russia and in towns such as Birka in Sweden as evidence that they were traders who were able to look after a family trading business while minding children and keeping the household going.[84] Yet scales are also important in jewelry-making. Whether the weighing equipment buried with Viking women provides evidence of trading or of female goldsmiths, these finds show that the women must have been laid to rest with the tools of the family economic unit.

[84] Anne Stalsberg, "Women as Actors in North European Viking Age Trade," in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. Ross Samson (Glasgow, 1991), pp. 75–83, "Tradeswomen during the Viking Age," *Archaeology and Environment*, 11 (1991), pp. 45–52, esp. 49, and her "Visible Women Made Invisible: Interpreting Varangian Women in Old Russia," in *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*, eds. Bettina Arnold and Nancy L. Wicker (Walnut Creek, CA, 2001), pp. 65–79, esp. 73–75.

During the later Middle Ages, home-based industries in both metal and cloth are documented. Heather Swanson cites examples of women—particularly widows but also independent female artisans—involved in metalworking in England and France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Martha Howell counts jewelry-making as "part of the traditional female sphere" in late medieval cities.[85] While Jenny Jochens notes for medieval (post-Viking-age) Iceland that "weaving was so obviously female work that it needed no comment," she also states that women's names were attached to shipments of cloth that were exported from Iceland across the North Atlantic to Trondheim and Bergen, thus showing that women were involved in the trade of homespun cloth.[86] However, the textile industry, as so many others, changed from "women's work" to men's business when it became "an organized urban craft of higher status" in Scandinavia at the end of the medieval period.[87] Migration Period bracteates, the Viking-age Dynna runestone, and even the thirteenth-century Skog tapestry all pre-date this stage of the professionalization of craft production in Scandinavia.

Women of all ranks were probably involved in various stages of textile production in home-based industries such as spinning and weaving; similarly, men of various standings were engaged in metal-working. Just as tapestry-weaving and embroidery were the activities most likely carried out by ladies of high status such as Queen Gudrun and Brynhild, so, too, only high-ranking women could have owned gold jewelry.[88] But who made the jewelry? The status of goldsmiths in early medieval Scandinavia has long been debated, perhaps confused by the special situation of the most famous legendary metalworker, Volundr, who was both a goldsmith and a blacksmith, as described in the Eddic "Lay of Volund."[89] However, in other written sources, it is clear that a goldsmith was of higher status than a blacksmith and was often retained at the court of a chieftain or

[85] Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 66–81, esp. 80; Martha Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago, 1988), p. 22.

[86] Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society*, pp. 139, 155; Jan Ragnar Hagland, "Runematerialet frå gravingane i Trondheim og Bergen som kjelder til islandshandelens historie i mellomalderen," *Historisk tidsskrift*, 67 (1988), pp. 145–56.

[87] Ingvild Øye, "Women in Early Towns," in *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West*, eds. John Sheehan and Donnchadh Ó Corráin (Dublin, 2010), pp. 298–308, esp. 304.

[88] Øye, "Women in Early Towns," p. 303.

[89] "Vǫlundarqviða," *Edda*, eds. Neckel and Kuhn, pp. 116–23; "The Lay of Volund," *The Poetic Edda*, intro. and trans. Larrington, pp. 102–108.

king who controlled the precious metal.[90] The women who had access to elite materials and to skilled craftworkers who could make gold bracteates or who could hew a monumental runestone must have been of aristocratic status. They may have acted more as elites than as females, so status rather than a division of labor may account for their ability to participate actively in creating and sponsoring jewelry and runestones. Most women produced functional weavings, but women who had access to wealth and property could "make" (have made) or commission work that they wore as symbols of their rank and sometimes bequeathed to future generations. Patrons might be credited as "makers" by commissioning publicly visible runestones or gold jewelry. Runic monuments would be visible along well-traveled roads, and golden jewelry could be prominently shown on a woman's chest, reflecting the firelight in a Viking hall; thus, these arts brought fame to the artist, the patron, and the recipient.

Women who wore bracteates and other high-status jewelry might also be considered "makers" of art by the very act of displaying portable wealth. Although bracteate pendants were apparently produced in Scandinavia, they have been discovered in women's graves across Europe from Hungary to England.[91] Birgit Arrhenius suggests that bracteates were "morning gifts," paid to the bride at the consummation of a marriage, so the wide distribution of this jewelry may reflect exogamous marriages linking Europe's elites.[92] While some scholars have considered these women mere pawns who were used to strengthen political ties, others suggest that the females were active rather than passive participants in these negotiations.[93] Marriage gifts marked the transference of power across families as well

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[90] Nancy L. Wicker, "The Organization of Crafts Production and the Social Status of the Migration Period Goldsmith," in *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg*, eds. Poul Otto Nielsen, Klavs Randsborg, and Henrik Thrane (Århus, 1994), pp. 144–50, esp. 145–46.

[91] For my previous discussion of this material, see Nancy L. Wicker, "Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates Found Outside the Nordic Area: Import or Imitation?" in *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, eds. Peter F. Biehl and Yuri Ya. Rassamakin (Langenweißbach, 2008), pp. 243–52, esp. 245–46, and my "Situating Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates," p. 74.

[92] Birgit Arrhenius, "Women and Gold: On the Role of Women in Society at the Time of the Great Migrations and Their Relationship to the Production and Distribution of Ornaments," in *Produksjon og samfunn*, ed. Heid Gjøstein Resi (Oslo, 1995), pp. 85–96.

[93] Anders Andrén, "Guld och makt—en tolkning av de skandinaviska guldbrakteaternas function," in *Samfundsorganisation and regional variation: Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid* (Århus, 1991), pp. 245–56; Charlotte Behr, "Do Bracteates Identify Influential Women in Early Medieval Kingdoms?" in *Kingdoms and Regionality*, ed. Birgit Arrhenius (Stockholm, 2001), pp. 95–101, esp. 199; Marta Lindeberg, "Gold, Gods and Women," *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 5 (1997), pp. 99–110, esp. 108.

as generations, and some of the jewelry found in burials is so worn that it may have been inherited.[94] If women may be considered "makers" of dynasties, the works of art that they sponsored and displayed were important in establishing their power and status. Without the women for whom such jewelry was made, these pieces would not exist; thus, the women as recipients or consumers may be regarded as "makers" of the jewelry.

Textiles and jewelry may be considered minor arts today, but they were not of minor importance in early medieval Scandinavia. Jewelry was crucial in signifying rank, and the raising of runestones and the building of bridges were significant undertakings in this society where stone architecture was restricted to funerary monuments and simple defensive works; even the first Christian churches were built of wood. Our knowledge of the people who made these structures and ornaments is not as well documented as the artists and architects of the rest of Europe, but we should consider the agency—either intentional or unintentional—of the anonymous and nearly anonymous women such as Gunnvor and Astrid. They had the power to control their inheritance, whether it consisted of heirloom jewelry, tapestries telling dynastic stories, or property that they chose to devote to good deeds such as building bridges.[95] The art produced and sponsored by women played a profound role in their societies. In early medieval Europe, Scandinavian-type bracteates may have signaled the high status of pagan Nordic women among Continental and Anglo-Saxon Christians. Wearing such golden pendants with their animal-style designs may have been simultaneously conspicuous and subversive, carrying a message of lingering pagan resistance among others more likely to wear the Christian cross. By the later Viking Age, women—whether of low or high status—were more positively inclined toward Christianity than were Scandinavian men.[96] As powerful women converted to the new religion before their husbands, they could challenge male-dominated pagan culture by sponsoring runestones that publicly proclaimed their Christian good deeds such as building bridges.

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94 See Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and Mark Pollard, "The Gold Bracteates from Sixth-century Anglo-Saxon Graves in Kent, in the Light of a New Find from Finglesham," *Frühmittelalterliches Studien*, 15 (1981), pp. 316–70, esp. 340, 350.

95 Andrew Gardner, "Introduction: Social Agency, Power, and Being Human," in *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human*, ed. Andrew Gardner (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007), pp. 1–15, esp. 5–7.

96 Gräslund, "The Role of Scandinavian Women in Christianisation," p. 492.

The runestone at Dynna not only acknowledged bridge-building but also legitimated female inheritance, brought attention to the diligence of a woman (even though we do not know what her specific skill was), and also openly exhibited scenes of Christian iconography on a public monument. During the post-Viking medieval period, textiles such as the Skog tapestry continued to record the Christian challenge to paganism. Scandinavian women such as Astrid and her mother Gunnvor who were involved in the arts were instrumental in reproducing society by commemorating kinsfolk and marking inheritance, but they also actively participated in radical changes in society such as emigration by exogamy during the Migration Period and religious conversion during the Viking Age. These "nimble-fingered" women created art, commissioned it, wore it, displayed it, and—not to be forgotten—also viewed it.

CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

THE TREASURES AND FOUNDATIONS OF ISABEL, BEATRIZ, ELISENDA, AND LEONOR. THE ART PATRONAGE OF FOUR IBERIAN QUEENS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues

After a period in which feminist art historians attempted to prove that women artists not only existed in the past but that some of them were as great as their male counterparts, it seemed insufficient just to add new names to the list, and research in the field moved to the exploration of gender divisions in the production and the reception of art.[1] One of the consequences of this move was to unveil the major role of wealthy women as patrons of the arts,[2] but again we have reached the point where "it is not enough to produce more names," as Therese Martin puts it in the introduction to this book. New questions need to be asked, such as: did queens' art patronage differ from abbesses' and from other aristocratic women's patronage? Did women's art patronage change according to their life cycle? Could their patronage be characterized as "female" as opposed to the patronage of their male counterparts? In this essay, I will try to answer these and other related questions by studying the art patronage of four Iberian queens *vis à vis* their husbands' patronage.

The queens I have chosen to study because of the richness of the sources[3] concerning their actions and possessions were all related to each other: Isabel of Aragón (1270–1336), Queen of Portugal, was the mother-in-law of Beatriz of Castile (1293–1359), Queen of Portugal and the grand-mother

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[1] Susan Shifrin and Robert Bambis, "Transgressing to Transform: The Feminist Engagement with Art History," in *Transforming the Disciplines: A Women's Studies Primer*, eds. Elizabeth L. MacNabb, Mary Jane Cherry, Susan L. Popham, and René Perri Prys (New York, 2001), pp. 39–46, esp. 41–43.

[2] In works such as: June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, GA, 1996); Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006); Tracy Chapman Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260–1321)* (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[3] These sources, as we shall see later, are not only written documents (last wills and testaments, inventories, account books, donation charters, letters, and so forth) but also works of art (jewels, reliquaries, tombs, buildings).

of Leonor of Portugal (1328–1348), Queen of Aragón; Isabel was also the sister-in-law of Elisenda of Montcada (1292–1364), Queen of Aragón as well.[4]

An important feature of all these queens' histories is that when they married, they received both dowries from their parents and dowers from their husbands, as was customary in the Iberian kingdoms after the reintroduction of Roman law in the thirteenth century.[5] The dowers were usually composed of royal estates, rights, and rents that not only made these queens very rich women but also conferred on them seigniorial powers over the inhabitants of those territories: they could appoint local judges, governors of the castles, notaries, tax collectors, and other officials, and the queens themselves were the last resort of appeal.[6] Immediately after consummating their marriage, the queens could dispose of their dowers, which constituted without doubt the bulk of their revenue.

During their lifetimes, some queens would receive more donations of royal estates, rights, and rents either from their husbands or from their sons, increasing their wealth.[7] All this secured their financial independence and well-being, thus allowing them to maintain and reward a large court of ladies-in-waiting and officials, to extend their patronage to religious houses and charitable institutions, and to project a visibly royal status by sustaining a high level of consumption of luxury goods.

As to the dowry, it consisted of a considerable amount of money that could be furnished either by the father and/or the mother of the bride, or by her brother if their father had already died. It was paid in several installments whose frequency was established by the matrimonial contracts, but delays were common and sometimes a sum remained unpaid even at the moment of the queen's death.[8] The amounts paid were frequently used by the kings to cover urgent expenses[9] and their wives could only claim the restitution of the dower in case of widowhood. This explains at least in

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[4] See the Genealogical Table at the end of this article.

[5] Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, "For the Honor of Her Lineage and Body: The Dowers and Dowries of Some Late Medieval Queens of Portugal," *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, 5/1 (2007), pp. 1–13, esp. 3.

[6] Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues and Manuela Silva, "Private Properties, Seignioral Tributes, and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Late Middle Ages," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 209–28, esp. 218–19.

[7] For Isabel and Beatriz, see Rodrigues and Silva, "Private Properties," pp. 211–12.

[8] Rodrigues, "For the Honor," pp. 3–4.

[9] Pere IV used part of Leonor's dowry to recruit troops to fight the "unions" that opposed his rule. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, "Esfuerzos reconquistadores de Castilla y

part the greater financial ease some queens seem to have had after their husband's death, as we shall see.

Apart from the dowry, queens usually also brought with them a trousseau composed of luxurious clothes, wardrobe accessories, religious objects, silverware, and jewels.[10] For the fourteenth century, we do not possess the inventories that become frequent in later periods. Yet, there are sometimes other sources that allow us to have a glimpse at what the brides received from their parents at the time of the wedding. It could be jewels and other objects that had been in the family for several generations but it could also be new objects commissioned for the occasion or bought in the market. Leonor, for instance, became queen of Aragón when she married Pere IV (1319–1387) by proxy in June 1347. In July, she received from her father King Afonso IV of Portugal (1291–1357) all the personal objects that the *infanta* Maria of Aragón (1299–1316) had left as security for a loan when Maria lived in Portugal with her daughter Blanca (1315–1375).[11] These objects were worth two thousand, one hundred pounds (*libras*) and consisted of a gold crown with four emeralds, three rubies, six sapphires, and seed pearls (*aljôfar*); several cups made of gold, silver, nacre, or crystal, either plain, inlaid with precious stones, or enameled; small cups and pitchers made of crystal with gilded silver bases; silver spoons; a silver bowl adorned with castles and eagles; a silver censer with its chains; and several wardrobe accessories: an enameled belt embroidered with silver thread, another belt made of silk and gold thread, and a red hat whose ties were decorated with seed pearls and colored stones.[12] Unfortunately, these pieces no longer exist.

Isabel, daughter of Pere III of Aragón (1239–1285) and Constanza Hohenstaufen (1247–1302), almost certainly received a trousseau from her parents, though there is no more documentary evidence of it other than

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expansión mediterránea en Aragón," in *Historia General de España y América*, vol. 4, *La España de los cinco reinos (1085–1369)*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1990), pp. 637–729, esp. 721.

[10] Luis Vicente Diaz Martín and Roberto Ruiz Capellan, "El ajuar de Doña Blanca de Borbón, mujer de Pedro I de Castilla, en las cuentas de Étienne de la Fontaine," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 197 (2000), pp. 267–305.

[11] Blanca was the fiancée of the crown prince of Portugal, Pedro, who later repudiated her. On this episode, see Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, "Infantas e rainhas: garantes de paz, pretexto para guerras," in *A guerra e a sociedade na Idade Média. VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais. Actas* (Campo Militar de S. Jorge [CIBA], Porto de Mós, Alcobaça, and Batalha, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 39–59, esp. 48–49.

[12] António Caetano de Sousa, *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 2nd ed. (Coimbra, 1946 [1739]), vol. 1, L. II, pp. 380–82.

what is said in her *Vita*:[13] that they gave her "many silver vessels."[14] Several of the devotional objects bequeathed by Isabel to the monastery of Santa Clara in Coimbra still exist today, and a few are reputed to be of foreign origin: one of them is a cross made of crystal, probably manufactured in Venice, with enameled miniatures that Joan Domenge and Anna Molina consider inspired by a Byzantine model (Fig. 1; Color Plate 28). This cross had a particular iconography that Domenge and Molina see as especially suitable for a woman: the Crucifixion on one side and, on the other, not a *Maiestas Domini* as was usual, but the Dormition of the Virgin.[15] The other objects are a cross of jasper with the coats of arms of Aragón and Portugal (Fig. 2), similar to those that existed in the treasure of Isabel's brother, Jaume II of Aragón (1267–1327), which he presented to his wife Blanche of Anjou (1280–1310); and a reliquary of the Holy Cross made of silver and coral, also with the coats of arms of Aragón and Portugal (Fig. 3; Color Plate 29), which is probably an assemblage of various pieces.[16] If there is no doubt that these three objects reached Portugal through Aragón—though they might have been manufactured elsewhere—it is impossible to know exactly when it happened: Isabel could have received them as a young bride from her parents, but she could also have commissioned them herself or received them as a gift from her brother at a later period in her life.[17] In face of her activity as a patron in her widowhood, however, it seems

[13] This hagiography was written shortly after the queen's death by an unknown author which is believed to be her confessor, the bishop of Lamego, Salvador Martins. Together with a compilation of Isabel's miracles, it was intended to be used in a canonization process that, nevertheless, only took place almost three centuries later, as we shall see further on. Giulia Rossi Vairo, "Le origini del processo di canonizzazione di Isabella d'Aragóna, *Rainha Santa de Portugal*, in un atto notarile del 27 Luglio 1336," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 74/1–2 (2004), pp. 147–93, esp. 161–62.

[14] "gram vasilha de prata," as it is stated in the "Relaçam da vida da gloriosa Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal, tresladada de hum liuro escrito de maõ, que esta no Conuento de S. Clara de Coimbra, & que serue para varios capitulos desta historia, & da subsequente." Frei Francisco Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 6, appendix, 3rd ed. (facsimile, Lisbon, 1980; 1st ed., Lisbon, 1672), p. 498.

[15] Joan Domenge and Anna Molina, "Les 'nobles i riques ofrenes' d'Isabel de Portugal. Orfebreries de la reina santa," in *Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2009), pp. 307–23.

[16] Domenge and Molina, "Les 'nobles y riques ofrenes'," pp. 313–19. However, the authors also recognize (p. 310) that it is difficult to be sure that these pieces were foreign, as so little is known about Portuguese goldsmiths.

[17] For instance, she and King Dinis joined Jaume II and other royalty in 1304, in Tarazona, and he presented them with several precious objects. J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, "La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II (1291–1327). Relaciones de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 11 (1953–1954), doc. 8, pp. 14–15.

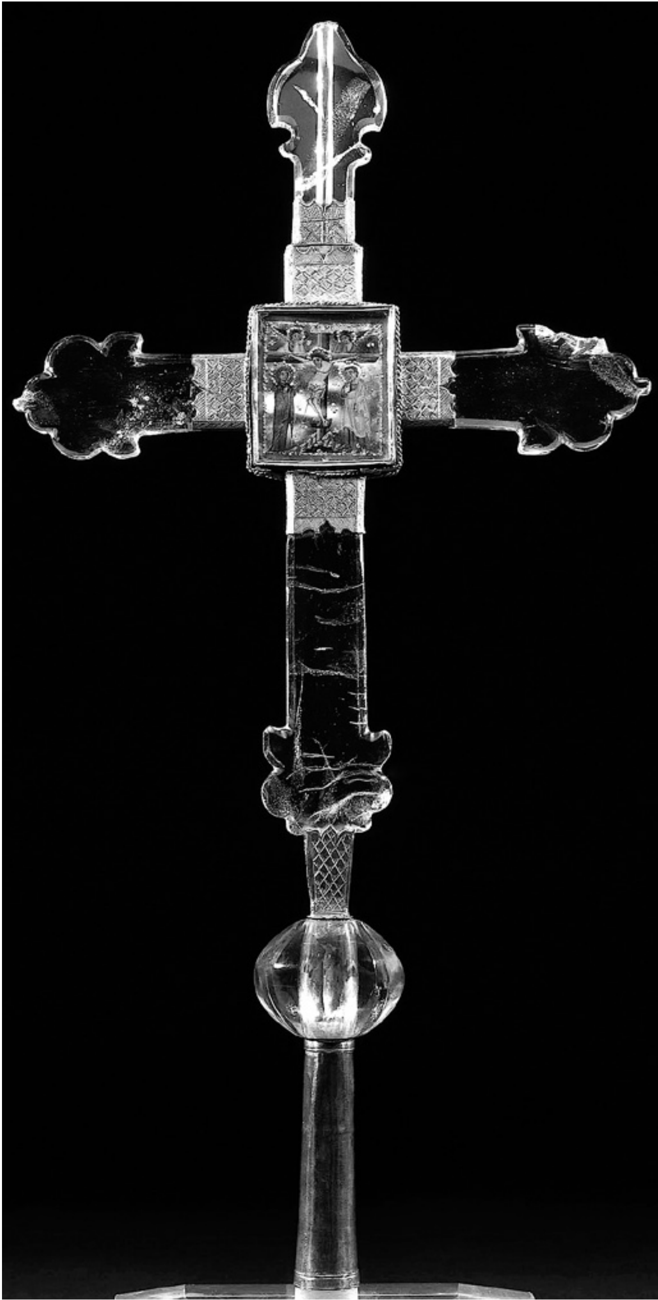

Figure 1 Processional cross, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.). See color plate 28.

Figure 2 Processional cross, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.).

Figure 3 Reliquary of the Holy Cross, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.). See color plate 29.

most likely that she commissioned them herself to present them to the nuns of Santa Clara.

There were many occasions for queens to receive jewels, relics, and other precious gifts during their lifetimes, though. At their arrival in their new kingdoms, their husbands would deliver them the crown insignia for them to wear on solemn occasions and transmit to their successors in the office; but they could also offer them jewels that would become their personal property. For instance, shortly after their marriage in December, 1322, Jaume II of Aragón ordered his chamberlain to transfer to his new wife Elisenda a great many artifacts, such as liturgical vestments, riding paraphernalia, bed linen, luxurious cloth, silverware, jewels, and so forth. At the same time, he presented her with a crown that he had bought from her very own brother Ot de Montcada (1290–1341). The queen was happy to use this family jewel until her death; then, having no children, she ordered it to be sold for the benefit of the monastery of Pedralbes.[18]

Queens also offered sumptuous items to each other, as a sign of consideration and friendship. In her last will and testament, dated September 13, 1348,[19] Leonor of Portugal left to her husband Pere IV a silver jar that she had received as a gift from the dowager queen Elisenda; at the same time, she bequeathed to her stepdaughters[20] the crowns and garlands she had been presented with by her husband. She did not forget to leave a little coffer and a gold jar to her father Afonso IV, and the best piece of jewelry in her treasury to her mother Beatriz, either. In fact, jewels and devotional objects circulated very often among mothers, daughters, and grand-daughters, without excluding other relatives by blood or alliance. In Queen Isabel's last will and testament dated 22 December 1327,[21] she bequeathed her crown with emeralds to her daughter-in-law Beatriz with the condition that in due time she would leave it to her own daughter, Maria (1313–1357), queen of Castile. This same Maria, no doubt Isabel's favorite grand-daughter,[22] would also receive Isabel's small crown with

[18] Anna Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació d'un monestir femení. Pedralbes al segle XIV (1327–1411)," Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, 1996, pp. 585–88 and 630.

[19] Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Cancillería, Reg. 2256, fols. 1r–4v. I thank Maria Antonieta Moreira da Costa for her assistance in transcribing and translating this document.

[20] Constanza, Juana, and María, daughters of Maria of Navarre, the first wife of Pere IV of Aragón.

[21] Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, p. 149.

[22] "Whom I brought up" ("que eu criei"), as she testified in her will.

pierced gems, her round brooch, her relic of the Holy Cross (at that time mounted with three pierced sapphires), the relics that were encased in a gold crown under the jasper, the relics of St. Bartholomew that were set under a crystal and in a chain, and finally a pair of ear rings (*teixéis*)[23] with eagles. To her other grand-daughter, Leonor of Castile (1307–1359)[24] Isabel bequeathed only her crown with pink rubies (*balaches*) and a pair of ear rings with figures and stones. All these bequests are listed by the author of the sainted queen's *Vita*, who presents us with "an image of one queen passing on her wealth and prestige to others."[25]

In Beatriz of Castile's last will and testament set down in 1358,[26] after the deaths of both her daughters Leonor (in 1348) and Maria (in 1357), plus her daughter-in-law Constanza Manuel (1318–1349) and her husband Afonso IV (in 1357), we find traces of some of these family jewels that went from mother to daughter to grand-daughter, and sometimes back again because of the intense mortality of that period. From her own mother, Maria de Molina (1265–1321), Beatriz had received a huge emerald, and another emerald possessed of healing powers (she calls it "of virtue" and "of blessing"), which she bequeathed to her son King Pedro I (1320–1367) with the condition that at his death it should go to the crown prince and, after that, always to the heir to the throne. From her brother Felipe of Castile (1292–1327), she had received a belt in enameled silver. From her mother-in-law Isabel, she was given several gold beads, but there is no sign of the crown that Queen Isabel had bequeathed her in her last will and testament. Gold beads were also bestowed on Beatriz by her daughter-in-law Constanza Manuel, who had additionally left her a gold cross with a ruby and four sapphires.[27]

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[23] As translated by António Nogueira Gonçalves, *O tesouro de D. Isabel de Aragão rainha de Portugal* (Coimbra, 1983), p. 9.

[24] This Leonor was the daughter of Isabel's daughter Constança and Fernando IV of Castile. She became queen in 1329 as the second wife of Alfons IV of Aragón, but she was widowed in 1336 and had a long conflict with her stepson Pere IV concerning her children's heritage. Having returned to Castile, she became involved in local intrigues and was murdered by order of her nephew Pedro I *el Cruel* in 1359. See Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragón* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 104–20.

[25] Iona McCleery, "Isabel of Aragón (d. 1336): Model Queen or Model Saint?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57/4 (2006), pp. 668–92, esp. 689.

[26] Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 343–55.

[27] The Castilian *infanta* Constanza Manuel, who had already been repudiated by her cousin Alfonso XI of Castile in 1327, married Prince Pedro of Portugal (son of Afonso IV of Portugal and Beatriz of Castile) in 1336, by proxy. However, her former "husband" prevented her from reaching Portugal, and this led to a war between the two kingdoms. Only in 1339, when peace was reestablished, was she allowed to join Pedro. Alas, she had taken with her

From her husband Afonso IV, Beatriz had acquired an enameled silver cup, a gold cup with its cover embellished with a sapphire, a cameo with a lion, another cameo with "chubby-faced" men, several rings with precious stones, and a gold belt. From her daughter Leonor, she had inherited several coral beads; a cup with its cover surmounted by a figure representing the Knight of the Swan;[28] a small enameled jar; two rings, one with a ruby and the other with an emerald; a figurine of a serpent with scorpions made of silver and coral; and a small coffer (probably the one that Leonor had bequeathed to her father). From her other daughter, Maria, the queen had received an enameled gold coin and a sculptural piece in the form of a miniature castle decorated with small stones, seed pearls, and two cameos with lions. All these treasures were bequeathed by Beatriz either to her son King Pedro I or to her grand-children: Fernando (1345–1383) and Maria (1342–?), born from Constanza Manuel;[29] João (1352–1397), Dinis (1353–1403), and Beatriz (1354–1382), born from Inês of Castro (1325?–1355).

So, queens did offer and bequeath silverworks, relics, and jewels to other members of their families either by blood or alliance. Many of these precious objects had been inherited or received as gifts from relatives and friends, but some were probably bought from merchants or commissioned from craftsmen. No account books for our queens survive that can elucidate for us their consumption of luxurious objects although they do exist for their male counterparts. Nevertheless, there is evidence that queens had craftsmen working directly for them: from a letter she wrote to her brother Jaume II, we know that Isabel had a "*moro argentero*" (Muslim silversmith) who had fled from her court and whom she was eager to recover.[30] Stylistic evidence indicates that he was probably not the creator of the beautiful silver reliquary of the Madonna and Child that Isabel also

in her suite Inês of Castro, a Galician lady with whom the crown prince immediately fell in love. In the following years, Constanza gave birth to two sons (one of whom died) and a daughter, and eventually died either of plague or as a consequence of childbirth, in 1349, without having ever gained her husband's affection. She never became queen.

[28] The Knight of the Swan is the hero of the Old French Crusade Cycle concerning the origins and life of Godfrey of Bouillon and of his successors as rulers of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The first poems of this cycle appeared at the end of the 12th century; the cycle was completed during the 13th century, but it gained new versions either in verse or in prose at the end of the Middle Ages. See Catherine Gaullier-Bourgass, "Le Chevalier au Cygne à la fin du Moyen Age. Renouvellements, en vers et en prose, de l'épopée romanesque des origines de Godefroy de Bouillon," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 12 (2005), pp. 115–46.

[29] Her other child, Luís, died shortly after birth.

[30] Domenge and Molina, "Les 'nobles y riques ofrenes'," p. 319.

bequeathed to the monastery of Santa Clara in Coimbra, which seems to have been used as a fertility charm[31] (Fig. 4); it has recently been suggested that the queen might have commissioned it during the eight years of marriage during which she did not bear a child.[32] Another commission from Isabel was a belt or a chain that was transformed into a necklace in the sixteenth century (Fig. 5), and whose original floral pieces of gold plate and precious stones resemble the brooch on the Madonna;[33] this item kept being used by midwives long after the queen's death because it was believed that it helped childbirth, as it had been used by a saint.[34]

We also have evidence that these queens often had pieces of silver, jewelry, and clothing disassembled to create new works.[35] For instance, in her first testament, dated 19 April 1314, Isabel bequeathed to the monastery of Odivelas a cross to be made out of the gold that would be found in her treasury, and of nine good stones that should be taken from her clothes, if she had not had that cross manufactured before her death.[36] Leonor's treasure included a significant quantity of gems, pearls, and both small pieces and whole branches of coral waiting to be encased in new jewels; similarly, her wardrobe held countless seed pearls, buttons, and small adornments in silver and gold that belonged to old clothes and awaited reuse in new garments.[37] Unfortunately, the queen did not live long enough to have them remade to her liking. As for Beatriz, she asked for her catafalque to be covered with the mortuary cloth she had ordered to be made with the textile her daughter Leonor had sent her; this was adorned with castles and lions, the heraldic symbols of her natal family.[38]

These queens did not only buy or order pieces of jewellery and precious clothing. They were also involved in commissioning works of art such as tombs and altarpieces, and in supplying the resources for building bridges, palaces, hospitals, convents, or providing these with new

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[31] In her last will, the queen refers to this Madonna as "the saint that I used to put to the brides that married from my household" ("a Sancta que eu mandava poer às noivas que casavaõ de minha casa") and she requests that the abbess continue to lend it to the brides after her death. Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, p. 151.

[32] Domenge and Molina, "Les 'nobles y riques ofrenes'," p. 311.

[33] Domenge and Molina, "Les 'nobles y riques ofrenes'," p. 312.

[34] Gonçalves, *O tesouro de D. Isabel de Aragão*, p. 15.

[35] As did their husbands; for Jaume II, see Martínez Ferrando, "La Cámara Real," pp. xiv–xv.

[36] Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, p. 145.

[37] ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 2256, 2257, 2258, *passim*.

[38] Vanda Lourenço, "O testamento da rainha D. Beatriz," *Promontoria*, 3/3 (2005), pp. 81–107, esp. 85.

Figure 4 Reliquary of the Madonna and Child, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.).

Figure 5 Queen Isabel's necklace, mounted in the 16th c. with 14th-c. pieces (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.).

dependencies. Because Leonor died from the Black Death within a year after having reached her new kingdom, she did not have time to leave a strong mark in this area. In her last will and testament, she asked to be buried at the monastery of Poblet near her husband's future resting place, but she did not mention any tomb she might already have commissioned, as all the other queens did. Yet, she ordered that a new altar be built and new images of St. Vincent and St. Lawrence be placed in the royal chapel of the city of Huesca, where suffrages would be made for

her soul;[39] both saints were natives of that region but St. Vincent was also the patron of the city of Lisbon, which may explain the special devotion Leonor had for him.

By contrast with Leonor, her husband Pere IV was a great builder. Not only did he have a funerary monument in the monastic church of Poblet built for himself and the three wives who preceded him in death,[40] but later he also ordered the translation of the corpses of his predecessors Alfons I ("el Batallador," 1073–1134) and Jaume I (1208–1276) to new tombs he had commissioned; he even prepared a tomb for his son, the future Joan I (1350–1396). He thus created a new royal pantheon for the kings of Aragón where he commanded his successors to be buried.[41] From 1349 onwards, Pere IV kept busy with the construction works, signing contracts with the sculptors (Master Aloi and Master Jaume Cascalls), giving them new instructions, sending some of his officers to watch over and facilitate the extraction and transport of the alabaster used in the tombs and other officers to organize the transfer of the deceased queens' corpses to Poblet.[42] Pere IV further commissioned other tombs outside Poblet, as well as two groups of sculptures of the counts and the count-kings of Barcelona;[43] his role as a patron was also important in painting; the transcription, translation, and illumination of books; and the production of furniture and objects related to royal ceremonial.[44]

Like her daughter Leonor, Beatriz also had a relatively small role as a builder. In her testaments of 1357 and 1358, very similar in their clauses,[45] she mentioned that she had already commissioned her tomb, which should be placed near her husband's tomb in the chancel Afonso IV had ordered to be constructed in the See of Lisbon.[46] But the cathedral's new chancel with its nine radiant chapels and ambulatory took a great many years

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39 ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 2256, fols. 1–2.

40 Maria of Navarre, Leonor of Portugal, and Leonor of Sicily.

41 He was partially successful: his successors Joan I; Martí I (1356–1410); Ferran I (1380–1416); Alfons V (1396–1458); and Joan II (1398–1479) were buried there, some of them with their wives, but not Ferran II (1452–1516) or the following kings.

42 Gener Gonzalvo i Bou, *Poblet, Panteó Reial* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 19–34.

43 Josep Bracons i Clapès, "'Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus'. L'escultura al servei de Pere el Ceremoniós," in *Pere el Cerimoniòs i la seva època* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 213–15 and 223–26.

44 Frederic-Pau Verriè, "La política artística de Pere el Ceremoniòs," in *Pere el Cerimoniòs i la seva època* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 187–92.

45 The second one was rendered necessary because of the death of King Afonso IV a few months after his validation of the first one.

46 Lourenço, "O testamento," p. 100; Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, p. 344.

to build because of the many earthquakes of that period[47] and was only completed during the reign of King Fernando or even King João I (1357–1433); only then were the two tombs placed on the Gospel (north) side of the main altar, facing the coffer that contained the relics of St. Vincent on the Epistle (south) side. Unlike his predecessors, Afonso IV had chosen to be interred not in a monastery but in a cathedral that he himself had embellished, and near the relics of a saint whose cult he had advanced, recognizing and reinforcing the position of Lisbon as the major city of the kingdom.[48]

Alas, the funerary monuments of Afonso IV and Beatriz were destroyed by the major earthquake of 1755 that had devastating effects in the whole cathedral; they were replaced by new tombs that can still be seen today. We can learn something about the original ones in a description from the beginning of the eighteenth century,[49] though: the two tombs had jacent statues for the king and the queen, and small figures on the arks.[50] They were surmounted by two paintings representing the Battle of Salado, and Queen Maria's journey to Portugal to beg for her father's participation in the war effort. A horn was also hanging on the wall near the king's tomb; an inscription explained it was the only trophy he had brought from that battle the Christians had won.[51]

Apart from her concern for her last resting place, Beatriz bequeathed considerable amounts of money to convents of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Poor Clares throughout the realm, to the priory of the Holy Cross in Coimbra, and to the military orders of Santiago, Cristo, and Avis, none of which includes phrasing that would indicate construction work. She also left five hundred pounds "to build bridges,"[52] a legacy that was common among royalty until her time but totally disappeared by the end

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[47] There were earthquakes in Lisbon in 1331, 1337, 1344, 1347, 1356, 1366, 1395, and 1404; some of them provoked damage in the cathedral. A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV* (Lisboa, 1987), p. 32.

[48] Carla Varela Fernandes, "Poder e representação: iconologia da família real portuguesa: primeira dinastia, séculos XII a XIV," Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 323–45.

[49] *Documentos para a história da cidade de Lisboa. Cabido da Sé. Sumários de Lousada. Apontamentos dos Brandões. Livro dos Bens Próprios dos Reis e Rainhas* (Lisboa, 1954), pp. 4–5.

[50] A priest of the cathedral who survived the earthquake stated that the king's tomb had scenes of St. Vincent's martyrdom on the only side of the ark that was visible under the debris. Júlio de Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga. Segunda Parte*: *Bairros Orientaes* (Lisboa, 1885), vol. 3, p. 257.

[51] Bernardo Vasconcelos de Sousa, *D. Afonso IV* (Rio de Mouro, 2009), p. 323.

[52] Lourenço, "O testamento," pp. 101–02; Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 345–46.

of the fourteenth century.[53] She does not seem to have played any role in choosing the location of these bridges nor the way they should be built, however.

Isabel, on the contrary, is known to have been personally involved in the building works she had commissioned at the end of her days. In the beginning of her married life, however, she acted as her predecessors had done: in her first testament, dated 19 April 1314, she ordered her body to be buried in the monastery of Alcobaça next to her husband's future resting place.[54] But in the second one, dated 22 December 1327—two years after the death of King Dinis (1261-1325)—she sent her body along with four thousand pounds and all the belongings of her chapel to the monastery of Santa Clara she had since built in Coimbra.[55] Between these two dates, the two spouses had grown apart, and each had pursued a building project of his or her own.[56]

King Dinis founded the female monastery of Odivelas in 1295. The legend says it was after a hunting accident in which he had managed to kill, by divine intervention, a bear that had attacked him.[57] Modern historians, however, believe that this story was invented at a later stage and that the king's action should be seen in the light of personal piety and the quest for spiritual protection.[58] Dinis endowed the monastery with the estates he possessed in Odivelas and nearby—a chapel and several houses where the nuns would live while construction was going on, orchards, vegetable-plots, vineyards, and mills—with other estates elsewhere, and with the patronage of the churches of St. Stephen of Alenquer and St. Julian of Santarém.[59] The edification of the monastic complex took around ten years

[53] Hermínia Vilar, *Vivência da morte na Estremadura portuguesa 1300–1500* (Redondo, 1995), pp. 199–200.

[54] Isabel's first testament is edited in Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 144–47. The king's, dated 8 April 1299, in which he sends his body to Alcobaça, is edited in Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 5, appendix, Escritura 34, pp. 329–31.

[55] The queen's second last will and testament is edited in Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 148–53.

[56] Giulia Rossi Vairo has recently stressed this situation and indicated that she will analyze it in a forthcoming study. See her "Isabella d'Aragóna, *Rainha Santa de Portugal*, e il monastero di S. Dinis de Odivelas," in *IV Congreso Internacional Císter en Portugal y en Galicia. Actas* (Braga-Oseira, 2009), pp. 845–67, esp. 856.

[57] Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 5, pp. 218v–219v.

[58] Hermínia Vasconcelos Alves Vilar and Maria João Violante Branco Marques da Silva, "A fundação do mosteiro de Odivelas," in *Congreso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal. Actas* (Ourense, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 589–601, esp. 590–92.

[59] The foundation charter can be found in Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 5, appendix, Escritura 30, pp. 325v–327v.

and was probably made under the direction of Masters Antão and Afonso Martins.[60] Unfortunately, it was almost completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1755; only the chancel, a portal of the church, and the south and east aisles of the cloister still stand today to show us the monumentality and high quality of the original building.

It was only in his third and fourth testaments, dated from 1322 and 1324 respectively,[61] that the king ordered his body to be buried at Odivelas in a tomb he had already commissioned, though there is reason to believe that since 1318 he and Queen Isabel thought of interment there instead of in Alcobaça.[62] It was the first time that a Portuguese king chose to be buried at a nunnery: Afonso I Henriques and Sancho I lay at the priory of the Holy Cross in Coimbra, Afonso II and Afonso III at Alcobaça, while Sancho II, who had planned to lie at that abbey as well, was interred at the cathedral of Toledo when he died in exile.[63] However, the nuns King Dinis trusted with his body belonged to Cîteaux, the same religious order as the monks of Alcobaça. Perhaps the Cistercian nuns were more inclined than the monks to accept the changes that the location of the king's tomb—between the choir and the main altar—would bring to their religious ceremonies, in exchange for the monarch's protection and patronage.

King Dinis' grandiose but damaged tomb has been restored to such an extent that only roughly a third of it is still original; this renders its study very difficult. However, it has been stressed that its monumentality distinguishes Dinis' from the tombs of his predecessors. The name of the artist who sculpted it is unknown, and while some researchers see in the monument the influence of the Aragónese funerary arts, others recognize a French touch.[64]

Apart from Odivelas, the king commissioned other constructions. For instance, he is credited with having financed the edification of the cloister

60 A.C. Borges de Figueiredo, *O Mosteiro de Odivelas* (Lisboa, 1889), p. 6.

61 Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 125–32; Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 6, pp. 582–89.

62 José Custódio Vieira da Silva, Joana Ramôa, and Giulia Rossi Vairo, "Escultura tumular medieval do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo: algumas reflexões e propostas de identificação," in *Chiado: Efervescência urbana, artística e literária de um lugar*, eds. Fernando Rosa Dias and José Quaresma (Lisbon, 2010), pp. 172–207, esp. 180–82. These authors think that the tomb now kept at the Museu Arqueológico do Carmo that was traditionally assigned to Constanza Manuel was actually made for Queen Isabel and would have been put in Odivelas side by side with King Dinis', had he not decided in 1320–1321 to be entombed alone (pp. 187–96).

63 Fernandes, *Poder e representação*, vol. 1, pp. 289–313.

64 Fernandes, *Poder e representação*, vol. 1, p. 315, and vol. 2, pp. 866–73.

known today as the "Cloister of Silence" in the monastery of Alcobaça (Fig. 6), in 1308–1311. Yet, an inscription in the foundation stone, contemporary with the construction, states that he did it "cum uxore sua inclita regina domina Helisabeth,"[65] a phrase suggesting that the queen also played some role in this matter. In 1316, King Dinis concluded the construction of the convent of St. Francis of Portalegre, which had been founded by his father, and in the following year he did the same for the church of the convent of St. Francis of Alenquer, started by his mother Beatriz.[66] However, we have no evidence that King Dinis was ever personally involved in planning or supervising any of these works, apart from setting the first stone and granting the funds for their construction and subsequent maintenance.[67]

Queen Isabel's behavior seems to have been quite different. She did not create any new monasteries, but she was responsible for the consolidation and expansion of two religious houses of which she took good care: Almoster and Santa Clara of Coimbra. The convent of Almoster had been founded in 1289 near the town of Santarém by one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting (*privada*), Beringueira Aires, obeying an injunction of her mother, the late Sancha Pires in her last will and testament of 1287.[68] The queen extended her protection to the Cistercian nuns there in 1304 and obtained from her husband two important privileges for the convent: absolute seigniorial power over its domain (*couto*) and the right of the nuns to inherit real estate and bequeath it to the convent. As King Dinis had forbidden the religious orders to receive real estate from their deceased members in 1291, the exemption from this law was one of the most desired royal privileges.[69] When Beringueira Aires died, Isabel further took it upon herself

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[65] Pedro Dias, "Domingos Domingues arquitecto régio do século XIV," *Mundo da Arte*, 5 (1982), pp. 2–7, esp. 2.

[66] José Augusto de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *D. Dinis* (Rio de Mouro, 2008), p. 224.

[67] In 1318 he further donated to the convent of Odivelas other rural demesnes and the patronage of the churches of St. John of Lumiar and St. John of Frielas, and endowed with estates the 5 chaplaincies he had instituted there, placing their chaplains under a special rule (*regimento*). Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 5, pp. 224v–225, and vol. 6, pp. 272–273.

[68] Luís Miguel Rêpas, "A Fundação do Mosteiro de Almoster: novos documentos para uma velha questão," in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias* (Porto, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 103–22, esp. 105–108.

[69] Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues, "Desamortização. I. Leis medievais," in *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Carlos Moreira de Azevedo, Vol. C–I (Rio de Mouro, 2000), pp. 59–60.

Figure 6 Detail of the "Cloister of Silence" or King Dinis' cloister, Monastery of Alcobaça, 14th c. (Photo: Henrique Ruas/IGESPAR, IP DIDA AF).

to finish the construction work, financing the cloister, the infirmary, and other buildings.[70]

As to the monastery of Santa Clara in Coimbra, it had been founded in 1286 by Mor Dias (d. 1302), a noblewoman of the same town.[71] But this lady had lived in the local Augustinian priory of the Santa Cruz for more than thirty years, and the canons demanded that the new monastery, together with the estates with which she had endowed it, should be put under their supervision. A long conflict opposed these two entities in the ecclesiastical and secular courts of justice, Santa Cruz claiming that Mor Dias was a professed Augustinian canoness, while Mor Dias claimed that she had never pronounced any vows. The problem was still not solved when Mor Dias passed away in 1302. In the years following her death, the Poor Clares community split into two different groups—one supporting the rule of the male branch of the Order, the other accepting the authority of the local bishop—that fought each other and caused scandal in the city. Eventually, the nuns were expelled from the buildings and the monastery was extinguished in December 1311.[72]

Yet, as early as 1307 Queen Isabel had already shown some interest in this religious house, receiving from the hands of João Martins de Soalhães (bishop of Lisbon 1294–1313, of Braga 1313–1325) the powers that Mor Dias had invested in him, in order to seek a good settlement with the convent of Santa Cruz, enforce Mor's last will, and restore peace in the monastery.[73] Subsequently, the queen asked the pope for permission to repair, rebuild, and endow the Poor Clares monastery in Coimbra, which he allowed on

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[70] "Relaçam da vida," p. 509 and Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana*, vol. 5, pp. 150–51. However, it has been argued more recently that, according to the heraldic elements found in the cloister, the sainted queen would not have had any role in its construction. See Francisco Manuel de Almeida Correia Teixeira, "O Mosteiro de Almoster," Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 113–14 and p. 124.

[71] This was the date when the first stone was laid, though Mor Dias had been seeking the necessary authorizations since 1283. Ana Paula Pratas Figueira Santos, "A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara de Coimbra (Da instituição por D. Mor Dias à intervenção da Rainha Santa Isabel)," Master's thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 83–85.

[72] On this process, see Santos, "A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara," pp. 88–154; J.J. Rigaud de Sousa and Maria Teresa Monteiro, "Notas sobre o pleito entre D. Mór Dias, fundadora do Convento de Santa Clara, de Coimbra, e os Cónegos de Santa Cruz (Coimbra)," *Estudos Medievais*, 1 (1981), pp. 81–93. There are some similarities in the conflict that provoked the extinction of the earliest monastery of Santa Clara of Coimbra and the events that took place in the Dominican monastery of Santa María de las Dueñas de Zamora a few years earlier, as related by Peter Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora* (University Park, 1997).

[73] Santos, "A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara," p. 147.

10 April 1314.[74] Nine days later, in the first of her testaments, and probably unaware of the papal decision because of the dilatory character of communication at the time, the queen bequeathed five hundred pounds "to that place in Coimbra which is named after St. Elizabeth[75] that was built by Dona Mayor Dias, if something is done there in God's service,"[76] revealing that she was not yet sure of the positive results of her efforts. But the fact is that, shortly afterwards, she took possession of the abandoned buildings, bought the surrounding fields, re-founded the nunnery, and endowed it with new estates.[77] She also put an end to the prolonged conflict with the priory of the Santa Cruz, allowing the canons to keep the greater part of Mor Dias' possessions in exchange for their recognition of the existence of a new monastery of Santa Clara in the very same location as the old one, whose independence they so persistently had rejected.[78]

It was then possible to resume construction on the monastery (Fig. 7). From around 1317–1318 to 1325, its builder was Master Domingos Domingues, who had already worked at the cloister of Alcobaça, followed by Master Estêvão Domingues, probably a relative of his.[79] During the first stage of the construction, Queen Isabel could not supervise the work very closely because she was still either performing her duties as queen alongside her husband or helping her son Afonso in his fight against the king, whom Afonso accused of preferring his bastard brother Afonso Sanches (1289–1329).[80] However, following Dinis' death in 1325, when her son became king as Afonso IV, Isabel decided to take the habit of the Poor Clares (although without pronouncing vows)[81] and started a new life.

Shortly after, the dowager queen went on a pilgrimage to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and offered the Apostle some of the richest pieces of her treasure and wardrobe: a crown with precious stones, several silver cups, state cloths with the arms of Portugal and Aragón, woven

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74 Santos, "A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara," p. 157.

75 The convent was originally dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), also known as St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, Queen Isabel's great-great-aunt.

76 "a aquel logar que está em coimbra que se chama de Sancta Isabel que fes Dona Mayor Dias se se fizer hi algũa couza a serviço de Deos." Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, p. 146.

77 "Relaçam da vida," pp. 509–11.

78 Santos, "A fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara," pp. 177–86.

79 Dias, "Domingos Domingues," pp. 2–5.

80 On this long conflict, see Frei Fernando Félix Lopes, "Santa Isabel de Portugal. A larga contenda entre D. Dinis e o seu filho D. Afonso," in *Colectânea de Estudos de História e Literatura* (Lisbon, 1997), vol. 3, pp. 79–127.

81 Sousa, *Provas da Historia*, vol. 1, L. 2, pp. 142–43.

Figure 7 Monastery of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra, external view after the recent excavations, 14th c. (Photo: Miguel Munhós/Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha, Direcção Regional de Cultura do Centro).

fabrics with seed-pearls, and her mule with its horse-trappings made of gold, silver, and precious stones. As a counter-gift, she received from the local archbishop the purse and walking staff of a pilgrim. The latter still exists today (Fig. 8); the staff itself is jasper and wood with engraved gilt silver scallop shells, and the crossbar has two silver lion-head terminals.

After returning to Portugal, Isabel continued disposing of the riches of her treasure and wardrobe: with her silks and cloths-of-gold she had church vestments and ornaments made to be distributed to churches all around the realm. Her gold and silver were turned into chalices, crosses, censers, and oil lamps that were also donated to the monastery of Santa Clara and to other churches. She kept only her crowns in order to give them later to the women of her lineage who would have the opportunity to wear them:[82] her daughter-in-law Beatriz, who had recently become queen of Portugal; her grand-daughter Maria, daughter of Beatriz, who would become queen of Castile in 1328; and her grand-daughter Leonor, daughter of Constança, who would become queen of Aragón in 1329.

To be able to supervise more closely the construction work at Santa Clara and to benefit from the vicinity of the nuns, Isabel had a palace built just outside the nunnery walls (*cerca*) using a noble residence (*paço*) and a vineyard she had acquired from the neighboring monastery of Santa Ana.[83] We do not know what this palace looked like, as only a few remains are still visible today. However, it was large enough to lodge the queen and her ladies-in-waiting, and had several dependencies to accommodate the chaplains and the servants that assisted them.[84] Although she left the palace to the monastery in her last will, Isabel also allowed the royal family to continue using it. That proved not to have been a good idea: only a few years after the dowager's death, her grandson the crown prince Pedro took refuge there with his mistress Inês of Castro and their illegitimate children to try to escape from his father's anger. King Afonso IV eventually had Inês killed there, leaving the holy ground polluted not only by fornication but also by murder. Other unwelcome but powerful guests kept coming and settling there, forcing the nuns to ask repeatedly for help from the kings to get rid of them; the nuns only seem to have achieved some peace when the palace finally collapsed altogether.[85]

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[82] "Relaçam da vida," pp. 513–14.

[83] Antonio de Vasconcelos, *Dona Isabel de Aragão* (*A Rainha Santa*) (Coimbra, 1891–94; facs. ed. 1993), vol. 1, p. 93.

[84] "Relaçam da vida," pp. 517–18.

[85] Vasconcelos, *Dona Isabel de Aragão*, pp. 200–10.

Figure 8 Queen Isabel's pilgrim staff, Monastery of Santa Clara-a-Nova in Coimbra, 14th c. (Photo: Confraria da Rainha Santa, Coimbra).

The queen also had a hospital built for the poor near her palace and the nunnery, where fifteen women and fifteen men would be lodged in separate houses, with a chapel and a cemetery in the middle. No medical care was actually provided, but they would have a bed to sleep in, and receive food on a daily basis (bread, wine, and meat or fish, according to the day), and clothes every year. In return, they would have to attend the canonical hours that the chaplain, who had been instituted by the queen, would pray in the chapel every day.[86] The *Vita* says that Isabel sometimes visited those in the hospital who were truly ill and helped them with their food,[87] but this is a hagiographic *topos*, and no other evidence sustains this statement.

From her palace she went to the building yard of the monastery almost every day to see if everything was being done according to her wishes, as her hagiographer says, "because all the houses she ordered to be built were done according to what she ordered, and she had it done in such a way that the craftsmen whom she ordered to build it wondered how she understood such a thing and knew how to order it, and how she could amaze them and correct what they were working on and doing."[88] Despite such divinely inspired knowledge, the queen was also capable of learning from experience and changing her plans when something proved to be wrong: as the tomb she had built for herself was so big that it obstructed circulation in the monastic church, and a sudden rise of the waters of the Mondego River flooded the temple, Isabel is said to have ordered a new choir and funerary chapel built on arches, in such a way that there seemed to be a second church built inside the first one (Fig. 9).[89] This original solution marked the building profoundly, and the new "storey" served later as the level for the new pavement built in the seventeenth century,

[86] On this hospital, see Francisco Pato de Macedo, "O hospital de Santa Isabel," in *João Afonso de Santarém e a assistência hospitalar escalabitana durante o Antigo Regime* (Santarém, 2000), pp. 146–59.

[87] "Relaçam da vida," p. 515.

[88] "[. . .] ca todas as casas que ella fazer mandaua todo se fazia segundo ella diuisaua, de guisa o mandaua fazer que aquelles mesteirais a que o ella mandaua fazer se marauilhauom de entender assi, & mandar fazer, & em como os prasmaua, & corregia em aquello que laurauão, & fazião." "Relaçam da vida," p. 514.

[89] Francisco Pato de Macedo, "O túmulo gótico de Santa Isabel," in *Imagen de la Reina Santa: Santa Isabel infanta de Aragón y reina de Portugal* (Zaragoza, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 93–114, esp. 96–98. However, this author states (pp. 98–99) that the recent excavations in the church have revealed that the building of this funerary chapel could not have been carried out under the queen's supervision, as her *Vita* postulates, because it belongs to a later chronology.

Figure 9 Monastery of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra, internal view of the church, 14th c. (Photo: Miguel Munhós/Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha, Direcção Regional de Cultura do Centro).

when the sediments brought by the Mondego River had covered almost half of the building.[90]

The river eventually rendered life impossible in the old monastery, and the nuns transferred the queen's tomb to the lower choir of the new monastery built in the seventeenth century, where it still stands (Fig. 10).[91] It is attributed to Master Pero, a sculptor of probable Aragónese origin, who also made the tombs of the queen's lady-in-waiting Vataça Lascaris and the archbishop of Braga Gonçalo Pereira, as well as altar images such as those of Our Lady of Expectation (also known as an Incarnate Virgin, the *Senhora do Ó*).[92] Recently, it has been argued that there might have been a second pair of hands involved, those of Pere de Bonull, the sculptor of the tombs of the queen's brother Jaume II and his wife Blanche of Anjou.[93] Either way, the Aragónese influence seems irrefutable.

The monastic church and her tomb having been finished, Queen Isabel supervised the construction of the dormitory, the refectory, the infirmary, the cloister, the kitchen, and the other dependencies, all of which were enclosed by high walls.[94] According to her hagiographer, these were not the first construction works undertaken by the queen. During her husband's lifetime, she had "noble lodgings" built for him, for herself—"especially in her lands," he says—and even for some noblemen of the court.[95] In this sense, the works done in the castle of Leiria (one of the queen's lands) to adapt it for use as a courtly residence that are attributed to the king could have been undertaken under the queen's orders.[96]

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[90] Francisco Pato de Macedo, "O mosteiro velho de Santa Clara," *Monumentos*, 18 (2003), pp. 17–23, esp. 18.

[91] The polychromy we can see today on the tomb seems to date from the 17th and 18th centuries. Joaquim António Ramos Baptista, "O túmulo medieval, uma memória na morte. Algumas situações da iconografia funerária portuguesa, séc. XII–XVI," Master's thesis, Universidade Lusíada, 1997, p. 116.

[92] Macedo, "O túmulo gótico," pp. 99–103.

[93] Carla Varela Fernandes, "Maestro Pero y su conexión con el arte de la Corona de Aragón (La renovación de la escultura portuguesa en el siglo XIV)," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar,"* 81 (2000), pp. 243–71, esp. 245–49. See also her Ph.D. dissertation, "Poder e representação," pp. 874–99.

[94] "Relaçam da vida," p. 516.

[95] "Relaçam da vida," p. 514.

[96] According to Saul António Gomes, the king reformed the fortress before donating Leiria to the queen; but the 17th-century anonymous author of *O Couseiro* stated that the palace was built by both spouses. Saul António Gomes, *Introdução à história do castelo de Leiria* (Leiria, 1995), pp. 137–39.

Figure 10 Queen Isabel's funerary monument, lower choir of the monastery of Santa Clara-a-Nova, Coimbra, 14th c. (Photo: Confraria da Rainha Santa, Coimbra).

Isabel spent the eleven years of her widowhood mostly in her palace near Santa Clara in Coimbra praying, fasting, and doing charitable work; nevertheless, she kept her status and revenue as queen, and she still exercised the role of counselor and peace-maker that had characterized her queenship. When she died in 1336 she was reputed to be a saint and her local cult started at once, but she was only beatified in 1516 and canonized in 1625.[97] Her sister-in-law Elisenda of Montcada did not achieve this same fate, though the path she has chosen to follow was quite similar to Isabel's. It is true that Elisenda belonged only to two local aristocratic lineages, the Montcada and the Pinós,[98] while Isabel belonged to a *beata stirps*: Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (or Thüringen) was her great-great-aunt, and there were other saints among her close relations.[99]

I am not going to say much about Queen Elisenda because she is the subject of another chapter in this volume of studies.[100] Nevertheless, I will highlight the similarities that can be found in her life and in Isabel's, because I think that the sainted queen's influence has not been seriously taken into account by those who had studied her before.[101] Elisenda of Montcada married Jaume II, Isabel's brother, in 1322 when the dowager queen of Portugal was already deeply involved in building the monastery of Santa Clara of Coimbra and the adjacent palace. Jaume's old age and poor health made Elisenda foresee an imminent widowhood and forced her to prepare for it rapidly;[102] it seems reasonable to think that she was aware of what her sister-in-law was doing in Portugal and she used it as her model. Instead of bringing new life to an already existing but paralyzed monastery, however, she decided to found a new one for

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[97] Rossi Vairo, "Le origini del processo di canonizzazione di Isabella d'Aragóna," pp. 147 and 167–74.

[98] These were, however, two of the most important families in Catalonia. Anna Castellano i Tresserra and Albert Cubeles, "Els origens d'un llinatge," in *Petras Albas. El Monestir de Pedralbes i els Montcada (1326–167). Guia-catàleg* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 73–77, esp. 73.

[99] Nikolas Jaspert, "Els descendents piadosos d'una princesa hongaresa. Heretgia i santedat al casal de Barcelona durant els segles XIII i XIV," in *Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2009), pp. 291–305, esp. 297.

[100] See the contribution to this volume by Eileen McKiernan González, "Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes."

[101] This influence could have been "el referent més directe," as noted without further argumentation by Cristina Sanjust i Latorre, *L'Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes des de la seva fundació fins al segle XVI. Un monestir reial per a l'ordre de les Clarisses a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2010), p. 30.

[102] Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," p. 39.

Poor Clares near Barcelona, for which she asked—and received—papal approval in 1325.[103]

The first stone was set a year later and the monastery of Pedralbes[104]—or at least its church and a provisional place for the nuns to live in—was unveiled in May of 1327, a few months before the king's death. Jaume II seems to have strongly supported his wife's foundation, unlike Dinis who is traditionally reputed to have opposed Isabel's excessive expenses in church-building and charitable work:[105] Elisenda bought the site of the convent with money given by the king, and they both paid for the construction works and assured the financial viability of the nunnery by donating lands, rents, and rights. Jaume II further provided it with liturgical vessels, vestments, and books.[106] This has led many scholars to say that it was a project of the couple.

Yet, Queen Elisenda was without doubt the main driving force behind the venture. Though she does not seem to have supervised the initial construction works because she still had her duties as queen to perform, she did appoint as supervisors men she trusted: her chaplain Ferrer Peyró and her treasurer Domènec Granyena;[107] the master builder was also chosen from the circle of the queen and the king.[108] After her husband's death, and as Isabel had done, Elisenda took the Poor Clares' habit without taking vows and started living in the palace she had ordered to be built close to the monastery, from where she could keep an eye on the continu-

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[103] Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," p. 50.

[104] See Figures 3, 5, 6, 7, 14, and 15 in Eileen McKiernan Gonzalez's article in this volume.

[105] This opinion is changing, however. This tradition was based on Queen Isabel's famous "miracle of the roses." One day when she was secretly taking bread to the poor, King Dinis came upon her unexpectedly and asked her what she was carrying in her lap; as she answered "Roses, my Lord" and he demanded to see them, she turned the bread into roses so as not to be caught disobeying and lying to him. But this legend, not reported on Isabel's original *Vita*, was borrowed from the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary and is only recorded in Portugal in the 16th century (István Räkóczi, "Vidas paralelas—Ícones abraçados (Achegas filológicas para o estudo do "milagre das rosas" de Santa Isabel da Hungria e da rainha Santa Isabel)," in *Mares Literários Luso-Húngaros*, ed. István Räkóczi (Lisbon, 2003), pp. 130–44, esp. 142). In the opinion of Giulia Rossi Vairo in her forthcoming dissertation, nothing else speaks of a disapproval of Isabel's religious inclinations and charitable work by Dinis, who actively supported his wife's foundations.

[106] Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," pp. 47 and 51.

[107] Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," pp. 51–52; Sanjust, *L'Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, p. 287.

[108] Several names from this circle have been proposed as the original builders of Pedralbes, but scholarly consensus has not been reached. Sanjust, *L'Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, pp. 287–89.

ation of the construction work and organize the daily life of the nuns.[109] During her thirty-six years of widowhood, she also maintained an active role as dowager queen, acting as counselor for the royal family and supporting the female members of her own lineage.[110]

Though Elisenda's funerary monument represents her as a nun as seen from the cloister,[111] it is clearly as a queen that she wanted to be remembered in the world, as is testified by the part of her tomb that can be seen inside the monastic church.[112] When she died in 1364, all her personal belongings went to Pedralbes and part of her palace was torn down, as she had ordered in her will, the rest being kept in use by the nuns.[113]

From these examples, it seems that fourteenth-century Iberian queens' patronage differed markedly from the kings'. Iberian matrimonial law granted these women vast resources that they could use either in the consumption of luxury goods or in the construction of palaces and monasteries, or in both. However, they could not match the authority and riches of their husbands, who were much greater consumers and patrons than were the queens. Kings were the ones who decided if a new pantheon should be built for the dynasty and where, granted privileges and exemptions from their own laws to the religious institutions, enlarged and enriched their predecessors' foundations. The monasteries they patronized were among the grandest of their respective kingdoms and had the largest demesnes and privileges. As for the queens, they usually founded and protected much smaller religious houses, mostly nunneries; but their patronage also changed according to their life cycle.

As young married women, they had little agency and were more eager to support their husband's foundations, fitting into the mould of the reigning dynasty's traditions in this field. The longer they lived, however, the more they could materialize their own wishes and create new patterns of spirituality and patronage that would become models for the following generations of women in their families and in the surrounding society.

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109 Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," pp. 77–83, 93–103, 120–32, 138–41.

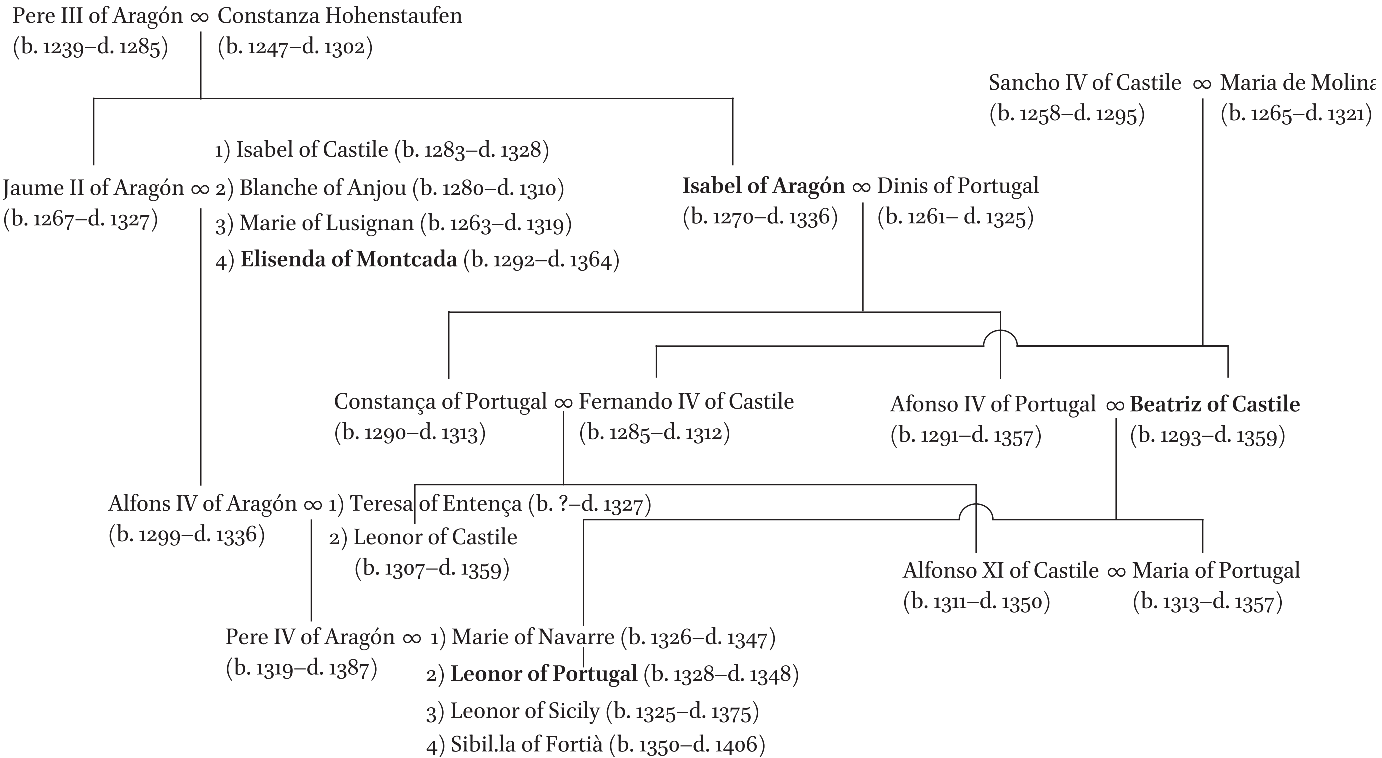
110 Castellano i Tresserra and Cubeles, "Petras Albas. El monestir de Pedralbes i els Montcada (1326–1673)," in *Petras Albas*, pp. 65–70, esp. 66.

111 See Figures 2, 8, and 16 in Eileen McKiernan González's article in this volume. Queen Elisenda's tomb is embedded in the wall that separates the monastic church from the cloister. It has, therefore, two different frontages: in the cloister, the decoration is austere and Elisenda is dressed as a nun; in the church, the decoration is exhuberant and Elisenda is represented as a queen, with luxurious clothes and a crown.

112 See Figures 1 and 4 in Eileen McKiernan González's article in this volume.

113 Castellano i Tresserra, "Orígen i formació," pp. 593–94; Sanjust, *L'Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, pp. 91–93.

As widows, and especially if they were queen-mothers without reigning responsibilities (the situation changed dramatically if they were regents for their young sons), they reached an unrivalled peak of wealth, authority, and prestige that allowed them to do almost anything they wanted, an uncommon situation for all but the most elite of women at that time.


Pere III of Aragón ∞ Constanza Hohenstaufen
(b. 1239–d. 1285) (b. 1247–d. 1302)
Sancho IV of Castile ∞ Maria de Molina
(b. 1258–d. 1295) (b. 1265–d. 1321)
1) Isabel of Castile (b. 1283–d. 1328)
Jaume II of Aragón ∞ 2) Blanche of Anjou (b. 1280–d. 1310)
(b. 1267–d. 1327)
3) Marie of Lusignan (b. 1263–d. 1319)
4) **Elisenda of Montcada** (b. 1292–d. 1364)
Isabel of Aragón ∞ Dinis of Portugal
(b. 1270–d. 1336) (b. 1261– d. 1325)
Constança of Portugal ∞ Fernando IV of Castile
(b. 1290–d. 1313) (b. 1285–d. 1312)
Afonso IV of Portugal ∞ **Beatriz of Castile**
(b. 1291–d. 1357) (b. 1293–d. 1359)
Alfons IV of Aragón ∞ 1) Teresa of Entença (b. ?–d. 1327)
(b. 1299–d. 1336)
2) Leonor of Castile
(b. 1307–d. 1359)
Alfonso XI of Castile ∞ Maria of Portugal
(b. 1311–d. 1350) (b. 1313–d. 1357)
Pere IV of Aragón ∞ 1) Marie of Navarre (b. 1326–d. 1347)
(b. 1319–d. 1387)
2) **Leonor of Portugal** (b. 1328–d. 1348)
3) Leonor of Sicily (b. 1325–d. 1375)
4) Sibil.la of Fortià (b. 1350–d. 1406)

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

LITURGY AS WOMEN'S LANGUAGE: TWO NOBLE PATRONS PREPARE FOR THE END IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Felipe Pereda

Testaments can be extraordinary documents, sometimes even autobiographical testimonies where not only the destiny of material belongings is recorded, but also the most intimate spiritual sentiments of their authors. This is certainly the case of Mencía de Mendoza's testament, housed at the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) and dated 5 September 1499. In her last will, one of the most powerful women of the court of Queen Isabella (d. 1504), and no doubt one of the most active patrons of her time in the Kingdom of Castile, opened with a spiritual confession:

> In the name of the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons in one divine essence ... Because death is something natural, and given to all humankind, caused by the sin committed by *our first father Adam* [my emphasis] and no one can escape from it, and [as] the hour of its coming is uncertain, I ... establish this my testament and last will ... relieving my soul in this life so that it can better rest in the afterlife in the moment that my Lord wants to take it [with him] from this world.[1]

* Research for this article was carried out at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts (CASVA), Washington, DC, during a Samuel H. Kress senior fellowship, 2007–2008. I thank John O. Hand at the National Gallery for his help and advice, Bart Fransen and María Cruz de Carlos for their generous comments, Luis Zolle for helping me with the transcriptions, and especially Therese Martin for the careful editing of the text.

[1] "En el nombre de dios todopoderoso padre fijo e espiritu santo tres personas e una esençia devinal ... porque la muerte es cosa natural dada en pena a todos los honbres por el pecado del primero padre adan e es tal que no se puede fuyr ni escusar y su hora es muy inçierta y ninguno sabe quando le verná por lo qual toda persona se debe aparejar por ende sepan quantos esta carta de testamento e postrimera voluntad vieren como yo doña Mençia de Mendoza ... de mi propia y libre y espontanea boluntad segund e por la forma e manera que adelante en esta carta se dira y conterna descargando mi anima en esta vida porque ayan mayor folgança e reposo en la otra quando a nuestro señor dios pluguiere de la levar desta presente vida [...]", Archivo Histórico Nacional [hereafter, AHN] Nobleza, Frías, 599/11. As was common in Castile in this period, Mencía's will was written in the vernacular. It would likely have been dictated—at least partially—to her secretary. Reproduced in full in Felipe Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza († 1500). Mujer del I Condestable de Castilla. El significado del patronazgo femenino en la Castilla del siglo XV," in *Patronos y coleccionistas. Los condestables de Castilla y el arte* (*siglos XV–XVII*), eds. Begoña Alonso, María Cruz de Carlos, and Felipe Pereda (Valladolid, 2005), pp. 9–119. On the testament's

Figure 1 Vault, Chapel of the Condestables, Burgos Cathedral, after 1482 (Photo: F. Pereda).

After underlining Adam's responsibility for the fall of mankind, Doña Mencía's testament launches into an extraordinarily rich description of her planned funeral, and the manner in which her dead body should be handled before being placed in her funerary chapel, the so-called Capilla de los Condestables in the Cathedral of Burgos, no doubt the most magnificent funerary chapel in late medieval Castile (Fig. 1).[2]

In constructing the chapel, Mencía was acting as patron, a juridical institution consisting of commitments, but also rights, as the sponsor not only assumed the financial commitment of sustaining both the chapel and chaplains, but the Church, at the same time, accepted the obligation of maintaining his/her memory by way of carefully ordered liturgies. Patronage could assume very different forms, but it can always be considered

incipit see Ángela Muñoz, "Mujeres y religión en las sociedades ibéricas: voces, espacios, ecos y confines (siglos XIII y XIV)," in *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina*, vol. 1, *De la Prehistoria a la Edad Media*, eds. A. Lavrin and M. Ángeles Querol (Madrid, 2005), pp. 713–44.

2 For the female members of the Mendoza lineage, although with only a brief mention of Mencía, see Helen Nader, ed., *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family 1450–1650* (Urbana, 2004).

a negotiation of *memory*,[3] where buildings and works of art both functioned as instruments of the spiritual transaction and visual repository of the patron's remembrance. From this point of view, patronage can be considered a type of *authorship*, as the patron not only made the work of art or architecture possible, but also shaped it according to his/her spiritual interests.[4] Juridical and economic autonomy were pre-conditions for the exercise of patronage, and it is no surprise that Mencía de Mendoza belonged to one of the wealthiest lineages in medieval Castile, but also that she increased the scope of her patronage during widowhood, when she reached full juridical autonomy.[5]

In this article I analyze two nearly contemporary patrons: Mencía de Mendoza and her mother-in-law, Beatriz Manrique, along with some of the key works they sponsored. As with Mencía's patronage of the funerary chapel at Burgos Cathedral, Beatriz was personally involved in the patronage of another important funerary chapel for the same lineage, this time in Medina de Pomar at the church of a Poor Clares monastery, for which she commissioned an extraordinary altarpiece, today at the National Gallery, in Washington, DC (see Fig. 9; Color Plate 30). Both Beatriz and Mencía in the last years of their lives provided a place for their own rest and that of their family members, and in both cases images and buildings were

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[3] Sebastián de Covarrubias considers under "patrón" first the *patrón de memorias*, and under *memoria* he writes: "Sometimes *memory* is taken for that which our elders have instituted, and because of which we have memory of them, like hospitals and other pious institutions. And these are the good memories. Some others invest in *mayorazgos* and sumptuous buildings." *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (1611; rprt., Madrid, 1995), pp. 808 and 747.

[4] For patronage as authorship, see Michael Baxandall, "Rudolph Agricola on Art and on Patrons," in *Words for Pictures: Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 69–82.

[5] This allowed her the freedom to execute patronage beyond her marital control. On widow's patronage in late medieval and early modern Europe, see Caroline Murphy, "Il teatro de la vedovanza. Le vedove e il patronage pubblico delle arti visive a Bologna nel XVI secolo," in *Quaderni Storici*, 104 (2000), pp. 393–421; Catherine E. King, "Widows and the Law," *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, ca. 1300–1500* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 76–82 and her, "Women as Patrons, Nuns, Widows and Rulers," in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400*, vol. 2, *Case Studies*, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven, 1995), pp. 243–66. In Cynthia Lawrence's words: "The majority of the women … in these essays became active only after they had borne children, were widowed, or became un-married … released from marital responsibilities, as well as those of childbearing," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe. Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (University Park, 1997), pp. 13–14. See also María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, "La condición de la viuda en el medievo castellano-leonés," in *Las mujeres en las ciudades medievales*, ed. C. Segura Graíño (Madrid, 1990), pp. 87–101; Stephanie Fink de Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain* (Leiden, 2000).

privileged media for the expressions of their goals. Images and buildings, however, were as much testimonies as instruments for liturgical remembrance. As I aim to show, a reading of Beatriz and Mencia's wills, together with a reconstruction of the rituals ordered for their funerals, not only offers an extraordinary document in order to understand their devotional interests, but also brings to light a shared language of visual metaphors.

Mencía de Mendoza (*d. 1500*)

Doña Mencía had been preparing the place for the eternal rest of her body since at least 1482. Immediately after her husband, Pedro Fernández de Velasco (d. 1492), had left Burgos to serve as Condestable, that is, commander in chief of the Castilian army, in the final crusade against the Islamic Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada, Doña Mencía began planning the construction of this chapel.[6]

Doña Mencía's interest in the construction of a new pantheon for their lineage not only coincides with the absence of her husband. Only days after the cathedral's chapter gave their consent to tear down part of the temple's ambulatory and begin the construction of a new radial chapel, Doña Mencía received another permission, this one signed by her husband. Pedro Fernández de Velasco, foreseeing a long absence from home or his death on the battlefield, placed in his wife's hands all rights concerning the family's heritage and the future of the lineage, including that of voiding any previous testament, and even of writing a new one in his name. The only limitation he placed was to preserve the integrity of the entailed estate, that is, the Castilian *mayorazgo*, an institution of primogeniture that kept the greatest wealth of a family, along with its symbolic properties, in the hands of the eldest son.[7]

A second, important fact to be remembered when we look at this magnificent burial site is that, according to the specific *mayorazgo* of the House of Haro founded by the Condestable's father in 1458, all heirs of this lineage had to be buried, not in the Cathedral of Burgos, as Doña Mencía was planning to do, but in the Monastery of Medina de Pomar, to which

[6] For Mencía de Mendoza's intervention in the chapel, see Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza;" Felipe Pereda and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "*Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei.* Arquitectura, iconografía y liturgia en la Capilla de los Condestables de la Catedral de Burgos," *Annali di Architettura*, 9 (1997), pp. 17–34, with all previous bibliography.

[7] AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 599/3. Transcribed in Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza," p. 48.

we will return later. In order to force his heirs to respect his will, the first Count of Haro threatened his successors that, should any first-born dare to be buried in a different place, he would immediately lose the rights entailed to the primogeniture.[8]

Therefore, when Doña Mencía ordered her architect, Simón de Colonia ("of Cologne") to begin construction on the Condestable's chapel, she was acting, on the one hand, according to the charge entrusted her by her husband; but on the other, she was violating the restrictions that the *mayorazgo* imposed on his heritage, incurring the risk that some other member of the family might take legal proceedings against her. And this is exactly what happened. In 1492, just after the Condestable's death, her son Bernardino, now the second Condestable, began a long and painful lawsuit against his mother, refusing to pay, among other things, for the completion of the costly chapel. In the course of the trial, Bernardino argued that his mother had contravened the family's requirement to be buried in Medina de Pomar, and explained his father's submission to his mother's decision on the basis of "the dear love that he always felt for his wife, whose company he wanted to preserve by way of the above mentioned sepulcher…"[9]

The "Condestable's" Chapel

The Condestable's Chapel—or as it should more appropriately be called, the Purification Chapel—was ready for burial in 1499 (Fig. 2).[10] Emerging on axis from the east end of the Cathedral of Burgos, the building is, unquestionably, the result of Doña Mencía's strong determination. As the document of accord with the cathedral chapter clearly states, Mencía had been involved in extensive discussions with her architect, a member of the dynasty of architects trained in the Upper Rhine region. Simón de

[8] AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 598/16–17.

[9] "…por el entrañable amor que con mucha raçón tenía e tobo siempre a su señora, cuya compañía quiso perpetuar por la dicha sepultura non pudiéndolo ni deviéndolo haser segund la disposiçion del fundador del mayoradgo e poniéndose en aventura de perder el dicho mayoradgo." AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 599/11. For the rhetorical use of this formula, see Grace E. Coolidge, *Guardianship, Gender and the Nobility in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, 2011), esp. 43–44.

[10] At the death of her husband (7 January 1492), Doña Mencía asked for permission to bury the body of the Condestable within the cathedral's choir. After several discussions, she was allowed to make use of this provisional space for 3 years, until her new chapel would be ready. Archivo de la Catedral de Burgos (ACB), RR-29, ff. 384–.

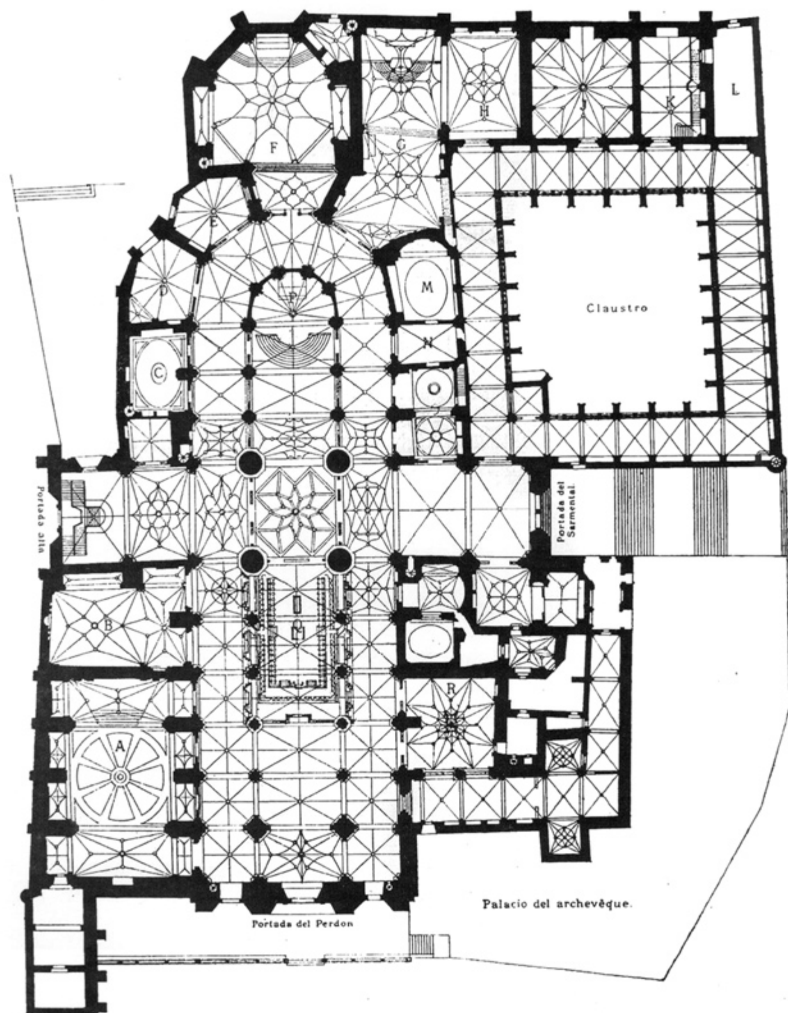

Figure 2 Ground plan, Chapel of the Condestables (labeled F), Burgos Cathedral, after 1482 (H. Thüme, published in Otto Schübert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*, Esslingen, 1908).

Colonia conceived a centralized plan, a hexagon reminiscent of the Anastasis at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, a structure almost independent of the bulk of the temple. Flanking the richly carved opening are reliefs devoted to Jesus' infancy: the Nativity (Fig. 3) on the left, and the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin (Fig. 4), to which the chapel itself is dedicated, on the right. Once inside, the visitor has access to the magnificent octagon of the vault (see Fig. 1). The arches rise to form an eight-pointed star in the middle, allowing light to pour into the chapel. Centered below, the marble effigies of Pedro Fernández de Velasco and Doña Mencía were placed only in the 1520s.

The extreme care with which Mencía made plans for her last journey to this space shows a refined knowledge of the handling of liturgy. This performance dramatically demonstrated both her noble origin and her commitment to the reformed Franciscan order. As I will show, such liturgies are clearly reflected in both structure and ornament of the funerary chapel. First, Doña Mencía ordered that, as the moment of her death approached, she was to be dressed in a Franciscan habit. Eight clerics, four of them friars, were to take her moribund body from the bed and lay it on the ground, "from where I can see the heavens."[11] The clerics were to read the Office of the Dead as it was performed according to the ritual of the friars, repeating it until the very moment of her expiration.[12] Once she had passed away, her body was to be taken to the chapel in her palace and placed in a coffin covered with the Jerusalem cross,[13] while another group of six clerics read six times the psalter and the *cui cumque vult* ("whoever wishes to be saved"), or Athanasian creed. Having completed these prayers, a procession of clerics from all religious institutions in the town of Burgos were to take her corpse to the burial site in the cathedral. For the requiem mass, the testament places special attention on two details: first, no rich ornament could be used—no silk, no brocade, no tapestry—only rough, poor, black cloth would be hung to cover the walls of the chapel. Second, only a few candles could be displayed, one at each corner of

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[11] "...y mando que antes que aya de espirar me vistan el abito de mi señor san francisco mi abogado singular e ansy vestido me pongan en la tierra donde pueda ver el çielo," AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 599/21, f. 1v. See Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza."

[12] "...y quatro clerigos o quatro religiosos los mas honestos que a la sazon se puedan aver e me digan el ofiçio que se dize a los Frayles quando están en el paso desta vida..." AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 599/21, f. 1v. See Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza."

[13] Mencía de Mendoza had adopted the Jerusalem Cross as her emblem from her brother Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1495), Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

Figure 3 Relief of the Nativity, entrance to Chapel of the Condestables, Burgos Cathedral, after 1482. (Photo: F. Pereda).

Figure 4 Relief of the Purification, entrance to Chapel of the Condestables, Burgos Cathedral, after 1482 (Photo: F. Pereda).

the coffin, with another small one in a stand (*linterna*) that had to remain lit forever.

The gravity of the funeral echoes the strong support given by Doña Mencía and her husband to the Franciscan reform in Castile. As I have discussed at length elsewhere, the spectacular ceremonies ordered by Doña Mencía are a masterful performance of both Franciscan humility and the consciousness of her social status.[14] Since the 1440s an important monastic movement, driven first by the friar Pedro de Villacreces (d. 1422) had taken roots in the Condestable's hereditary territories. This faction longed for a return to the primitive rule of Saint Francis, preaching humility and imposing on their brethren extreme poverty and an almost anchoritic way of life.[15] By the 1450s the movement had split into two clearly differentiated groups. The stricter, governed by Fray Lope de Salazar y Salinas, would raise suspicion about the order and concerns that the penitence inflicted on his friars was far too severe. Regardless, Fray Lope had garnered the sympathy of the Count of Haro, who not only put under his patronage many of Fray Lope's new foundations in the province of Burgos, but the friar himself was buried as a saint in the family's funerary chapel in Medina de Pomar.[16] In addition to a love for poverty, Fray Lope's reform inherited two more specific attributes from Pedro de Villacreces: a strong anti-intellectual bias,[17] and a love for liturgical organ and choral music, a passion shared by the Count of Haro. It is interesting to note that these

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[14] Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza."

[15] For Villacreces' reform, see his "*Memoriale religionis o Breve memorial de los oficios activos y contemplativos de la Religión de los Frailes Menores*, cap. II, ff. 36v–37r," transcribed in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 17 (1957), pp. 687–713. For the earliest years of these foundations, see Luis Carrión, "Custodia Domus Dei y Scala Coeli o sea La Aguilera y El Abrojo," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 3 (1915), pp. 161–91; 4 (1916), pp. 161–77; and J. Messeguer Fernández, "El Convento del Abrojo. Documentos para su historia," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 28 (1968), pp. 241–54.

[16] The most important documents to reconstruct Fray Lope de Salazar y Salinas' attributes are his *Satisfactiones et responsiones* and his testament (1458), both transcribed in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 17 (1957), pp. 775–896, 897–925.

[17] See *"Memoriale religionis," Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 17 (1957), p. 691: "... que las letras que se les debe enseñar deben ser solamente aquellas, como dicho es, que pertenecen a saber bien leer, e en ordenar y regir bien el Oficio Divinal del coro o del altar, constriñéndoles e faciéndoles entender los vocablos e las significaciones del Oficio lo más llanamente que pudieren, sin otro estrépito nin disturbo del arte grammatical nin de otra arte alguna liberal. Pues es cierto que San Francisco expresamente vedó el tal estudio grammatical, e, por consiguiente, mucho más las otras artes ... expresamente pronunció e sentenció por Espíritu Sancto que la ciencia de las artes liberales había de ser caída e derrocamiento de toda la santidad de la Orden." This was an argument used by Fray Lope's adversaries: see *Satisfactiones et responsiones*, pp. 861–67: "Que los nuestros frailes son idiotas e se ordenan sin suficiencia."

were two of the elements the friar defended against his enemies in his autobiographical *Satisfactiones* (1458).[18]

If Fray Lope received the support of the Count of Haro and his wife, Beatriz Manrique, the second branch of the Franciscan tree, Pedro Regalado's *Domus Dei* (as the congregation of his convents was named) had conquered the enthusiastic support of their daughter-in-law, Doña Mencía, who commissioned the friar's sepulcher after his death in 1456.[19] Both branches, whether under the leadership of Lope de Salinas or of Pedro Regalado, coincided in their efforts to position their spiritual projects under the shadow of the recently canonized Saint Bernardino of Siena (1449).[20] It is interesting, therefore, that the well-known symbol of the saint, the so-called "Bernardine Sun," in which the three letters of Christ's name shine in the middle of a radiant sun, were appropriated for the Condestable's foundations: first, in the Burgos chapel, where the symbol of Bernardino's Christology decorates the access from the cathedral's ambulatory, here held by two spectacular wildmen (Fig. 5). Second, once in the interior, these Franciscan symbols are interspersed with the Crosses of Jerusalem in the arch surrounding Doña Mencía's coat of arms (Fig. 6). Finally, in a more explicit way, the Bernardine Sun presides over the entrance to her urban palace in the city of Burgos (the so-called *Casa del Cordón*, Fig. 7). The palace's façade is adorned with the Franciscan knotted cord which enframes the owners' arms and the Bernardine Sun, this time accompanied by a famous Petrarchan verse: *Un bel morir tutta la vita onora*, here translated into Spanish as *Un buen morir toda la vida honra*, that is "A good death honors an entire life." It is impossible not to relate this verse to Mencía's father, the first Marquis of Santillana and a great literary figure who was in large part responsible for introducing the works of Petrarch in Castile.[21] At the same time, the verse seems to prefigure the extraordinary accomplishment of Mencía's chapel, exalting the nobility of the couple's Christian death, as I have demonstrated elsewhere.[22]

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[18] *Segundas Satisfacciones*, Artículo nono, "De los órganos," pp. 878–80, offers a nuanced defense of the time his friars devoted to organ music and canticles, arguing how these "artificial canticles" are a "continuity and perpetuation of the angelical:" "Empero, cuando veo que cesa e non dura, enfríaseme la devoción destos cantos artificiales, considerando la continuación e perpetuidad de los angelicales."

[19] Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza," pp. 28–40, with previous bibliography.

[20] See Daniel Arasse, "Entre dévotion et hérésie: La tablette de saint Bernardin ou le secret d'un prédicateur," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 28 (1995), pp. 118–139.

[21] For the Mendoza lineage, see Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance* (New Brunswick, 1979).

[22] Pereda, "Mencía de Mendoza."

Figure 5 Wild men with Bernardine Sun, Chapel of the Condestables, Burgos Cathedral, after 1482. (Photo: F. Pereda).

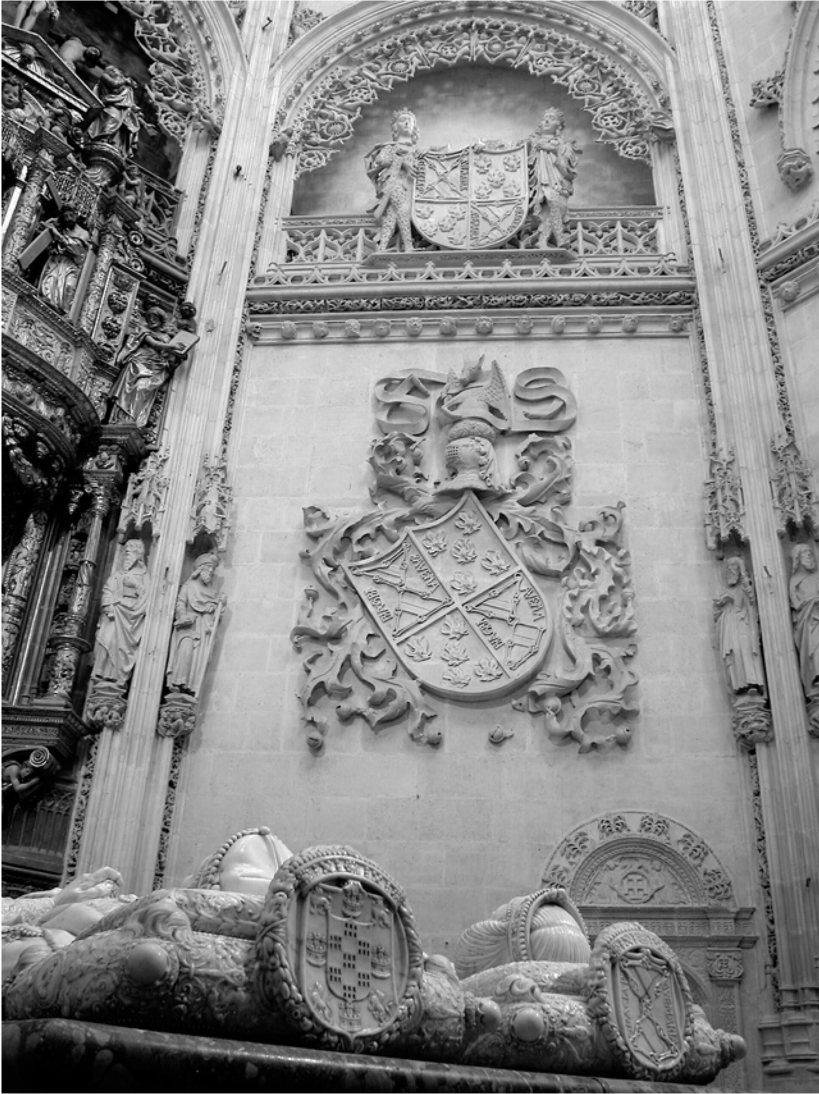

Figure 6 At top, arch with Bernardine suns interspersed with Jerusalem crosses, Chapel of the Condestables, Burgos Cathedral, after 1482 (Photo: F. Pereda).

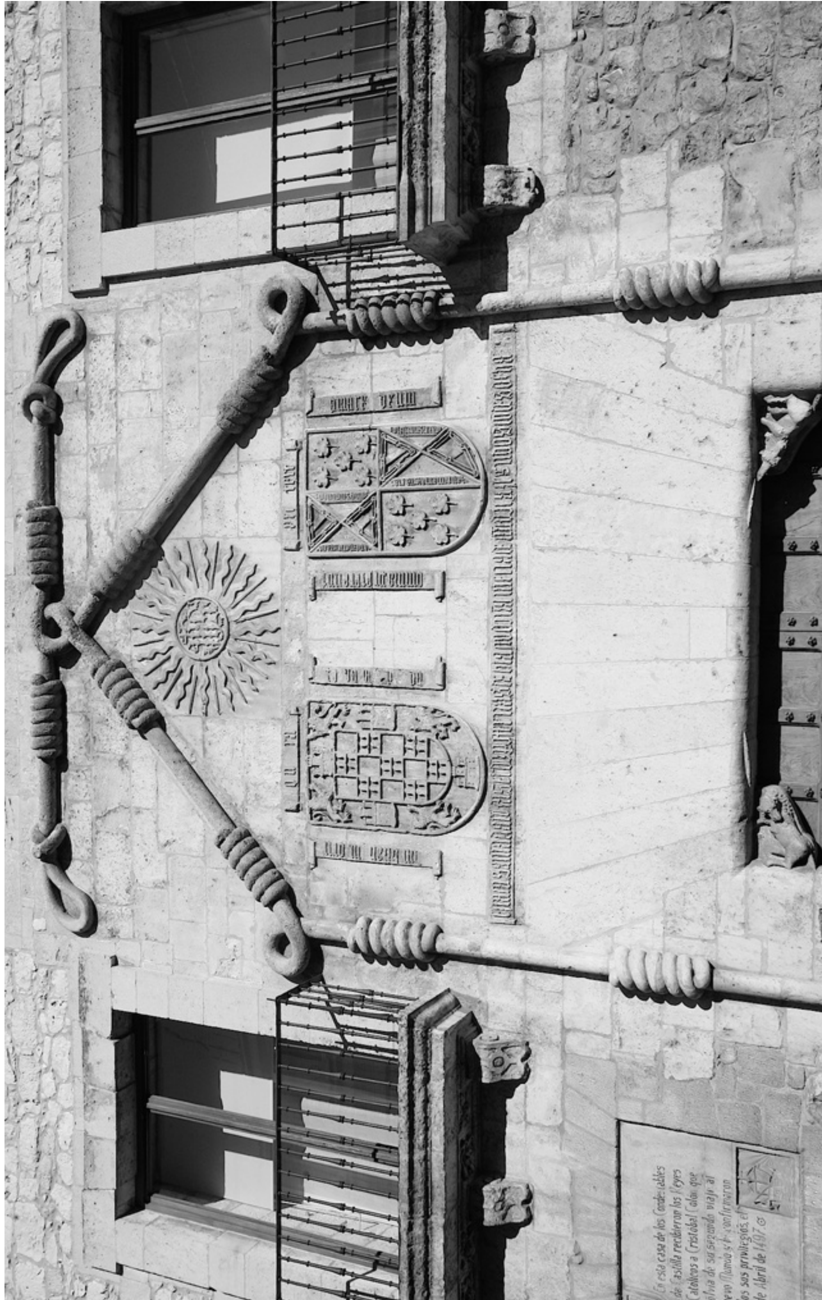

Figure 7 Casa del Cordón, Burgos, by Simón de Colonia (?), late 15th c. (Photo: F. Pereda).

This performance of Mencía's "Christian death" through the support of the Franciscan reformers had, however, a very important precedent that has received almost no scholarly attention. I will now turn to the Monastery of Medina de Pomar, the place where Mencía and her husband ought to have been buried but were not, and more specifically, to the contributions of Beatriz Manrique, mother-in-law of Doña Mencía, in the reconstruction of the funerary chapel.

Beatriz Manrique (d. 1473/74)

Since the fourteenth century, Medina de Pomar's Poor Clares monastery had been the burial site of the Velasco family.[23] More importantly, though, the first Count of Haro (d. 1470), the Condestable's father, had extended his personal commitment for the Franciscan reform of Fray Lope de Salazar (d. 1463) to this same community. Although the reformer's extreme ideals suffered attack by the religious authorities, and the counts withdrew their support for a time, they finally reconciled and Fray Lope would be buried in Medina de Pomar as a sainted member of the family.

Just as the Count of Haro was since 1441 the formal patron of this Franciscan branch, so he also personally conducted the reform of the Poor Clares of Medina in the same spirit of primitive poverty preached by Fray Lope. Several architectural interventions described in his testament were ordered to preserve the nuns' strictest enclosure.[24] Among them: the removal of the nuns' choir from the church's nave to the main chapel, and the shifting of the *parlatorio* (parlor) and *torno* (revolving door) from the interior of the church to a more open area at the entrance of the monastery, where their contacts with the exterior world would be much better surveilled.[25]

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[23] See recently, *El monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar. Fundación y patronazgo de la Casa de Velasco* (Burgos, 2004).

[24] For Poor Clares patronage in the fifteenth century, see Jeryldene M. Wood, "Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 48/2 (1995), pp. 262–86, as well as her monograph, *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1996). On issues of nuns' enclosure, see the study by Eileen McKiernan González, "Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes," in the present volume.

[25] "Otrosí ruego e mando al dicho Pedro Fernández de Velasco mi fijo e a los que del desçendieren e pido de graçia a la dicha condesa mi muger e a los dichos testamentarios mios que pues yo por servicio de Dios acatando mis anteçesores estar sepultados en el dicho monesterio de Santa Clara de la dicha mi villa de Medyna e yo en el plaçiendo

According to a now lost inscription, the Count of Haro reconstructed the church in 1436 (Fig. 8a).[26] A claim of responsibility for this reform, however, can be seen in the bosses of the ribvaults in the nave, where coats of arms of both the Count and the Countess appear (Fig. 8b). The chief efforts of the reform were to be invested in the main chapel, a centralized space occupied by the freestanding effigies of the count's father and grandfather. Unfortunately, this chapel was torn down in the seventeenth century, limiting us to little more than speculations on its reconstruction.[27]

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averme allí a sepultar trabajé quanto a my posible fuere por que fuese reformado a benyr en la oservançia regular e clausura que segund dios e su orden las monjas del eran e son obligadas e quitados algunos ynconbenientes que de estar el monasterio como estava asy en paredes como en benyr nasçían e podían nasçer fise mudar con acuerdo e autoridad de su bisytador el torno e puerta reglar e escalera que dentro fasta donde se fase nuevament su huerta estava e un parlatorio dentro de la dicha yglesia; e les fise faser fuera en la pared que sale fuera fasta el corral por donde entran al dicho monasterio porque asy como lo otro por estar en logar escondido e apartado donde pudiera nasçer alguna murmuraçión, por estar agora en lugar pu[bli]co donde lo viesen todos çesase. E asymismo fise desfaser dos gradas que dentro en la dicha yglesia estavan bajas çerca del suelo e un coro junto con ellas, e fise las dichas gradas quatro de tres gradas en alto del dicho suelo e el dicho coro asymismo porque la umidad e fryura que primeramente sentian non les pudiese faser dapno e persona alguna non se pudiese llegar a las redes de las dichas gradas ny faser estorbo ni impedimiento alguno a su oras e ofiçios divinales como de antes podian faser que todo el lo hase llegado mas al altar mayor por que oy mejor estén a los clérigos que las misas cantadas avyan de desir por que se fallaba que estando donde primerament estava no las podían ellas byen oyr e responderles plega veyendo my deseo qual fue cerca dello aprovándolo trabajar por que este asy e vaya dicho en mejor," *Testamento de Pedro Fernández de Velasco, conde de Haro*, AHN, Nobleza, Frías 598/13, f. 6v. It is only since the pontificate of John Paul II that the nuns have been allowed to pray again inside the nave of the church. Strict enclosure is firmly stated in the monastic rule of the Clarissans (1253), *Regla de Santa Clara*, ch. 5. For a brief commentary on its architectural reflection, see Wood, *Women, Art, and Spirituality*, pp. 37–39. See also Anabel Thomas, *Art and Piety in the Female Religious Communities of Renaissance Italy: Iconography, Space, and the Religious Woman's Perspective* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 75–80; Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Church and Cloister. The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages," in *Crown & Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York, 2008), pp. 109–31.

[26] "En el año de la Encarnación de Ntro. Sr. Jesucristo de mill e quatrocientos e treinta e seys años, por mandato del magnífico Sr. Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco conde de Haro, Sr. de la casa de Salas, Camarero mayor del rey, el qual reformó la vida de clausura y reedificó este monasterio fueron trasladados los Sres. Don Fernán Sánchez de Velasco, su fijo, que yace en el arco desta otra pared, de unas sepulturas que estaban en medio de la capilla mayor antes de la reedificación de la capilla, que fue hecha para sepultura de los sres. Pedro Fernández de Velasco y Juan de Velasco su fijo, ambos camareros mayores de los Reyes de Castilla e de León e Sres. de la Villa e yacen en la sepultura que está en medio desta dicha capilla," Real Academia de la Historia, Salazar D-17, f. 28v. Quoted in Julián García Sainz de Baranda, *Medina de Pomar como lugar arqueológico y centro de turismo de las merindades de Castilla-Vieja*, 3rd ed. (Burgos, 1988), p. 71.

[27] The ambiguity of the inscription has raised doubts about its reconstruction, see Inocencio Cadiñanos Bardeci, "Obras, sepulcros y legado artístico de los Velasco a través de sus testamentos," in *El Monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar*, pp. 186–87.

Figure 8a Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Monastery of Santa Clara. Reconstructed after 1436 (Photo: F. Pereda).

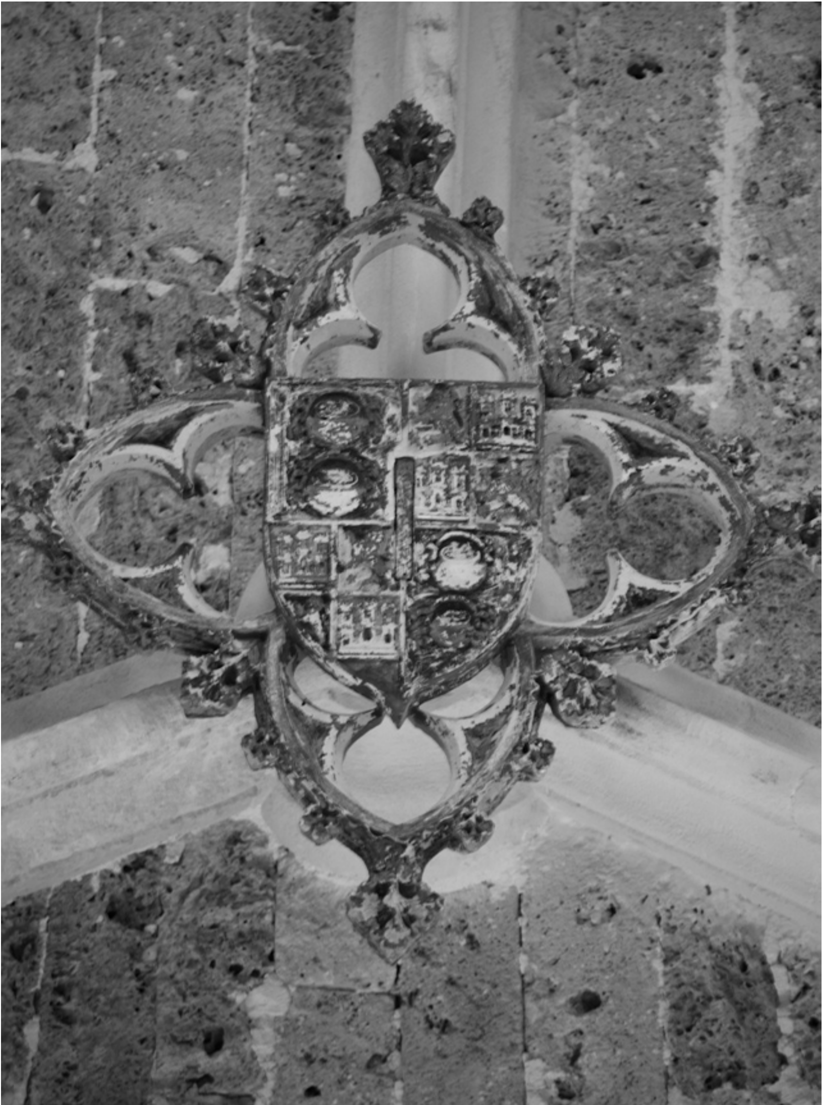

Figure 8b Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Monastery of Santa Clara. Boss with coat of arms of Beatriz Manrique in the ribvault (Photo: F. Pereda).

We know that Don Pedro cleared the space by relocating all previous tombs to the side-walls except those of his father and mother, Pedro Fernández de Velasco and María Sarmiento, which were set in the center of the chapel.[28] The altarpiece Juan Fernández de Velasco had commissioned for the chapel, today in the parish church of a nearby village, was reformed for the occasion.[29] In his last will, the count took great care to specify the decoration he wanted for the chapel: on the walls, the stone sculptures of eleven angels holding his armor, banner, shield, and both his coats of arms and those of the Franciscans and Poor Clares were to be placed. The chapel would have been closed off by a grill topped with a crucifix. Just in front of the grill, but outside the funerary enclosure, two flat slabs, for himself and his wife, paved the entrance to the main chapel so that everyone would have to step on them before entering.[30] However,

28 See Julia Ara Gil, "Sepulcros medievales en Medina de Pomar," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 40–41 (1975), pp. 201–209; Aurelio Barrón García, "Patrimonio artístico y monumental: el legado de Juan Fernández de Velasco y familiares," in *El monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar*, pp. 260–62. For the count's patronage, see also Joaquín Yarza, "Imagen del noble en el siglo XV en la corona de Castilla: los Velasco anteriores al primer Condestable," in *Propaganda e poder. Congreso Peninsular de História da Arte*, ed. Marisa Costa (Lisbon, 2001), pp. 131–49.

29 Recently identified by Aurelio Barrón García, "El retablo de Torres de Medina y las empresas artísticas de Juan Fernández de Velasco, Camarero Mayor de Castilla," *Goya*, 322 (2008), pp. 23–46. It is now in Torres de Medina.

30 "Sea sepultado en el monasterio de Santa Clara en la my villa de Medina de Pumar delante el arco de la capilla mayor debajo de la sepultura de piedra llana que yo mande faser delante del dicho arco de fuera de la puerta de red de fierro que se a de poner en el dicho arco la qual quiero e es mi voluntad que este asy como agora esta llana e syn la mas alçar ni poner en ella bulto alguno ni estado de mis armas ni devisa ni otra cosa que paresca. E mando que mi cuerpo sea sepultado en abito de sant Francisco de la orden e custodia de mi deboto padre Fray Lope de Salinas el qual yo trayo continuament en el arca de mi capilla con su cordon e crus de palo teniendo firme esperança en el que por los meresçimientos suyos e por las santas oraçiones que en su orden se fasen e faran de aqui en adelante my anima sea mas consolada [...] e çingan el dicho cordon e crus sobre los pechos e mando que la mi carne syn mortaja alguna con solo el dicho abito e cordon della sea puesta sobre la tierra debajo de la dicha sepultura en el qual dicho arco mando que sean puestas sus redes de fierro entre la dicha capilla mayor del dicho monasterio e de la otra capilla de mi sepultura e de la condesa doña beatriz manrique my muger e en medio de las dichas redes delante de la dicha sepultura se faga la puerta para entrar a la dicha capilla mayor de manera que ninguno no pueda entrar en ella sin pasar sobre la dicha mi sepultura e ençima del dicho arco ha de aver un cruçifijo de piedra bien obrado e en la pared e pilares de la dicha capilla e en el dicho arco de debajo del cruçifijo se han de poner las figuras de honse angeles labrados de piedra que han de tener el primero mi bandera, e el otro mi estandarte, e el otro un escudo de mis armas, e el otro mi armadura de cabeça el otro el [a]bito e cordon de señor sant frančisco, e el otro el escudo de su debisa, e el otro el abito e cuerda de señora santa clara, e los otros dos han de tener dos rotulos de mi sepultura e de la dicha condesa my muger e ençima de todo el dicho cruçifijo de nuestro señor lo qual todo se a de acabar segund la orden que por mi esta dada dios

as would be the case for his son, the first condestable, the Count of Haro's wife outlived her husband long enough to leave in the chapel distinct signs of her own personality.

Doña Beatriz Manrique had long been an active supporter of Fray Lope's reform, putting under her own patronage several of his reformed communities. Their personal relationship must have been close. In his testament, Fray Lope devoted to her some of the final paragraphs, hoping that she would bring Franciscan observance to other communities, and urging her to relieve her heart from the "doubts and wonders" (*dudas e perplejidades*) that threatened her soul.[31] The personal involvement of the countess in Fray Lope's enterprise surely surpassed the most formal requisites of patronage.[32] One eloquent detail should suffice to demonstrate her intimate association with the monastery. In the long defense he wrote of his friars, Fray Lope argued that he had been forced to introduce at his monasteries the type of revolving door (*torno*) more appropriate to Benedictine monastic houses.[33] This was done, first, because the countess, "our mother," had taken to entering his monasteries alone or with her servants: she even had pressured the bishop to give her permission to enter at will.[34] Fray Lope confessed he had found no other way to safeguard the

mediante como sabe Juan Garçia de Medina mayordomo de mis labores," *Testamento de Pedro Fernández de Velasco, conde de Haro*, AHN, Nobleza, Frías, 598/13, f. 2.

[31] "A la señora nuestra madre la condesa encomiendo que... déjese de las dudas e perplejidades del su corazón, pues le traen enojo y non provecho alguno. E lo que no me creyó en vida, si le plugiere, créalo después de mi muerte," in "Testamento de Fr. Lope de Salinas," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 17 (1957), p. 925.

[32] *Ius patronatus* was already regulated in the Synod of Toledo in 655. It establishes the bilateral obligations assumed by both patron and religious institution: *fundatio, aedificatio* y *dotatio* for the church; *ius praesentandi* and *ius honorifica* for the patron. See the entry for "Patron and Patronage," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/11560c.html (consulted 3.5.2011).

[33] From the reading of the document we assume that the convent did not have a *torno* before, so that communication with the outside would have been easier. Strict enclosure was, however, an integral part of the Clarissan monastic rule (1253). See Wood, *Women, Art, and Spirituality*, pp. 37ff.

[34] "La primera es, porque la señora Condesa, nuestra madre, se comenzó a turbar resciamente porque la comenzamos a viedar la entrada, e por esta su turbación el Conde, e el Obispo, e el Ministro e yo, hobímosela de moderar que entrase con dos solas mujeres e ciertos hombres, e asignándole el modo de cómo había de entrar, e andar, e salir sin tardar, e sin ver fraile alguno a los tales entrantes, nin los tales a los frailes. E después su Merced, no contenta mucho con esto, hobo de ganar del Obispo que entrase con cuantas mujeres e homes quisiese; e yo, pensando siempre caute, con vigilancia, los más obstáculos que calladamente e más sin escándalo a esto podría poner, argumenté esta tal entrada, grave, perezosa e dificultuosa, porque a lo menos entrasen los menos que pudiésemos..." "Articulo sexto. Que tenemos torno de monjas o de monjes," *Primeras satisfactiones*, *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 17 (1957), p. 77.

silent life of his friars than to build this architectonic barrier. It will not surprise then that, in the last years of her life, as was common among noble Spanish widows, Beatriz Manrique and some of her servants joined the Poor Clares community at Medina de Pomar, although without taking vows.[35] In the words of the fourth Condestable and family biographer, the Countess

> took the habit of her husband, who died three years before her, and was buried in a plain sepulcher at the entrance to the main chapel of Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar. Once the Count of Haro had died, although he had left Countess Doña Beatriz places where she could lodge, she refused to live in any of them; rather, she retired to the monastery of Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar. She never took vows, but also never left the monastery, except to visit the poor in hospitals.[36]

The last years of the dowager countess' life can only be reconstructed with the help of her testament. It is worth noting that Doña Beatriz was involved in the monastery in two different ways. On the one hand, several members of her family took vows at Medina de Pomar. In 1471, her daughter Beatriz de Velasco was Medina's abbess. But also her daughter María, her grand-daughter Beatriz, and four of her servants had joined the community. On the other hand, Beatriz had built a house in the monastery's orchard, and she ordered this to be preserved for the court of *dueñas* (widow-maids) who had followed her to Medina. After her death, Beatriz wanted this house to remain a place where these *dueñas* or other pious women (*mugeres con deboçion*) could retire from the world without necessarily becoming regular sisters.[37] Although we know very little of the life Beatriz made in Medina, we can assume that she followed seclusion while mantaining her independence. According to her testament, in her

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35 As expressed in a bull of Pope Paul II (4 May 1471), transcribed in Jesús Moya, "Archivo de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar: un acercamiento a los privilegios pontificios y regios," in *El monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar*, p. 48.

36 "…tomó esta Condesa Doña Beatriz Manrique el abito de su marido el qual murió tres años antes que ella y enterrose en una sepultura llana que está a la entrada de la puerta de la capilla mayor de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar. Muerto el Conde de Haro aunque le dejaba a la Condesa Doña Beatriz lugares donde estuviese no quiso estar en ninguno sino retrujose dentro en el monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pumar. Y no fue monja mas nunca mas salio del monesterio sino a visitar a los pobres de los ospitales de Medina de Pumar y assí acabó muy santa mente," Pedro Fernández de Velasco, *Origen de la Yllustrísima casa de Velasco*, Biblioteca Nacional de España [hereafter BNE], Ms. 3238.

37 *Testamento de Doña Beatriz Manrique* (Medina de Pomar, 6 September 1471), AHN, Nobleza, Frías. 598/38, f. 5 r. Her will is fully transcribed in the appendix to this article.

cell, Beatriz not only kept her personal library, but also her private oratory equipped with at least one altarpiece.[38]

Living at the monastery gave Beatriz the opportunity to supervise personally the renovation of the church, chapel, and convent, but also to commission other works that would enrich the Velasco's pantheon. Most of the orders recorded in her will referred either to investments in Medina de Pomar, to other communities of the reformed Francisans (El Abrojo, Santoyo), to well-known monasteries in Castile (Santo Domingo de Silos), or the most extreme women anchoresses (*emparedadas*). In the will, her longest reference to her eldest son, the first condestable, was to oblige him to pay her debts so that all her bequests could be met—"otherwise, damn him" (*so pena de mi maldición*), dictated the countess to her notary with strong determination.[39]

Regarding her gifts to the monastery, the most interesting is the record of her commission in Flanders of two large altarpieces for the ornament of the Church of Santa Clara:

> And, as I ordered two altarpieces to be made in Flanders, [and] as Pedro de Medina... knows, he has already received 30,000 maravedís in advance for the cost of them. I order and it is my firm will that they hurry to finish them and pay from my goods whatever they finally cost, and once the altarpieces have been brought I order that they be given to Santa Clara of Medina de Pomar so that they can be put up.[40]

Doña Beatriz's reference to a commission in Flanders is one of the very earliest we have in Castile. One further element of great significance is the sum of money: 30,000 *maravedises* represented serious capital that, in this case, seemed to be given only as an advance to the painter. Whatever the type of altarpieces, these would have been quite large for such an amount to reflect a first payment. A final detail from the testament on which I will comment further below is that Beatriz relied on the monastery's nuns for the display of these altarpieces, especially her daughter and the executrix of her will, Leonor de Velasco.[41]

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[38] AHN, Nobleza, Frías. 598/38, ff. 5r–5v. See Appendix.

[39] Pedro Fernández de Velasco was, however, considered the universal heir of her wealth (or what was left of it), together with the rest of her offspring.

[40] AHN, Nobleza, Frías. 598/38, f. 7. See Appendix.

[41] Joaquín Yarza has identified Leonor de Velasco as the donor of a "Flagellation altarpiece" today in private hands. This altarpiece, however, is of Castilian, rather than Flemish manufacture: Joaquín Yarza, *El retablo de la Flagelación de Leonor de Velasco* (Madrid, 1999).

Art historians have so far overlooked this important commission,[42] but I think that there are good reasons to identify one of Beatriz's Flemish altarpieces with an extraordinary panel today at the National Gallery in Washington DC (K.1689; Fig. 9; Color Plate 30). The painting is now displayed with the title "Mary, Queen of Heaven," words that can be read in a fragment of an antiphon written in one of the angel's scores, to which we will return later.[43] The panel has unusually large dimensions: just over 200 centimeters high by 163 centimeters wide, meaning that the painting would have been commissioned for the church, not for the cloistered area.[44] Ann Roberts has suggested that the painting would have been placed in the side-chapel dedicated to the Conception, but this chapel was only constructed half a century after the countess' death.[45] The large size of the panel makes it much more probable that it was destined for the pantheon that had been reformed in the time of the count's patronage for the main chapel of the monastery's church.

"Mary, Queen of Heaven" has been unanimously attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy.[46] In the extensive catalogue of this anonymous painter, built around an altarpiece from Bruges dated 1480, the importance of the Spanish commissions has frequently been noticed, to the point that one, or even several journeys to Castile have been proposed

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[42] Joaquín Yarza, *La nobleza ante el rey. Los grandes linajes castellanos y el arte del siglo XV* (Madrid, 2004), reproduces the painting but maintains a late chronology, failing to put it in relation with the first Count of Haro or his wife.

[43] On the painting, see Colin Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools excluding Italian* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 61–63; Ann M. Roberts, "The Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy: A Catalogue and Critical Essay," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982, pp. 92–95, 154–59, 185, 190, 194, 202–207, 219–22, cat. no. 7; John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolf, *Early Netherlandish Painting. National Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 177–83. The painting was still described in Medina de Pomar in 1934: *Medina de Pomar como lugar arqueológico y centro de turismo de las merindades de Castilla-Vieja* (Burgos, 1934), p. 88. Although the provenance was known, this identification was first brought to light by Roberts, "The Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy."

[44] Julian Gardner, "Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 30 (1995), pp. 29–57, reconsiders the audience for altarpieces on the ground that altarpieces were forbidden in *clausura*.

[45] Begoña Alonso, "Arquitectura y arte al servicio del poder. Una visión sobre la Casa de Velasco durante el siglo XVI," in *Patronos y coleccionistas. Los condestables de Castilla y el arte* (*siglos XV–XVII*), eds. Begoña Alonso, María Cruz de Carlos, and Felipe Pereda (Valladolid, 2005), pp. 121–206.

[46] Recently tentatively identified with the Bruges master Fransoys vanden Pitte: Albert Janssens, "De anonieme Meesters van de Lucia- en Ursulalegende geïdentificeerd," *Vlaanderen. Tweemaandelijks tijdschrift voor kunst en cultuur*, 306 (2005), pp. 150–56.

Figure 9 *Mary, Queen of Heaven*, ca. 1470s, Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington DC). See color plate 30.

in order to explain the significant demand of this foreign market.[47] There is, however, no evidence of the artist's presence in Castile, and all information about possible negotiations with his patrons must be taken from an analysis of the paintings themselves. To date, remarkably little effort has been made in this direction.

Both the catalogue of the anonymous master and the chronology of his oeuvre are subjects of debate, but most recent scholarship places his major works in the 1470s and early 1480s, considerably earlier than previously thought.[48] An earlier chronology for the National Gallery panel makes possible its identification with one of the "retablos" mentioned in Beatriz Manrique's testament of 1471. Whether the panel is the result of the patron's explicit demands, or of her will as interpreted by her executors (for example, her daughter, the abbess at Medina de Pomar), I would argue that the painting reflects the countess' patronage of her funerary chapel. If we read the *retablo*'s iconography with the help of some of the devotional books from Beatriz's library or that of her husband, but also with these devotions as they are reflected in the liturgies ordered in her will, we gain a completely new perspective for the intepretation of the painting.

Sicut aurora consurgens (*Cant. 6:9*)*: The* Assumption of the Virgin

The panel presents Mary's dramatic corporeal assumption into heaven. No fewer than thirty-eight angels of many and varied sizes, all vested with different garments, enclose the ascending body. Inside a circle of clouds, the Holy Trinity holds a golden crown, anticipating her triumph. The angels surrounding the scene carry various instruments (one trumpet and three

[47] This hypothesis was first maintained by Nicole Verhaegen, "Le Maitre de la Légende de Saint Lucie. Précisions sur son oeuvre," *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, 2 (1959), pp. 73–82.

[48] Recent research on the master has suggested not only an earlier chronology but also the division of his oeuvre into at least two different painters. According to these studies, the work that most resembles the Washington panel, the *Virgin and Child among Female Saints*, in Brussels, should be dated by documentary evidence ca. 1475–1480. See Bart Fransen and Pascale Syfer-D'Olne, "Introduction to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy," in *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 4, *Masters with Provisional Names* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 291–319. These authors identify this artist with the "Virgin of the Rose Garden" (Detroit), a painting that must be dated before 1482 because of the elaborately detailed view of the Bruges skyline in the background: Ann M. Roberts, "The City and the Convent: *The Virgin of the Rose Garden* by the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 72/1–2 (1998), pp. 57–65.

trumpet-like shawms on the right; a lute, a vielle, and an organetto on the left) in a division that—as one musicologist has noted—would have overwhelmed the vocal body of the four singers chanting the antiphon mentioned previously.[49] The sensorial effect sought by the painter was that of a great volume of sound, something in synesthetic correspondence with the chromatic lavishness of the angels' garments.

The distribution of the angels around the Virgin's body allows almost no sense of depth. Instead, their bodies are arranged to create a perfectly balanced almost-flat design that is only altered by way of careful asymmetrical details in the number of angels and especially in the subtle distribution of their colors. The richly varied manner of representing the angels is striking. These range from the largest in the left foreground dressed in a spectacular cope fastened with a precious golden clasp or morse, and held aloft by delicate peacock wings (an archangel?), to the wingless singing angels (thrones?) surrounding the Trinity. In between a veritable flock of angelic beings, one dressed in a dalmatic, the rest with albs of the most various colors, escort Mary into heaven.[50]

Medina de Pomar's panel both departs from a well-established iconographic convention in the representation of the Assumption of the Virgin,[51] while also taking it to a new level of formal iconicity that privileges the event over the action, the vision over the story.[52] All narrative has been eliminated, giving priority to the event as a blissful apparition. The painter has suppressed any reference to Mary's terrestrial death, concentrating on her heavenly apotheosis, while also presenting her as the Woman

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[49] Emanuel Winternitz, "On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting," *The Musical Quarterly*, 49/4 (1963), pp. 450–63. The same author considers the distribution in the upper scene (11 singers to 11 instrumentalists) much more coherent.

[50] Maurice McNamee, S.J., *Vested Angels: Eucharistic Allusions in Early Netherlandish Paintings* (Leuven, 1998).

[51] As John O. Hand notes in his entry to the National Gallery's *Early Netherlandish Painting* catalogue, three different iconographic elements converge in this panel: first, the Assumption of the Virgin; second, a clear reference to the Book of Revelation and, therefore, to the Immaculate Conception; third, the upper part of the painting shows the Trinity, encircled by a children's choir and a set of five musicians. There seems to be no precedent in Early Netherlandish painting for this iconography, according to Colin Eisler, suggesting that this may have been the result of an effort on the part of the painter to meet the specific requirements of a Castilian commission.

[52] For the Assumption of the Virgin as a model for later representations of visions, see Victor Stoichita, *Vision and Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London, 1995), pp. 27–77. In one extraordinary passage of St. Teresa's life, both painting and vision were conflated, cited by Stoichita, p. 48.

standing on the moon of the Apocalyptic tradition, a matter to which I will return.[53]

Dressed in intense red with a deep blue mantle—an unusual choice of colors for this passage—her image is that of a young bride with long golden hair falling freely over her shoulders.[54] Clothed in the sun and resting her feet on a crescent moon supported by the two angels in the foreground, her apparition happens against a sky increasing progressively in intensity from the pale tones at the horizon to the more intense blue at the top of the panel. A high point of view reduces the landscape to a narrow fringe at the bottom of the painting, not only emphasizing the frontality of the composition, but allowing also for the golden solar disc to meet the horizon line so as to suggest the moment of daybreak. Both her depiction as a young bride waiting to meet her groom and her identification with the dawn are in agreement with the liturgical use of the Song of Songs in the Office of the Assumption:

> *Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol...?* [Cant. 6:9].[55]
>
> Who [is] she [that] looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun...?.

Although it had taken some time for Mary's bodily assumption to be accepted as dogma, by the late fifteenth century it was well established.[56]

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[53] On the Assumption's iconography, see Gertrud Schiller, *Lexikon der Christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1980), pp. 275–84; Rosemary Muir Wright, *Sacred Distance: Representing the Virgin* (Manchester and New York, 2006), pp. 81–115; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "L'exception corporelle: à propos de l'Assomption de Marie," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, 2006), pp. 151–85.

[54] Dressed in red with a blue mantle, however, is the way the Immaculate Conception is presented in an ekphrasis by the Valencian poet Joan Balaguer (1486). Both this poem, and the Clarissan Isabel de Villena's description of the Virgin (*Vita Christi*, 1497) dressed with a "gonella de carmesí" and "manto de brocat blau," can be interpreted as symbols of grace and spiritual marriage. See Lesley K. Twomey, "Relectura del color rojo: la alegoría en la Vita Christi de Isabel de Villena," in *Las Metamorfosis*, eds. Rebeca Sanmartín and Rosa Vidal Doval (Madrid, 2005), pp. 189–202.

[55] Rachel Fulton, "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?' The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption," *Medieval Studies*, 60 (1998), pp. 55–122, for its early use and significance. This same passage from the Song of Songs appears as an antiphon in the office of the Octave of the Assumption, and in the Marian Office in the Marian Breviary from Medina de Pomar (before 1455), Madrid, BNE, Ms. 9533, f. 104v. On this manuscript, see note 71.

[56] In addition to Fulton, "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?," see Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge. Étude historico-doctrinale* (Vatican City, 1944). On the Golden Legend, pp. 393ff.

All the major texts supporting it had been gathered in the *Golden Legend*—a text Colin Eisler suggested was the main source for this painting—and so made their way into its Spanish translation, the *Flos Sanctorum.* In the beautiful manuscript of the latter from the Count of Haro's library deposited in Medina de Pomar after his death (held today at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), the painting's donor would have learned of Mary's identification with the bride of the Song of Songs, and of Her heavenly reception by angelic choirs.[57]

Placed over one of the altars of the funerary chapel of the counts of Haro, the *storia* of the Assumption would have played an exemplary role as a model for salvation.[58] The devotions Beatriz Manrique ordered in her will bring to light this salvific dimension of the image and demonstrate how it would have been liturgically enacted.

Beatriz's testament was signed 6 September 1471 "within" (*dentro*) the Monastery of Santa Clara in Medina de Pomar, where the countess had retired after her husband's death the year before.[59] Dictated to her secretary, the original document is filled in the margins with her personal hand-written corrections. When the moment of her death arrived, the countess ordered that her body be dressed in the Franciscan habit that

[57] "La rescibieron los angeles en goço e los arcangeles con dulçe melodia, e los tronos con todo placer. E las dominaçiones con cantos muy suabes, e los principados con son muy delectable, e los poderios con instrumentos muy sonables, e los cherubines e seraphines con ygnos dulces e amabiles. E es presentada delante el trono de la magestad divinal," *Flos Sanctorum*, BNE, Ms. 12689, f. 29. The Spanish translation has been attributed to Gonzalo de Ocaña, see José Calveras, "Fray Gonzalo de Ocaña, traductor del *Flos Sanctorum* anónimo," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 17 (1944), pp. 206–08. The Count of Haro also had two copies of Francesc Eiximenis, *De la naturaleza angelica* (BNE 9243; BNE 9244), translated by the same Gonzalo de Ocaña. See Jeremy N.H. Lawrance, "Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del Conde de Haro: inventario de 1455," *El Crotalón: Anuario de filología española*, 1 (1984), pp. 1073–111, nos. 65 and 67. Despite the count's interest in angelology, I have not been able to make a precise iconographical identification of the angelic beings represented in this panel.

[58] For this aspect, see Ewald M. Vetter, "Mulier Amicta Sole und Mater Salvatoris," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 9–10 (1958–59), pp. 32–71, esp. 54. This salvific aspect is an integral part of its dogmatic definition in the *Munificentissimus Deus* (1950), see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 208–10.

[59] A bull of Pope Paul II dated 4 May 1471 describes her canonical situation in the following way: "...with apostolic license [Beatriz Manrique] shut herself away in the same monastery, with some of her servants, with the intention to persevere in perpetuity, although they did not take the [Franciscan] habit, we decide, nonetheless, and order in perpetuity, that Beatriz and her servants use and profit from the same indulgences, just as if they had taken vows in the monastery," cited in *El Monasterio de Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar*, p. 48.

she had prepared for the occasion.[60] Laid out thus on the bare floor, Doña Beatriz would await the final hour of her death. After she had passed away, her body was to be taken to the church where the most austere funeral was planned in a setting that included only a simple coffin draped with a black cloth lit by just four candles. Beatriz wanted the same funerary rituals as any other nun in the convent, and she expressly prohibited ritual mourning.[61] After her body was removed from the coffin and buried with her husband, her funerals rites were to begin the following day. These included one *novenario* (nine days of *requiem* masses) officiated by the two reformed branches of the Franciscan order; a yearly offering (*añal*) at her tomb,[62] and a thirty-days long liturgy (*treintanario revelado*) during which the priest would not leave the church for the entire period.[63] The latter ritual was to conclude each day with the office "of when Saint Anne conceived Our Lady," that is, the Conception.

Doña Beatriz described herself as especially devoted to the Immaculate Conception, ordering that nine Poor Clares of the convent were to pray the *Horae Minores*[64] of the Conception for a whole year.[65] This devotion is common to other female members of the nobility,[66] but has no parallel in her husband's testament, and therefore must be considered a personal trait of Beatriz's spiritual interests. The fact that she refers to these offices as ones that "I had given" (*que yo ove dado*) might indicate her responsibility for their introduction in the monastery's life and liturgy. I will return to this point shortly.

The Immaculate Conception was a popular, if still debated devotion in fifteenth-century Castile,[67] more popular perhaps among the Franciscans than any other religious order.[68] In recent years it had received new

[60] *Testamento*, f. 1v–2v. See Appendix.

[61] Of which she gives an extraordinary description: "non sea osado faser llanto publico ni mesar ni rascar por mi ni se tome marga ninguna ni tocas negras non tome muger alguna encargando sus conçiençias a ellas mismas," *Testamento*, f. 1v. See Appendix.

[62] With strict prohibition against laying food on her tomb, a tradition she likely considered profane, *Testamento*, f. 3. See Appendix.

[63] *Testamento*, f. 3v. See Appendix.

[64] Including *prima, tertia, sexta*, and *nona*. These were performed during the daytime.

[65] In addition, 50 friars of Fray Lope de Salazar's *custodia* had to say 100 masses in their convents, 50 of them *de la conçepçion de nuestra señora, Testamento*, f. 4v.

[66] See, for example, the testament of María de Aragón (wife of John II), in 1455, cited in Suzanne Stratton, *La Inmaculada Concepción en el arte español* (Madrid, 1989), p. 18.

[67] See the evidence in the *Cancionero de Baena*, in Lesley K. Twomey, " 'Una qüestion [...] sobre la conçebçión de Santa María': The *Cancionero de Baena* Debate on the Immaculate Conception," *Hispanic Research Journal*, 4/2 (2003), pp. 99–112.

[68] At least since the beginning of the 14th century, the Immaculate Conception had extended throughout Castile's dioceses, but the Franciscans had already adopted this

dogmatic attention. Specifically, in 1439 the Council of Basel had endorsed this doctrine and, although the decisions of the Council remained invalid, Juan de Segovia's Conception Office of 1440 had prepared the way for those ordered during the pontificate of Sixtus IV.[69]

Mulier amicta sole (*Rev 12:1*)*: Immaculate Conception*

The "Immaculist" meaning within our painting has not gone unnoticed.[70] Mary is presented here as the *Mulier amicta sole*, clothed in the sun and with the crescent moon under her feet, as described in the book of Revelation (12:1). Although the apocalyptic presentation of the Assumption of the Virgin does not necessarily imply a reference to her Conception,[71] but only to the absence of any *macula* or stain,[72] at least since the 1470s images representing *Maria Virginis in Sole* were explicitly associated with the privilege of purity at her conception by way of a prayer and an indulgence.[73] There is little doubt, however, that the *retablo* at Medina

devotion at the end of the previous century. See J.A. Aldama, S.J., "La fiesta de la Concepción de María," *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, 36 (1961), pp. 427–59; Lesley K. Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose: The Immaculate Conception and Hispanic Poetry in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 11–22. For the history of the controversy, Marielle Lamy, *L'Inmacule Conception: Étapes et enjeux d'une controverse au Moyen-Âge* (*XIIe–XVe siècles*) (Paris, 2000).

[69] Luca Basilio Ricossa, *Jean de Ségovie: son office de la Conception. Étude historique, théologique, littéraire et musicale* (Bern, 1994). The influence of this liturgy was limited, at least in Castile. I have found no echo of it in BNE Ms 9533. For an overview of the Conception Liturgies, see Cornelius A. Bouman, "The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy," in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance*, ed. Edward Dennis O'Connor (South Bend, IN, 1958), pp. 113–59. See also Vincenzo Francia, *Splendore di bellezza. L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione nella pittura rinascimentale italiana* (Vatican City, 2004), pp. 53–60.

[70] Colin Eisler considered both her identification with the Woman of the Apocalypse (Rev. 12:1) and the suppression of her death as referring to the Immaculate Conception (*Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, p. 62). Eisler, Roberts, and John O. Hand all considered this a result of the Spanish nature of the commission.

[71] Stratton, *La Inmaculada Concepción en el arte español*, p. 41, who, however, dismisses the interpretation of any early image of the Assumption as unrelated to her Conception. The evidence for the Washington "Mary, Queen of Heaven" in the present study proves the contrary.

[72] The two were not joined in the liturgy until Nogaroli's office (1477) ordered by Sixtus IV. Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, p. 107.

[73] Sixten Ringbom, "*Maria in Sole* and the Virgin of the Rosary," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), pp. 326–30; Bonnie J. Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), pp. 157–95. For the early history of this type, see Ewald M. Vetter, "Mulier Amicta Sole und Mater Salvatoris" and his "Virgo in Sole," *Festschrift für Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, 1962), pp. 1–51, where a discussion of the earliest, proposed example of

de Pomar was intended to express Mary's immaculate condition *at the moment* of her Conception.

As we have seen, Beatriz Manrique left written evidence of her devotion to the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The ordering of specific liturgies for this feast is of the greatest significance. The Offices of the Immaculate Conception observed at Medina de Pomar during Beatriz's lifetime, and therefore those we expect would have been used at her funeral, are known to us thanks to an extraordinary breviary, inventoried in 1455 as part the Count of Haro's library, just before its deposit in the monastery.[74] The breviary not only proves the extension this devotion had among the Castilian nobility but, as Lesley Twomey has recently noted, it "contains a number of Conception hymns which are not found elsewhere in the Peninsula" in a manuscript distinguished for its "overarching Marian focus."[75]

A complete analysis of the breviary is beyond the scope of the present study, but two aspects of the Conception liturgies are worth mentioning in relation to the painting's reception, if not with its commission. The *Horae Minores* of the Conception, those to be sung by the nuns for a year after Beatriz's death, hail the Virgin as *domina caelorum regina* (Queen of Heaven), *stella matutina* (morning star), and *clara lux divina* (bright divine light).[76] At compline, the Hours finished with an antiphon pleading for Her intercession at the Hour of Death, for "[She] who avoided death, would provide eternal life."[77]

this "Immaculist" iconography in the Rothschild Canticles is examined and rejected (p. 18, and n. 68). Shared by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles. Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 103-104. For this proposal, see Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957), p. 24. The identification had been used as an argument in the discussions held during the Council of Basel by Juan de Segovia (ed. P. Alva y Astorga, *Septem allegationes . . . circa sacratissimae Inmaculatam Conceptionem* [Brussels, 1664, rprt. 1965], pp. 278, 520–522) and also in Jean de Romiroy's *Tota Pulchra* (1435), see Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, p. 610.

[74] Lawrance, "Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del Conde de Haro," p. 1084, no. 4. Manuel de Castro, *Manuscritos franciscanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 415–18, considers the manuscript to have been written in Spain.

[75] Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, pp. 17–18.

[76] "[Himnus] Salve mundi domina caelorum regina. Salve virgo virginum stella matutina. Salve plena gratia, clara lux divina meum in auxilium domina festina." BNE, Ms. 9533, f. 141.

[77] "Conceptio tua dei genitris virgo gaudium anunciavit in universo mundo ex te enim ortus est sol iustitiae xps deus mater qui solvens maleditionem et confundens mortem donavit novis vitam sempiternam." BNE, Ms. 9533, f. 145. Both the use of light metaphors and the eschatological prayers are consubstantial to the liturgy of the hours, see Robert

Similar celestial metaphors occur in the Office for the Conception Mass in BNE Ms 9553, but in this case, they end with the following Antiphon:

> *Ave regina caelorum mater regis angelorum o Maria flos virginum velut rosa, velut lilium, funde preces ad filium pro salute fidelium.*[78]

The first five words of this antiphon can be read in the sheet of music held by the angel to the right of the Virgin, where two angels sing a duet (see Fig. 9).[79] The presence of the antiphon in Medina's *retablo* is not exceptional and does not necessarily imply that the antiphon was explicitly ordered for the Spanish commission: the same verse is included in at least one late fifteenth-century woodcut of the *Maria in Sole* type,[80] it frequently appears in Marian devotional paintings,[81] and also in at least two panels by the contemporary Master of the *feuillage brodé.*[82] Nevertheless, its occurrence in the Conception liturgies proves that the antiphon would have been read and interpreted against the same Immaculist backdrop as its apocalyptic iconography.

The best document we have of the painting's reception, however, is pictorial. A *sarga* or *Tüchlein* (cloth) recently acquired by the Prado Museum was almost certainly painted for the same altarpiece (Fig. 10; Color Plate 31).[83]

Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1993), pp. 348ff.

[78] BNE, Ms. 9533, f. 113. "Hail, Queen of heaven, mother of the King of Angels, Hail Mary, flower of the Virgin, just as a rose, or a lily, pour our prayers to [your] son, for the salvation of the faithful."

[79] First deciphered by Mirella Levi d'Ancona, according to the National Gallery archive, Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, p. 63. The music has also been identified with a motet on the same antiphon by the English composer Walter Frye (d. 1474/75). See Sylvia W. Kenney, "Contrafacta in the Works of Walter Frye," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 8/3 (1955), pp. 182–202, and her monograph, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise* (New York, 1965, rprt. 1980), pp. 153–55. Kenney considers that "it has some features in common with Frye's *Ave Regina*."

[80] Vetter, "Virgo in Sole," p. 399.

[81] For example, in Petrus Christus' *Madonna in Half-length* (1449), Musée National d'Histoire de l'Art, Bentinck-Thyssen Collection, Luxembourg. With a similar iconography in two copies of a model by Van der Weyden, with a Spanish provenance, Elisa Bermejo, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España* (Madrid, 1980), vol. 1, p. 118, plates 81 and 82.

[82] This coincidence is particularly striking as the same motet by Walter Frye has been read in the music, see P.E. Carapezza, "*Regina Angelorum in Musica Picta.* Walter Frye e il 'Maître au Feuillage Brodé,'" *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 10 (1975), pp. 134–54. For the master, *Le Maître au feuillage brodé. Primitifs flamands. Secrets d'ateliers* (Lille, 2005). For his relationship with the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, see pp. 56–57.

[83] Elisa Bermejo, "La Anunciación y la Visitación del Maestro de la Leyenda de Santa Lucía," *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 15/33 (1994), pp. 11–14. Provenance: Palencia, acquired in 1985.

Figure 10 Anunciation and Visitation Lenten Cloth, ca. 1470s, attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (Photo: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid). See color plate 31.

Its attribution to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy, without any knowledge of its relationship to the panel in Washington, speaks for itself. The grisaille cloth has almost the same measurements as the panel[84] and is, most probably, the work of a local Spanish master.[85] The connection to the Bruges master may be explained by the fact that the cloth would have been commissioned to be used as a Lenten cover for the panel,[86] emulating the style of the altarpiece it was meant to protect.

The cloth displays the coats of arms of the Count of Haro and his wife Beatriz Manrique. While the arms of the count are placed once over the central column of the architectural structure, those of Beatriz figure twice and are painted in brighter colors that stand out against the grey tones of the rest of the cloth. Her arms preside directly over each of the narratives. Under the arches, two Marian feasts were represented: on the left, the Annunciation; on the right, the Visitation. Both scenes share the same dialogical structure, in which the Virgin is addressed by a divinely-inspired character who celebrates her saintly nature. Elizabeth greets Mary as blessed among women (Lk. 1:42); the Archangel Gabriel hails the Virgin, "full of grace, the Lord is with thee" (Lk. 1:28). The two coalesce in the most famous Marian prayer, the Hail Mary, but it is certainly not a coincidence that these were also considered the main Scriptural sources in the New Testament for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[87]

The panel placed before the eyes of the beholder Mary's eternal elevation into heaven, a pictorial metaphor that shows Mary's election before the beginning of time—her pre-existence, in theological terms—by way of her eternal daybreak.[88] Like a rising star (Can. 6:9), dressed in the morning light (Rev. 12:1), the altarpiece presented the exceptional nature of Mary

[84] The Prado's cloth is slightly smaller (205 x 167 cm.) than the panel at the National Gallery (215 x 185 cm.), but the borders of the former seem to have been cut down. There is no evidence of how the cloth might have been put to a stretcher.

[85] I thank Pilar Silva Maroto of the Prado Museum for helping me access the painting and for sharing with me her thoughts on its probable Castilian attribution.

[86] For this use of *Tüchlein grisailles*, see Molly Teasdale Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as a Lenten Observance," *Marsyas*, 8 (1959), pp. 43–54. For the display of cloth paintings, see Catherine Reynolds, "The Function and Display of Netherlandish Cloth Paintings," in *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Caroline Villers (London, 2000), pp. 89–98. I thank Douglas Brine for this reference.

[87] Juan de Segovia (P. Alva y Astorga, Iohannis, ed.), *Septem allegationes . . . circa sacratissimae Inmaculatam Conceptionem* (Brussels, 1664), *Sexta*, pp. 271–74.

[88] The source for this figural grounding of the Immaculate is Proverbs 8:22, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old."

through the event of her triumph over time. As the liturgist Odo Casel put it, such a historical episode in the liturgy is not celebrated "for its own sake, but for that of eternity hid within it."[89] Extending this understanding to "Mary, Queen of Heaven," the painting would not only have reflected the heavenly singing of the angelical choirs in the liturgical prayers of the Hours,[90] but also placed the Virgin Mary's assumption as the model for the patron's salvation.[91] Its display in the interior of a funerary chapel, most likely over an altar facing East, would have only enforced its primary meaning.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to underline some parallels between Beatriz's patronage and that of her daughter-in-law, Mencía de Mendoza, whose patronage was analyzed in the first part of this study. A clear continuity can be found between Beatriz Manrique's funerary liturgies, the works of art commissioned for her funerary chapel, and those of Mencía de Mendoza.

It is important to recall briefly the liturgical advocation of the chapel built by Mencía. As I have argued elsewhere, the Chapel of the Condestables in Burgos is dedicated to another Marian feast, that of the Purification:[92] in the interior of the funerary chapel, the episode is represented only once, but in a very emblematic place: a wooden relief at the center of the sun that decorates the keystone in the boss of the star-ribbed vaulting (Fig. 11, see also Fig. 1; Color Plate 32). The Gospel passage (Lk. 2:29–30), it should be remembered, describes the priest Simeon's farewell (*Nunc dimittis servum tuum*), "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and

[89] Odo Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship* (New York, 1962), p. 67.

[90] See, for example, Fray Lope de Salazar's judgment in the *Segundas Satisfactiones*, note 16.

[91] By doing this, the artist not only underlined the Virgin Mary's power of intercession at the moment of death, something of special significance for this altarpiece's location, he also paved the way for the characterization of a still undefined iconography of the Immaculate Conception. For its immediate influence on Isabella of Castile, see Colin Eisler, "The Sittow Assumption," *Art News*, 64 (1965), pp. 35–37.

[92] Felipe Pereda and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "*Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei*. Arquitectura, iconografía y liturgia en la Capilla de los Condestables de la Catedral de Burgos," *Annali de Architettura*, 9 (1997), pp. 17–34.

Figure 11 Purification boss, Chapel of the Condestables (Photo: F. Pereda). See color plate 32.

the glory of thy people Israel." The image is dramatically articulated in the architecture, as not only does real light flow into the chapel from the perforated vault; but two more images of the sun have been carved in the squinches so as to identify the chapel's vault with the heavenly sphere against which the planet draws his orbit (Fig. 12, see also Fig. 1).

This scene brings our narrative back to the symbol of the Bernardine Sun, this time, however, adopting clear funerary connotations. Mencía and her architect worked for a perfect continuity between liturgy and architecture: in fact, the office of the feast of the Purification concluded, in Burgos as elsewhere in late medieval Europe, with the "procession of the candles." The same candles blessed in this ceremony were placed in the hands of the dying, for which there exists much visual testimony, and the candles were also displayed at the pavement of the chapel at both sides of the noble couple's tombs, as if watching over their eternal rest.

We know nothing of a personal affinity between Beatriz Manrique and Mencía de Mendoza. Nevertheless, the coincidences that have been discussed are eloquent. The most important and intriguing of them has to do with a self-conscious manipulation of liturgy. Mencía and Beatriz not only showed a similar preoccupation with the ritual performance of their

Figure 12 Detail of squinch, Chapel of the Condestables (Photo: F. Pereda).

funerals in a way that finds no parallel with those of their husbands,[93] they also turned to a common array of metaphors where universal Christian topics such as motherhood, the Virgin's nature, or celestial images, were used and shaped in a similar way. Although the cases analyzed in this article are apparently exceptional, it would be worth examining other women's patronage in order to take into consideration this perspective.

On a more general level, however, Mencía and Beatriz show analogous strategies of patronage. Both developed this activity in the final years of their life, under the relative freedom provided by the juridical status of widowhood. Both women linked this activity to the support of the reform of a monastic order. Finally, and in my eyes most importantly, Beatriz Manrique and Mencía de Mendoza dramatically modeled their patronage in a sophisticated language, one first expressed in ephemeral liturgy and then materialized in eloquent images and magnificent architecture.

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[93] At least as far as we can determine from the will of the first Count of Haro. I have not been able to find a copy of his son's testament. As I have argued, however, there is evidence that Pedro Fernández de Velasco left this responsibility in his wife's hands.

Appendix

Testament of Beatriz Manrique
Transcription: Luis Zolle Betegón
Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid [AHN] Nobleza, Frías 598/38

Note: Testaments are usually taken into consideration only as primary archival sources, with no special interest in themselves. As the present article has attempted to show, however, these can provide the historian with much more than raw data or information of sociological interest. Both the intentional manipulation of their rhetorical formulae—as dictated to the notary or secretary—and the specific content and beneficiaries of the legacies are mediated yet still first-hand testimonies of their authors' strongest desires at the ending of their lives. Beatriz Manrique's testament not only satisfies all these conditions, but it was also filled in the margins with her personal, hand-written annotations and corrections. Both have been respected in this full transcription.

[Fol. 0]
Personales

Personales 6 setiembre de 1471

Testamento otorgado por doña Beatriz Manrique, muger que fue de don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, primer conde de Haro, en el que consta dejó varias mandas, y por heredero de sus bienes á sus hijos: ante Pedro Fernandez, escribano de la villa de Medina de Pomar.

[Fol. 1]
71 S. 17 / Osuna D

Testamento de doña Beatriz Manrrique
No. 36

[cross]
[rubricated in both margins]

En el nonbre de Dios padre e fijo e espiritu santo que son tress personas e una diuina esençia por quanto la vida de los mortales a toda persona es ynçierta en tanto que viue en este mundo e la muerte es neçesaria. Por ende yo doña Veatris Manrrique condesa de Haro muger legitima de mi señor el conde don Pedro Fernandes de Velasco conde de Haro señor de la casa de Salas camarero mayor del rey nuestro señor que santa gloria aya estando sana del mi cuerpo e en mi verdadero e sano entendimiento e libertad de mi aluedrio e non apremiada de persona alguna otorgo e conosco que fago e ordeno este mi testamento e postrimera voluntad a seruiçio de mi señor Dios e de la vien aventurada nuestra señora la Virgen Santa Maria e a prouecho e reparo de mi anima. Primeramente

encomiendo mi anima a mi señor e redemptor Ihesu Xpo que la crio e redimio por su preçiosa sangre al qual suplico que non parando mientes a mis defettos e culpas e pecados por la su ynfinita piedad me los quiera perdonar. Et suplico e pido otrosy por merçed a la vendita reyna Virgen çelestial nuestra señora Santa Maria su madre que ella con todos los santos e santas de su reyno ge lo quiera suplicar non acatando a mi yndignidad mas a la su grand clemençia e bondad despues desto mando que quando se acaesçiere la hora del mi pasamiento me vistan con tiempo el avito del glorioso e vien aventurado padre mi señor sant Françisco el qual avito con su cuerda fallaran en vna arca de las de mi camara. E asy vestido a rays de las carnes syn otra ropa de lino quando mas se açercare la ora es my determinada voluntad que por las que estudieren [sic] comigo my persona sea sacada de la cama e puesta en tierra porque ally pobremente pueda dar mi anima al señor. Et suplico mucho a la señora abadesa deste monesterio que ella con su convento quanto buenamente pueda que non desamparen mi persona fasta ser sacado mi cuerpo al lugar de la sepultura. Pero sy acaesçiere por caso fortuyto que el señor por mis pecados podria permitir lo que a el non plega que yo non podiese morir en el dicho abito como es mi deseo e voluntad vien de aqui protesto de morir en el o sy tal caso fuere quiero e mando que todavia me vistan el dicho abito e en el sea enterrado mi cuerpo. E asy mismo mando quando el señor me leuare desta vida el mi cuerpo despues de aparejado segund cuerpo muerto lo debe ser sy fuere ora de misas mando que sea puesto en el

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 1v]
lecho e rasa[?] cabo la grada donde suelen poner las monjas e ally me sea fecho el ofiçio por ellas que suelen acostumbrar faser por qualquier monja. E asy fecho el dicho ofiçio mando que sea traydo el ataud de los pobres deste ospital de la Vera Crus e por ellas mismas sea puesto el my cuerpo dentro en el e cubierto con vn paño de lana negro que sea pobre syn otras andas algunas. E el dicho ataud con mi cuerpo sea sacado por los pobres del dicho ospital e traydo a esta yglesia de Santa Clara adonde fasiendo el dicho convento el ofiçio que suelen faser a ellas mismas que sea el mi cuerpo sacado del ataud e puesto en la misma sepultura que el conde mi señor que Dios tiene ordeno para mi cabo la suya porque mi determinada voluntad es de me sepultar cabo su señoria. Et quiero e mando que ninguna otra curiosidad se faga el dia de mi enterramiento saluo que por reuerençia de la crus sean puestas quatro hachas en tanto que se dise el ofiçio donde estudiere [sic] mi cuerpo dentro de la grada e otras quatro aca de fuera cabo la grada. E se çelebre la mysa al altar de señora santa Clara como suelen faser quando fallesçe alguna monja. E mando e defiendo quanto yo puedo que ninguna persona non sea osado de faser llanto publico ni mesar ni rascar por mi ni se tome marga ninguna ni tocas negras non tome muger alguna encargando sus conçiençias a ellos mismos y a ellas requiriendo como requiero a mis testamentarios que non consyentan que ni a mi enterramiento ni obsequias se faga cosa de vanidad ninguna de las que en tales tiempos se suelen faser. Asy mismo mando que el dia de mi enterramiento sea dada pitança al convento sy fuere dia de pescado agora fresco sy se fallare o salado vna carga de pescado e sy fuere dia de carne tres carneros e veynte pares de aves e vna carga de vino blanco e doss

almudes de pan cosido. E asy mismo mando que el dicho dia se den de comer a treynta e tres pobres por reuerençia de la sagrada vida de nuestro señor e que les den sendos pares de çapatos. E mando que otro dia de mi enterramiento e dende en nuebe dias de mas de la misa de requiem que suplico al convento que ellas me digan sean llamados en todos nuebe dias los frayres deste convento de Sant Françisco e los clerigos todos desta villa e cada vno dellos me diga su ofiçio cada dia de los dichos nuebe dias asy vigilia en la tarde con sus responsos acostumbrados como otro dia misa. Et en

[bottom: va sobrerraydo o dis curiosidad (sic)]

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 2]
[rubricated in both margins]
todos nuebe dias mando que den de comer a quinse pobres cada dia. Et mando a mis testamentarios que por el trabajo que avran los frayres assy aquellos dias como el dia de mis obsequias den seyss mill maravedis los quales den al syndico de la dicha casa para que los espienda en lo que fuere a ella mas neçesario a vista de mi padre el vicario e de mi padre el prouisor de San Lazaro. Asy mismo mando que den a los dichos clerigos todos los derechos acostumbrados segund se fiso por el conde mi señor. Asy mismo quiero e mando que mis obsequias non se dilaten mas que acabado el novenario [in the margin: +] luego se enpieçen e sean llamados religiosos de la obseruançia [margin: ojo] de la familia de Santoyo asy mismo de la custodia del padre fray Lope e asy mismo los religiosos de Rojas e asy mismo los religiosos deste convento e clerigos desta villa a disposyçion de mis testamentarios me fagan cada vno dellos sus ofiçios como entendieren que mas cumple al socorro e vien de mi anima non curando de otro viento[?] alguno saluo solamente lo que a ella mas cumpliere. E mando que a las dichas obsequias non sean llamados gentes seglares de otras partes ni con ellos se faga costa alguna porque non es mi voluntad que en cosa tan mundanal cosa (sic) se gaste pero es mi entençion e determinada voluntad que en lugar de los tales seglares el dia de mis obsequias e otros doss dias adelante sean llamados e conbidados treynta e tres pobres e a aquellos el dia de mis obsequias les sea dado sendas vestiduras de palançiano e sendas camisas. Et otro dia por semejante a treynta e tres mugeres pobres saluo que a estas sean dadas mas sendos pares de çapatos. E sy oviere algunas enbergonçadas que aca non puedan venir o pobres enfermas les lieuen adonde estouieren el dicho vistuario e camisa e çapatos e de comer. E sy alguna envergonçada o envergonçadas oviere que sean de tal estima que non vistan palançiano a estas tales mando que de la misma quantidad que montara en el vestir destas treynta e tres mugeres que vistan a las tales de buriel e lo que fincare sean las otras pobres vestidas del dicho palançiano. E al terçero dia mando que den de comer a otros treynta e tres pobres e sy todos non pudieren ser avidos en los dichos tres dias mando que se cumpla adelante fasta esta quantidad. Asy mismo es mi determinada voluntad que en las dichas mis obsequias non me sea puesta cama saluo solamente el ataud suso dicho de los dichos pobres e este sea cubierto con vn paño de blanqueta negro ni asy mismo se encortine la yglesia saluo solamente por reuerençia del sacramento

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 2v]
sean ornados los altares e para cada vno dellos aya doss hachas en sus candeleros. E asy mismo por reuerençia de la crus sean puestas quatro hachas al lugar de mi sepultura. E asy mismo mando que en todo el novenario sobre dicho sean puestas las dichas quatro hachas. E asy mismo mando que en las obsequias mias que pongan otras quatro hachas a las sepulturas de mis señores Pedro Fernandes de Velasco e Juan de Velasco. E suplico mucho a los religiosos que vinieren e a mis testamentarios que con ellos lo trabajen que fagan sendos ofiçios por el conde mi señor e por sus antepasados depues de fechas mis obsequias. E porque los religiosos de san Jeronimo non pueden asy salir a obsequias mando por probecho de mi anima que sean dados a la casa de Sant Juan de Ortega quatro mill maravedis e a la casa de Montamarta tres mill maravedis e a la casa de la Estrella doss mill maravedis e a la casa de Fresdelval tres mill maravedis porque ayan memoria del alma del conde mi señor e mia. Et asy mismo mando ocho mill maravedis que sean dados a vn ome que tomar los pueda para la custodia del padre fray Lope [margin: +]. Et mando que se den a los obseruantes que vinieren de Santoyo dando persona que los tome otros ocho mill maravedis para reparar lo que mas fuere nesçesario de reparar en las casas donde ellos vuyeren [sic: hubieren]. Et mando que sean llamados para el dicho dia de las obsequias los religiosos de Rojas a los quales mando que les sean dados çinco mill maravedis para el reparo de su casa e encargo mucho a mis testamentarios que les encarguen mucho las animas del conde mi señor e mia. Otrosy mando que para el dia de mis obsequias sea dada pitança al convento desta casa segund yo mando que les den el dia de mi enterramiento. E asy mismo mando que a todos los frayres e religiosos que vinieren de fuera e fueren llamados asy para lo suso dicho e obsequias como para el mi cabo de año les den todo lo que ovieren menester para comer de pan e vino e carne o pescado segund fuere el dia en tanto que estubieren en faser los dichos ofiçios. E otrosy mando que para el dia de las mis obsequias sea llamado algund buen predicador en vida e en çiençia para que predique el dicho dia y notefique a los que ende estaran que sy alguna quexa de mi tuvieren o algund agrabio les aya fecho lleguen a mis testamentarios e sy cargo alguno paresçiere les ruego e mando que luego le satisfagan. E asy mismo el dicho predicador pida a todos los presentes perdon por mi. Et mando que sea dado a dicho predicador por su trabajo sy fuere de Santo Domingo vna capa de paño que ellos visten e
[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 3]
[rubricated in both margins]
sy fuere de Sant Françisco vn habito obseruante e sy fuere clerigo que le den mill maravedis por que ruegue a Dios por mi. Otrosy mando que fechas las dichas mis obsequias luego mis testamentarios den orden a cumplir mi testamento en espeçial en descargar qualquier cargo que sobre mi paresca. Et dende a complir todo lo que yo dexo ordenado et mandado. Et mando que ymbien a costa de mis bienes por todas las villas del conde mi señor escribiendo a los curas dellas que notefiquen en sus yglesias a los pueblos que todo aquel o aquellos que de mi tubieren quexa vengan a mis testamentarios para que ellos lo oyan e todo lo que justamente paresçiere que soy en cargo sean satisfechos. Otrosy mando a los

dichos mis testamentarios que fechas mis obsequias luego se enpieçe a leuar añal por mi por vn año conplido adonde esta mi sepultura doss frančiscas cada dia en que aya en cada vna vn çelemin e para oblaçion lo que fuere nesçesario con tanto que non pongan en el dicho mi añal fruta ni huebos ni cosa de lo que se suele acostumbrar saluo vna tabla de çera aquella acabada den otra fasta fin del año. E mando que lieue el dicho mi añal Juana Fernandes de Linares mi criada e le den por su trabajo doss mill maravedis en el qual dicho año suplico a la dicha señora abadesa e convento que cada dia me sea dicha misa de requien cantada con su responso. E non enbargante que yo agora en mi vida he mandado que le comiençe a leuar este mi añal el qual se lieua agora aqui en Santa Clara mando que sy este fuere acabado de leuar ante que yo fallesçiere desta presente vida despues della me lyeuen otro añal por esta misma manera pero sy yo fallesçiere ante que este que agora se lieua se acabe de leuar mando que comiençen a leuar el dicho añal el dia que se acabaren de faser mis obsequias fasta vn año complido con misa de requien como e en la manera que dicha es. Et mando que den al convento por su trabajo de mas de la ofrenda ocho mill maravedis con que contenten ellas al capellan que dixiere la misa por todo este tyempo.

Et por quanto yo fise lleuar en mi vida el añal que se acostumbra leuar por el que fina a la perrocha donde es perrochano et mande desir la misa en la señora del Salsinar e pague a los capellanes que dixieron e ofiçiaron la misa por vn año e asy mesmo pague a la que lo lleuo su salario mando que aquello sea en pago del añal que se avia de lleuar el año despues de mi fallesçimiento.

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 3v]
[in the margin: ojo]
Otrosy mando que me sea fecho cabo de año celebrando el dicho convento e monjas su ofiçio e los frayres deste convento el suyo et los clerigos desta villa asy mismo el suyo a visperas e otro dia a misa en el qual dia se den de comer a quinse pobres e les den sendos pares de çapatos pero es mi voluntad que en ninguna manera se llamen a cabo de año personas algunas de fuera que a el se açierten saluo solamente lo sobre dicho. Et por reuerençia de la sepultura del conde mi señor que Dios tyene mando que sean puestas quatro hachas a nuestras sepulturas la dicha vispera e dia pero es mi voluntad que porque yo mando como dicho he despues de mis obsequias faser luego ofiçio por el dicho mi señor por reuerençia suya sea ornada su sepultura con el paño que yo aqui doy para ella e con otro mejor sy lo toviere e a este dicho cabo de año mando que den pitança al dicho convento como el mismo dia de mis obsequias lo mando e a los dichos frayres les den pitança aquel dia la que fuere vista por los dichos mis testamentarios et a los clerigos sus derechos como dicho he.

Otrosy mando que por el vicario desta casa me sea dicho vn treyntanario e porque el non resçibe proprio mando que se de al convento desta casa por respetto de lo suso dicho myll e quinientos maravedis. Et asy mesmo mando que me sea dicho vn treyntanario reuelado en la señora del Salsinar por algund buen clerigo e le sea dado de mis bienes mill e quinientos maravedis porque de mas de çelebrar le plega de me desir cada dia con mucha deuoçion los salmos peniten-

çiales con su letanya e en fin de cada misa me diga el ofiçio de quando nuestra señora santa Ana conçebio a nuestra señora. Et sy los dichos mis testamentarios entendieren esto ser poco lo cumplan a mas dandole la çera que fuere nesçesario. Et asy mismo suplico a la señora abadesa que porque he mucha deuoçion en la concepçion de nuestra señora me mande desir por todo vn año a nuebe monjas cada vna las oras menores de la concepçion que yo obe dado porque nuestro señor por reuerençia de su santa madre quiera aver piedad de mi anima.

Otrosy por quanto a tiempo que yo aqui me retray trabaje por satisfaser mis criados e criadas segund paresçera por vna nomina firmada de mi nombre que tyene mi mayordomo mando que aquellos ni aquellas que ally paresçieren non les sea dado mas excepto a algunas personas en syngular contenidas en

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 4]
[rubricated in both margins] [margin: ojo]
este mi testamento pero sy otras paresçieren de mas destas ruego e mando en tal caso a mis testamentarios que en sus conçiençias vean en lo que deben ser satisfechos. Et sy por aventura algund caso paresçiere de cargo sobre mi que ellos duden en qualquier cosa que ayan de faser que a my alma toque quiero e mando en tal caso que sea requerido por consejo e determinaçion mi señor et padre fray Luis de Saja [margin: +] e sy el fuere apartado desta presente vida lo que Dios no quiera ruego a nuestra madre el [sic] abadesa que ymbie por el alcalde mayor Juan Gonçales de Villadiego al qual ruego que venga e se junte con mi padre el vicario Juan Garcia e con la dicha nuestra madre e lo vean et lo despachen en cargo de sus conciençias e el dicho alcalde sea satisfecho de su trabajo.

Otrosy mando a las ordenes de la trynidad e de la merçed cada dosientos maravedis para redeption de cabtiuos e con esto los aparto e les pido que se ayan por contentos de qualquier otra manda que yo aqui faga para la dicha redempçion.

Otrosy mando a las setimas que andudieren [sic] dentro del año cada çinquenta maravedis.

Otrosy mando que sea comprado damasco blanco para vna vestimenta e de otra color de seda para la crus della la qual vestimenta sea fecha e dada a Santa Maria de Bretonera.

Otrosy mando que sea dada otra vestimenta de damasco verde con vna crus de seda de otra color a Santa Clara de Virbiesca.

Otrosy mando que sea conprado damasco negro para vna vestimenta e seda de otra color para la crus e fecha la den a Santa Maria de Verbiesca.

Otrosy mando que de los çinquenta mill maravedis de juro de heredad [margin: +] que el conde don Pedro mi fijo me ha de dar en cuenta de quinientas mill maravedis que el me debia e obo de dar en cuenta de mis arras e dote sean dados al convento e monjas de Santa Clara de Medina ocho mill maravedis los quales mando que sean apartados e sacados de los dichos çinquenta mill maravedis e dado pribillejo dellos al dicho monesterio sytuados e saluados en los lugares mas açercanos a donde el dicho monesterio los aya mas çiertos e mejor parados. El qual pribillejo se saque e se les de a costa de mis bienes. Et sy los dichos ocho mill maravedis de juro non fueren çiertos o non les fuere dado el dicho pribillejo

como dicho es mando que les sean dados en equibalençia dellos ochenta mill maravedis en dinero

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 4v]
la qual manda les fago de mas e allende de qualquier cosa que de mi herençia pertenesca por herençia de mis fijas la señora prinçesa doña Leonor abadesa e doña Maria por respetto de la grand carga que yo tengo de la dicha señora abadesa mi hija e de todo el convento por que de mas de los trabajos que con mi persona an padeçido e padeçen an resçeuido quatro mugeres criadas mias para monjas e avian resçeuido otras ante a que yo no avia fecho deuida satisfaçion. Et mas por respetto de las cosas que les yo encomiendo en este mi testamento que fagan por mi anima de los quales maravedis mando que lo que dellos vastare sea reparada esta casa que tanto lo ha menester.

Otrosy mando por quanto yo me fallo muy encargada a la custodia del santo padre de Santoyo que de mis bienes sean dados a la dicha custodia veynte e çinco mill maravedis encargandoles por las animas del conde mi señor e mia los quales me plaseria que se gastasen en las enfermerias de sus casas que mas lo ayan menester o en otra cosa que a ellos vien venga.

[margin, Beatriz's handwriting] Demas desta manda que fago quiero e mando que sean dados a Santo Domingo de San Françisco de Sylos çinco mil maravedis e al Abrojo tres [mil] maravedis e al Aguilera otros tres tres [sic] [crossed out: maravedis] mil maravedis mando a Santa Maria de Ribas dies mil maravedis a las emparedadas de Cameno dos mil maravedis [Countess' rubric].

Otrosy mando que de mis propios bienes sean dados tresientas mill maravedis para redempçion de cristianos cabtibos que estan en tierra de moros los quales mando que sean dados a mi fija la señora abadesa deste monesterio para que los ella de a persona fiable que vaya por ellos a los sacar a la qual mando que sean dados otros treynta mill maravedis asy para la costa de sacar lo dichos cabtiuos como para los dexar en sus casas lo qual le encargo que ella cumpla lo mas ante que ella pueda.

Otrosy mando que sean dados seys mill maravedis para casar huerfanas moças pobres o que quieran entrar en religion. Et otros seys mill maravedis para sacar algunos pobres que estubieren presos en la carçel por maravedis e sy estos non se fallaren se den a hombres pobres que tengan criaturas de mantener lo qual mando que le sea dado allende de dies e ocho mill maravedis que yo he mandado dar para lo sobre dicho.

Otrosy encargo e pido al custodio que fuere de la custodia de mi padre fray Lope que en sus casas mande desir por mi anima çient misas las çinquenta de la conçepçion de nuestra señora e las veynte e çinco de los angeles e las veynte e çinco de requien. Et mando que den a la dicha custodia de mas de lo que arriba les mando ocho mill maravedis para reparo de sus enfermerias.

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 5]
[rubricated in both margins]
[left margin, Beatriz's handwriting] Otrosi por quanto ya el bachylller sabe lo que yo tenia ordenado e mandado de fazer en este ospital de san nato [?] asy

de camas de madera como de las guarnecer de ropa como de chymineas van cuan derechamente pido que se cumpla e faga segun el sabe que era mi voluntat [Countess' rubric].

[right margin, Beatriz's handwriting] Otrosy mando que sean dados a Santa Clara de Calabaçano diez mil maravedis. A Juana de Caldo (Zaldo?) dos mil maravedis [Countess' rubric].

Et por quanto yo fise en el corral deste monesterio vna casa a fin que sy alguna destas dueñas que yo dexo en este ospital del conde mi señor non les ploguiere vebir en el que puedan morar en la dicha casa en espeçial Juana Fernandes de Lynares para quien yo la fise para toda su vida tornando todavia la dicha casa al convento e monjas deste dicho monesterio de la qual les fago gracia e donaçion pura e perpetua para syempre. Et mando que las dichas dueñas o qualquier dellas puedan morar en ella sy quisyeren en sus vidas. Et sy despues de los dias destas dueñas algunas mugeres con deboçion se quisyeren retraer a la dicha casa ruego e pido a la prelada que es o fuere en este dicho monesterio que les de lugar para que puedan estar en ella doss mugeres solas con sus seruidoras pero que non sean de las que andan a mendigar.

Otrosy por que agora durante mi vida yo puedo ayudar a estas tres dueñas que yo dexo en este dicho ospital del conde mi señor con sus moças e con esto non fallan tanta mengua ni presençia quiero e mando que quando Dios me leuare desta vida de mas de lo que les yo he dado de mis bienes den a Juana Fernandes de Lynares quinse mill maravedis e a Teresa Sanches dies mill maravedis et a Maria Lopes ocho mill maravedis porque se puedan mejor mantener e ayan encargo de rogar a nuestro señor por las animas del conde mi señor e mia pero sy Dios dellas o de alguna dellas algo ordenare ante que de mi en tal caso quiero que non gosen de la dicha manda.

Otrosy mando e es my voluntad determinada que se den despues de mi fallesçimiento a la dicha Juana Fernandes de Lynares dose almudes de trigo en cada año en las rentas del mi lugar de Çidad los quales mando que le sean dados por toda su vida por qualquier que la renta del dicho lugar aya de aver.

Otrosy por quanto yo tengo çiertos libros segund paresçera por vn escripto firmado de mi nombre en el qual esta puesto de mi mano e señalado del dicho mi nombre lo que es mi determinada voluntad que se faga de los dichos libros quiero e mando que aquella forma se guarde syn yr contra ella en manera alguna sobre lo qual encargo su

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 5v]
conçiençia a la señora abadesa mi fija a la qual solamente dexo el cargo deste repartimiento e de mas destos dichos libros mando todo lo que de mi oratorio es e se fallare a este dicho monesterio eçebto el mi retablo del cruçifixo que mando que se <de> a Santa Clara de Veruiesca. Et mando que lo que esta en el mi oratorio del ospital se quede en el dicho oratorio e que non lo quiten de ally.

[margin, Beatriz's handwriting] Demas de las otras lymosnas mando que den a Juan el sacristan dos mil maravedis a Pero Jyl mil maravedis a Fernando de la Concha otros mil [Countess' rubric].

Et por quanto a doña Beatris de Velasco mi nieta fija de don Luys de Velasco mi fijo de voluntad e consentymiento del dicho don Luys su padre esta ofreçida

al seruiçio de nuestro señor e es monja e ha resçeuido el abito en este monesterio de Santa Clara çerca de Medina de Pumar e porque de mas e allende de qualquier cosa que yo oviese dado a la dicha doña Beatris mi nieta le di e traspase los quinse mill maravedis de juro e heredad que yo tenia sytuados e puestos por saluados por merçed del rey nuestro señor en las alcabalas de çiertos lugares del valle de Cuesta de Vrria e del Llano de Castilla Vieja para que los aya e tenga e lieue e gose el dicho monesterio para sy con las falcultades que los yo tenia e los ha lleuado e lieua el dicho monesterio desde el primero dia de enero deste año de setenta e doss e los ha de leuar en cada año perpetuamente despues de los dias de la dicha mi nieta el dicho monesterio de Santa Clara e abbadesa e monjas e convento de el los quales dichos quinse mill maravedis yo traspase a la dicha doña Beatris mi nieta para ayuda de su mantenimiento e porque se metio monja en la dicha profesyon e para en cuenta e pago de qualquier cargo e debda que el dicho don Luys su padre my fijo le es o fuere por cabsa de la herençia que le pertenesçe e ha e oviere de aver de doña Ana de Padilla su madre que Dyos aya de los quales dichos quinse mill maravedis de juro de heredad yo fesy gracia e donaçion pura e perpetua e firme a la dicha doña Beatris mi nieta por las cabsas e rasones suso dichas segund mas largamente paso por ante Juan Sanches de Viruiesca escribano e notario publico. Et por quanto podria acaesçer que estos dichos quinse mill maravedis de juro de heredad despues de mis dias por el rey nuestro señor seryan reuocados o quitados asy generalmente a buelta de otros maravedis de juro como espeçialmente por seer

[bottom, va entre renglones de non le enpesca (sic)]

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 6]

[rubricated in both margins]

de las merçedes nuebas que su señoria ha fecho desde el año de sesenta e çinco a esta parte que se leuantaron los bolliçios en este reyno e yo dellos non dy ni do saneamiento alguno a la dicha doña Beatris ni al dicho monesterio mando que mys fijos el conde don Pedro e don Luys e don Sancho de Velasco trayan e den tal saneamiento çierto e seguro para syempre jamas de los dichos quinse mill maravedis de juro de heredad a la dicha señora abbadesa e convento del dicho monesterio por donde asy a la dicha doña Beatris como al dicho monesterio le sean sanos e çiertos perpetuamente e fasta tanto que ellos esto ayan fecho mi voluntad es e mando que la dicha señora abbadesa tenga en sy e este en su poder toda la plata dorada que ella tyene que yo obe del conde mi señor que Dios tyene en su gloria en cuenta de los florines que yo obe de aver de mi dote e arras e la otra plata dorada que yo truxi e tengo en este dicho monesterio e asy dado el dicho saneamiento a contentamiento de la dicha señora abbadesa e convento ella de la dicha plata a aquel o a aquellos que lo ovieren de aver. Et asy la dicha plata e joyas como todas las otras cosas que yo dexo en poder de la dicha señora abbadesa le ruego e mando quanto mandar puedo so pena de mi vendiçion que non lo saque de su poder para dar a ningund heredero fasta que todo este mi testamento sea cumplido e las mandas en el contenidas.

Otrosy porque el dicho mi fijo don Luys ha ofresido a Dios por su grand merito e mi consolaçion a la dicha su fija doña Beatris de Velasco para que fuese monja en este dicho monesterio como de suso se contyene es muy grand rason que yo

ge lo reconosca. Por ende mando a la otra su hija doña Ana mi nieta para en qualquier estado en que Dios nuestro señor la llame lo que se sygue. Es a saber doss almadraques reales asules e amarillos e doss colchones reales e vn trabesero e vna almadraqueja real e dos paños françeses de saluajes e seys almuhadas de ras syn[?] seda e dos colchas reales la vna muy grande e dos alhombras grandes reales e vna manta de estrado amarilla e morada. Et por yo non tener cortynas nyn ropa blanca que le dar mando que le sean dados sesenta mill

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 6v]
maravedis los quales mando que se den a la señora abbadesa mi fija para que dellos le mande faser a su vien vista lo suso dicho.

Otrosy manda a la dicha mi nieta doña Ana el mi collar de perlas e piedras lo qual todo mando que tenga la dicha abadesa mi fija para ge lo dar al tiempo que Dios della orde<ne> en que estado la ha de poner. Et sy ante del dicho tiempo lo que Dyos non quiera la dicha doña Ana mi nieta fallesçiere syn aver herederos avnque sea casada en tal caso mando que sy el dicho mi fijo don Luys oviere de su muger fijo o fija que lo aya el fijo o fija primero. Et sy non lo oviere es mi determinada voluntad que lo aya el dicho don Luys mi fijo e asy lo mando a mis herederos so pena de mi maldiçion que lo cumplan e consyentan asy.

Otrosy por que podria ser que mis fijas doña Juana e doña Maria pidiesen la parte de la herençia de mis bienes por quanto [crossed out: a] ellas por el conde mi señor su padre e por mi fueron dotadas e casadas en tal manera que fincaron et fueron vien satisfechas e sus maridos e ellas con licençia e abtoridat suya dieron por libres e quitos al dicho mi señor su padre e a mi e a nuestros bienes de qualquier parte que les pertenesçiese quiero e es mi voluntad determinada que con aquello se ayan por contentas e las aparto de la herençia de mis bienes.

Otrosy mando a mi padre el vicario Juan Garcia de Medina por el trabajo que ha abido e abra en mis fechos dose mill maravedis.

Otrosy mando a mi padre Martin Garcia prouisor por ese mismo respetto seys mill maravedis.

Otrosy mando a Juan Sanches de Hyerro mi mayordomo de mas de lo que fasta oy le he dado çinco mill maravedis.

Otrosy mando al bachiller Pedro Fernandes de Velforado veynte mill maravedis por grand cargo que de el tengo por los trabajos que ha avido asy en mis enfermedades como en mi fasienda e encargo e pido de gracia a mi fijo el conde e a los otros mis fijos que lo ayan en cargo para le onrar e ayudar por el seruiçio que a mi señor su padre e a mi e a ellos ha fecho. Et por esa misma manera les encargo a estas dueñas e criadas que dexo en este ospital para que las ayuden por que non syentan mi falta.

[bottom: va sobrerraydo o dis Martin Garcia e en otro lugar entre rrenglones o dis ne non le enpesca (sic)]

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 7]
[rubricated in both margins]
Otrosy por quanto el conde mi fijo me es obligado en çinquenta mill maravedis de juro sytuados e puestos por saluados en la merindad de Castilla Vieja o

quinientas mill maravedis por ellos. Et en tresientas mill maravedis los quales me ha de dar en dinero el año que verna de setenta e tres años allende e de mas de las quinientas mill maravedis que el dicho mi fijo me libro en Garcia Rodrigues este año de setenta e dos los quales me esta obligado de pagar Juan Sanches escribano e non los pagando los ha de pagar el dicho Garcia Rodrigues quiero e mando e es mi determinada voluntad que antes que el ni sus hermanos ayan ni lieuen cosa alguna de mis bienes sean todos dados e pagados en poder de la dicha señora abadesa mi fija dentro deste dicho monesterio para complir las costas e mandas en este mi testamento contenidas por que lo que dello restare este complido. Ende se les queda que lo hereden en pas. Et esto mando a mi fijo el conde que cumpla e dello se desapodere como aqui mando so pena de mi maldiçion.

Otrosy por quanto yo mande faser dos retablos en Flandes segund sabe Pedro de Medina hermano de mi padre el vicario e el dicho Pedro tyene resçebidos treynta mill maravedis para en cuenta de lo que ellos costaran mando e es mi voluntad determinada que se de priesa a los acabar e traer e paguen de mis bienes sobre los dichos treynta mill maravedis todo lo que mas costaren e traydos los dichos retablos mando que sean dados a esta casa de Santa Clara de Medina para que los pongan [margin: *].

Otrosy por que yo tengo tres moças con estas tres dueñas de mi casa e las syruen por mi mandado e para satisfaçion dello tyene la señora abadesa mi hija para dar a Marica la que syrue a Teresa Sanches çinco mill maravedis que le yo mande para ayuda de casamiento o para lo que Dios della ordenare. Et porque yo tengo mas cargo della agora mando que de mis bienes le sean dados otros çinco mill maravedis. Et a Mariquilla la que syrve a Maria Lopes sobre tres mill maravedis que la dicha abadesa tyene para ella otros quatro mill maravedis. Et mando a Juanica la que agora syrue a Juana Fernandes tres mill maravedis e encargo las conciençias a mis testamentarios que asy lo cumplan e a mis fijos que lo consientan e esten por ello so pena de mi vendiçion.

[bottom: va sobrerraydo ni non lo enpesca]

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 7v]

Otrosy porque paresçera por mis nominas <e> libramientos yo aver resçeuido çiertas quantyas de maravedis e por los aver yo gastado por mi misma en descargo e merito de mi anima mando determinadamente que por manera alguna non sea demandada cuenta a la señora prinçesa el abadesa mi fija ni al conuento. Ca yo do fe que non saben en que los despendi nin tuvieron cargo dellos ni menos de otras lymosnas para que yo he tomado dineros. Et sy algo ha tenido nuestra madre el abbadesa esta por mi escripto. Et eso mismo defiendo que de cosa de mi axuar non se pida cuenta por quanto yo lo he dado e despendido en donde entendi que cumplya. Ca de la plata que ella tenia por mi e de lo que comigo mety por vn escripto esta puesto de mi letra lo que dello he dado e gastado por ende mando a mis fijos que non salgan desta mi postrimera voluntad so pena de mi maldiçion.

Otrosy por quanto Sancha Gonçales fue mi camarera e Juana Martines de Viruiesca e Mari Lopes de Medina e Maria Alonso e Teresa Garcia de Laredo e Mary Sanches de Medina e Teresa Sanches e Juana Fernandes de Lynares e Maria

Garcia de Muneo tuvieron cargo dellas de mi dinero e otras de mi plata e joyas e de mi axuar e de otras cosas e me dieron e an dado todas una fiel e verdadera cuenta mando e defiendo a mis herederos so pena de mi bendiçion que non les demanden mas cuenta porque yo las do vien de aqui por quitas et libres de qualquier cargo que por mi ayan tenido.

Et asy mismo porque podria seer que fuese demandada cuenta del cargo que el bachiller Pedro Fernandes de Velforado tovo del dinero de mi camara e asy mismo mi mayordomo Martin Gonçales de Veruiesca que Dios aya e Diego Aluares de Hormesedo e otros qualesquier ofiçiales de mi casa por la presente mando a los dichos mis herederos so pena de la dicha mi vendiçion que pues ellos me han dado fiel e verdadera cuenta e yo me do por satisfecha que non sean osados de cosa les demandar ni los fatigar.

Otrosy por quanto en los tiempos pasados en tanto que yo tuve cargo de la fasienda del conde mi señor que Dios tyene yo ove e fise çiertas conveniençias e contrataçciones con algunas personas asy mayordomos e recab

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 8]
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dadores suyos como con otras personas qualesquier asy de sus rentas e vienes como de los maravedis e rentas del rey nuestro señor e resçeui de algunos dellos algunas gracias e dadibas e avnque sobre este caso yo oue mi consejo con mi señor e padre el maestro fray Martin de Santa Maria que Dios perdone e paresçio yo non seer en cargo de cosa alguna segund el bachiller Pedro Fernandes de Velforado sabe quiero et mando que sy alguna de las dichas personas por lo sobredicho viniere a pedir alguna cosa por mas satisfaçion a mi anima mando que la tal quexa sea vista por mis testamentarios et avnque en mi vida non ha pareçido ningund quexoso de lo semejante encargo a mis testamentarios que ellos lo vean et lo descarguen porque no me dexen cargo pues non lo supe en mi vida.

Otrosy mando a este ospital de mi señor Pedro Fernandes de Velasco dos mill maravedis de juro de heredad de los çinquenta mill maravedis suso dichos que el conde mi fijo me ha de dar e sy los dichos dos mill maravedis de juro non fueren çiertos e dado preuillejo dellos a mi costa mando que le sean dados veynte mill maravedis en dineros los quales esten en poder de la señora abadesa mi fija para que a su disposiçion se gasten en acreçentamiento de alguna renta por los dichos pobres del dicho ospital o para reparo de la dicha casa o de otra cosa a elle neçesaria.

Otrosy mando e es mi determinada voluntad que sy alguna o algunas de las mandas que yo aqui mando de qualquier qualidad que sean se fallare en las margines deste mi testamento o en las fojas del escripto de mi mano e firmado de mi nombre acreçentando o menguando o movido o pagado o dando por ningunas algunas dellas quiero e mando que asy valga e faga fe como sy ante escribano e testigos fuese fecho e otrogado e asy se guarde e cumpla como sy fuese yncluso e contenido dentro en este mi testamento.

Et cumplido e pagado todo este dicho mi testamento e las mandas e legatos en el contenidas e ordenadas

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 8v]
asy de mis descargos como de obras pias e de otra qualquier manera quiero e mando que de todo lo otro que remanesçiere de mis bienes asy oro como plata e maravedis e joyas e pan e vino e rayses e rentas e otras qualquier cosas que aya et lyeue la dicha señora abadesa mi fija la terçera parte de todo ello. Ca yo por la presente la mejoro en ella por la mejor forma e manera que puedo por muchos cargos que della tengo e por muchos e señalados seruiçios que della he resçeuido e resçibo de cada dia e por venia e descargo de mi anima. Et pido e ruego e mando al conde mi fijo e a don Luys e a don Sancho mis fijos que consyentan en ello e non contradigan en cosa alguna so pena de mi maldiçion.

Et de todo lo otro que quedare quita la dicha terçera parte mando que lo ayan e hereden en ygual grado e por yguales partes mi fijo el conde don Pedro e la señora prinçesa doña Leonor abadesa deste monesterio e doña Maria de Velasco monja del dicho monasterio e don Luys e don Sancho mis fijos e fijas a los quales establesco por mis vniuersales legitimos herederos non embargante el recabdo que fisieron la dicha señora abadesa e la dicha doña Maria monja mis fijas de se apartar con lo que mi señor su padre les dio de su herençia e mia porque a mi seria grand cargo de conçiençia apartarlas de mi herençia non embargante el dicho recabdo dandolo por ninguno como lo doy de mi parte. Et mando e quiero que hereden como dicho es.

[margin, in 16th-century script:] Que las señoras monxas se les pide agan una memoria dia de nuestra señora de agosto y otro dia seguiente.

Otrosy pido de merçed a la dicha señora abbadesa mi fija e a sus suçesoras que fueren en este monesterio de Santa Clara e al conuento e monjas de el que agora son o seran de aqui adelante que pues yo non les dexo cargo alguno de cosa perpetua que por mi anima ayan de faser que a ellas plega de me faser cada año vna memoria. Et sy a ellas por su virtud e por me faser a mi merçed pluguiere de lo acceptar que me la fagan el dia de santa Maria de agosto e otro dia despues lo qual les pido e encargo quanto puedo.

Et para complir et pagar todo lo que yo mando en este dicho

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 9]
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mi testamento establesco e ordeno por mis esecutores et testamentarios a la señora prinçesa doña Leonor de Velasco abadesa mi fija e a mi padre el vicario Juan Garcia de Medina e a mi padre Martin Garcia prouisor de Sant Lazaro e a mi amigo el vachiller Pedro Fernandes de Velforado porque creo que ama mi alma e sabe della harto e tambien de mi voluntad. A la qual dicha señora abbadesa ruego e pido quanto estrechamente puedo que por consolaçion de mi anima pues ella sabe el grand amor que yo syempre le ove e he e ella a mi le plega acçeptar e tomar este cargo e que ella por sy misma syn otro testamentario alguno o con aquel o aquellos que a ella paresçiere ser mas consolada mi anima tenga cargo de luego complir e executar e pagar todo lo en este mi testamento contenido e cada cosa dello. Et por que podria seer que los dichos mis testamentarios o alguno dellos non podrian seer presentes a complir e executar este dicho mi testamento e lo en el contenido asy por fallesçimiento o dolençia de alguno dellos como por

otro ympedimento quiero e mando que sy en este dicho mi testamento o en el fin de el o en las margines de sus fojas se fallare escripto de mi mano e firmado de mi nombre quitado o mudado alguno o algunos dellos e puesto e nombrado otro o otros testamentarios que aquello que asy se fallare e fuere escripto valga e se aya por çierto e firme vien asy como sy aqui fuesen ynsyertos e nombrados e non oviese en ellos mudamiento alguno a los quales dichos mis testamentarios que asy en fin de mis dias e vida en este dicho mi testamento paresçieren en la manera que dicha es apodero en todos mis bienes muebles e rayses e semouientes doquier que los yo aya e tenga e oviere e toviere de aver e asy avidos como por aver para que cumplan e paguen todo lo queyo ordeno e mando e dolos e otorgolos todo mi poder cumplido vastante a todos e cada vno por sy ynsolidun para que puedan entrar e apoderarse de los dichos mis bienes e los puedan vender e enagenar syn decreto e mandamiento de jues ni de alcalde ni merino ni otra justiçia qualquier.

[Countess' rubric] [notary's rubric]

[Fol. 9v]
Et syn requeryr a mis herederos ni alguno dellos mas que libremente se apoderen dellos e fagan e cumplan todo lo que dicho es. Et otrosy les do e otorgo todo cumplido poder para que a costa e espensa de los dichos mis bienes puedan estar y esten en juisio e ynjuysiar e fuera de juysio e demandar los dichos mis bienes e procurarlos e sacarlos do quien los toviere e ocupare e defenderlos e ampararlos vien asy e a tan complidamente como yo misma lo faria e podria faser presente seyendo e mi vastante procurador en mi nombre lo podria e debria faser. Et otrosy les do todo mi poder complido para que puedan resceuir e tomar cuentas a quien entendieren que ayan tenido o tovieren cargo de mi fasienda e bienes desde el primero dia del mes de abril del año que paso del señor de mill e quatroçientos e setenta años en adelante e dar cartas de pago e de fin e quitamiento e faser e fagan todas aquellas cosas e cada vna dellas que yo mesma faria e faser podria como dicho es fasta ser traydo a deuida execuçion con efetto este mi testamento e todo lo en el contenido e quan complido e vastante poder yo he e tengo tal e tan complido e tan vastante e aquel mismo do e otorgo a los dichos mis testamentarios e a cada vno dellos ynsolidun en la mejor manera e forma que yo puedo e de derecho debo. Et mando e defiendo que persona alguna non sea osado de los enpachar ni ocupar ni embargar ni tomen ni embarguen ni ocupen ni empachen ni demanden cosa alguna de los dichos mis bienes fasta que los dichos mis testamentarios cumplan et ayan cumplido todo este dicho mi testamento e postrimera voluntad e todas las mandas e legatos en el por mi fechas e ordenadas. Et por este dicho my testamento reuoco e do por ningunos e de ningund valor e fuerça todos quantos otros testamentos e cobdecillos e qualesquier mandas e legatos que fasta el dia del otorgamiento deste my testamento yo aya fecho e otorgado e ordenado como quier e en qualquier manera. Et quiero que non valgan ni fagan fe alguna saluo este mi testamento que agora fago e ordeno por mi postrimera voluntad e digo e ordeno e mando e quiero que este mi testamento valga por testamento. Et sy non valyere por testamento valga por codeçillo. Et sy non valyere por cobdeçilo valga por mi postrimera voluntad. Et en

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[Fol. 10]
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cargando e mandando e en cargo de sus conçiençias que persona alguna non sea osado de rremouer ni remueuan ni pongan ni quiten cosa alguna de lo que aqui es contenido ni vayan ni vengan ni pasen contra las cosas suso dichas ni contra alguna cosa dellas ante ruego a todos los que en ella me pudieren ayudar que lo cumplan e ayuden a cumplir dando para ello todo el fabor e ayuda que pudieren en todo tiempo para que lo mas breue que seer pueda sea complido este mi testamento. Et quien lo contrario fisiere ruego e supplico a nuestro señor que ge lo demande mal e caramente en este mundo a los cuerpos e en el otro a las animas et el les de por ello mucho trabajo y mal galardon. Et porque esto sea çierto e firme e non venga en dubda fis escriuir este dicho mi testamento en la forma suso dicha en estas dies fojas deste paper de dos fojas el pliego con esta foja e en fondon de cada vna plana va señalado de mi mano de la señal de mi nombre. Et por mas corroboraçion firme aqui mi nombre et lo otorgue ante Pedro Rodrigues de Medina escribano del dicho señor rey e su notario publico en la su corte e en todos los sus reynos e señorios e a los presentes rogue que fuesen dello testigos a los quales rogue que firmasen aqui sus nombres e al dicho escribano e notario que lo sygnase con su sygno. Que fue fecha e otorgada esta carta de testamento dentro del monasterio de Santa Clara çerca de la dicha villa de Medina de Pumar a seyss dias de setyembre año del nascymiento de nuestro señor Ihesu Xpo de mill e quatroçientos e setenta e vn años. Testigos que fueron presentes a todo lo que dicho es rogados e llamados espeçialmente para ello e vieron firmar aqui este

[Signed and rubricated:]
Martinus Garcia
The Countess
Ferrandus Garcia
Johanes
Petrus [?] et Me^{ne} bachellarius

su nombre a la dicha señora condesa doña Veatris Manrrique el provisor Martin Garcia de Medina clerigo e Ferrand Garcia capellan et el vachiller Pedro Fernandes de Velhorado et Juan Lopes sacristan deste monesterio et yo el dicho Pedro Rodrigues.

[notary's rubric]

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Plate 18 Women reading, Middle Rhine region (?), first half of the 15th c.
Darmstadt, Hessische Landes—und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Or. 8, fol. 37v
(Photo: Hessische Landes—und Universitätsbibliothek, Darmstadt)
See Kogman-Appel, fig. 5.

Plate 19 Rabbinic scholar, Catalunya, ca. 1330. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS heb. 6, fol. 22v (Photo: John Rylands Library, Manchester). See Kogman-Appel, fig. 11.

Plate 20 Initial with the female owner at prayer, ca. 1240. de Brailes Hours, London, British Library, Add. 4999, fol. 64v (Photo: British Library). See Gee, fig. 6.

Plate 21 Initial with William de Brailes *"w.de brail' qui me depeint,"* ca. 1240. de Brailes Hours, London, British Library, Add. 4999, fol. 43r (Photo: British Library). See Gee, fig. 7.

von dem strenge leben
mechtilden von stans · vnd
vō den offenbarūgen die
ir got tet · vñ von den wu
nder zeichē die nach ire
tod geschahet · Das ij capitel ·
Vos q
reliquis
tis oīa
& secuti
estis me ·
centuplū
accipie
tis et
vitā eternam possidebitis ma
thei xix Vnser lieber herr
spricht jn dē heiligē ewangelio
jr die da alle dinck gelassen
hand · vnd mir nach gevolget
hand · das werdent ir hūdert
falt wid' nemē · vñ dar zu so

Plate 22 Mechthilt von Stans and the *Herzenstausch* (fol. 9va), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–1470 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibiothek Nürnberg). See Carroll, fig. 6.

Plate 23 Margret von Zurich bathing the Christ Child (fol. 29rb), *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töß*, ca. 1450–1470 (Photo: J. Carroll/Stadtsbibliothek Nürnberg). See Carroll, fig. 9.

Plate 24 Initial Q, Lucca Passionary C, ca. 1110. Lucca, Archivo arcivescovile, Passionary C, fol. 76r (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca). See Vandi, fig. 10.

Plate 25 Initial D, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 154v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca).
See Vandi, fig. 11.

Plate 26 Initial L, Lucca Antiphonary, ca. 1112. Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare MS 603, fol. 140v (Photo: L. Vandi/Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca). See Vandi, fig. 13.

Plate 27 Detail of church and bell-tower from a wool soumak weaving on linen warp from Skog, Sweden, 13th c. (Photo: The National Historical Museum, Stockholm). See Wicker, fig. 12.

Plate 28 Detail, processional cross, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.). See Rodrigues, fig. 1.

Plate 29 Reliquary of the Holy Cross, 14th c. (Photo: J. Pessoa, Divisão de Documentação Fotográfica/Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, I.P.). See Rodrigues, fig. 3.

Plate 30 *Mary, Queen of Heaven*, ca. 1470s, Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington DC). See Pereda, fig. 9.

Plate 31 *Anunciation and Visitation Lenten Cloth*, ca. 1470s, attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy (Photo: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid). See Pereda, fig. 10.

Plate 32 Purification boss, Chapel of the Condestables, after 1482 (Photo: F. Pereda). See Pereda, fig. 11.