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Goldscheibe des Konstanzer Münsters

Diese heute in der Krypta des Frauenmünsters zu Konstanz befindliche feuervergoldete Kupferscheibe dürfte zusammen mit drei weiteren ursprünglich außen in der Giebelzone des Chores (oder am Turm?) befestigt gewesen sein. Sie zeigtden hl. Pelagius, einen der Patrone der Kirche, der in er Rechten die Märtyrerpalme hält. Von den mehreren Heiligen dieses Namens soll es sich um Pelagius von Aemona in Istrien handeln, der der Legende nach 283 hingerichtet wurde. Seine Reliquien befinden sich seit 904 in Konstanz. Als Entstehungsdatum der Scheibe wird um 1300 angenommen; die Binnenzeichnung des Gesichts hat die lange Anbringung am Äußeren des Baues nicht überstanden.

(Bild und Text: Peter Dinzelbacher)

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Dafna Nissim
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Resemblance and Identification in Personal Devotion: The Images of St. Ursula Commissioned by Anne of Brittany*

Abstract: Anne of Brittany commissioned three images of Saint Ursula, and I utilize these to develop a case study to demonstrate that a sense of familiarity with a holy figure was a factor in a worshipper choosing to engage with a particular saint. The iconography of Ursula's portrayals in the *Grandes Heures* and Saint Ursula's *Nef* reflects a likeness between Anne and the image toward which she directed her piety. I argue that they were commissioned by the queen to help her intensify her initial sense of identification with the saint. Queen Anne, a pious Christian and an educated woman, was familiar with patterns of thinking that enabled comparison and association while reading and contemplating on the *vitae* of saints. There were three points in Ursula's *vita* that might have evoked a sense of kinship with the saint: they were both born in British lands, linked to a royal family, and were faced with marriages to foreign princes. These aspects received significant artistic attention in the portrayals of Ursula under discussion. However, the artists created the images with an interplay between the saint's likeness to Queen Anne and a slight divergence, an approach that promoted identification with the saint but at the same time could motivate the celebrant to translate the saint's virtues into her own life. Through an interdisciplinary perspective on the artworks and a survey of the relevant contemporary texts, this study demonstrates that the intimate and internal process of selecting a patron saint and the resulting worship with the aid of images enabled a devotee to negotiate a whole range of aspects linked to his/her self-identity and to promote religiosity and construction of secular aspects of his/her personality.

Keywords: Illuminated manuscripts; Queen Anne of Brittany; Saint Ursula; devotional works of art; saints' vitae; reception theory; personal devotion

I. Introduction

This study deals with three images of St. Ursula commissioned by Anne, Duchess of Brittany (1477–1517) and twice queen of France owing to her marriages with two kings of the Valois royal family.[1] Produced in the first years of the sixteenth century, these portrayals are to be found on two sumptuous devotional objects. In the *Grandes Heures of Anne of Brittany* (1505–1508),[2] St. Ursula is depicted as one of the queen's patron saints in the opening illustration of the book (Fig. 1), and her martyrdom, which puts an end to her pilgrimage, is rendered on a full page in the Suffrages, the prayer cycle to saints (Fig. 2).[3] In the *Nef of Saint Ursula* (Fig. 3), she is the subject of a de-

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votional sculpture that originally served as tableware in the form of a warship filled with sailors, which was presented to the queen by the citizens of Tours in 1500 on her *joyeuse entrée*.[4] Five years later, the queen asked that this secular object be reshaped into a religious model, which was designed to "have the Eleven Thousand Virgins put on,"[5] as well as a statue of St. Ursula.[6] The iconography, context, and production of the portraits reveal Queen Anne's investment in her spiritual relationship with St. Ursula, who was the only female saint whom the queen had depicted in a Book of Hours and on a devotional statue.[7] The portrayals on the *Nef* and in the *Grandes Heures* reflect the similarity in Ursula's and Anne's birthplaces and rank, and allude, as I argue, to the queen's sense of identification with the saint.

Fig. 1: - Jean Bourdichon, Anne accompanied by her Patron Saints in Prayer, fol. 3r, Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne, 1505–1508, 30 × 19 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms latin 9474 (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/ BnF)

Fig. 2: – Jean Bourdichon, Martyrdom of Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, fol. 199v, Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne, 1505–1508, 30 × 19 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms latin 9474 (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/ BnF)

In this essay, I explore the role of the patroness in shaping her own piety. From the thirteenth century on, a Christian who sought spiritual perfection could go about it without taking a religious vow and could engage in his/her devotions in private spaces without the intervention of the clergy. The *Nef* and the *Grandes Heures* were created to facilitate such practice. I utilize the artworks and a discussion of the queen's patronage to develop a case study in order to demonstrate that a worshipper's sense of familiarity with a saint was a factor in initiating an interaction with a holy figure. The iconography of Ursula's portrayals reflects a likeness between Anne and the image toward which she directed her piety. In both artworks the saint is illustrated as a blend of a Breton and a French queen dressed and accessorized with symbolic elements from

*Fig. 3: - Pierre Rousseau, Saint Ursula's Nef, 1500, 1505, 46*28* 16.5 cm, Reims, Palais du Tau (Dguendel - Own work, CC BY 4.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=71070008)*

Anne's wardrobe and life. I argue that it was requested by the queen, who sought to intensify her initial sense of identification with Ursula. The portrayals in turn might well have amplified an aspiration to imitate or even assimilate the saint's virtuous behavior.

Anne's biography discloses several parallels to Ursula's *vita*. They were both daughters of royal families raised in British lands faced with marriages to foreign princes. The queen's life story reveals that, like Ursula who set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, Anne undertook a journey of several months to the shrines of the founding bishop saints of Brittany. Christina Normore considers the resemblance between the queen and the saint in an article she wrote in 2012, where she uses Friedrich Ohly's medieval sign theory to interpret the content and contexts of the *Nef* with its multiplicity of patrons and its reshaped form.[8] She contends that the images of Ursula in the possession of Queen Anne reveal that they were both Breton queens. From her examination of the

portraits, she concludes that "the role of Ursula as an ancestress for Anne is evident."[9] However, since her study is dedicated to the exploration of the construction of meaning by examining the links among materiality, iconography, function, and location, the issue of a sense of kinship with a saint as a factor in his/her selection is only a marginal issue. Typical of this limited interest, scholarship on the reception of saints in private devotion in the later Middle Ages has not yet comprehensively addressed the reasons for the selection of a specific saint for personal worship.[10] I do not intend to remedy this lacuna completely, but hope to offer one such approach that was common in the religious life of Christians in the early modern period. I suggest that biographical similarities (of the saints' *vita* and the devotee's life) might have been the spark that initiated a sense of identification with a saint and directed the devotee toward his/her reverence.

My observations find support in Hans Robert Jauss's approach regarding the character of the hero in literary texts and Joachim Duyndam's philosophical perspective on the response of worshippers to sainthood. Both scholars emphasize that the appeal of a saint or a literary hero for an audience may derive from a sense of familiarity evoked in the reader/hearer. Jauss determined a category of "sympathetic identification." He suggested that it characterizes the interaction between the reader and the hero (be he a knight, a saint, or an ordinary man) and that it can engender a solidarity that can influence the reader's thoughts and actions. [11] In like manner, Duyndam argues that an important element that initiates the interaction between a devotee and a saint is a sense of familiarity and kinship that the interpreter shares with his/her subject of adoration.[12] The approaches of Jauss and Duyndam emphasize the influence of the hero/saint on the audience and the requirement that there be an initial recognition of a resemblance between the devotee and the saint, which, as I contend, was the basis of Anne's devotion to St. Ursula.

As I show in this study, Ursula served inter alia as an *exemplum* whom the queen could imitate. However, behavioral imitation based on the example set by a saint does not mean copying or duplicating his/her behavior. Duyndam directs attention to the interpretive quality of the process of assimilating saints' virtuous conduct, defining the creativity of the interpreter (the devotee) in applying the values that the exemplary person reflects. This process, he argues, is based as a whole on kinship or *appartenance* (belonging to), a concept he borrowed from the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who contended that it is an essential attribute of the hermeneutical approach to texts.[13] According to Duyndam's perspective, the saint was a text that the worshipper had to understand, associate with, and interpret. As I show in this study, as other noblewomen of her period, Anne was educated and was familiar with patterns of thinking that used comparison and associations when reading saints' *vitae*.

According to several hagiographies, Ursula was a Christian princess who was asked to marry a pagan prince. Although she pledged herself as Christ's betrothed, because of the threat of the prospective groom's father in case of refusal, she accepted the proposal on the condition that her prospective husband would become Christian and, further, that she would first be allowed to set out on a three-year pilgrimage to

Rome accompanied by eleven thousand virgins. On their way back home from Rome, the pilgrims stopped in Cologne for the second time, where they encountered Huns. Dazzled by Ursula's beauty, the chief of the Huns tried to persuade her to marry him. She refused, so he killed her with an arrow and the virgins were slaughtered by his soldiers. [14]

The earliest evidence of the story is an epitaph dated to the fifth century, now installed on the south wall of the choir in the Basilica of St. Ursula, known until the seventeenth century as the Church of the Holy Virgins, in Cologne. The inscription does not refer to Ursula specifically, nor does it mention the exact number of female martyrs; rather, it notes that an individual named Clematius "restored this basilica on their [the virgins'] land from the foundation up."[15] The presence of a large number of human relics and the evolving cult of the holy virgins was a source of enormous pride for the citizenry of Cologne. The cult, which was tied to the worship of reliquary busts, appealed to female devotees who were the daughters of patrician and middle-class families. As argued by Joan A. Holladay, the busts were designed to serve as role models and particularly as exemplars for these female devotees, many of whom were becoming beguines.[16] However, the large number of corpses that were exhumed led to the expansion of the cult and reached an enormous number of locations, whether monastic, ecclesiastical, or royal.[17]

II. The Portraits in the Context of Ursula's Cult

The portraits of St. Ursula commissioned by Queen Anne reflect the significance of the saint as the leader of the virgins' group. Prior to the tenth century, it was primarily the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne who were worshipped. As noted by Scott Montgomery, the cult was created and developed in the wake of the excavation of human remains in Cologne and relevant texts and images, and it was fashioned to reinforce the presence and potency of the holy virgins as a group.[18] However, texts from the ninth century on indicate the interest in naming the leading figures of the group – Martha and Saula in the *Martyrology of Usuardus* (ca. 860) and Pinnosa in the *Sermo in natali SS. Virginum XI milium* (922).[19] Ursula was identified as the leader of the group of virgins at the end of the tenth century. Although a tension between the identity of the group and that of the most prominent figure is reflected in many texts and images throughout the late Middle Ages,[20] from the sixteenth century, the emphasis on the leader increased.

At the time of the production of the *Nef* and the *Grandes Heures*, Ursula's representational primacy as the leader of the holy band is unsurprising.[21] Attributed to Bourdichon (1457/1459–1521), who is mentioned in a 1508 record of a payment for delivering "rich and sumptuous historiated and illuminated *Grandes Heures* for our use and service …,"[22] the book is a lavish work encompassing in its 238 leaves a calendar, prayers, and hymns. The design of its illustrations, which includes forty-nine full-page paintings and more than 300 borders decorated with flowers, plants, and insects, is

one of the most ambitious early sixteenth-century prayer-book cycles.[23] The first folio is adorned with a full-page armorial surrounded by imposing initials (L, A) of Anne and her husband, Louis XII (fol. 1v, Fig. 4). On the next opening, we find an image of the pietà on a background of a rocky view with a castle, while on the opposite folio, the queen is accompanied by three patron saints – her namesake patron St. Anne, St. Helena, and St. Ursula (Fig. 1).[24] The same saints are introduced in the Suffrages, following a prayer cycle for male saints. Although the calendar notes October 21 as the feast day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, as was usual in the Roman calendar, it refers to the virgins and Ursula as one entity, the chief saint getting personal attention in the Suffrages when she is addressed as "Madame Saint Ursula" in the title on folio 200r.[25] The prayer continues with "Ursula, a flower glowing from Britain/Virgin fruit of Royal Stock/ Proclaiming God."[26] Similarly, in the image opposite the prayer, the figure of Ursula is larger than those of the slaughtered virgins.

Fig. 4: – Jean Bourdichon, The Emblem of Anne and Louis, fol. 1v, Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne, 1505–1508, 30 × 19 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms latin 9474 (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/ BnF)

Moreover, as Normore shows, Ursula was a prominent saint for the queen, who perceived her as her ancestress.[27] She points to the position of Ursula's figure close behind the queen's back on folio 3r holding the flag of the Duchy of Brittany (Fig. 1). Saints Anne and Helena stand on either side of the queen, with their palms pointed toward her and their gazes fixed on the pietà on the opposite folio. In contrast, Ursula is hidden by Anne. The image of physical closeness to the queen's suggests connotations not only of personal proximity but also of safeguarding, as if the saint is keeping her from harm.[28] The banner on folio 3r and the heraldic shield that hangs on the bow of the boat on folio 199v emphasize an important point in the saint's *vita* – that Ursula was born on British land, a geographical area that included Brittany both historically and etymologically.

Ursula is the only female saint portrayed in her martyrdom in the *Grandes Heures*, and the scene is depicted as a violent spectacle, with blood and the virgins' severed heads (Fig. 2). Ursula is figured in the scenario's climax as an arrow impales her body and blood stains her dress and accumulates in puddles around the severed heads of her companions. Conversely, St. Anne is shown teaching the Virgin to read (fol. 197v) and St. Helena is depicted finding the true Cross (fol. 207v). Mary Magdalen, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine of Alexandria are also represented in the Suffrages, yet, although according to their *vitae* the last two were tortured to death, their illustrations follow iconic patterns – St. Margaret is illustrated bursting through the dragon's belly (fol. 205v),[29] and St. Catherine holds a palm beside a breaking wheel and a sword (fol. 203v).[30]

The body of a saint in a dramatic moment had an emotive power over the viewer. The "theatrical saint's body in pain," to use Callahan's phrasing,[31] exposed in the climax of the martyrdom narrative evoked the spectator's interaction with the image of the saint on the threshold of death. Carlson suggests three models of responses by late medieval Christian audiences, one of which was identification with the martyred saint.[32] The image of the martyr in this climactic moment might have served as an impetus for a sense of identification and compassion for the dying saint. In contrast to the remote image of other female saints in the *Grandes Heures*, the vulnerable body of Ursula, violated by the Hun's arrow, enabled the queen to meditate on the bodies of the saint and her maidens in pain in a compassionate way. This form of devotion was closely related to the way laypeople meditated on the suffering body of Christ with the aid of texts and images describing the Passion.[33]

In contrast to the climactic moment depicted in the aforesaid illustration, Ursula and eleven representatives of her company are portrayed on the *Nef* at the beginning of their pilgrimage. The figures are imaged on the deck in place of the soldiers and sailors who were figured there in the first stage of its creation. Eleven figures that represent the eleven thousand virgins are standing in the ship facing outward – some with hands folded in prayer and some holding a book. Ursula is posed under the mast; she is crowned and haloed with a wheel-like golden object. Her dress, which has a bodice attached to a long skirt, is that of a traditional French queen from the later Middle Ages. One of her hands was holding one of her attributes, while the other is

opening her mantle slightly, revealing a glimpse of its lining. The core of her effigy was cast in gold and covered with enamel, materials that distinguished the saint from her less prominent attendants, who were made out of silver.[34] In order to highlight Ursula's prominence, the artist used the technique of translucent red on gold, known in contemporary inventories as *rouge cler*. It was an innovative decorative expertise that reached its fullest development in Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century and was employed in the execution of sumptuous objects made for noble patrons.[35] A similar significance, which is reflected in a choice of materials and techniques, is evident in when comparing the *Nef* with reliquary busts of St. Ursula created in the first half of the fourteenth century for the Cathedral of Basel. Unlike the plethora of Cologne reliquary busts of the virgins made out of wood,[36] this one was fashioned of gilded silver and translucent enamel. This choice of material helped to differentiate Ursula from her virgin companions, who traditionally are represented as resembling one another.[37] Moreover, on the *Nef*, her face and body are molded in a more sophisticated fashion and more elegantly than those of her female attendants.

The figures of St. Ursula in these three portraits are compatible with the evolution of the cult of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins at the threshold of the Early Modern Period. The artists' use of different media and iconography for her attendants and other holy figures reveals the significance and prominence of the saint for Queen Anne.

III. Similarities between the Life Narratives of Anne and Ursula

As I noted above, three points of resemblance could have elicited the sense of kinship on the part of the queen that led her to invest in St. Ursula's images. They were both born in British lands, linked to a royal family, and faced with marriages to foreign princes. However, this path of selection was not engendered in a vacuum. The awareness of noble and educated Christians of issues of resemblance might have been evoked when they read about or contemplated on narratives of saint's lives, which in many cases were based on the *topos* of ancient saints' *vitae* or on the way Christ's life is styled in the Gospels.[38] Bonaventure's *The Life of St. Francis* (*Legenda maior*, 1257–1261), provides a model for reflective strategies that Franciscan-informed devotees such as Anne could deploy when meditating on the life of a saint.[39] Although there is no evidence of Bonaventure's text in Anne's library, there is good reason to assume that the queen was familiar with St. Francis's *vita* as she was raised in an environment that favored the Franciscan Observants and in her maturity chose to include Franciscan confessors in her entourage.[40]

Studying *The Life of St. Francis* using an intertextual approach reveals a relationship between this text and archetexts such as the Scriptures[41]:

In these last days / the grace of God our Savior has appeared / in his servant Francis … He was poor and lowly, / but the Most High God looked upon him / with such condescension and kindness / that he not only lifted him up in his need / from the dust

of the worldly life, / but made him a practitioner, a leader and a herald / of Gospel perfection / and set him up as a light for believers / so that by bearing witness to the light/ he might prepare for the Lord/ a way of light and peace into the hearts of his faithful.[42] As a medieval author, Bonaventure consciously inserted a string of verses from the Bible in his text.[43] In this brief paragraph he embedded quotations and fragments from the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline Epistles, Isaiah, Job, the Gospel according to John, and the Gospel according to Luke.[44] Taken as a whole, the opening of his Prologue to *The Life of St. Francis* describes the role God gave to St. Francis – to be a leader who would lead the faithful to union with Christ and the Divine through reflection on the path that he chose for his life. The embedded texts from the Gospels reflect the author's intention to make his audiences aware of a likeness between Christ and Francis.[45] Writers of sacred biographies took into account the familiarity of their audiences with other sacred texts and employed various rhetorical devices to evoke emotional and spiritual effects of identification in their audiences.[46]

The legend of Ursula tells us that she lived in the British lands whereas Anne was born and raised in Brittany. In general, the hagiography of the saint and her companions from around the tenth century leaves an uncertainty as to whether Ursula was born in the British Isles or in Brittany.[47] Historically and etymologically, Brittany has been linked to Britain. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Britons moved across the channel and settled in Armorica,[48] which has been referred to as Brittany (Britannia minor) since the twelfth century in order to distinguish it from Great Britain (Britannia major) across the channel.[49]

A telling piece of evidence of the association of Ursula with Breton origins is to be found on the shield of the city of Cologne, which since the late fifteenth century has comprised eleven ermine tails on a chief gules with three golden crowns. This coat of arms is figured on an altarpiece that was devoted to St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, painted by the Master of the *Legend of Saint Ursula* (1482, Groeningemuseum Bruges). Two frames on the lowermost panel of the altarpiece depict the second arrival of the group to Cologne and the murder of the saint and her virgins, and both renderings feature the arms of Cologne with the ermine tails (Figs. 5a and 5b). The use of ermine tails in this case is similar to the design of the ermine spots in the heraldry of the Duchy of Brittany. In the Cologne coat of arms, they symbolize the eleven thousand martyred virgins, which clearly identifies Ursula and her companions as Bretons.[50]

Her choice of Ursula as a patron saint is an indication of the importance that Queen Anne attributed to her place of birth. She was born in the fifteenth century, at a time when the dukes of Brittany were defending the perpetuation of the duchy's autonomy. She functioned as an autonomous female ruler of her duchy from after the death of her father, Francis II, in 1488 until her marriage to Charles VIII and, again, during the time she was married to Louis XII.[51] Historians agree that Anne sought throughout her life for ways to ensure the independence of Brittany, an assertion that is reflected in artworks and manuscripts she commissioned that emphasize the cultural and political legacy of her duchy.[52] Her second marriage treaty (1498–1499) was, as Michel Nassiet puts it: "one that was contracted between two sovereign rulers."[53] Anne ensured in the contract that after the death of herself and her spouse, the duchy would remain in the

Fig. 5a: – Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, The Legend of Saint Ursula, 1482, Groeningemuseum Bruges (Master of the Bruges Legend of St. Ursula / Public domain)

hands of one of their children or the closest relative from her father's family, a condition that was never realized.

Ursula was close to Anne in rank, both were born to royal families, and both were faced with marriages to foreign princes. Various secular texts in the queen's possession demonstrate similarities between the two in regard to their royal status. Moreover, these works reveal Anne's interest in reading portrayals of virtuous females of rank and demonstrate the role of these texts in contemporary discourse on gender-oriented

Fig. 5b: Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, The Legend of Saint Ursula, 1482, Groeningemuseum Bruges, detail (Source: Musea Brugge, www.artinflanders.be, photo: Hugo Maertens)

virtues that facilitated the self-construction of the noble female. A careful reading of these texts alongside the saint's *vita* reveals some parallels between these two royal figures.

The popular *topos* of "famous women" engendered by the translation of Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* into French in the early fifteenth century inspired imitations such as Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames* (1405).[54] In 1493 the French publisher Antoine Vérard (1485–1512) dedicated the first known printed edition of *De mulieribus claris* in the vernacular to Anne of Brittany. A decade later, Anne commissioned a text on the same subject from Antoine Dufour, who presented her with a decorated manuscript of *Les vies des femmes célèbres* in 1504.[55] Such texts, which were read silently in private as well as aloud in public, reflected social and cultural norms and encouraged and reinforced the continuity of these behavioral codes.[56] Dufour noted in the dedication that he complied with the queen's request to write *Les vies des femmes célèbres* in the vernacular rather than in Latin: "And given that most noble ladies of France do not understand Latin … I, Brother Antoine Dufour … by her order, wanted

this present book to be translated into [our] mother tongue …"[57] This quote highlights the importance the queen placed on vernacular texts that could be read aloud and understood by her court ladies. Compilations of this sort initiated their readers into a discourse on female virtue and guided noble women toward proper behavior.

In *Les vies des femmes célèbres*, the celebrated ladies are referred to using numerous superlatives. Thus, Dufour described Jeanne of Naples (1328–1382) as, "well-regarded, magnificent, opulent, rich and powerful, industrious, factious and eloquent."[58] By the same token, Ursula's *vita* offers a description of a virtuous woman who had the same merits: for instance, the young Ursula assisted her father in resolving the political problem that derived from the marriage proposal.[59] Ursula was aware of the consequences of her refusal and offered a satisfactory solution that would avert the anger of the groom's father, a fact that testifies to her political sense and her wisdom, which was praised by the authors of the various versions of her biography.[60] Furthermore, Ursula's schooling is mentioned in her *vita* as a combination of Christian knowledge with the education suitable for a princess, and there is a link between this information and the sentence that praises her mental maturity in parallel to her physical growth.[61] Anne could find in these descriptions an echo of her own childhood. The education she received from a young age included Greek, Latin, and science. It was said that by the age of nine she was intellectually mature enough to act appropriately as a princess. [62]

Although Ursula is not included in *Les vies des femmes célèbres*, her *vita* offers another point of correlation with Anne's life. A careful reading of the saint's hagiography reveals elements of court hierarchy that are similar to those of the French Court. Ursula appealed for a three-year delay during which she would go on a pilgrimage, but she did not intend to travel on her own. Rather she asked her father for "ten maidens in their earliest youth and most carefully selected as to beauty and lineage. Then you [father] should assign to me, and to each one of them, a thousand maidens of excellent repute."[63]

Departure on a journey accompanied by attendants, privileged by their beauty and lineage, with one thousand maidens of good reputation attached to each one reflects a whole cultural world of court conduct. The presence of courtiers and court ladies in the proximity of the queen was a central component of aristocratic social life in the late Middle Ages. The nobility as well as the king and his wife were surrounded by privileged attendants day and night. *Le livre des trois vertus*, written in 1405 by Christin de Pizan,[64] which offers advice to the wise princess, tells us about the scope of the involvement of female attendants in the life of a lady of rank:

> When the princess or high-born lady wakes up in the morning, she sees herself lying luxuriously in her bed between soft sheets, surrounded by rich accoutrements and everything for bodily comfort, and ladies-in-waiting around her focusing all their attention on her and seeing that she lacks for nothing, ready to run to her if she gives the least sigh or if she breathes a word, their knees flexed to administer any service to her and to obey all her commands.[65]

The above text was designed to warn the lady about avoiding temptations that stem from her position and to elucidate the everyday conduct of the princess' attendants and their role in the close circle that surrounded the noble lady.[66] However, it also resonates

with a well-established royal household's conduct that parallels an essential point in the narrative of Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

Anne might have chosen Ursula as her patron saint owing to the similarity of one particular detail in their narratives: she, like Ursula, accepted the idea of an eventual carnal marriage, whereas most female saints were mystically betrothed to Christ and remained virgins.[67] As the only descendant of Francis II (1435–1488) and Margaret of Foix (1458–1486), Anne was contracted into a marriage that would keep Brittany independent.[68] While joining a nunnery was a possible choice for noble women if their families had enough offspring to enhance the family's political power by marriage, this was not the case in Anne's life. Several rulers wooed Anne in order to acquire political domination over one of the most hotly contested regions in Europe. She was betrothed several times,[69] and finally in 1490 married Maximilian I of Austria (1459–1519) by proxy, a ceremony that was held in the Rennes Cathedral but was never consummated.[70] Nonetheless, King Charles VIII saw their marriage as a political threat to France. He started a military campaign that eventually forced the duchess to renounce her union with Maximilian, and in 1491 she married the king.[71]

The unexpected death of Charles VIII (1498) left her a widow, but not for long. It was agreed in her marriage contract that in the event of the death of the French king, she would marry the new regent, so Louis XII, who was already married to Jeanne de France (1465–1505), had to request an annulment.[72] Although Ursula could not fulfill her marriage contract because she became a martyr before the wedding could take place, her initial agreement to wed constructs a significant point of similarity between the saint and the queen related to their gender-oriented roles and royal *modi vivendi*.

Apart from the similarities between points in the life narratives of the queen and the saint discussed thus far, Anne might have chosen to venerate Ursula because of the central theme of the saint's hagiography – her projected three-year pilgrimage to Rome, which ended in Cologne. The story does not elaborate all the holy sites the virgins were intending to visit, but in spite of the lack of details, Anne would have been able to fill the gaps in her imagination. Devotees set out on pilgrimages for several reasons – seeking cures, penance, or giving thanks for sanctity.[73] The queen, who at the beginning of 1505, saw her husband falling ill, almost dying, had a reason to think of a pilgrimage, a journey to thank God for his health rather than one to pray for his recovery. Louis XII, her third husband, suggested that she visit Notre-Dame-de-Folgoet in northwest Brittany, but she had a devotional journey in mind much more akin to Ursula's three-year pilgrimage. She proceeded to prepare herself to set out on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the founding bishop saints of Brittany. The journey was to take several months during which she would be away from the French Court, surrounded by and embraced in the love of her patrimonial duchy's inhabitants.[74] Like Ursula, she journeyed partly by water, as the entourage sailed down the Loire toward Nantes.[75] The whole trip took five months, and although her husband asked her to return before she completed the trip, she refused, pleading an eye infection that she said she had to cure with the miraculous aid of the finger reliquary of St. John the Baptist in Saint-Jean-du-Doigt.[76]

So far, I have dealt with these similarities by means of comparative readings of the life narrative of Anne, who in 1505 was a mature woman, and Ursula's hagiography. I have also suggested that the queen turned to the saint for spiritual aid on her pilgrimage. In the following section, I discuss choices of artworks in order to elucidate the ways in which the patroness demanded a visual intensification of her sense of identification.

IV. Visually Intensifying the Likeness

A woman who lived a *vita contemplativa* alongside a *vita activa*,[77] as other late medieval queens who demonstrated their power, personal taste, and Christian devotion through their treasuries,[78] Anne collected secular manuscripts and artworks – ivories, tapestries, and artifacts made of gold, as well as devotional books and objects. Although the record on the *Nef* is laconic, we know that she was actually involved in commissioning artworks and employed artists in her service. Indeed, in 1499 she paid several artists – painters, goldsmiths, and a tapestry maker – for objects, as attested by payment records. [79]

Given her active role as a patroness of the arts, the vessel must have reminded her of a particular point in St. Ursula's legend – the ship that transported the virgins on their pilgrimage.[80] The ship is a shared element in the lives of Queen Anne and the saint, and the act of reshaping the gift of the citizens of Tours reflects the way the queen chose to intensify her devotion through a strategy of resemblance. The *Nef* was created with a sensitivity for naturalistic details, including ample elements reminiscent of a ship dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The soldiers and sailors imaged on the original deck indicated a warship. The initial form and the iconography of the *Nef* might have evoked memories regarding the flagship of Brittany's fleet, a vessel that was constructed around 1494 on the order of Anne's husband, Charles VIII.[81] The flagship had a crew of more than 1,000 and 200 guns – wheeled cannons that fired rocks weighing 100 to 150 pounds. After Anne's second marriage, the ship, which was launched in 1501 as the *La Cordelière*, the name of a women's order founded by the queen in 1498 after the death of her first husband, played an important role in the campaign against Italy.[82] The original *Nef* was not an exact replica of the flagship of Brittany, but the differences between the two enabled the queen to expand its import by introducing elements of St. Ursula's legend. The integration of holy figures with the iconography of a ship featuring an image of the *fleur-de-lis* around the elegant circular base on which the body of the ship rests links the two narratives.

As the *Nef* changed hands several times owing to patronage,[83] was damaged, and lost some of its parts,[84] we cannot know whether it was adorned with Anne's coat-of-arms. However, St. Ursula's ship as portrayed in the *Grandes Heures* (Fig. 2) bears the coat-of-arms of the Duchy of Brittany, *l'hermine plain*, adorned with a golden crown. Moreover, Jean Bourdichon, who created the illustrations for the book, inserted symbols and elements associated with the queen in the portrayal of the saint. Scrutiny of

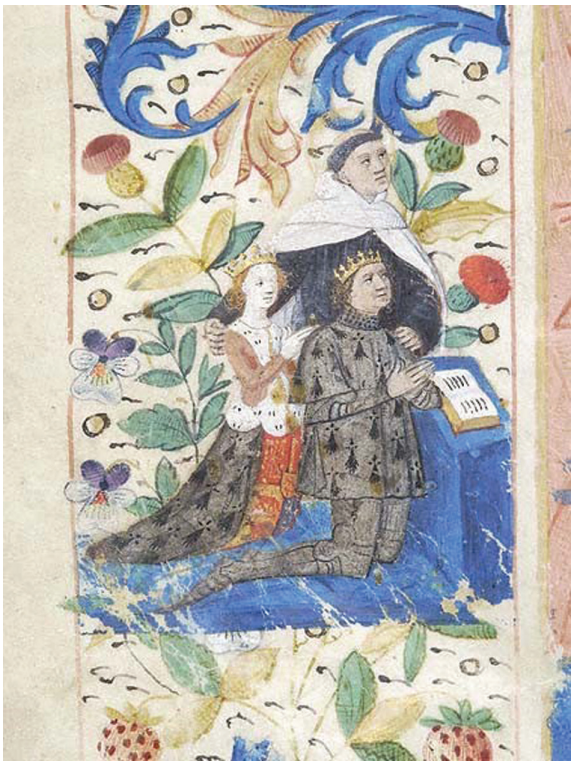
the illustrations where Ursula is depicted reveals formal and contextual links between elements from Anne and Louis XII's armorial and the saint's accessories (Fig. 4). Apart from the presence of the flag on folio 3r and Brittany's coat-of-arms on folio 199v, the crown on Ursula's head on folio 3r is similar to the crown in the armorial on folio 1v. The saint's lavish skirt in the *Grandes Heures* is decorated with red-contoured flowers on golden brocade. A similar sumptuous pattern can be found on the cover of the bed Anne died in as depicted in an illustration of her funeral procession in Paris in 1515 (Fig. 6). Although there is no consistency in the portrayals of Anne's dress, many illustrations show her attired in various combinations of red and gold fabrics, as can be traced in an illustration in Jean Marot's manuscript *Le Voyage de Gênes*, also illustrated by Bourdichon (Fig. 7). All this visual evidence alludes to a conscious formulation of the saint with symbols and elements from Anne's reality.

Fig. 6: – The Funeral Procession of Anne in Paris, fol. 44, Commemoration and warning of the Death of Anne of Brittany, 1515, 25 × 18 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms 25158 (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/ BnF)

Fig. 7: – Jean Bourdichon, Anne Receiving the Manuscript from Jean Marot, fol. 1, Le Voyage de Gênes, Jean Bourdichon, ca. 1508, 31 x 21 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 5091 (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/ BnF)

Notwithstanding the foregoing, on the *Nef* as well as in the book, Ursula is attired as a generic French queen from the beginning or the middle of the fifteenth century, which is not the way Anne is usually portrayed. The saint is depicted in the *Nef* dressed in a long skirt, its hem descending beyond her feet, while her upper body is clothed in a separate bodice of ermine fur. Anne's mother, Margaret of Foix, is portrayed wearing the same dress (Fig. 8).[85] Whereas some of Anne's portraits display this kind of costume, most of them depict her and her female attendants robed in her special fashion.

Fig. 8: – Francis II and Margaret of Foix in Prayer (detail), fol. 103v, Missal of the Carmelites of Nantes, Princeton University Library, United States, Ms Garrett 40 (Master of Jeanne de France / Public domain)



In Marot's *Voyage de Gênes*, Anne is dressed in a gown with a low-cut square neck, which is seen in many renderings of the queen. The skirt, as well as the upper part of the garment, is fashioned from satin or velvet. The skirt is open from the waist down, offering a glimpse of other layers of different-colored fabrics; the sleeves are loosely opened and end in wide borders of white fur. Anne is portrayed in the same way kneeling in front of the pietà in the *Grandes Heures* (Fig. 1).

If in the fourteenth century the royal household often refrained from adopting new sartorial modes,[86] at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century the rapid change in clothing fashions had a great influence on the Valois courts. Changes in technological processes and the evolution in manufacturing procedures for precious fabrics, along with the development of *haute couture*, led to a variety of designs and models.[87] Trade relations as well as conquests helped convey aspects of fashion from court to court, and the French aristocracy embraced elements of royal fashion from different countries. Anne's first husband conquered Italian territories, and an influence of Italian royal fashion, such as the open multilayered skirt, can be traced in her attire.[88] Together with foreign influences, various queens combined traditional fashion from the regions of their birth with the styles of their new homes.[89]

The decision to portray Anne dressed after her court fashion, but to show Ursula in a traditional French queen's gown on the *Nef* as well as in the *Grandes Heures* indicates a complex picture in terms of how the queen perceived herself as a distinguished persona and sheds light on the way that she identified and empathized with the saint. Dress had a central role in fashioning the social persona in the late Middle Ages. It not only provided warmth, protection, and coverage, but also articulated individuality. Fancy dress suitable to be worn in nobles' courts required from 300 to 800 days of work and a complete network of merchants and craftsmen.[90]

A set of symbols was added to individually designed garments, which, among other things, was designed to display a distinct identity. Mottos, coats-of-arms, and unique colors were among the signs that reflected a particular personality.[91] Anne is portrayed in the *Grandes Heures* as a specific ruling individual rather than as a generic French queen, and her clothing was one of the articulations of her historic individuality. Her image reflects the change that was taking place in the later Middle Ages, which was reinforced by practices and beliefs relating to likeness and to the ability of naturalistic depiction of corporeal similitude to represent an individual.[92] Despite the artists' continued use of traditional signs such as heraldry, inscriptions, and other indications of rank,[93] her portrait represents her royal persona together with her distinguished singularity.

Thus, alongside the similarities of forms and symbols that shaped the image of Ursula that were taken from Anne's life, a slight difference was introduced between the queen and her subject of worship in the way that their dresses were designed. The complex manner by which devotees related to and adored their saints is traced in the nature of sainthood: saints were human beings who had *virtus morum* and *virtus signorum*.[94] In order to maintain a relationship with a saint, it was necessary to perceive him or her both as a human being and as a holy figure. This led to artistic approaches of approximation and withdrawal wherein the images of saints were rendered with attention to elements that encouraged identification but did not suggest similarity to their audiences, and so evoked reverence. In the three portraits of Ursula, the artists must have considered the clothing carefully, and the differences between Anne and Ursula in this regard were illustrated. Saints were human beings, but they were also people of great stature, with spiritual qualities that others were supposed to aspire to.

The style and iconography of the images of Ursula in the *Grandes Heures* and on the *Nef* reflect an artistic effort to elicit a sense of identification with the saint and to amplify familiarity. The relevant iconography is similar but far exceeds that in portraits of other female saints. St. Helena, for example, is depicted on folio 3r dressed in a generic late-medieval French queen's robe, similar to Ursula's costume. The presence of other female saints in the manuscript who are garbed, to a lesser extent, in attire reflecting the queen's wardrobe alludes to the degree to which artists employed visual elements that might evoke identification and bonding with her preferred saints.

Alongside visual resemblance, my study showed that the portraits represent a slight divergence from the real life of Queen Anne. As Duyndam contends in reference to veneration of saints, the combination of a sense of familiarity coupled with an element of strangeness usually initiates the appeal of the saint on the venerating individual and also motivates the celebrant to imitation. Saints functioned inter alia as *exempla*

for their worshippers. However, imitating a saint meant that the devotee did not copy the deeds of the holy individual, but rather translated the acts of the exemplar and the virtues of the saint into his/her life.[95] Visualization of a favored saint in accord with the detailed naturalism shaped by northern artists at the beginning of the sixteenth century enabled a patron/patroness to engage in a dialogue with the life scenario of a saint, his/her virtuous behavior, and his/her martyrdom. It also offered viewers an immersion in mental practices of comparison and association that could enhance the sense of kinship but at the same time would encourage the patron/patroness to rephrase the virtuous behavior recorded in the saint's *vita*. On the one hand, Anne set out on a pilgrimage similar to one undertaken by Ursula, which in all likelihood was motivated by her devotion to the saint. On the other hand, she might well have translated many other components from the narrative of the saint's life and integrated them into her daily life. Ursula's leadership of the group of virgins resonated with Anne's social role as the head of her court, and she is credited with establishing one of the largest female courts of her time. Numbering some one hundred women of the highest noble origins, it was, in many respects, an essential component of her status, but at the same time, as Ursula did, she took it upon herself to serve as a model of chastity and piety for her ladies.[96]

The similarities I discuss in this paper reveal that place of birth, gender, and social status were the points of resemblance between Queen Anne and St. Ursula. In medieval Europe, these categories were central features that determined self-identity. Illustrated prayer books in the later Middle Ages were, as described by Kathryn A. Smith, an intimate vehicle that "'reflected' and mediated both the inner and outward dimensions of the book owner's personhood: her conscience, values and ambitions, her habits of thought, feeling and response, her conduct, and her sense of social and spiritual place."[97] As such, they promoted the construction of the self-identity of their owners. Material and textual evidence and especially Anne's patronage of the arts emphasize the role of her collection in self-formation in constructing her royal image as a Christian queen who conducted herself in accord with expected virtues.[98] Nevertheless, this study reveals that the intimate and internal process of selecting a patron saint and the resulting worship with the aid of images enabled the devotee to negotiate a whole range of aspects linked to his/her self-identity. Not only could a patron/patroness contemplate his/her religious self through mental engagement with processes of comparing, associating, and translating the saint as an image and as a text, but there was an opportunity to meditate on social position, one's rank, and one's secular self.

Examination of the portraits of Ursula revealed that in their creation the artists assimilated the customary request of a noble patron to render the saint in a way that would promote self-perfection. In this study, looking at late medieval devotional objects through the perspective of patronage and the viewer's response while adopting an interdisciplinary approach to study the figure of the saint revealed new layers of significance of the images. In spite of the fact that relevant documents do not disclose patrons' motivations in commissioning devotional objects, an interdisciplinary perspective on the artworks and a survey of the relevant contemporary texts, which came from Queen Anne's library or were taught by her Franciscans confessors suggest their

patterns of thinking and initiatives and disclose mental practices that promoted religiosity and self-construction.

Dr. Dafna Nissim
The Department of the Arts
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
P.O.B 653, 8410500
Beer-Sheva, Israel
dafnani@post.bgu.ac.il

Endnotes

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1 Anne married Charles VIII (1470–1498) in 1491; one year after his death in 1498 she married the new regent, Louis XII (1462–1515). There have been many biographies of Anne and works about Brittany in the fifteenth century, several in the past decades. The queen/duchess draws scholarly attention owing to her cultural and political importance. For brevity, I cite several volumes, which I chose for their balanced viewpoint and the clear evidence of their authors' insightful research: Simone Bertiere, *Les reines de France au temps des Valois.* Vol. 1: *Le beau XVIe siècle* (Paris: Ed. de Fallois, 1994); Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), esp. 51–74; Geneviève-Morgane Tanguy, *Sur les pas d'Anne de Bretagne* (Rennes: Ed. Ouest-France, 2003); *Anne de Bretagne: une histoire, un mythe*, ed. Pierre Chotard (Paris, Somogy, and Nantes: Chateau des ducs de Bretange, Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 2007); see also the articles by Nicole Hochner, Michel Nassiet, and Elizabeth A. R. Brown in *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Conventions in Books and Documents*, ed. Cynthia J. Brown (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010). For more on the recent biographies of the queen with criticism regarding some of the publications, see Cynthia J. Brown's introduction to *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne.*

2 A document from 1508 recording the queen's agreement to pay Jean Bourdichon for illustrating the *Grandes Heures* is evidence of Anne of Brittany' patronage. Pierre-Gilles Girault, "Les Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne," *L'objet d'art, Hors-série histoire* 75 (2014): 54–55; here 54.

3 BnF, lat. 9474. The manuscript has 238 leaves encompassing monthly calendars, prayers, and hymns. For a survey of the manuscript, its design, and iconography see Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Maçon, Protat frères, 1927), 298–305. It was included in several expositions and was featured in various catalogues where its iconography, style, and patronage were addressed. For brevity's sake, I note here only catalogs from the last three decades: *La Bretagne au temps des ducs*, ed. Jean-Yves Cozan, et al. (abbaye de Daoulas, 15 juin–6 octobre 1991; Nantes, musée Dobrée, 9 novembre 1991–1999 février 1992; Daoulas: Centre culturel, 1991), 205; *Les*

manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1415, ed. François Avril et Nicole Reynaud (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 16 octobre 1993–16 janvier 1994; Paris: Bibliothèque nationale / Flammarion, 1993); Maxence Hermant (dir.), *Trésors royaux. La bibliothèque de François I er* (Blois, château royal, 4 juillet–18 octobre 2015; Rennes: PUR, 2015). For the cultural context of the manuscript, see, e.g., Cynthia J. Brown, "Like Mother, Like Daughter: The Blurring of Royal Imagery in Books for Anne de Bretagne and Claude de France," eadem, *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne,* 101–22 (see note 1); eadem, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477–1514*. Material Texts (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

4 It was made by Pierre Rousseau, a goldsmith of Tours; see C. Oman, *Medieval Silver Nefs* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), 18. Although the *Nef* is usually mentioned in the literature as a reliquary, there is no conclusive evidence that it ever contained bones or other bodily fragments.

5 "Petite navir d'or … que la dict dame a faict prendre pour mectre les unze mil vierges," Oman, *Medieval Silver Nefs* (see note 4), 18. The translation into English is taken from Christina Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning," *Gesta* 51.1 (2012): 19–34; here 26.

6 The *Nef* was exhibited in the Musée d'histoire de Nantes, and the exposition was accompanied by a catalog concerning the life of the queen/duchess. Special attention was given to the *Nef* by Theirry Crépin-Belond, "Que-reste-t-il des trésors d'Anne de Bretagne?," *Anne de Bretagne: une histoire, un mythe*, ed. Pierre Chotard (Paris, Somogy, and Nantes: Chateau des ducs de Bretange, Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 2007), 75–84. In another exhibition held in the Grand Palais, Paris, both the *Grandes Heures* manuscript and the *Nef* of Saint Ursula were exhibited. *France 1500: Entre moyen âge et Renaissance*, ed. Elisabeth Taburent-Delahaye, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, and Thierry Crépin-Leblond (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2010).

7 Conversely, there is no record of other devotional objects devoted to St. Anne or St. Helena, who, together with St. Ursula, are portrayed accompanying the queen in the opening illustration.

8 Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5).

9 Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5), 27.

10 There are rare examples for scholarly consideration of the issue of biographical similarities in the study of devotees' preferences of saints. Ruth Mazo Karras, e.g., suggests that one explanation for the popularity of Mary Magdalen, who was a sinner before she repented, was that "sinners could more easily identify with the Magdalen." Ruth Mazo Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1.1 (1990): 3–32; here 17, note 48.

11 Hans Robert Jauss, "Levels of Identification of Hero and Audience," *New Literary History* 5.2 (1974): 283–317; here 307. Unlike the approach that considers literary texts in light of their development in a historical context, Jauss underscored the reception and interpretation of the reader in deriving meaning from a literary text. Hans Robert Jauss, *Die Theorie der Rezeption: Rückschau auf ihre unerkannte Vorgeschichte* (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1987).

12 Joachim Duyndam, "Hermeneutics of Imitation: A Philosophical Approach to Sainthood and Exemplariness," *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Joshua Schwartz and Marcel Poorthuis. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series, 7 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 7–22; here 15.

13 Paul Ricoeur and E. W. Orth, "Phénoménologie et herméneutique," *Phänomenologi-sche Forschungen* 1 (1975): 31–77.

14 In this paper, I rely on two compilations. The first, which was written in the eleventh century, is entitled *Passio sanctarum undecim millium virginum* and opens with the words

"*Regnante Domino*." It is also called *Passio II* to differentiate it from a tenth-century version. The *Regnante Domino* is an elaborate version that was clearly widely circulated, as nearly 100 manuscripts have survived. The second is Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* from the thirteenth century, in which the story of Ursula and her companions got its definitive shape. Anne might have had access to the text as a printed edition, which was produced in 1493 for her husband Charles VIII. See Brown, *The Queen's Library* (see note 3), 310; *The Passion of Saint Ursula (Regnante Domino)*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn and Marcelle Thiébaux (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1991); Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 256–60. For more information on the development of the cult of St. Ursula's hagiography, see Wilhelm Levison, "Das Werden der Ursula-Legende," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 132 (1927): 1–139; Frank Günter Zehnder, *Sankt Ursula: Legende, Verehrung, Bilderwelt* (Cologne: Wienand, 1985); Joan Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women: Visualizing the Holy Virgins of Cologne," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 67–118; Scott B. Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe* (Oxford, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2010), 1–17.

15 Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note 14), 10.

16 Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women" (see note 14), esp. 94.

17 Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note 14), 24–25.

18 Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note. 14), 3–4.

19 Scott B. Montgomery, "What's in a Name? Navigating Nomenclature in the Cult of St Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins," *The Cult of Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 11–28. Montgomery concludes that "much of this phenomenon of morphic nomenclature appears to be about seemingly inevitable will to construct identity for relics." He also asserts that "[it] echoes the evolution of identity presentation from the early Middle Ages through the Early Modern era." Montgomery, "What's in a Name?," 24–25.

20 While Holladay describes the cohesive nature of the cult in the Church of St. Ursula in Cologne, Montgomery contends that in spite of the interplay between identity and the anonymous body of the virgins is associated with the cult; from the sixteenth century on the tendency was to accentuate the figure of Ursula: Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women." Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note 14), 165–173.

21 Several art works from the fifteenth century display the figure of Ursula as the leader of the holy group. Among them: Master of the Ursula Legend*, Altarpiece of the Black Sisters of St. Augustine in Bruges*, Bruges, before 1482; Hans Memling, *Shrine of St. Ursula*, Bruges, 1489; Vittore Carpaccio, *The Cycle of St. Ursula*, Venice 1490–1500. Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note 14), figs. 35, 36–38, 41–43.

22 "Richement et sumptueusement historie et enlumyne unes grans heures pour nostre usage et service…" The record is transcribed in *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1550*, ed. Francois Avril and Nicole Reynaud (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 297.

23 For the full digitization of the manuscript on Gallica, see: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52500984v/f14.item (last accessed on May 25, 2020).

24 On the significance of St. Helena as a patron saint of the queen, see Didier le Fur, "Anne de Bretagne etait-elle pieuse?," *Anne de Bretagne: une histoire* (see note 1), 57– 66; here 58.

25 "De madame saincte Vrsule."

26 "Flos fulsit ex Britannia: Vrsula / stirpe regia: auctrix fructus virginej / predicans preceptum dej."

27 Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5), 27.
28 Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5), 26.
29 For a recent study on the image of St. Margaret and the dragon, see Sharon Khalifa-Gueta, "The Dragon and Femininity in Saint Margaret Paintings by Raphael and Titian," Ph.D. diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2019.
30 Conversely, more male saints are represented in a highlighted moment of their aggressive torture, but I do not elaborate on this issue as the focus of present paper is on personal identification with holy figures in which, as I show later, gender similarity is a prominent feature.
31 She distinguishes three types of Apollonia's images in the fifteenth century: the "iconic," the "clinical," and the "theatrical." Although Callahan only refers to St. Apollonia, her definitions can be applied to the images of other saints, such as the illustration of Ursula in the *Grandes Heures.* Leslie Abend Callahan, "The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet's Martyrdom Stage," *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 119–38.
32 Marla Carlson, "Spectator Responses to an Image of Violence: Seeing Apollonia," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 27 (2002): 7–20.
33 For more on the body of Christ and crucifixion piety, see Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writing* (London: Routledge, 1993), esp. chapters 2 and 3.
34 *France 1500*, ed. Taburent-Delahaye et al. (see note 6), 105.
35 Jenny Stratford, "The Goldenes Rössl and the French Royal Collections," *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 109–33; here 111.
36 For the choice to carve the bust reliquaries from wood, see Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women" (see note 14), 87; Assaf Pinkus, "Transformations in Wood: Between Sculpture and Painting in Late Medieval Devotional Objects in Germany," *Viator* 48. 3 (2017): 263–91.
37 Montgomery, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* (see note 14), 144.
38 Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 123–24.
39 For the date and context of the text, see Jay M. Hammond, "Bonaventure's Legenda Major," *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay Hammond, Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 453–507.
40 Bernard Chevalier, "Olivier Maillard et la réforme des Cordeliers (1482–1502)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 65.174 (1979): 25–39; here 31.
41 For intertextuality of late medieval literature, see Elaine F. Whitaker, "The Intertextuality of Late-Medieval Art and Literature: The Current State of Research," *Fifteenth Century Studies* 18 (1991): 301–13; For a recent study on various intertextual approaches to Scripture, see *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, ed. Brisio J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016).
42 Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St. Francis*, trans. and intro. Ewert Cousins, prefaced by Ignatius Brady, O. F. M. (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 179.
43 On several modes of interpolation of fragments from the Bible in the receiving text, see Kees Waaijman, "Intertextuality: On the Use of the Bible in Mystical Texts," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 66. 1 (2010): 1–7; here 2.
44 See Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God* (see note 42), 179, notes 1–10.
45 In this part he quotes John 1:7 and Luke 1:76, 79: Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God*, 179.

46 Janice M. Pinder, "The Intertextuality of Old French Saints' Lives: St. Giles, St. Evroul and the Marriage of St. Alexis," *Parergon* 6.2 (1988): 11–21; here 11; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 31.

47 Jane Cartwright, "The Middle Welsh Life of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins," *The Cult of Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 163–86.

48 Léon Fleuriot, *Les Origines de la Bretagne* (Paris: Payot, 1980), 52–53.

49 Geoffrey of Monmouth, e.g., used the terms Britannia Minor whenever he referred to Brittany in his writing. It is best demonstrated in Geoffrey of Monmouth Neil Wright, *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991).

50 Helmut Nickel, "The Seven Shields of Behaim: New Evidence," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 30 (1995): 29–51; here 49.

51 Anne restored her title as "Duchess of Bretagne," few days after the death of Charles VIII. Matarasso, *Queen's Mate* (see note 1), 121–122.

52 See for example, Elizabeth L'Estrange, "Penitence, Motherhood, and Passion Devotion: Contextualizing Anne de Bretagne's Prayer Book, Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 83," *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Conventions in Books and* Documents, ed. Cynthia J. Brown (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 81–100; here 97.

53 Michel Nassiet, "Anne de Bretagne, A Woman of State," *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Conventions in Books and* Documents, ed. Cynthia J. Brown (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 163–175; here 165.

54 For an edition of the well-known translation of Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* from 1401, see Giovanni Boccaccio, Josiane Haffen, and Jeanne Baroin, Boccace, *"Des cleres et nobles femmes": Ms. Bibl. Nat. 12420 (Chap. I–LII)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993).

55 Brown, *The Queen's Library* (see note 3), 108. On the earliest known illuminated manuscripts of *Des cleres et nobles femmes* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12420) that was presented to Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in 1403, see Brigitte Buettner, *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Seattle and London: College Art Association, with the University of Washington Press, 1996).

56 Brown distinguishes *Les vies des femmes célèbres* from other texts of the "famous women" genre: "It embodied a delicate balance of male voice and female subject, of female presence and male articulation," partly because of the involvement of the queen in his creation. Thus, the queen's Dominican confessor had to pave the way for portraying the female figures in light of the discourse of moral virtues and with respect to his female patron: Brown, *The Queen's Library* (see note 3), 165–66.

57 "Et considéré que la plupart des nobles dames de France ne entendent le langage latin ... je frère Anthoine Dufour ... par le commandement d'icelle … ay bien voulu translater ce présent livre en maternel langage." Antoine Dufour, *Les vies des femmes célèbres*, annotated and with a commentary by G. Jeanneau (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 1. For the English version, see Brown, *The Queen's Library* (see note 3), 147.

58 "Bien estimé, magnificque, oppulente, riche et puissante, industrieuse, faconde et eloquente": Dufour, *Les vies des femmes célèbres* (see note 57), 160.

59 The king of Anglia is described in both sources as a ruler of great power who sent delegates that threated Ursula's father if he refused to accept the proposal.

60 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (see note 14), 158, evaluated her suggestion in these words: "There was wisdom behind her proposal: given the difficult conditions, the king might change his mind about having her for his son."

61 *The Passion of Saint Ursula (Regnante Domino)* (see note 14), 14.
62 Leroux de Lincy, *Vie de la reine Anne* (Paris: L. Curmer, 1860–1861), 6.
63 *The Passion of Saint Ursula (Regnante Domino)* (see note 14), 18–19.
64 At the end of the fifteenth century, royal female bibliophiles, among them Jeanne de France, Anne de Beaujeu, and Anne of Brittany, showed renewed interest in de Pizan's work by purchasing copies of the text. Charity Cannon Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des Trois Vertus* and Christine de Pizan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27. 3 (1966): 433–44; here 435–36; Apart from a manuscript of Pizan's text (BnF 1180), the queen's library included a copy of *Le Tresor de la cité des dames* dedicated to her by Vérard in 1497 (ÖNB Ink.3.D.19). Brown, *The Queen's Library* (see note 3), 308.
65 Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or the Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. and intro. Sarah Lawson (Middlesex and New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 36.
66 For more on court ladies and their role, see Joanna L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 220–61.
67 Numerous hagiographies describe women who preserved their virginity, refusing to marry, which subjected them to countless tortures designed to subdue them and force them into sexual intercourse. This was the case for SS Agatha, Barbara, Kathrine and many others.
68 Francis and Margaret had another daughter, Isabeau of Brittany, who died at the age of twelve.
69 For more details on Anne's engagements and marriages, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Order and Disorder in the Life and Death of Anne de Bretagne," *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne* (see note 1), 177–92; here 177–82.
70 Maximilian was perceived by Anne and her counselors as the only bridegroom that would allow her to maintain the independence of Brittany: Matarasso, *Queen's Mate* (see note 1), 61.
71 Matarasso, *Queen's Mate* (see note 1), 69–70.
72 On the political actions taken by Louis in order to promote the marriage with Anne, see Brown, "Order and Disorder in the Life and Death of Anne de Bretagne" (see note 69), 181–82.
73 For more on this issue, see Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700–c. 1500* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, and Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), chapter 2: Motives of Pilgrimage, 44–77.
74 The queen's pilgrimage had political motivations as well as religious ones, but as this paper focuses on devotional identification and the practice of venerating saints, this aspect is beyond its scope.
75 *Sur les pas de Anne de Bretagne*, ed. Tanguy, et al. (see note 1), 99.
76 *Sur les pas de Anne de Bretagne*, ed. Tanguy, et al. (see note 1), 111.
77 Christine de Pizan advised great queens, ladies, and princesses to adhere to the golden mean between the active and the contemplative life. De Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (see note 65), 45–46.
78 Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France 1300–1500*, trans. Angela Krieger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 187–99.
79 Le Roux de Lincy, "Détails sur la vie privée d'Anne de Bretagne, femme de Charles VIII et de Louis XII," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, Troisième série 1 (1849), 148–71, here 155–56.
80 Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5), 27.
81 French kings in the Middle Ages were systematically assisted in their sea-going campaigns by fleets of other nations, see Susan Rose, *England's Medieval Navy 1066–1509* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2014), 160–68.
82 The name of the order, Cordelière, which means a cord, refers to a rope with knots, and symbolizes St. Francis of Assisi, her father's patron saint. For more on the profile of the

vessel, see Max Guerout, "A quoi ressemble la Nef la Cordelière?," *Anne de Bretagne: une histoire*, ed. Pierre Chotard (see note 1), 105–12; here 105.

83 The *Nef* passed into the hands of Anne's daughter, Claude (1499–1524), after her mother's death, was placed in the Louvre's treasury following Claude's death, and in 1575 was donated to Reims Cathedral by Henri III of France (1551–1589): Patrick Demouy, "Le Tresor de la cathedrale," *Arts sacres Hors-serie* 1 (2011): 49–53; here 53.

84 Five saintly figures replaced effigies that were probably lost in the seventeenth century: Normore, "Navigating the World of Meaning" (see note 5), 29.

85 Missel des Carmes, Princeton University Library, United States, ms. Garrets 40, fol. 103v.

86 Jan Keupp, "Success through Persistence: The Distinctive Role of Royal Dress in the Middle Ages," *Fashion and Clothing in Late Medieval Europe = Mode und Kleidung im Europa des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges, Regula Schorta, and Klaus Oschema (Basel: Abegg-Stiftung, 2010), 87–96; here 90.

87 Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume: A History of Western Dress*, second edition (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1994), 109; Ruth Mazo Karras, "'This Skill in a Woman Is By No Means to Be Despised': Weaving and the Gender Division of Labor in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. Jane Burns. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 89–104; here 90–91.

88 For a detailed survey of the history of fashion in France from the fourteenth until the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Anne H. van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands 1325–1515* (London: Giles, 2011).

89 Janet Cox-Rearick, "Power-Dressing at the Courts of Cosimo de'Medici and François I: The "*moda alla spagnola*" of Spanish Consorts Eléonore d'Autriche and Eleonora di Toledo," *Artibus et Historiae* 30. 60 (2009): 39–69; here 39.

90 Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), especially chapter 1: Talking Garments.

91 Crane, *The Performance of Self* (see note 90), 15–21.

92 Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

93 Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King* (see note 92), 146.

94 Based on his study of several late medieval saints, Kleinberg's research on the making of sainthood in the later medieval period sets moral excellence and supernatural power as a precondition for sainthood. These are the same conditions by which the papacy decided on canonization: Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 8.

95 Duyndam, "Hermeneutics of Imitation" (see note 12), 15.

96 See, e.g., Pierre-Gilles Girault, "Le pouvoir selon Anne de Bretagne: Le métier de reine," *L'objet d'art, Hors-série histoire* 75 (Dijon: Faton, 2014): 8–23; here 13–14.

97 Kathryn A. Smith, "Book, Body, and the Construction of the Self in the Taymouth Hours," *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, ed. Katherine A. Smith, and Scott Wells (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 173–204; here 174.

98 See, e.g., Elizabeth L'Estrange, "Le mécénat d'Anne de Bretagne," *Patronnes et mécènes en France à la renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier and Eugénie Pascal (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2007), 169–93.