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Pretty Pictures: From Paint to Print.
Images depicting the Virgin Mary from Books of Hours to
Religious Emblem Books.

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Masters of Philosophy

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This study aims to investigate the use of images within the context of accompanying texts from Books of Hours through the transition to print which encompasses printed Books of Hours, their Protestant cousins, the English Prayer Book and finally Emblem books. In a time of plague, pestilence and war the people clung to the hope and security they found in the promises of God's grace and the interceding power of the Virgin Mary in their time of need which would have seemed to them the difference between life and death, paradise and eternal torment. As I will discuss, Christianity was an all-encompassing entity for the people of early Europe.

The Christian texts on which I shall focus arguably give the most in-depth look possible into the most personal aspect of Christianity with regards to society and the individual. How a society or an individual perceived and reacted to the Christian world around them is captured in these devotional texts to which they committed so much time and effort and, in many examples, resources. It would be careless to assume that the more luxurious illuminated manuscripts were purely a sign of wealth and merely an accessory to accentuate the owner's piety. The commissioned Book of Hours is an intensely personal book which could be tailored to the customer with handpicked prayers and devotional images to aid their spiritual life and the wellbeing of their soul. The transition to print offers us another interesting viewpoint as the focus changes to a book for the needs of an individual and a book that can cater for the spiritual needs of many. This transition gives us a glimpse of the way in which the Christian society of the 1500's viewed the world around them. With this era being one of such social, political, theological and technological change it would be expected that these changes to be evident in these different literary genres.

This study aims to compare and contrast images relating to the Virgin Mary in Books of Hours and in later printed emblem books. The changes in style, not least due to advances in technology and its ramifications for society as a whole, and the images depicting the shifts in Christian beliefs between the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries can be seen in the transition between devotional Books of Hours to Emblem Books. These books, though they have different functions, are examples of some of the important and influential types of literature during Europe's early literary history. Books of Hours were one of the most popular types of manuscripts produced across Europe for a span of almost 250 years. They

hold a collection of prayers and religious readings, along with elaborate illustrations in many cases, to be used by the owner for private devotion.

My first goal is to establish the transition from manuscript to print and its effects on the relationship between literature and various levels of society. The first three chapters are an assimilation of previous research which will aid the contextualisation of the findings of the case studies. I shall investigate the changes in style and choice of image between the traditional manuscript Book of Hours and the printed forms which now incorporate Catholic devotional texts and a Protestant prayer book from contemporary England. With the fierce divide between the Reformation and Counter Reformation camps on the topic of images and their treatment this doctrinal schism should be apparent between the works. I shall continue this thread to establish whether this trend was equally apparent between the works of various authors during the Renaissance, and later, in religious emblem books. Emblem books were produced by many authors of distinct religious, political and philosophical stances. The monopoly the Calvinists had over the early production of religious emblems is interesting given their relatively small number in contrast to the established churches of France and England. Their interest in this type of literature, given their doctrinal issues regarding the use of images, is interesting as is the rapid adoption and adaption of these images. This was soon challenged as many Jesuits, who frequently used the emblem as an educational tool, began to publish numerable emblematic works. Again, it could easily be assumed that these parties would construct their emblems in very different fashion from the other.

For the purpose of making comparable links between these genres that span centuries and have survived through political, religious and technological change I shall use representations of the Virgin Mary, a central part of Christianity, as a litmus test by which the differences between the development of devotional texts can be gauged. My reason for choosing the her to examine changing styles is the fact that Book of Hours are organised around the Hours of Virgin and are dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This provides an abundance of examples as she is the centre of these books. This can then be compared to the use of her image in sources which are not necessarily orientated or dedicated to her to gauge the difference in the works produced.

With the invention of print it was not only Europe that was shaken beyond recognition, but the style of this book changed too.¹ Emblem books enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century. The profound changes in Christianity as it splintered into many denominations with fundamental differences of opinion is apparent from the number of writers; from various religious groups; who harnessed the usefulness of the new printing technology to further the beliefs of the faction to which they belonged. The potential of the Emblem book was not overlooked by the Protestants. Some of the most influential Emblem authors were staunch Calvinists, such as Théodore de Bèze and Georgette de Montenay. Soon afterwards Catholic authors joined the ranks to provide Emblems for the Catholic audience.

The case studies that have been chosen illustrate a range of authors and ideologies. This will allow a comparison to be made of the possible effects of the different denominations of those producing these books, and if this influenced their choice of message displayed through the illustrations, establishing whether the divided factions used the images in the same way or whether they used the same images in stark contrast to promote their own agenda and opinions.

The Special Collections Department at Glasgow University boasts a grand collection of over 200,000 manuscripts,² and over 1,000 incunabula and other early printed books. Glasgow's impressively wide-ranging collection provides many examples of book styles. This allows the examination of works that represent major styles and ideas. It is for this reason that I will focus mainly on works held here as well as other notable collections within the Glasgow area, such as the collections at the Mitchell Library.

1.1 Literacy and Literature

The power of the written word is something that most people living in modern day Europe take for granted. Literacy rates for Western Europe range from 97% in Spain to 100% in the Vatican City³. Modern society is constantly surrounded by words, thinking nothing of our ability to comprehend their meaning or the opportunities that are presented to the public through them. This is by no means the same definition by which to explain the

¹ Febvre, L, Martin, H.J 1976 *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Print 1450-1800*, NLB: London. Other

² Not all are Medieval.

³ CIA *The World Factbook*, based on figures from 2002 onwards. Literacy is defined as 'aged 15 and over can read and write'.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2103.html?countryName=World&countryCode=xx®ionCode=oc&#xx>

understanding of literacy in the Medieval era. I shall explore this area later on. This merely stands as a contrast against which the Medieval standard can be compared.

Written religious texts have a long history often which includes a miraculous element. Many Christian manuscripts have powers attributed to them such as Saint Columba and the Book of Durrow,⁴ the many mystical tales surrounding the Lindsfarne Gospels⁵ and dark magic of the Codex Gigas.⁶ It seems apparent that for the people of Medieval Europe the concept of the commitment to the written words of a religious text and achieving salvation were well understood and featured as an important part of the clergy's daily life as well as those of the lay community. In this case of the above mentioned manuscripts it was the production of these texts that had an impact on the fate of the author's soul but in the case of the later examples in this research it was the practice reading or engaging with devotional texts that was so important. These were not merely texts to the people who believed in them but powerful entities. I shall explore this notion in the following chapters.

It is important to note that literacy in the Middle Ages is very different to the modern understanding of literacy and reading. Silent reading is a relatively new concept meaning the modern reader has a different experience and understanding of a book than those engaging with texts in the Medieval era. Literacy in the Middle Ages is a much more complex concept to understand. It tended to refer to the ability to understand Latin and not the written vernacular. Paul Saenger defines literacy by the subsets of phonetic literacy and comprehension literacy.⁷ Phonetic literacy refers to those who can sound out the syllables of text to understand it. This is more akin to learning phrases by repetition. Many people would have been able to follow a Latin mass sufficiently and answer with the appropriate Latin response. However, it would have been unlikely for the majority of the same group to be able to translate a full Latin text into their vernacular; this is described as phonetic literacy which is a stark contrast to someone who is comprehension literate and could read the text simply by visual recognition of the words. In the 1500s only a tiny fraction of society were considered literate. This powerful ability was only afforded to the church and members of the noble classes as comprehension of text was a requirement of

⁴ Hamel, Christopher De, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Phaidon Press: London, 1997. Pg 22.

⁵ Hamel, C de 1994. Pg 30.

⁶ Hlaváček, I 2004 The Necrology of the Codex Gigas of Bohemia, in Rollason, D, Piper, A. J, Harvey, M & Rollason, L (eds) *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, The Boydell Press: Suffolk.

⁷ Saenger, P 1989 Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages, in Chartier, R (ed) *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, Polity Press: Cambridge. Pg 142. For more information see Saenger, P 1997 *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford University Press: California.

the legal and political roles which they performed. Many of the middle-classes of cities and towns were also readily harnessing the usefulness of reading and writing for business and trade.⁸ The practice of silent reading is something that was only starting to take hold of those who could read in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It had traditionally been the domain of scribes and learned scholars.⁹

Susan Groag Bell makes an interesting argument for the effects of innovation and shifts in attitude on the growth of literacy and reading.¹⁰ A general shift from memory to written records becomes evident in the eleventh and twelfth century which M T Clanchy describes as preparation for growth of literate mentality, meaning people will appreciate the multi-faceted advantages of books, such as acting a visual representation of an invisible spiritual sphere triggering memories of related lessons.¹¹ The importance of literacy in religious practice was becoming more acknowledged as the monastic habit of devotional hours became established in lay practices. Faithful devotions to Mary were encouraged as she was praised for her kindness and her essential role as the mother of Christ, as well as the belief that she shared in his redemptive suffering on the Cross making her able to intercede for those who were faithful to her as they approached the judgement seat of Christ. The practice of reading, especially devotional texts, was not only seen as beneficial to the soul but also crucial to one's social status. This will be discussed in much greater detail in the next chapter.

1.2 Books of Hours

Books of Hours were designed for private devotional use and are therefore very personal books.¹² They were unique amongst devotional texts the understanding of the text mattered less than the act of devotion. Their purpose was not necessarily for the reader to question their wrongs but to bring them into communion with God and encourage faithfulness.¹³ They were usually commissioned for an individual and contained their portraits interwoven with religious scenes. It was believed that the talismanic protection of the book

⁸ Weick, R. S 1988 *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, George Braziller. Inc: New York. Pg 33

⁹ Saenger, P 1989 Pg 142

¹⁰ Bell, S, G 1982 *Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture*, in *Signs, Vol & No.4 (Summer 1982)*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago. Bell discusses developments in the layout of homes and use of glasses that overcame common barriers to readings. Pg 746

¹¹ Clanchy, M, T 1976 *From Memory to Written Record*, Edward Arnold: London. Part II.

¹² For more on the production patterns of Books of Hours, workshops, centres of production and prominent printers see Reinburg, V. 2012 *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Paper, c. 1400-1600*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Pg 20-23.

¹³ Reinburg, V. 2012. Pg 92.

necessitated the inclusion of the protectee's name. Some Books of Hours include inscriptions giving details of the owner, such as,

“This book belongs to Sister Anne La Routye, nun of Hôtel-Dieu of Paris... And she was brought to Hôtel-Dieu at the age of fourteen, in the month of March in the year 1505. May whoever has [the book] after her death pray to God for the dead.”¹⁴

Countless portraits and paintings of courtly ladies show their subject clutching their precious book, or kneeling before it in prayer. These books almost seem to become an accessory to these women much in the same way in which a hat or a necklace would and that appearing at court or at Mass with a new glittering beautifully illustrated Book of Hours was given as many jealous glances and produced just the same envious whispers as a new gown in the latest style.¹⁵ However, it was a powerful accessory as it aimed to display the pious and righteous nature of the owner as well as conveying the power, wealth and influence they had at their disposal. Favoured courtiers were often gifted Books of Hours from their monarch or more commonly dedications and prayers were jotted down inside the books and proudly shown off by the owner as a mark of their standing in the court.¹⁶

Books of Hours contain essential and accessory texts. The essential texts, taken from the breviary, which is a cumbersome and somewhat complicated book which contains many of the texts still used by church. The breviary was introduced by St Benedict (c. 750-821).¹⁷ It starts with the calendar. This is necessary for the clergy to clarify prayers as they vary by seasons, days of the weeks and saint's days. This was followed by the Ordinary (*Ordinarium*) which outlines each Hour as well as the variations throughout the year. The Psalter follows with hymns, psalms and canticles for every Hour, again with variations depending on the day. Next is the Proper of Time (*Proprium temporal*) containing the Office with various prayers for each of the liturgical year, such as, the texts for major saint's day known as the Proper of Saints (*Sanctorale*) and texts of apostles, martyrs and confessors in the Common of the Saints (*Communale*).¹⁸ However, this was rarely used by

¹⁴ Reinburg, V. 2012. Pg 54. Original manuscript. Anne La Routye: University of Sydney Library, ms. RB Add. 58, fol. 227r.

¹⁵ Harthan, J. P. 1982 *Books of hours and their owners*, Thames & Hudson: London. Pgs 14-16.

¹⁶ For more on this see Brigitte Buettner's articles 1992 Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in late Medieval Courtly Society, in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 74, No.1 (March 1992), pp. 75-90, and 2001 Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts ca.1400, in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (December 2001), pp. 598-625, College Art Association: New York.

¹⁷Weick, R 1997 *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, George Braziller, Inc in association with The Pierpont Morgan Library: New York. Pg 9

¹⁸ Harthan, J. P. 1982. Pg 13.

the laity due to the complex structure which was suited more to monastic life. Books of Hours pulled together the main parts of the breviary in a much simpler form with the added appeal of elaborate illustrations. The combination of religion and aesthetically pleasing imagery made the Book of Hours a sure success for the pious upper-classes. These essential texts taken from the breviary include a Calendar, the Little Office or the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Offices of the Dead and the Suffrage of the Saints.¹⁹

The calendars allowed the owner to chart the religious festivals of the year. These calendars were frequently used to record important dates in the patron's life, for example weddings, births and deaths have all been recorded beside the important feast dates of the saints. The calendars in the Book of Hours were not the same as the modern day calendar and are an essential part of these texts. These calendars were to help the reader observe important holy days such as saints and important events in the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary. These days include dates to honour such events as the Circumcision of Christ on the 1st of January and the Conception of the Virgin on the 8th December. The events of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, however, do not appear on the calendar as they are not fixed dates but are dependent on when Easter falls in that year.²⁰ Some Books of Hours contain graduated calendars. The most important feasts and holidays; such as Christmas, Easter or a major Saint's day, were written in gold or red with lesser ones written in brown or black.²¹ These should not be confused with the lavish examples from fourteenth to fifteenth century France which has feasts marked in red and blue with the more important ones featuring in burnished gold. The feasts in the calendar can also be a good indicator of where the Book of Hours was planned to be used. For example, a Book of Hours that featured the feast of the patron saint of Paris, St Geneviève, and St Denis, martyred at Montmartre and patron saint of France, would suggest the book was destined to be used in Paris.²²

To the left of the saints' days the Dominical letters can be found. These appear as the letters A - G. These letters help the reader work out the Sundays throughout the year. Every year the letter that is attributed to Sunday moves back through the series. As well as the Dominical letters found to the left of the saints' day there are also the Golden Letter

¹⁹Harthan, J. P 182. Pg 34. For more on Book of Hours see Pollard, A. W 1902 *Old Picture Books, with other essays on bookish subjects*, Methuen & Co. London. Pgs 51-73. Quaile, E 1897 *Illuminated Manuscripts: Their Origin, History and Characteristics. A Sketch*, Henry Young & Sons: Liverpool

²⁰Weick, R 1997 *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, George Braziller, Inc in association with The Pierpont Morgan Library: New York. Pg 26.

²¹This is believed to be the origin of the modern day expression 'a red letter day'. Weick, R 1988. Pg 45.

²²Weick, R 1997. Pg 26.

which are in the form of roman numerals from *i* to *xix*. The reader could use these as an indicator of new and full moons. This would allow for the reader to calculate the date for Easter each year which was celebrated on the first full moon which fell on or after the vernal equinox.²³ Some Books of Hours dating from the thirteenth to mid-fifteenth century also had calendars with a roman calendrical system. Each month has three fixed points; Kalends which is the first day of the month, Ides is the middle of the month normally the thirteenth or fifteenth day and Nones which is ninth day before Ides.²⁴

Books of Hours were very personal books that were made up of various texts according to the owner. Virginia Reinburg has described them as ‘small treasure chests for storing precious belongings’ as the offices, prayers, images and hymns were ‘stitched together’ to create a book that was tailored to the owner.²⁵ The contents of Books of Hours can vary widely. Prayers to the Virgin as well as God and saints took many different forms such as the prayers of the Office, prayers in relation to mass and sacraments, meditation on the passion, for those in purgatory, pilgrimage and penitential practice.²⁶

The main focus of a Book of Hours was generally the Hours of the Virgin. Wieck explains the importance of this Office within the Book of Hours with the following analogy,

“If the Book of Hours can be compared to a Gothic Cathedral, the Hours of the Virgin would be the high altar, placed at the centre of the choir and surmounted by an elaborately carved and painted alter piece on top of which would be mounted, a height close to the soaring vaults of the church, a radiant statue of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ child.”²⁷

Many of the Books of Hours contain images of the infancy cycle which accompany the Hours of Matins, Lauds through to Vespers. The earliest Hours of the Virgin is believed to date back to the ninth century growing in popularity until it became an established practice by the mid-eleventh century. It continued to be popular until the mid-sixteenth century when commission of these texts became less common.²⁸ The iconography and Hours of this Office shall be explored in greater detail further on in this research.

²³ For more on Dominical letters and the Golden Letter see Wieck, R 1997. Pg 27-28.

²⁴ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 28-29.

²⁵ Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 109.

²⁶ Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 3.

²⁷ Wieck, R 2001. Pg 60.

²⁸ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 51. For more on the Hours of the Virgin see pgs 51-78. Contains examples from various manuscript and printed editions.

The Suffrage of Saints is usually located towards the end of the book and normally consists of roughly twelve or so suffrages. While Mary's role in salvation of the soul was seen as essential, the saints stood as aids to more mundane and physical needs. These prayers implore the appropriate saint to help with various problems from toothache to plague. The Suffrage contained an important hierarchical scheme, where though not saints, the Holy Trinity or God came first followed by the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Michael. They were followed by John the Baptist, the apostles, male martyrs and confessors then female saints starting with virgin martyrs. These petitions were made up of four elements. They started with an antiphone, a versicle and a response. These were followed by an *oratio* or longer prayer which normally started with an outline of the saint's past endeavours or a particular holy quality or attribute. The rest of the prayer asked for the saint to intercede for the believer to receive God's help.²⁹

The Office of the Dead is normally found at the end of the Book of Hours and is the same as the text found in the Breviary. Purgatory was a real threat to the believer unless they had the luxury of a peaceful passing with the priest present to hear confession and administer Last Communion and Extreme Unction. Otherwise their soul was deprived of a seamless passing into heaven and was detained in purgatory for as long as a thousand years.³⁰ The Office of the Dead offered the living an opportunity to help their loved ones reduce the time spent in purgatory and allow their soul to reach heaven. This Office consisted of three Hours: Vespers, Matins and Lauds. Vespers was intended to be prayed in church by monks, over the coffin on the eve of the funeral Mass. This would be paid for by the deceased's family. On the morning of the funeral the monks would also be paid to recite Matins and Lauds. This Office was not exclusively for the clergy to recite in church but was also used by the living to pray for those that had died.³¹ The Matins of the Office of the Dead contains scripture from the Book of Job. These excerpts make up the nine lessons of Matins. The voice of Job is used to convey the feelings of the deceased and his journey is given as an example of the trials of a soul in purgatory. The first lesson comes from Job 7:16-21 and is a plea to God. The passages show the fear and despair of the deceased as they wait to be admitted to heaven.³²

²⁹ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 109. Pg 110 gives examples of the antiphones, versicles and responses in this text as well as examples of the different saints and their iconography found in the Suffrages.

³⁰ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 117. Pgs 117-132 shows scenes of monks performing the Office of the dead. Pg 131 shows a miniature from a French manuscript where a soul is released from purgatory as the monk chant in the church.

³¹ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 117.

³² Wieck, R 1997. Pg 188 for a full account of all nine lessons of Matins in the Office of the Dead.

There are also the Penitential psalms which come from seven psalms attributed to King David as he prayed for atonement of his sins.³³ They were seen as an important prayer not only for the forgiveness of the living and to keep them from future sins but also for the dead trapped in purgatory. Pope Innocent III (papacy 1198-1216) decreed that they should be recited as part of the liturgy during lent.³⁴ These psalms normally follow the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit.

The Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, though a secondary text, is a common text found in Books of Hours. They generally found after the Hours of the Virgin and follow the same general structure except there are no Lauds. Each of the Hours focus on an aspect of the Holy Spirit, for example; Matins deals with the Incarnation, Prime with redemption through Christ's Passion and Terce shows Pentecost.³⁵ In some Books of Hours these Offices are integrated with the Hours of the Virgin meaning that the Matins of the Cross is found directly after the Matins and Lauds of the Virgin.³⁶

There are other secondary texts found in Books of Hours such as the Sequences; which can include passages from the four Gospels regarding the coming of Christ, the account of the Passion from the Gospel of John and two special prayers of the Virgin.³⁷ Less popular Hours such as the Hours of the Holy Trinity, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the Seven requests of the Saviour feature in some copies of Books of Hours. Some larger Books of Hours borrowed other writings known as accessory texts, like the Fifteen Gradual Psalms from the Breviary. They are a collection of short Psalms from Psalm 119-33 and are believed to have been recited by pilgrims as they made their way to Jerusalem.³⁸ The Psalter of Saint Jerome is another common accessory text. It is a compendium of 183 verses to be recited to combat sickness.

Books of Hours made it possible for their owners to become part of the great events of the bible. Patron's portraits can be found kneeling in front of the cross, peering from the battlements during the siege of Jerusalem or praying with saints who in turn are interceding for them. Here, the Tourotte family can be seen praying with Saint Anthony and Saint

³³ Psalm 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142.

³⁴ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 91.

³⁵ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 80 for a full list of the themes of the Hours.

³⁶ Wieck, R 2001. Pg 89. The Troyes Hours (MS W 222) and the Tourette Hours (MS W 249), found in the Walter Art Museum, both have mixed hours.

³⁷ *Obsecro te* (I implore thee) and *O intemerata* (O matchless one).

³⁸ *Gradus*- a step, as discussed on page 15, Harthan, J. P 1982..

Peter followed by an image of Christ and the Virgin Mary kneeling before God in all his splendour interceding for the family, two of which accompany the scene.

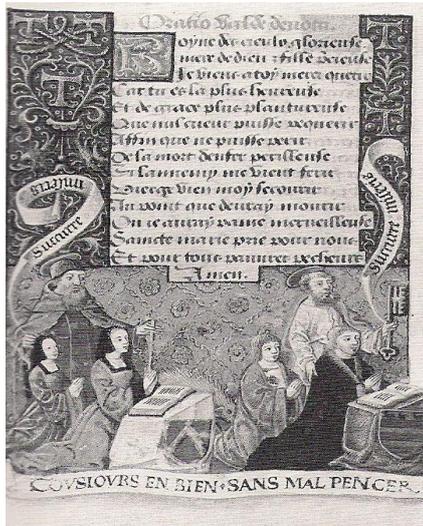


Figure 1 Turotte Family dedication³⁹



Figure 2 Turotte family being interceded for by Mary

The Tourettes had their portraits and their coat of arms added to this older manuscript for the use of Poitiers. This manuscript had also been altered by an even earlier owner who had had their own portrait painted over an existing one.⁴⁰ This is an example of how manuscripts were altered to suit their current owner whether that was the incorporation of prayers and hymns or painting over portraits of the previous owner as a sign of stamping ownership on the text.

Roger Weick has argued that these books were born of out of the laity's overwhelming desire to own the powerful books of the clergy.⁴¹ It is not clear whether this was due to a feeling of the clergy failing in their role as leaders and communicators of the faith or a genuine longing for lay men and women to establish a personal relationship with God, the Virgin Mary and the saints on whom they depended so much.⁴² Or was it simply that these lavishly decorated books were a fashionable accessory that displayed the piety of the person carrying it? This attitude was captured by the fourteenth-century poet, Eustache Deschamps in his poem *Des charges du mesnaige et du luxe femmes*:

³⁹ Waters 222, fols. Lv-2; Cat. No.45. for both Turotte images.

⁴⁰ Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 68.

⁴¹ Weick, R 1988. Pg 27.

⁴² Duffy, E 2006 *Marking the Hours: English People and their prayers 1240-1570*, Yale University Press, London. Pg 5.

‘Heures me fault de Nostre Dame
 Qui soient de soutil ouvraige,
 D’or et d’azur, riches et ceintes,
 De fin drap d’or bien couvertes,
 Et quant ells seront ouvertes,
 Deux fermaulx d’or qui fermeront.’⁴³

They were not only displayed with pride as beautiful religious trinkets but they were an essential education tool for any person wishing to achieve the skills and qualities expected by society and to carry out their Christian duty of devotions. I shall cover this subject in greater detail further on.

1.3 *The Invention of Print*

Manuscripts had gone from being the work of monks hidden away in monasteries to the bustling industry which could be found in many European cities. Numerous skilled artisans toiled in workshops to produce these lavish works for paying patrons. With the invention of print the production of texts and its associated culture would change again.

It is generally believed that Johann Gensfleisch a goldsmith from Mainz in Germany; more commonly known as Gutenberg,⁴⁴ was the first in Europe to successfully print by mechanical means. The new technology of printing offered many advantages and opportunities. Where a manuscript may take years to produce a single copy the new printing press could produce more copies in a shorter space of time and as the art developed it could be done relatively cheaply. Printing revolutionised communication throughout Europe. A prime example of this is Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses in which he lays out his argument against practices within the Catholic Church such as absolution and baptism. Lutheranism has been called the child of the printed book and serves as an example to demonstrate how the printing press and its uses differed from the manuscript workshops and their produce.⁴⁵ It also made a huge impact on the fledgling book trade that was starting to grow from the manuscript tradition.⁴⁶ Printing houses produced many copies of this work which is reported to have been renowned throughout Germany in merely a fortnight and to have spread to the far reaches of Europe within the month. As Maurice Gravier explains,

⁴³ Deschamps, E 1865 *Le Miroir de Mariage*, P, Dubois & Co: Reims. Pg 23.

⁴⁴ For more information on the invention of printing see Febvre, L, P & Martin, H 1976 *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Print 1450-1800*, NLB : London. Pgs 49-56

⁴⁵ Eisenstien, E 1979 *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformation in early-modern Europe vol 1*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Pg 303

⁴⁶ Pettegree, A 2000, Book, Pamphlets and Polemic, in Pettegree, A (ed) 2000 *The Reformation World*, Routledge: London.

“...the printing press transformed the field of communication and fathered an international revolt. It was a revolution.”⁴⁷

It was the Church that offered the fledgling industry much of its support. The Church had an army of priests who needed books for devotional duties and to conduct services. Print not only helped the Church achieve this but allowed the contents of these books to be controlled. Until the sixteenth century the Book of Hours was a relatively free of censorship meaning there were stark variations in the manuscript versions of religious books used by the clergy from region to region. Printed books allowed the contents to be set uniformly throughout Europe and were placed under controls both secularly and ecclesiastically. In the period after the Council of Trent (1568-1571) the Catholic Church issued an official Hours of the Virgin and issued controls on liturgical texts. The Church also issued papal approval and monopolies for printers.⁴⁸ It has been argued that this caused the Catholic Church to stagnate as spontaneous growth and natural adaption was curtailed, which in essence fossilized their practices.⁴⁹ The theology faculty of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris censored a few Books of Hours as part of their campaign against translating the scripture into the vernacular.⁵⁰ Luther, however, was in favour of vernacular texts and completed his translation of the Bible in 1534.⁵¹

The opportunities that this new technology made available were firstly realised and harnessed not only by the established church but also by the Reformers, arguably to a greater extent with much more radical results. They were well aware of the possibilities that printing could bring about, believing that it could end the exclusive hold the church had over the learning. In doing this it was hoped that the new found knowledge this learning would bring could expel deep rooted superstitions by enlightening the ignorant as printing allowed more people access texts and learn for themselves shaping their own ideas and opinions moving away from religious indoctrination. The educated masses would become be a force of reckoning to the ‘evil forces’ believed to be emanating from Rome resulting in a freed Western Europe from the dark ages which the Reformers strived to achieve.⁵² The democratisation of learning was to become one of the most powerful agents of change in European history as the multitudes bettered themselves through learning and were able to contribute and influence society. Eisenstien quote Luther in claiming,

⁴⁷ Eisenstien, E 1979 Pg 310.

⁴⁸ Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 19. For more on censorship see Pettegree, A 2000. Pg 117-123.

⁴⁹ Eisenstien, E 1979 Pg 313

⁵⁰ Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 18-19. Some books attempted to side-steps these rules by having French and Latin paralleled text. Reinburg Pg 98.

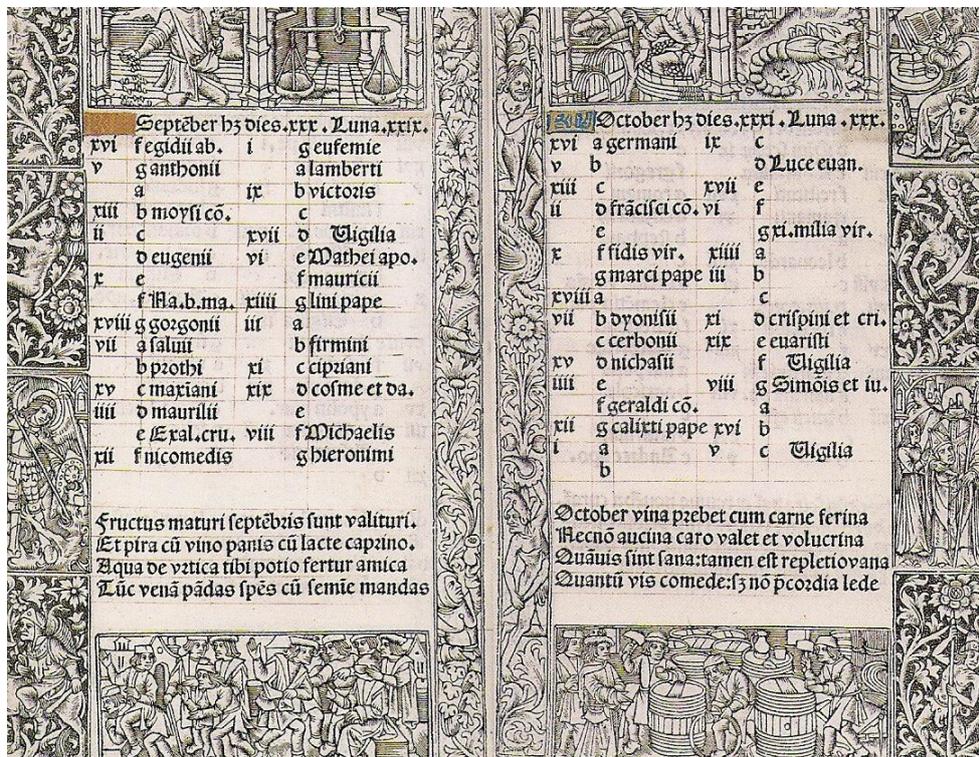
⁵¹ Pettegree, A 2000. Pg 116-117.

⁵² Eisenstien, E 1979, Pg 305

“God’s highest and extremest act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward”⁵³

Even with the invention of print the book market still produced many manuscripts. Printed texts and manuscripts occupied the book trade simultaneously for generations. The cohabitation of the two produces evidence to suggest that the arrival of print altered the role manuscripts played in the book world as the audience grew to encompass people from a wide spectrum of society whose different lifestyles necessitated a choice in the market. A printed Book of Hours purchased by a shopkeeper would be worlds apart from the lavish manuscript commissioned by the courtly lady. The two on occasion did intertwine. There are examples of printed exemplars being used by scribes to produce manuscripts. There are also examples of printed Books of Hours.

These range from simple books with printed illustrations on thin paper to the opposite end of the scale such as the ‘hybrid’ Books of Hours which the likes of Vêrard produced on vellum with illuminated miniatures for gifts to royalty. Charles VIII (1470-1498), Louis XII (1462-1515) and Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) all received works by Vêrard.⁵⁴



⁵³ Eisenstien, E 1979. Pg 304

⁵⁴ Winn, M. B 1997 *Anthoine Vêrard: Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512, Prologues, Poems and Presentations*, Librairie de Droz: Geneva. Pg 64.

Figure 3 Pierpont Morgan Library 1497 printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre⁵⁵

Some of these more luxurious printed Books of Hours even have hand painted initialling and justification lines to mimic the manuscript version. I shall discuss the topic of hybrid texts in greater depth as I explore the changes in images and representation of the Virgin as printed text and manuscripts of Books of Hours are produced together.

1.4 Emblem Books

The Book of Hours as a genre could be argued to be the most sought after type of book from the mid-thirteenth to mid-sixteenth century.⁵⁶ However, with the invention of printing the Emblem books became another popular genre, though not to the same extent. In 1531 Germany published Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, which was the first known emblem book.⁵⁷ These books offered amusement through the text and image puzzles the reader had to decode before reaching the full meaning as well as being an educational and political tool for conveying information.

But what is an emblem? An emblem, like its definition, is an enigma. Daniel Russell describes it as a,

“bridge between allegory, the dominant symbolic and rhetorical form of late medieval culture”⁵⁸

Normally an emblem has a tripartite structure, though there are examples to the contrary. It consists of a motto or *subscriptio* above or below an illustration or *pictura* and coupled with a verse text often referred to as the subscription. All three parts offer clues to unlock part of the meaning which can only be fully understood when all three are combined. The emblems often served as moral lessons, instructing the reader in the important aspects of daily life. Christianity, given its far reaching influence of the time, was a very popular subject for the Emblemists, though not solely the focus. Emblems made their debut at a time of great innovation and revelation but also at a time of considerable religious turmoil as the very invention which had produced them had created a means for the fast and

⁵⁵ Piers Morgan Library 572(ChL 1481) fols a6v-a7r.

⁵⁶ Wieck, R 1997. Pg 7.

⁵⁷ Adams, A 2003 *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem books of the Sixteenth Century*, Librarie Droz: Geneva Pg 1.

⁵⁸ Russell, D 1995 *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto Pg 10

widespread dissemination of information which was challenging the status quo. This technological advancement not only brought about the appearance of the Emblem book but an explosion of different ideas. The publicity battle raged between the Reformers and the Counter Reformation, as well as the multitude of factions contained within each division, both wielding the weapon of the widely and easily distributed printed word. As the popularity of emblems grew and their potential for dissemination of ideas over large areas in a short space of time was realised, they were adopted by authors from very distinct denominations, all of which used the text and image puzzle to forward their own views. Authors of a particular religious persuasion realised their potential as a teaching aid to encourage a more righteous, pious and moral life. The images carry a cryptic code which can produce a plethora of interpretations as people from different backgrounds and social groups view them.

As previously mentioned Books of Hours were dedicated to the Virgin Mary and intended to be use in devotions to her, however, the emblem book gives us a wider variety of lessons and images and well as authors of different denominations. As these books have different uses and viewpoints it could be expected that variations in the representations of Mary and the qualities and lessons she stood for would start to emerge.

1.5 Manuscripts and Emblems

Diehl argues that the early beginnings of the emblem tradition bear some resemblance to the medieval traditional means of using images to convey messages.⁵⁹ In some cases those roots appear to be encouraged and re-used, although the opposite is also true.

⁵⁹ Diehl, H 1986 *Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 49-66, The University of Chicago Press on the behalf of the Renaissance Society of America. Pg 50.



Figure 4 Adoration of the Magi⁶⁰



Figure 5 Adoration of the Magi⁶¹

The Adoration of the Magi, as seen above, both in printed emblem form from *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* published in 1595 by Jerome Nadal, one of the founders of the Jesuits, compared with the manuscript version of the same scene from a French Book of Hours circa 1460. Though the technology has changed, in essence, the basic iconography has remained relatively unaltered. Nadal's work shall be explored in more depth in chapter 6.

In printed versions of Books of Hours the borders were filled with biblical and moral lessons from the Passion of Christ, to tales of various Saints and even Dance of Death sequences. The printed Book of Hours may not have had the lavish illuminations a manuscript may have, except for Antoine V  rard's hybrid books, discussed later, but the new technology did mean that the customer could have a far greater quantity of images. This appears to be a conscious choice with the variation and amount of images present in borders in some editions.⁶²

In order to investigate these themes variable contexts of each book must be explored. Do publishers like V  rard vary the use of certain images in illuminated manuscript Books of

⁶⁰ Nadal, J 2003 (Trans Homann, F. A) *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospel, Volume 1: The Infancy Narratives*, Saint Joseph University Press: Pennsylvania. Pg 7.

⁶¹ University of Glasgow Special Collections MS Euing 4, folio 40v.

⁶² For further reading Grove, L 2005 *Text/Image Mosaics in French Culture: Emblems and Comic Strips*, (Part of 'Studies in European Cultural Transition: Volume 32'), Ashgate: Hampshire. Chapter 3: Production – Moveable Woodcuts, and Pollard, A. W 1902. Pgs 73-99.

Hours as in simpler printed version and if these differences are present do they feature in the hybrid printed Books of Hours for which he was renowned? Vérard has been chosen for this study as he has been dubbed ‘the father of the French illustrated book’ and produced 280 editions of various texts from 1485 to 1512.⁶³ He amalgamated the art manuscript and print technologies to his advantage. The texts could be printed and sold with printed images for a lower cost or for a more expensive copy miniatures could be hand painted over the printed image. It is important to establish the religious views of the author and how, if at all, they can be seen to influence the choice of images and the message that image is used to convey. For example, would Calvinist author Georgette de Montenay portray women in a different light from the Book of Hours being commissioned for a Catholic lady who wishes to spend her day in devotions to the Virgin Mary and her preferred female saints or even to contemporary Catholic or Humanist emblemists?⁶⁴ This question raises the important issue of theological divides as well as a more gender based division by investigating whether producers of manuscript or print aim to portray women in a different light depending on their own religious and political values and gender.

⁶³ Winn, M. B 1997. Pg 9.

⁶⁴ For more on gender in relation to literature see Broomhall, S 2002 *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth Century France*, Ashgate Publishing Limited: Hampshire.

Chapter 2 – From Manuscript to Print

2.1 *The Birth of the Printing Press*

Many have argued that the invention of the printing press was one of the most important agents of change of all time due to the magnitude and widespread social, political and religious changes it sparked. With this new technology it was now possible to produce many copies of a book in a much shorter period of time with fewer skilled workers and their laborious efforts. As a result of falling production costs it became possible for many who could never have afforded a book to purchase one. In the Tudor period the book trade expanded and technology evolved. The price of paper also dropped meaning Books of Hours could have been bought for as little as 3 or 4d and there are records of domestic servants owning these texts.⁶⁵ The standard of production had, until this point, consisted of luxurious vellum,⁶⁶ decorated with brilliant shining colours and bound in fine leather or even silver and jewels, if the patron wished. It was this seemingly small invention which allowed learning to take a huge step forward as the writings of great thinkers of the time could be more easily accessed by a wider audience.⁶⁷ This has been described as the ‘democratisation of the book’.⁶⁸ Not only did this development open the gates to a new audience to receive the once captive knowledge of so many subjects, but these ideas could now be transmitted from one side of Europe to the other with speed that could only have been dreamt of before. This sharing of knowledge allowed many to build on one another’s ideas, encouraging the growth and development of fledgling concepts and theories. The intellectual community could now with greater ease collaborate with fellow thinkers despite the distance that previously may have been a barrier.

Possibly the best if not the most renowned example of the seismic shifts surrounding the invention of the printing press is the Reformation. In 1519 there were 111 new titles produced for the German book market, compared to 40 editions in a year at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1523 this had grown to 498 editions, with a third coming from Luther.⁶⁹ As Luther’s Ninety Nine theses have already shown the difference the printing press made in the dissemination of information. It should be noted that it was not the

⁶⁵ Duffy, E 2006 *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers*, Yale University Press: London. Pg 4. And Reinburg, V 2012. Pg 46. For more on pricing see pages 44-47.

⁶⁶ Though not all manuscripts are produced on vellum.

⁶⁷ For more information on the developing book trade and printing see Pettegree, A 2000. Chapter 7, Books, Pamphlets and Polemic. And Moxley, K 1989 *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Images in the Reformation*, University of Chicago Press: London. Chapter 1, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century.

⁶⁸ Febvre, L, Martin, H.J 1976 Pg 90

⁶⁹ Scribner, R. W 1981 *For the Sake of Simple Folks: Popular Proganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge University Press: London.

Reformers that were the first to use the power of the press. The Reformers were not the first to use the printing press to further their campaign against their foes.⁷⁰ However, this time the propaganda was aimed at the established Church from Germany where many felt that they had been chosen as new generation to proclaim God's message and spread it throughout the land to the God-fearing public. In 1542 these sentiments were expressed by Johann Sleidan in *Address to the Estates of the Empire*, which enjoyed such popularity that it saw several reprinted editions:

“As if to offer proof that God had chosen us to accomplish a special mission, there was invented in our land a marvellous new and subtle art, the art of printing. This opened German eyes even as it is now bringing enlightenment to other countries. Each man became eager for knowledge, not without feeling a sense of amazement at his former blindness.”⁷¹

2.2 The Transition from Manuscript to Print

Much has been said and written regarding the invention of printing and the subsequent far-reaching changes. Equally important are the changes and trends set about by the change in technology. Manuscripts had once held the only means of producing written works, however, they now found themselves in a changing market in which their roles were being re-written and re-defined in relation to printed works and the demands of the existing and new consumers who varied from the upmost echelons of the King's court to the shop keeper.

It is commonly believed that manuscripts precede their printed counterparts and generally this is true. However, during the sixteenth century scribes were using incunabula as a template for their manuscripts as they were more readily available than manuscript copies. This small but notable trend has been overlooked by some studies in this area in favour of the more logical and more reported trend from manuscript to print. Curt F Bühler goes as far to say,

“Experience has taught me that every manuscript ascribed to the second half of the fifteenth century is potentially (and often without question) a copy of some incunabule.”⁷²

⁷⁰ Eisenstien, E 1979 Pg 303, for more on the use of printing in the Crusades and printing and propaganda see, Moxey, K 1989. Pgs 76-81. And Scribner, R. W 1981.

⁷¹ Eisenstien, E 1979 Pg 305

⁷² Bühler, C. F 1960 *The Fifteenth Book: The Scribe, The Printer, The Decorator*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia. Pg 16. See also Reeve, M. D 1982 Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books, in Trapp, J. B (ed) *Manuscripts in the fifty years after the invention of printing : some papers read at a colloquium at the*

The fact that some manuscripts were copied from printed exemplars dispels the myth that the invention of the printing press meant the end of the manuscript. The two existed side by side for many years though they generally catered for different customers. The printed word offered many advantages; for the institutions of the church and education it offered regulated texts to establish uniformity, for the average person literate in the vernacular it offered the opportunity to possess their own copies providing them with instruction in literature, theology, science and religious thought. Manuscripts containing equally varied subjects were still produced for those who could afford the finer and more luxurious editions that were hand crafted to suit the individual commissioning the work.

2.3 Printed Books of Hour (including English Printed Prayer Books)

The first known printed Book of Hours is accredited to Anthoine Vérard, a Parisian bookseller who had gained royal approval in his field.⁷³ This rather small edition dates to 1486 with another edition being published the following year. He was the first to realise the immense profitability of printed Books of Hours and around 1490 was followed by other Parisian printers.⁷⁴

The printed Book of Hours may have been created to resemble its manuscript predecessor, with publishers such as Vérard printing onto vellum and employing miniaturists to add the lavishly painted images clients were used to. The printed version quickly developed its own norms and styles which were distinct from manuscript versions. Densely illustrated borders depicting interlaced images of the secular and religious became increasingly popular in printed editions. Common depictions for the borders were the Life of Christ and his mother Mary, the Prodigal Son, the Seven Sacraments, the Theological Virtues and the Apocalypse. These collections of images were interwoven with images of peasants in the fields going about their task assigned to the season, children playing and even sports. These borders have become invaluable sources when investigating the daily life of fifteenth and sixteenth-century France due to their detailed depiction of dress, social

Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982, Warburg Institute: London. Pg 12. For more see Lutz. C. E 1975 *Essays on Manuscript and Rare Books*, Archon Books: Connecticut. Pgs 129-139. And Hellinga, L 1982 *Manuscripts in the Hands of the Printers*, same edition.

⁷³ For more on Vérard see Winn, M. B 1997 *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485-1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations*, Droz: Geneva

⁷⁴ Harthan, J 1977 *Books of Hours and Their Owners*, Thames and Hudson. Pg 169.

customs, beliefs, religious views and language as many of the captions are in the French vernacular.⁷⁵

The Dance of Death became a firm favourite in illustrated borders. The themes of the Danse Macabre and the surrounding subjects had made appearances in a few manuscript Books of Hours and the printed edition saw a new couple added to the dancing ranks.⁷⁶ There were also many sets of images that became popular in printed editions as well as the manuscripts, such as the Zodiac man which is known only to feature in one Book of Hours, that of the great collector of finely illuminated manuscripts the Duc de Berry. In the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* the zodiac man is part of the calendar. Charles V and his brother had an avid fascination with astrology which would explain why he commissioned the Limbourgs for such an inclusion.⁷⁷ The illustration attempts to chart the effects of the zodiac signs and star movements on the body. In the Middle Ages it was believed that the zodiac sign could be categorized and grouped according to the effects they had on the human body. These characteristics were based on the four humours and the degree of heat which was dependent on the proportion of femininity or masculinity and were the crux of medical knowledge. Aries, Leo and Sagittarius were choleric, oriental and masculine and therefore hot and dry. Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn were melancholic, occidental and their mainly feminine characteristics resulted in them being cold and dry. Gemini, Aquarius and Libra were considered hot and wet due to their masculinity as well as sanguineous and meridional. Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces were Nordic, phlegmatic and feminine making them cold and wet.⁷⁸

This tradition dates back as far as Assyro-Bablonian and Egyptian medical practices. It also features in writings of the poet Manilius, *Astronomicon*, A. D 14.⁷⁹ In the medieval era the zodiac man could be found on the walls of monasteries in the bathhouse as a reminder when bleeding, cupping or hair-cutting.⁸⁰ The Duc de Berry's *Très Riches Heures* is unique and rare in that it includes a zodiac man, as most manuscript Book of Hours do not.

⁷⁵ For more on vernacular language and the importance of borders see Harthan, J 1977, Pg 171.

⁷⁶ Printed Book of Hours University of Glasgow Special Collections call no: BD19-h.10. Pg 99.

⁷⁷ Longon, J, Cazelles, R & Meis, M 1969 *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Thames and Hudson: London. Pg 14.

⁷⁸ Longon, J, Cazelles, R & Meis, M. Plate 14.

⁷⁹ Clark, C 1982 The Zodiac Man in Medieval Astrology, in *Journal of the Rocky Mountain and Renaissance Association* 3. Pg 13-38.

⁸⁰ Clark, C 1982. Pg 37.

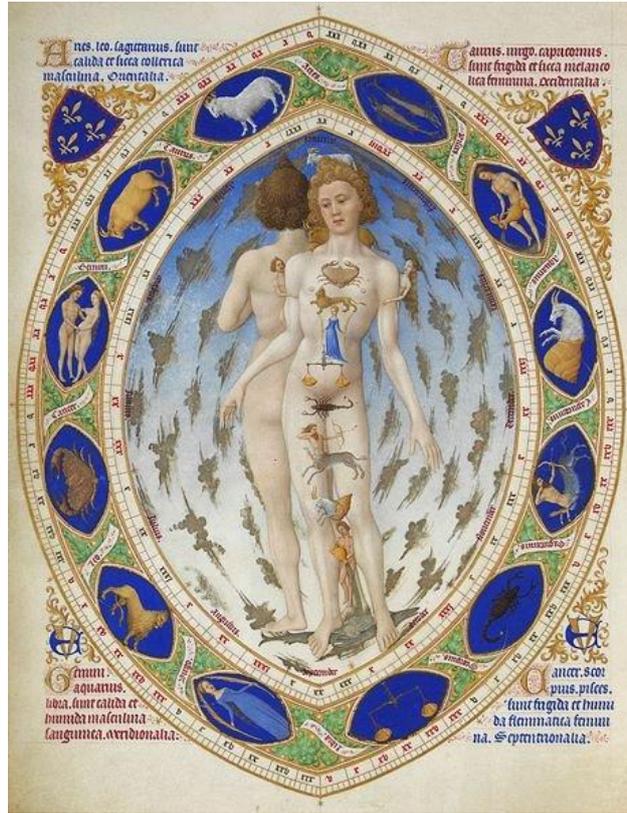


Figure 6 Duc de Berry's Zodiac Man⁸¹

In the fifteenth and sixteenth century printed Books of Hours uses four representations for this subject. These were the Visceral Planet Man with temperaments, the Zodiac Man with Temperaments, the Skeletal Planet Man with Temperaments and the Zodiac-Planet Man.⁸² The following examples feature the latter two. The printed zodiac man consists of a skeleton (or a corpse) with an open abdomen revealing his organs. Another interesting addition is the jester that is found between the man's feet. He was added as a symbol of the erratic and unpredictable nature of the human brain with the changing of the moon. The jester and the moon are locked in a trance, gazing at one another, which has been interpreted as a reference to lunar madness.⁸³ This particular example became popular at the end of the fifteenth century and the four humours feature in the corners. Its function was as a diagram to aid the practice of phlebotomy and shows the planetary influence on the organs.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 65/1284. Plate 14.

⁸² Bober, H 1948 *The Zodiacal Miniature of the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry: Its Sources and Meaning*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 11 (1948). Pp. 1-34. The Warburg Institute: London.

⁸³ Harthan, J 1977, Pg 170.

⁸⁴ Bober, H 1948. Pg 20.



Figure 7 Printed Anatomical/ Planetary man; Skeletal figure with Jester ⁸⁵

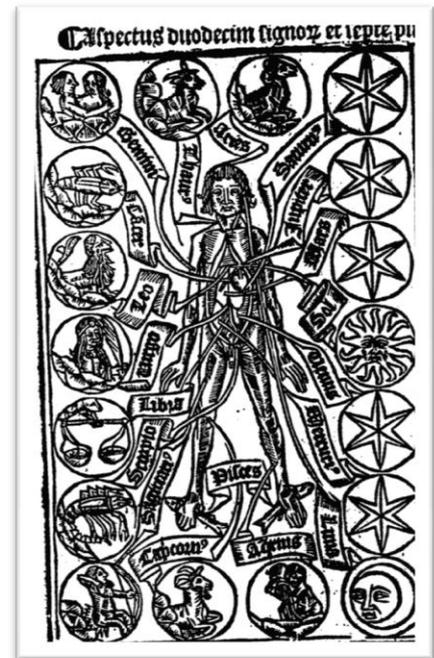


Figure 8 Zodiac Man, Eviscerated man with Zodiacal Signs ⁸⁶

The first example comes from a Book of Hours titled '*Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimu[m] Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum, cum quindecim orationibus beate Brigitte, ac multis alijs orationibus pulcherrimis, et indulgentijs, cum tabula aptissima iam vltimo adiectis*' published in 1526 by François Regnault from his printing press in Paris.⁸⁷ The second example comes from another Book of Hours commissioned in 1526 but printed in London by Wynkyn de Word, Caxton's successor, who maintained the successful business producing 700 works until 1535.⁸⁸

Fig.7 shows an example of the anatomical man coupled with a Zodiac man in fig. 8 . This version includes the zodiacal signs and links them to the relating area on the body as well as the planets, the sun and the moon. Fig. 8 is an example which is almost exclusively found in Books for use of Sarum. It shows both planetary and zodiac iconography. These printed examples do not match that the Duc de Berry exactly but a relationship between the

⁸⁵ Regnault, Franciscum 1526 *Hore Beatissime virginis Marie*, Paris (now in Bodleian Library) [http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99843688&FILE=../session/1301572268_23968&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=178664&PAGENO=11&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= Pg 11](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99843688&FILE=../session/1301572268_23968&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=178664&PAGENO=11&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= Pg 11)

⁸⁶ Worde, Winadum de 1526 *Hore Beatissime virginis Marie* , London (now in Lambeth Palace Library) http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898589&FILE=../session/1301572268_23968&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173277&PAGENO=11&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= pg 11

⁸⁷ He also, like Vérard, had presses in London. Duff, E. G 1893. Pg 143.

⁸⁸ Febvre, L, Martin, H. J 1976, Pg 191

two could be suggested. Duc de Berry's lavish manuscript was unique in this inclusion but the variations on this subject became a staple of printed Books of Hours.

This is an example of how similar iconography appeared in both printed and manuscript versions of Books of Hours though not exactly in the same form or with the same function. Similarly images of the Virgin Mary changed from manuscripts to printed works as can be seen in the printed religious works in England.

The Reformation marked a decline in the popularity of Book of Hours nowhere more so than in Protestant England, although this varied depending on the religious leanings of the reigning monarch. These 'Papist' books were defaced by many as their prayers to Mary and the saints became a liability in a country in religious and political turmoil. Many Books of Hours exist today with the names of saints scratched out and altered prayers.⁸⁹ Books of Hours may have become outlawed as part of a forbidden faith but the desire of the people to connect with their God through prayer and a pious life was not extinguished merely because the theology and acceptable doctrine of the nation had changed. In 1552 Richard Day published a book entitled, '*A booke of Christian praiers, collected out of the ancient writers, and best learned in our time; worthy to be read with an earnest minde of all Christians in these dangerous and troublesom daies, that God for Christs sake will yet still be merciful vnto vs*'. The book was very popular and enjoyed many editions even into the 1600's. The book was a collection of prayers that were to be said throughout the day at different times. It also included many other prayers to cover every eventuality the reader may encounter.

⁸⁹ For more on altered Books of Hours see Duffy, E 2006.



Figure 10 Tree of Jesse pg1 ⁹¹

Elizabeth Regina.



3. PARALIPOM 6.
Domine Deus Israel, non est similis tui Deus in caelo & in terra, qui pacta custodis & misericordiam cum servis tuis, qui ambulat coram te in toto corde suo.

Figure 11 Queen Elizabeth pg 2 ⁹²

The second page of this prayer book depicts Queen Elizabeth I, the Protestant Queen of England and the Head of the Church of England during her reign.⁹³ The prayers are not marked as lauds or matins but generally follow the same structure for the day. This prayer book is not dedicated to the Virgin Mary but parallels can be drawn as it aims to structure the day with prayers that teach and aiding the devotee in focusing their mind on godly thoughts. There are decorative borders full of the same images and themes found in Books of Hours which the reader of a Book of Hours would have recognised from their own margins. This book could be viewed as a Protestant Book of Hours which has been adapted to meet the needs of the people who were experiencing religious upheaval. It is

⁹¹ Richard Day, 1552 A Christian Book of Prayers, Title Page.

[http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99845082&FILE=.../session/1362860619_7416&SEARCHSCREEN=param\(SEARCHSCREEN\)&VID=9958&PAGENO=1&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99845082&FILE=.../session/1362860619_7416&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=9958&PAGENO=1&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=)

⁹² Richard Day, 1552 A Christian Book of Prayers

[http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99845082&FILE=.../session/1362860619_7416&SEARCHSCREEN=param\(SEARCHSCREEN\)&VID=9958&PAGENO=2&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=undefined](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99845082&FILE=.../session/1362860619_7416&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=9958&PAGENO=2&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=)

⁹³ A recent British Library exhibition on Royal Manuscripts includes Henry VIII's psalter. On folio 3 there is a image of King Henry VIII sitting in his chambers with an open book much like the images of Mary reading in her chamber at the Annunciation.

<http://www.bl.uk/whatson/exhibitions/royalman/ttp/royaldetect.html?id=3FF14446-29B5-4198-B32A-FB42C43A4B71&accessfolder=henryviii>

possible the owner of this book may previously have used a Book of Hours for his or her daily devotions.

The use of Queen Elizabeth's image in this prayer book is interesting as she was the queen of protestant England where 'papal' books had been outlawed. The Tudors era, as part of reform, was accustomed to the image of the godly woman in the place of Mary and her female saints. The godly woman, much like Mary, was shown holding a book as a sign of divine revelation or featured in a book as symbols of divine inspiration. She was an image of godly wisdom and mirrored scriptural examples such as the Five Wise Virgins or the Virtuous Woman of Proverbs.⁹⁴ It was into this environment that Queen Elizabeth I came to the throne. Late medieval royal iconography depicted queens as forms of the Virgin Mary Queen of Heaven, as the queen was shown as the motherly mediator between the king and his people much in the same way Mary was between Christ and believers. This imagery was apt for the Tudor era as queens never ruled exclusively and were always consorts to kings. Of course this changed with the death of King Edward, King Henry's only male heir.⁹⁵ This led to Queen Elizabeth I being cast as a 'second Deborah' as she was to restore England after the ravages of religious turmoil in the same way Deborah, the sole female Judge, had restored Israel from pagan idolatry.⁹⁶ Whilst many Protestants attempted to blot out most images of Mary some were adopted by Queen Elizabeth I such as the Virgin, Bride and Mother. This was seen as an attempt for Queen Elizabeth I draw support from traditional devotional forms. This comparison was aided by the fact that she was born on the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and died on the eve of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven.⁹⁷

This again shows how the iconography associated with the Virgin Mary was taken and reattributed, in this case, to Queen Elizabeth I to give divine validation to her reign and protestant beliefs. It also shows how Richard Day's book of Christian prayer was aware of this iconographical shift within the country and published a protestant prayer book to replace the Book of Hours using the appropriate image of the godly woman instead of the Virgin Mary.

⁹⁴ King, J 1985 The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.38, No. 1 (Spring, 1985). Pp.41-84. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago. Pg 41.

⁹⁵ King, J 1985. Pg 51. For more on the King Henry VIII see the recent exhibition from the British Library. <http://www.bl.uk/henry>

⁹⁶ King, J 1985. Pg 43.

⁹⁷ King, J 1985. Pg 79.

2.4 *Printer to the King: Vérard's Printed Books*

Vérard, a Parisian publisher, referred to himself in many of his books as a 'humble libraire' though nothing could be further from the truth. Between 1485 and 1512 he sold more than 280 editions.⁹⁸ He first published a vernacular French version of *Descameron* in 1485 which was followed by both religious and secular works including many *Heures*, *Danse Macabre* (c.a 1491-92) and even copies of *Lancelot* (1494) and *Merlin* (1498). He became the official publisher for the University in Paris and his clientele included kings, queens and gentry, not only in France but there are records of his books being sought by the royal court in England.⁹⁹ He was at the forefront of this field and a printer of excellent reputation. I shall focus on Vérard not only as he was a renowned printer of many works but as he was the first, and main, producer of hybrid Books of Hours. These books are of great interest to this study as they are neither solely print nor manuscript but an amalgamation of both traditions. They are important in understanding the often oversimplified transition from manuscript to print and highlight how they existed together and, indeed, influenced one another in image and style.

Vérard's mark first appears in a Book of Hours dated 12th September 1485. This is the earliest recorded illustrated printed Book of Hours in France and Anthoine Vérard fast became a very prominent figure in this genre. It contains both French and Latin. As previously discussed Books of Hours were very popular and sought after books of the time and with the transition to print the popularity of the genre did not dwindle but grew in strength as the new technology allowed the market to expand encompassing more potential customers. Printed Books of Hours accounted for a large proportion of the books Vérard produced with his other various works from a vernacular Bible to *Chroniques de France* and *Tristan*.¹⁰⁰ He was already a well established bookseller by the time he is seen making his mark in the field of printing. He had two properties from which he operated. One was found on the Notre Dame Bridge and the other occupied a choice plot in front of the Sainte-Chapelle.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Winn, M. B 1997 *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485-1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations*, Droz: Geneva. Pg 547-551 for an Index of works published by Vérard.

⁹⁹ Winn, M. B 1997 Pg 15

¹⁰⁰ Winn, M. B 1997 Pg 15 and 547-551.

¹⁰¹ Winn, M. B 1997 Pg 16



Figure 12 Vérard's mark ¹⁰²

Vérard is of great interest due to his ingenious development of the 'hybrid' genre of Books of Hours. Printing may have brought with it a multitude of advantages but for many it had pitfalls. The printed editions lacked the colour and vibrancy of the illuminated manuscript. The paper that had been developed for printing would have seemed flimsy in comparison to vellum. Vérard was a skillful business man and soon realised a niche in the market. Vérard attempted to create a printed Books of Hours on vellum, as print does not allow images to be as lavishly produced as that of a skilled illuminator.¹⁰³ The carved wooden blocks used to produce the early printing blocks could not offer the depth and detail or finesse of image or the array of colours than that of the delicate work of the illuminator. He had the printed images hand-painted or for more elaborate endeavours, space was left to allow the miniaturist free artistic reign with the composition of the illustration. These books are modelled on their manuscript predecessors in nearly every way, with hand-painted historiated initials to mimic those found in the manuscript tradition. As discussed, some printed copies even bear the thin red lines of justification. The line of text often slopes away from these markings suggesting that they have no real purpose as justification lines but are merely another attempt to make the printed book match the manuscript version aesthetically in every way possible providing the reader with the comforting familiarity of the traditional format.¹⁰⁴ Vérard also takes another manuscript Book of Hours tradition and incorporates in into his new 'hybrid' copy. In his more luxurious editions, many of which are intended of royal ownership, he can be seen kneeling presenting his masterpiece to the dedicatee in this donor portrait.

¹⁰² Winn, M. B 1997. Taken from front cover, original Hours for the use of Paris, private collection. No folio number.

¹⁰³ Other printed books also used this technique to achieve a higher class of illustration.

¹⁰⁴ University of London colloquium papers, Manuscripts in the fifty years after the invention of print.



Figure 13 Printer presenting book to King Charles VIII (preliminary page)

Above is an illustration from Ludovic of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, where the maker of the book is gifting it to the recipient for whom it had been produced.¹⁰⁵ At a recent conference at the University of Glasgow, Mary Beth Winn has suggested that this work was actually that of Vérard. Books of Hours regularly show the dedicatee in the margins, usually kneeling in supplication in front of Mary or a favourite Saint. Vérard takes this tradition associated with manuscript Books of Hours and incorporates it into his hybrid editions, again, using these techniques to mimic the format of many traditional manuscripts. This is an example showing that the simplified dichotomy of cheaper, more simple print and expensive lavish manuscript is mistaken and that these hybrid Books of Hours show print and manuscript inhabited the same space and even the same social spheres.

2.5 Conclusion

It is a common misconception that manuscripts were completely replaced with printed texts. As discussed, the two co-existed as they catered to the needs of different people. Vérard is an example of this as he produced manuscript and printed Books of Hours simultaneously as well as texts that used both traditional manuscript skill and printing technology offering his customers even more choice. Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi* is an example of these hybrid books and shows that they can display all the grandeur of a traditional manuscript.

¹⁰⁵ Saxony, Ludolf of *Vita Christi* 15th Century. Sp Coll MSS Hunter 36-39. University of Glasgow. Special Collections.

The example of the zodiac and anatomical man demonstrated that the iconography of Books of Hours in printed and manuscript versions were not always the same. The zodiac man from Duc de Berry's *Très Riches Heures* is a rare example of this image in a manuscript Book of Hours whereas printed Books of Hours in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries frequently had this iconography included.

Richard Day's book of prayer provided an interesting example of how the prayer book could be reworked to suit the protestant faith that prevailed in Tudor England which had banned all 'papist' books. As shown, Mary's place appears to have been usurped by Queen Elizabeth I. The Virgin Mary had come to stand as the example for many qualities, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. In an attempt to move away from catholic traditions as well as establish and validate the reign of Queen Elizabeth, also known as the Virgin Queen, she was imbued with the same qualities Mary had once represented.

These examples have shown that the iconography of Books of Hours could be subject to change depending on the form of the text, be it manuscript or printed, and also how these well known images could be changed or even replaced to convey a specific message or to back a particular ideology. In the following chapter the various qualities and associated iconography of Mary will be explored further to allow the comparison of these images in manuscripts and printed Books of Hours as well as later printed works such as emblems.

Chapter 3 - The Virgin Mary

3.1 *From the Background to the Forefront: The Rise of Mary*

Devotions to the Virgin Mary have a long established history in the Christian Church. Marian worship is believed to originate at the end of the fourth century. This is the first record of not only a feast in her honour but also an intercessory prayer to the Virgin found on the remnants of a papyrus scroll.¹⁰⁶ Due to the limited evidence of Marian cults in the early church most commentators on the issue would agree that the universal worship of Mary dates to the end of the fifth century and grew steadily over the centuries.

Over the centuries Mary was reconstructed through the way in which the lay confraternities interacted with her. They had built her shrines in their homes and in the streets as well as in the Churches and Holy places. These shrines varied throughout Christendom as the people incorporated Mary into the local traditions and customs. As Miri Rubin puts it, they had made her 'local and vernacular, she was reborn out of local materials and words'.¹⁰⁷ With this parochial rebirth of Mary came a plethora of stories relating how the Virgin Mary helped those who revered her which reinforced the belief in her saving power and fuelled local Marian worship. She held an important role in the Church due to the unflinching devotion the general public bestowed upon her; she had become their spiritual mother.

Early medieval church art placed Mary in an inferior position to the main focus which was Christ in all His glory and majesty. However, the perception and attitudes towards her and her inherent power can be charted through the main images from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Mary is first brought to the forefront as a humble mother in the seated Virgin and Child, she then becomes the bride of Christ in the Triumph of the Virgin which leads to her being the crowned Queen of heaven in the Coronation of the Virgin and culminates almost full circle with the emphasis returning to her meek motherly role in the standing Virgin and Child. Penny Gold has published a study on regional French Romanesque sculpture, which offers a very interesting view on how the portrayal of Mary

¹⁰⁶ Carroll, M. P 1986 *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins*, Princeton University Press: Princeton. Pg 4. For more on Mary see Rubin, M 2009 *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*, Central European University Press: Budapest. Boff, L O.F.M 1979 *The Maternal Face of God: The Feminine and its Religious Expression*, Collins: London. Ellington, D. S 2001 *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, The Catholic University of America Press: Washington D.C. Gathercole, P. M 2000 *The Depiction of Women in Medieval French Manuscript Illumination*, The Edwen Mellen Press, Ltd: Wales.

¹⁰⁷ Rubin, M 2009 *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, Penguin Books: London. Pg192

changed in Church art.¹⁰⁸ It charts the evolution of her image through church art and with her changing images there almost appears to be a shifting emphasis on various qualities she embodied, such as majesty of the Queen of Heaven compared to the humble mother. There are multitudes of variations of her humble stance from bowed head to bended knee.¹⁰⁹ Penny Schine Gold explains the evolving message given through the subtlest of changes to this well known image,

“As Mary is shown more in profile while Christ remains frontal, as Mary bends further over while Christ remains erect, the image celebrates the Virgin’s humility and modesty rather than her dignity and power. It is as though the marriage that began with the equality of the bride and the bridegroom has seen the husband assume authority over his wife.”¹¹⁰

Mary was depicted in various ways which highlighted the different qualities she was believed to possess. Over a relatively short period of a few centuries she rose in popularity with images emphasising her essential motherly role, there are then depictions of the triumphant and powerful Queen of Heaven and the bride of Christ. As the images of Mary changed, the way in which her role gradually evolved to meet the needs of the people who relied on her for security and spiritual sustenance can be seen. The more powerful and merciful the countless images of the Virgin surrounding the people, the more the people became dependant on her to be their salvation, and to achieve that salvation they served her evermore fervently.

As Gold demonstrates there are many sides to Mary, she is not merely one person depicted in one way. I shall briefly explore some of the many qualities and personalities which have shaped the various styles of Marian depiction which are regularly found in Books of Hours. This will then be expanded upon in later chapters as I explore how these images are used and how, if at all, these images are changed or twisted to convey a particular message.

3.2 Queen of Heaven and Intercessor for the Masses

Mary was not only depicted as a young mother but also the Queen of Heaven and bride of Christ. During the late twelfth to fifteenth century the popularity of the Triumph of the

¹⁰⁸ Gold, P. S 1985 *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth –Century France*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

¹⁰⁹ Gold, P. S 1985. Pg 64.

¹¹⁰ Gold, P. S 1985. Pg 65.

Virgin iconography can be seen and the way in which it portrayed Mary as the equal partner to Christ.

The women of the Old Testament had offered some lessons for the devout women. Queen Esther was humble yet brave in her approach to her husband risking her life to save God's people and Hannah and Sarah were both devout women who waited on God's promises.¹¹¹ However, the main example had been a negative one. Eve's disobedience caused sin to enter the world and condemn humanity. She had severed the bond between man and God allowing the world to flood with pain and suffering against which the people of this era battled against daily to survive. The comparison between Eve and Mary is a common theme running through Marian devotions. Many songs dedicated to Mary acknowledge her achievement in partially rectifying the damage caused by Eve. This can be seen in the Antiphon preceding the Magnificat which states,

“The gate of Paradise was closed to all by Eve, and was opened again by Mary,
Alleluya.”¹¹²

The unique position Mary occupied as the bearer and bride of Christ encouraged the belief in her role as Co-Redemptrix which fuelled fervent devotions of those desperately seeking salvation. The Marian lore of her intercessions include such tales as that of a wayward knight who builds an abbey in Mary's name but dies suddenly without confession. As good and evil battle over his soul Mary pleads with her son for the soul of the knight who 'honoured my image and me'. He is then pardoned and welcomed into heaven. Much the same is the account of the selfish and vulgar peasant who attended church regularly, though never made a profession of faith until on his death bed and was carried by angels through the heavenly gates 'by the pleasure of our Lady'.¹¹³ These tales could not fail to encourage the God-fearing community to worship Mary as she readily forgives the perennial sinner in the light of a single redeeming act. Her ever more prominent role in the crucifixion again bolstered the belief in Mary's saving grace. In depictions of the crucifixion Mary is always found at Jesus' feet. This was an important part of the Passion plays which were popular in medieval Europe.¹¹⁴ The scene of the crucifixion emphasised the bodily connection of mother and son as both experienced the suffering of the other.

¹¹¹ The story of Hannah can be found in 1st Samuel Chapter 1 and the story of Sarah in Genesis chapter 16-23.

¹¹² Rubin, M 2009. Pg 194.

¹¹³ Rubin, M 2009. Pg 233.

¹¹⁴ Rubin, M 2009. Pg 253. For more on Mary's role in the Passion Plays see Moses. M. J 2004 *The Passion Play of Oberammergau*, Kessinger Publishing: Whitefish, Mont.

Mary's anguish at the cross was believed by many to mean that she had herself partaken in the redemptive suffering of Christ and therefore was able to pardon sinners.

This shows the essential part Mary was believed to play in the process of redemption and the attainment of the assurance of heaven as she intercedes for humanity, pleading their case to her son. Her intercessory power was built on her authority as the woman who made Jesus' restorative mission possible by not only giving birth to him, nurturing and raising him but equally important was her role as his bride and heavenly companion. With Christ's life and works being so completely tethered to Mary and her essential participation it was widely believed that if she was to intercede on the behalf of a sinner Christ could hardly be expected to refuse his mother, and Mary as a mother whose compassion was of divine proportions, would surely acknowledge any sinner who had made devotions to her.

3.3 An Example of Perfection: Woman, Wife & Mother

Mary may have been the perfect mother who gave birth to the Saviour of all humanity and the companion of the King of Heaven, the creator of all things, but she displayed qualities from which women should take their example. They were expected to be perfect examples of godliness and nurture and guide their families, as Mary did. *Kontakion*¹¹⁵, a sixth-century text attributed to Romanos the Melodos, recounts the story of the miracle Jesus performed at the wedding at Cana. Unlike the account in Gospel of John, this text tells how Mary encourages a reluctant Christ to perform turning the water into wine.¹¹⁶ The biblical response in John 2:4 Christ gives is 'Woman, what would you have me do? My hour has not yet come'. Romanos the Melodos adds another response on Christ's part to reveal not only his reasons for succumbing to his mother's wishes but the justification for Mary's intercessory power,

“Since it is necessary that parents be honoured by their children, I shall pay observance to you Mother.”¹¹⁷

This idea is highlighted through the attention given to Mary in christian works, her figure is equal to Christ's, the luxurious finish on her gown and face and the amount of focus she draws from the viewer. They were viewed as a pair whose divine grace could be partially attributed to the other.

¹¹⁵ *Kontakion*, reproduced 1973 University of Missouri Press: Columbia.

¹¹⁶ John's Gospel chapter 2 verses 1-11 tell the story of the Wedding at Canaan.

¹¹⁷ Kalavrezou, I 1990 Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became “Meter Theou”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers Vol 44 (1990)*, pg 165-172, Pg 167.

A certain priest went as far as to argue that Mary was such an admirable figure that God Himself must worship her. William of Shoreham was serving as a priest in the parish of Chart-Sutton in 1320. He comprised a poem inspired by the Five Joys of the Virgin in which he wrote,

“When he who will judge the whole world, is bound to worship her because of her motherhood.”¹¹⁸

He argued that Mary had accomplished what he could not, as she brought a child into the world. Being that the child was both wholly human and wholly divine she, therefore, should be adored by all including God Himself who was indebted to her.

Peter Abelard, a philosopher and theologian, devoted many sermons to Mary¹¹⁹. One of his sermons on the Assumption posed the idea that women could receive salvation due to the common traits they shared with the Virgin Mary.¹²⁰ Mary’s virtues were extolled in many sermons as the ideal for women. Her virginity, humility, obedience and maternal commitments were qualities which set her apart as she was believed to possess them to a degree which is far beyond the best human effort. Gold argues that Mary’s special status distinguishes her from women in that no women could fully emulate her as she embodies dichotomies which are naturally impossible, for example according to Catholic doctrine she is both mother and virgin.¹²¹ Marina Warner argues that it is ‘the effect not the phenomenon’ of natural processes that Mary was spared. She was spared the pain of childbirth and the decay of death making her very experiences different to the world in which women striving to follow her example.¹²²

Le Ménagier de Paris was written in 1393 by a bourgeois of Paris for his young bride-to-be. It details every aspect of familial life and how best to achieve domestic bliss. The author of this handbook draws on the qualities and virtues of Mary and how they can be applied to the demands of a wife,

¹¹⁸ Rubin, M 2009. Pg 217.

¹¹⁹ The Chambers Biographical Dictionary describes him as “the keenest thinker and boldest theologian of the 12th century”. Collocot, T. C & Thorne, J 1984 *Chamber Biographical Dictionary*, W&R Chambers: Edinburgh. Pg 3.

¹²⁰ McLaughlin, M. M 1975 Peter Abelard and the Dignity of Women: Twelfth Century “Feminism” in Theory and Practice, in *Pierre Abélard Pierre le Vénérable: Les Courantes Philosophiques, Littéraires et Artistique en Occident au Milieu du XXIIe Siècle*, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: Paris.

¹²¹ Gold, P, S 1985. Pg 68-71.

¹²² Warner, M 1976 *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London.

“...greater good cometh from obey, wherefore I take my example from the words of the Blessed Virgin Mary, when the Angel Gabriel brought her tidings that Our Lord should be conceived in her. She did not answer, ‘It is not reasonable, I am maid and Virgin, I will not suffer it, I shall be defamed’; but obediently answered, *‘Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum’*, as who should say, Be it unto me according to thy word. Thus was she truly humble and obedient, and of her humility and obedience great good hath come to us, and by our disobedience and pride cometh great ill and a foul end, as is aforesaid concerning her that was burnt and as ye may read in the Bible of Eve, by those whose disobedience and pride she and all women that were and shall be after her, were and have been accursed by the word of God.”¹²³

Pope Gregory VII explored Mary’s commonality with women as well as her singularity in his correspondence with Matilda of Tuscany in 1074,

“May you believe beyond all doubt that, as she (Mary) is higher and more holy than all human mothers, so she is more gracious and tender towards every sinner who turns to her. Cease therefore, every sinful desire and, prostrate before her, pour out your tears from a humble and a contrite heart. You will find her, I surely promise you, more ready than any earthly mother and more lenient in her love for you.”¹²⁴

The twelfth century showed Mary as the majestic and omnipotent Queen of Heaven and bride of Christ. The thirteenth century opted for a more natural and approachable image of a caring mother which was a result of the printing and availability of a variety of Marian literature in the vernacular. Notre Dame Cathedral in Amiens is the site of the famous *Vierge Dorée* which marks an interesting shift in the portrayal of Mary. The evolution of Mary and some of the roles she has played in the story of Christendom have been explored previously. Amiens marks the arrival of the standing Virgin and child which emphasises very different qualities from the seated Virgin and Child. On the south portal of Amiens cathedral stands an image of Mary with the Christ child perched on her hip. This image may appear to bestow similar sovereignty upon the Virgin as the Romanesque style once did, she stands cradling the Christ child as discussed by Gold.¹²⁵ However, on closer inspection the subtle changes can be seen which differentiate the Romanesque style, with awe-inspiring devotion to a distant deity, to the Gothic style which emphasised the humanity and compassion of the figure, encouraging personal interaction. Mary’s figure is frontal but in contrast to the earlier style her gaze, full of motherly affection, is towards her son whom she is dandling on her hip.¹²⁶

¹²³ Rubin, M 2009. Pg 213.

¹²⁴ Gold, P, S 1985. Pg 70.

¹²⁵ Gold, P. S 1985. Pg 66.

¹²⁶ Gold, P, S 1985. Pg 65-76.

As a mother she provided for every possible need of her child. When Christ was but a babe in arms he gained all his sustenance from his mother and this is often depicted with emphasis to their tender relationship as mother and child. There is a story which is an auxiliary to the Temptation of Christ which acts to highlight the continuing bond between Jesus and his mother even when he had left to pursue his ministry. The story tells of how after forty days in the wilderness being tempted by the devil the only request Christ made to the angels who were tending to him was that he may return home to eat a meal that had been prepared by his mother as he claimed ‘there is no bodily food so tasty to me as that made by her’. The angels granted his request and carrying him home where he shared the ‘simple’ meal Mary had made for her household.¹²⁷

3.4 Conclusion

Mary’s varying roles have been harnessed to illustrate various lessons. Her life decorated the walls of many churches throughout Christendom and many lessons, sermons and poems were drawn from these well known images and delivered to the faithful that depended on her not only in life for physical protection from illness or calamity but spiritually as they hoped to enter into eternity. Mary was held up as the perfect example of femininity. Her perfection could not be achieved by those who followed her. It not only acted a shining example but it also emphasised the fallen state of humanity and their need for her compassionate intercession. Often the thirteenth and fourteenth-century representation of Mary emphasised her beauty, chastity, obedience and accepting nature, sometimes shown reading a book, the perfect example of a young lady.¹²⁸ As a mother she is shown to be completely devoted and connected to her son in such a way that she experienced every pain he felt. The smooth transition Mary was shown to have from maid to mother makes the devotion with which many women followed her understandable. Possibly they hoped she could aid them in their passage through the stages of womanhood. Some art works also appear to convey this idea, such as marriage caskets. They came in many styles with many different themes. Some had an exterior decorated with lovers in pursuit and hunting scenes which is contrasted by the interior which is decorated with the Virgin Mary peacefully seated with her son in an enclosed garden.¹²⁹ The exterior portrayed the past life and endeavours of the young bride to whom the casket belonged and

¹²⁷ Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. 1482-93 *Incipit libellus de infancia saluatoris beato Hieronimo translates*, Eucharius Silber: Rome. Spec Coll. MS Hunterian Bx.3.45. For more see Rubin, M 2009. Pg 214.

¹²⁸ Rubin, M 2009, Pg 214. See also Clanchy, M. T 2004. Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What Do They Mean?, in *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 38. (2004)

¹²⁹ For more on marriage caskets see Swarzenski, G 1947 A Marriage Casket and Its Moral, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol.45, No. 261 (Oct, 1947) pp. 55-62. Museum of Fine Arts: Boston.

the interior showed her new life, the peaceful domesticity of marriage and motherhood with Mary as her guide and aid.

Chapter 4 Case Studies – Manuscripts

As discussed many events in the life of Mary were drawn upon for teaching and devotions. Though Mary is only present in a handful of verses in the Bible her life story and that of her family, known as the Holy Family, was recorded in great detail in the apocryphal texts such as *Protevangelium of James*¹³⁰ and *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*¹³¹ as well as Marian miracle tales. These case studies draw on some of the most common images of Mary that depicts key moments in her life with suggestions of how they were used for instruction and spiritual meditation. Using these depictions I shall investigate not only how important and encompassing these various images were in the day-to-day lives of their viewers but also how these examples maintained their importance and relevance for a new era with new political and religious views and even new forms of technology.

4.1 *Mary the Child*

No record of Mary's childhood is mentioned in the Bible but stories of her early years were abundant in Marian culture. Many of the stories are recorded within the *Protevangelium of James* and *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. The *Protevangelium of James* was written about 150 A.D and it tells the story of how Joachim and his wife Anne longed for a child. The promise of a child was then heralded by an angelic visitation which Anne received much in the same way her daughter would experience in later years. In thanksgiving for the blessing of the child Anne pledged the child to the Temple. At the age of three Joachim and Anne took the child Mary to the Temple as they had promised. The image of the small child climbing the steps to the Temple as her parents looked on became a popular image in Marian culture. The *N.town Manuscript*, a collection of passion and miracle plays relating to the life of Christ,¹³² includes this instance as part of the *Mary Play* in which she recites a psalm for every step she climbs up towards the Temple.¹³³ The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* recounts Mary's time within the Temple. It reports how she was completely committed to her studies and prayers as well as unceasing in praise to God that she was an example to all,

¹³⁰ Written A.D 150, author unknown.

¹³¹ *Incipit libellus de infancia saluatoris beato Hieronimo translates (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew)* ca. 1490 Sp Coll Hunterian Bx.3.45, University of Glasgow, Special Collections.

¹³² *N-Town Plays*, Cotton Ms Vespasian D VIII: 2nd half of the 15th Century – 1st quarter of the 16th Century, British Library.

¹³³ Sheingorn, P 1993 "The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary, in *Gesta, Vol 32, No 1 (1993) Pg 69-80*, International Centre for Medieval Art. Pg 69

“She was so well instructed in the praise of God, that among the older virgins of the Temple none could be found better than her in vigils, more erudite in the law of God, more humble, more refined in singing psalms, more charitable, chaste and virtuous. She was never seen to be angry, or heard to utter anything bad. All her discourse was full of grace, so that God was known to be in her tongue.”¹³⁴

This account does, however, contradict the images of St. Anne teaching the Virgin as a child.¹³⁵ There are many renderings of St. Anne teaching Mary but there is also a visual tradition of Mary seated in surroundings that would resemble a classroom. A stained glass window from Chartres Cathedral dating to the thirteenth century shows a young Mary seated in a classroom with four other pupils and their teacher, whereas a century later at Esslingen in Frauenkirke she is shown as the sole pupil of the scene as she starts to learn the first Psalm of her Psalter.¹³⁶ Some suggestions given are that the representations of the education of the Virgin Mary by her mother Anne are the projection of a medieval ideal on the relationship between St. Anne and Mary or that they occur either before her time served at the Temple or when she has returned home to prepare for her marriage to Joseph. In the *Vita Rhythmica* the latter explanation is given.¹³⁷ It tells of Mary being taken to the Temple at three and returning at the age of seven where she is educated by her parents equally,

“Hec proles a parentibus decenter educatur/ Et in omni disciplina per ipsos informatur” (lines 529-30; ‘thus child was properly educated by her parents, and was instructed by them in every discipline’).¹³⁸

The *Protevangelium of James* also recounts Mary’s preparation for her marriage to Joseph. Mary was renowned for her many and widely varied abilities; however the only skills attributed to her here are spinning and weaving, a typically female activity. It is interesting to note that examples of the Annunciation show Mary spinning or weaving until the eleventh century, by which time the Marian culture had grown in strength and it was widely regarded that Mary must have been well accomplished in many diverse fields as she was favoured by God amongst all women and so was blessed with the task of bearing the Christ-child. The author of *Pseudo-Matthew* illustrates this shift in Marian ideology when he states,

¹³⁴ Scase, W 1991 St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications, in Rogers, N (ed.) *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, Paul Watkins, Stamford. Pg 86.

¹³⁵ See Scase, W 1991, Pg 86-90. See also Clanchy, M 1979 *From Memory to Written Record*, Edward Arnold Ltd: London. Pg 15.

¹³⁶ Sheingorn, P 1993, Pg 69-70.

¹³⁷ Vögtlin, A (ed) *Vita Beatae Virginis Mariae et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Tübingen: Stuttgart.

¹³⁸ Scase, W 1991, Pg 90.

“No one could be found who was better instructed than she (Mary) in wisdom and in the law of God, who was more skilled in singing the Songs of David.”¹³⁹

This is reflected in religious art as Mary’s spindle is replaced with a book and it is Mary’s relationship with the book starts to flourish and the repercussions ripple through society. The book, as Joseph Braun has suggested, is being used as a symbol for the *Logos*, or the Word which the Bible says in John 1:1, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God’. Braun does point out that when the Christ child is present with Mary and St. Anne as they read it creates a redundancy, as the book need no longer represent Christ as he is present.¹⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that even when Christ is depicted in this scene the book is still a prominent icon. This may be an attempt to illustrate the importance of the ‘written word’ in Christianity and in attaining salvation. Christianity is a religion of the book with the sacred text being a focal point through which we learn about God, his laws and the expectations for those who follow him.

Books of Hours, and to a lesser extent other religious texts, were seen as tools to achieve salvation, grace and divine protection. The prayers and accompanying images, as well the frequent depiction of Books of Hours and their owners in portraits show the centrality of the book to religious life as a means of securing salvation through devotion and righteous living. Highlighting the humanity in the Trinity of St. Anne as well as the importance of religious texts in family gives an achievable example to the reader. They may never reach the holy perfection of Mary or Anne but they can attend to the religious education of their children which these types of images show as important.

St. Anne teaching the Virgin was an image that would have been instantly recognisable to the Christian faithful. It is an image that could be found in statues and paintings in churches and also in devotional texts with the earliest example dating to 650 in the Roman church of Santa Maria Antiqua.¹⁴¹ The image of St. Anne teaching her daughter is interesting as it is didactic on multiple levels. It is unlikely that this image would have been foreign to the child who was starting to read. They may have identified themselves with the image of the small child Mary as she endeavoured to achieve the same goal they aimed towards. Not only was the child learning to read, and being encouraged to read but they were also learning about the Virgin and the important role she would play in their lives. It is also very possible that the child, for whom the book was commissioned, would

¹³⁹ Sheingorn, P 1993, Pg 69.

¹⁴⁰ Sheingorn, P 1993, Pg 72.

¹⁴¹ Sheingorn, P 1993, Pg 72.

have been aware that as they learned to read in the same way the Virgin Mary did, that this skill would be the start of their own redemptive journey as they followed her.¹⁴² The depiction of St. Anne teaching the young Virgin from the open book on her knee was one of particular importance to mothers as it highlighted a most valuable task they would be expected to undertake, the importance of which was reiterated by Christine de Pizan who wrote as part of her *‘Le Livre des Trois Vertus’*:

“The wise mother will give great attention to the up-bringing and instruction of her daughters.”¹⁴³

She also wrote:

“When her daughter is of age of learning to read, and after she knows her ‘hours’ and her ‘office’, one should bring her books of devotion and contemplation and those speaking of morality.”¹⁴⁴

Many girls in aristocratic homes were educated by mistresses and not directly by their mothers. Scase has suggested that this image may speak more about the importance of the transmission of literacy regardless of whether it is the mother who facilitates it or not. She also states that it was usually the mother who commissioned the books from which her children would learn to read meaning that whether a tutor was employed or whether she took on the responsibility herself it was generally the mother who organised the literature being used for their child’s education, so was the overseer of their education much in the same way St. Anne is shown with her daughter.¹⁴⁵

As previously mentioned the case studies chosen for this investigation will be based on works residing in Glasgow’s museums and libraries. Glasgow boasts such a rich collection of books and other art works that it gives a useful overview of the trends and themes present throughout history. The Mitchell library has a small yet interesting collection of Books of Hours.¹⁴⁶ Contained in the collection is a little Book of Hours dated to the late fourteenth century and believed to originate from Rodez.¹⁴⁷ There are only a few miniatures but historiated initials are more frequent. It is one of these historiated initials which is of interest. The preceding initials appear to tell the tale of St. Anne and her

¹⁴² Scase, W 1991, Pg 96.

¹⁴³ Sheingorn, P 1993, Pg 69.

¹⁴⁴ Bell, S, G 1982 Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture, in *Signs, Vol & No.4 (Summer 1982)*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago. Pg 756

¹⁴⁵ Scase, W 1991, Pg 92.

¹⁴⁶ The collection consists of 3 small Books of Hours, one with no images only decorated borders.

¹⁴⁷ John Cowie Collection no. 308857.

husband Joachim. Joachim is then found tending his sheep looking forlorn as he is still childless in his old age. In the next historiated initial Joachim embracing St. Anne at the gate of what appears to be a large city and then the birth scene of the Virgin Mary with her mother Anne surrounded by attendants. The fifth historiated initial in this book shows the image of a small girl with an open book in front of Joachim.

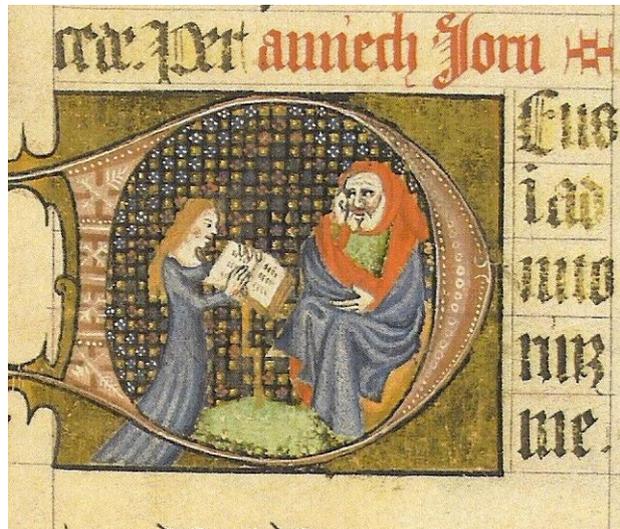


Figure 14 Joachim teaches Mary

This would appear to be the Virgin Mary. As mentioned before examples of Mary's education can include Joachim although St. Anne as educator is much more common. In this particular manuscript after Mary has been educated by her father, and learned to sew as seen in the following historiated initial, sixth in the book, Mary is taken to the Temple by a figure whose garments are similar to that of Joachim in the previous illustration.



Figure 15 Mary taken to the Temple

Now Mary is the mother and it is her responsibility to hold the open book to educate her child. St. Anne's closed book together with Mary's open one highlights the transference of learning from generation to generation. Jennifer Scammell argues that this image was used to highlight the importance of a mother teaching her children and the information being passed down through countless generations.¹⁴⁸ The image of Anne teaching the Virgin highlights the importance of literacy to every life stage of women as it shows Anne in her winter years, Mary as a young mother, and the Christ child just taking his first lessons.

4.2 Mary the Young Maiden

A Book of Hours was considered to be a fitting gift to give a young girl not only as part of her schooling and spiritual education but to encourage such qualities and fulfil the duties expected of a young bride. The Virgin Mary was deemed to be an excellent role model for these young maidens and many of the images used in Books of Hours show various events from Mary's early years before she became the mother of Christ and the wife of Joseph. One of the most common images of Mary before she became the mother of Christ is the Annunciation.

The Annunciation depicts the visitation of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary to herald the arrival of the Messiah. The young Mary, believed to be aged at roughly twelve to

¹⁴⁸ Scammell, J. F 2008 *Domesticating the Virgin: 'Holy Labore' and the Late Medieval Household*, in *Selim 15 2008 Pg 61-90*. Pg 85. See also Scammell, J. F 2010 *Domesticating the Virgin: Vernacular Depictions of Mary and Their Reception in the Late Medieval Society*, University of Glasgow, PhD Thesis.

fourteen,¹⁴⁹ is shown in a variety of surroundings, generally interior settings, though there is one object that is virtually a surety: a book.¹⁵⁰ The tradition of Mary with her book at the time of the Annunciation dates back to the eleventh century but reached its height in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁵¹ The image of the Annunciation usually accompanies the devotional text marked as Matins in Books of Hours. This would be found in Matins meaning the reader would start each day contemplating this image and its inherent meanings. The reader may have drawn the comparison between herself sitting with her Book of Hours in faithful devotion to that of the blessed Virgin, although the reader is using a Book of Hours devoted mainly to the Virgin and Mary uses a Psalter. Every morning they would observe how the ‘most blessed amongst women’ practised a similar action and how she was richly blessed by God and welcomed into heaven to a waiting crown. The Annunciation is depicted during various stages of Mary’s life. Some versions show Mary in Joseph’s house which has been interpreted by some as being in accordance with Jewish custom wherein a marriage is a mutual decision by both parties and it was possible for the bride to live with her new husband in matrimony before the public celebration took place. For most of the Annunciation scenes Mary is shown in the absence of Joseph suggesting that she has not yet gone to share his home. One of the main lessons of the Annunciation that commentators have long discussed is the obedience of Mary.¹⁵² It is not only Catholicism that extols the virtue of obedience shown by Mary to her Lord. Unquestioning and humbly she submitted herself to his will. Joseph is often painted as Mary’s guardian and as the Queen of Heaven there is no obligation for Mary to be subservient to Joseph who is also marked by obedience and servitude. However, she is famed for her humble nature and willingness to obey which has been shown countless times in art and literature. The constant emphasis on this aspect of Mary’s character could have spoken to the women who revered her and took her as the example of how they should conduct themselves in relation to their husbands. Mary’s meekness and subservience may have been a source of great praise but she was shown with dignity and majesty giving the medieval woman a more positive model to emulate.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Phillips, K. M 2003 *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540*, Manchester University Press: Manchester. Pg49. Voraigue’s account places the Virgin’s age at fourteen at the time of the Annunciation.

¹⁵⁰ Bell, S. G 1982, Pg 761. The Mérode Altarpiece show Mary with two books, The Belles Heures made for the Duc de Berry shows Mary with three books, whereas the altarpiece at Sainte Marie Madeleine in Aix-en-Provence boasts five as does the manuscript produced for Catherine of Cleves.

¹⁵¹ Bell, S. G 1982, Pg 761.

¹⁵² In the Knight of the Tower, Mary is also praised for apprehension and caution on being addressed by a strange man (Gabriel) Phillips, K. M 2003 pg 78.

¹⁵³ Scammell, J. M 2008, for more see pg 76-78.

4.3 *Mary domesticated*

After the Annunciation at Matins (and the Visitation at Lauds)¹⁵⁴ the next chapter of her life is the Nativity at Prime where she is now not only as a wife but as a mother. The progression in the life of the Virgin offers new lessons she can be seen in her new role. Images of the Holy family or Mary and Jesus do not feature as commonly in Books of Hours as the main milestones in the lives of Christ or Mary such as the Annunciation or the Nativity. However, there are examples which give an insight into the domestic sphere of the Holy family and the valuable lessons that are hidden therein.

One of the University of Glasgow's Special Collection's finest treasures is Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, translated by Guillaume le Ménéard with miniatures attributed to Jacques de Besançon.¹⁵⁵ This giant fifteenth-century manuscript produced for King Charles VIII is not a Book of Hours but it is a devotional account of the Life of Christ and contains miniatures depicting some of the most popular events such as the Epiphany and Pentecost.¹⁵⁶ Within this text an example of the intimate domestic sphere can be seen.



Figure 16 Mary weaving¹⁵⁷

This image shows Jesus reading whilst Mary weaves. Images of Mary spinning and weaving had been very common in the early medieval era, especially in early representations of the Annunciation, as it had been seen as an appropriate task for a

¹⁵⁴ The Visitation depicts Mary's visit to her aging relative Elizabeth who has also recently had an encounter with an angel bearing the news she shall give birth to John the Baptist. Luke 1:39-56.

¹⁵⁵ University of Glasgow, Spec Coll T.C.L f10 vol 1&2.

¹⁵⁶ Known as Charles 'the affable' due to fervent religious devotion.

¹⁵⁷ *Vita Christi* vol 1 folio 80v.

woman. It was later replaced by the book as the importance of using devotional texts became an essential part of a lady's everyday life. The fifteenth century heralded a new approach to hard work. Working diligently became a virtue and like all virtues appropriate for the gentler sex. Mary was shown to embody it entirely. In the above image from Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, she can be seen simultaneously to carry out two tasks which were deemed important for women. She is overseeing the education of her son who sits at her feet absorbed in the open book but at the same time she is involved in the important task of producing goods for the benefit of her household, whether it be to use or sell. The image of Mary pouring over her religious texts devoutly was still very popular even with the new ideology supporting and endorsing hard work as many dubbed her activity as 'holy labour'.¹⁵⁸ The term, it has been argued, can extend to include domestic activities such as spinning and weaving.¹⁵⁹ Reading and praying were habits that were acceptable for women and ardently encouraged as the practice not only increased the procurement of salvation but was essential part of the all important status in society. Mary is frequently depicted in all of the above pursuits giving a praiseworthy example to women in a literal sense but also an example for the symbolic virtues that are encapsulated within these activities found within the home. Mary spinning and weaving is often compared to images of Eve after the Fall of Man as it shows the consequences of sin and the separation of God and man which heralded the realisation of their nakedness forcing Eve to spin and weave coverings for their shame.

Spinning and weaving were activities that incorporated a wide range of classes; ladies of noble standing could embroider vestments to be used during mass and those who were of meagre means could sew sacks.¹⁶⁰ Mary is shown carrying out these pursuits within the home to highlight the righteous woman's correct domain, as the proverb teaches that a corrupt and disreputable woman is found in the street whereas a good and upright lady is found in the home.¹⁶¹ The 'sanctification' of domestic chores and the elevated status Mary the dutiful housewife always found at home engaged in some form of 'holy labour' may have been an encouraging and motivating exemplar fuelling the average housewife with a sense of pride in her imperative role. The reading of devotional texts had long been connected to the fate of one's soul and Mary was always seen as an avid reader who had mercy on those who shared in her devotion to religious texts.

¹⁵⁸ Scammell, J. F 2008. Pg 75.

¹⁵⁹ Scammell, J. F 2008. Pg 75.

¹⁶⁰ Scammell, J. F 2008. Pg 76. Many proverbs convey this idea. Proverbs 7:11-12 'She is loud and wayward; her feet do not stay at home, now in the street, now in the market...'

¹⁶¹ Scammell, J. F 2008. Pg 77.

Mary's most important role was that of the mother of Christ. Becoming a mother brought great pride, along with security for lands and the means of furthering the family through marriage. Paul the Apostle taught that though women had an inherently sinful nature due to Eve they could redeem themselves through their reproductive role,

“Yet she will be saved through childbearing – if they continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-control.”¹⁶²

She was displayed as the epitome of a devoted mother. Frequently the iconography in devotional texts show Mary intently watching over her child; the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Flight in Egypt and Epiphany, rarely is Christ seen as a child without his mother being close by. One of the most emotionally charged and pivotal scenes in their shared story is that of the Crucifixion. Mary is ever present at the foot of the Cross watching her son. Only the Gospel of John records her presence at the Crucifixion, nonetheless it became a popular image in devotional texts. Mary was believed to be a coredemptrix as she not only brought Christ into the world to allow him to achieve salvation for all but that she shared in his suffering on the cross as he was sacrificed for mankind. Mary is depicted in two very different stances in this scene. It was a subject long debated by theologians as the only written biblical account gives very little information on Mary's behaviour,

“but standing by the cross of Jesus were his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene.”¹⁶³

For a considerable period theology and art reflected the view of Ambrose who reasoned that he read of her standing not weeping.¹⁶⁴ In concurrence with the theological beliefs of the day she is seen standing firm and stoically. As the depictions of Mary emphasised her humanity and mercy there is an introduction of a new stance at the Crucifixion where she is caught in the arms of John or another bystander as she faints. The first was believed to show her understanding of the necessity for Christ's sacrifice as well as her continuing submission to God's divine plan. The second has usually been interpreted as Mary being overcome with grief, as if a sword pierced her heart, at witnessing her son's cruel end. Mary's sufferings became popular devotional tool due to their strong ability to evoke an

¹⁶² 1 Timothy 2:15.

¹⁶³ John 19:25.

¹⁶⁴ Neff, A 1998 The Pain of Compassion: Mary's Labour at the Foot of the Cross, in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol 80, no.2 (June 1998) pg 254-273.

emotional response.¹⁶⁵ The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin which originated in the early 1490s had amassed such a numerous ardent following that Joannes Molanus, professor of Theology at Louvain defended its use despite its uncanonical source.¹⁶⁶ However, Amy Neff has argued that this image had another meaning to the medieval viewer. By the second half of the thirteenth century the image of Mary swooning at the foot of the Cross was growing in popularity as part of Western Christianity.¹⁶⁷

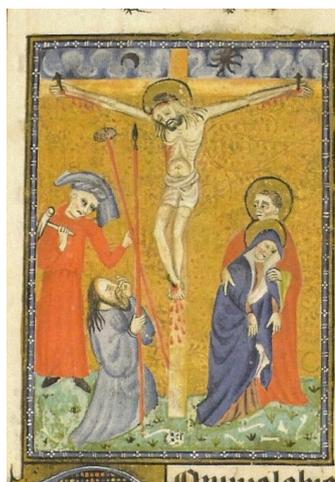


Figure 17 Mary swoons at Crucifixion¹⁶⁸

Some have drawn comparison between Christ on the Cross and Mary in many art works as Mary is shown almost in the same stances as her son, emphasising her suffering and highlighting the important relationship between the two. Neff poses another interpretation. She compares the images of the swoon at the foot of the cross to contemporary images of child birth. It has been noted that Mary does gain a son at Calvary as Christ instructs John to care for his mother in his absence.¹⁶⁹ Ambrose saw this instance as a symbol of the Church. Mary is frequently depicted as the Church, the Bride of Christ, and here she is the church who will care and nurture the new sons of Christianity.¹⁷⁰ A Benedictine abbot from Deutz, in his commentary of this instance at the Cross explains Mary's role,

“[At the foot of the cross, Mary] is truly a woman and truly a mother at this hour, she truly suffers the pains of childbirth. When [Jesus] was born, she did

¹⁶⁵ As prophesied by Simeon to Mary Luke 2:34-35 ‘And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, “Behold, this child is appointed for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that is opposed (and a sword shall pierce your through your own soul also), so that thoughts from many hearts may be revealed.”’

¹⁶⁶ Schuler, C. M 1992 The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe, in *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 21, no ½ (1992) pp 5-28.

¹⁶⁷ Neff, A 1998, Pg 254.

¹⁶⁸ Book of Hours Mitchell Library, John Cowie Collection no. 308857. Pg 70.

¹⁶⁹ John 19:26-27 ‘When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to his mother, “Woman, behold, your son!” Then he said to the disciple, “Behold, your mother!” And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home.’

¹⁷⁰ Neff, A 1998, Pg 255.

not suffer like other mothers: now, however, she suffers, she is tormented and full of sorrow, because her hour has come....in the Passion her only Son, the Blessed Virgin gave birth to the salvation of all mankind: in effect, she is the mother of all mankind."¹⁷¹

It has often been said that Mary was an impossible example to strive for and the Nativity was an unrealistic portrayal.¹⁷² She was the fairest of her sex, spared many of the daily trials women of this era struggled against, namely the dangerous time during the delivery of a child but here we see that Mary could be evoked not only as a loving mother who interceded for those faithful to her but as a divine power who could sympathise as she had suffered the same pain and survived the innumerable complications.

4.4 Conclusion

Mary's many varied roles such as devout reader, mother, teacher and housewife attempt to show the agency that medieval women had in the world that was changing around them as well as the importance literacy had in relation to not only social standing but more importantly salvation itself.¹⁷³ Lessons were drawn from every aspect and stage of Mary's life, even the most mundane domestic tasks become imbued with significance and moral lessons resulting in her constant presence throughout the day and throughout the lives of the readers of these devotional texts. On rising in the morning their thoughts would turn firstly to their religious devotions at matins where they would be greeted, more than likely with an image of Annunciation which would have immediately reminded them of Mary's obedience to the Lord's will, of her purity and virtue as well as her devotions and commitment to her religious duties which made her worthy in the eyes of God, granting her a multitude of blessings. During the day the devotee would re-encounter the familiar images such as the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion and countless others. Each miniature contained numerous objects and relationships that would act as aide-memoirs triggering the inherent lessons as they encountered similar objects and situations throughout their day as well as helping the reader find the appropriate place in the text.¹⁷⁴ Sitting weaving would bring to mind the correlations between Mary and Eve and how Mary had taken great steps towards healing the cruel curse cast upon mankind due to Eve's actions. There might even be a sense of affinity and pride as they carry out the same task as their divine guardian had done many years before in service to the Holy family much in the same way the women of this era would have striven to provide for

¹⁷¹ Neff, A 1998, Pg 256.

¹⁷² Scammell, J. F 2010.

¹⁷³ Scammell, J. F 2008. Pg 85.

¹⁷⁴ Scott-Stokes, C 2006 *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England*, Boydell and Brewer: Suffolk. Pg 17.

theirs. In the same way they would be conscious of the expectation placed on their shoulders with regards to the countless references and instruction given by the Holy Kindred and saints on educating themselves as well the duty they had to educate their children. Saint Anne educated Mary and that education gained for her God's favour, Mary educated Christ and he grew into a strong wise man. This religious education not only gave them protection socially in the form of a good and reputable status in society, as well the endless opportunities that reading opened up, but gave their very souls the protection they needed from the world full of vices and demons waiting at every corner to steal their souls. If they were diligent and devoted, they could rest assured that the Virgin Mary who occupied such a focal point in their lives who intercedes on their behalf when they approached the judgement seat of Christ. The devotion was essential as at any moment Death may appear and images frequently appear in Book of Hours of angels and demons fighting to claim the soul as it rises from the deceased body as we can see in the below image from as part of the Office of the Dead from a Book of Hours dated c.a 1480-90.¹⁷⁵



Figure 18 Battle for the Soul¹⁷⁶

Mary's versatility made her universally appealing and her humanity coupled with her divinity made a very present help and comfort during times of social, political and religious unrest as well as plague, famine and war.

The image was especially suited to the manner in which it was being utilised. It allowed children to learn from the pictures before attempting to master their letters, which the

¹⁷⁵ Weick, R. S 1988 *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, George Braziller. Inc: New York. Pg 145, Pl 37.

¹⁷⁶ Walters 457, fol. 177, Cat. No. 63.

former could be used to aid the child in their pursuit. The variety of images attributed a great versatility to these texts where no matter the life stage of the reader they could find ample representations of their holy contemporaries within the pages to be their moral guides. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) is often quoted in the debate on art and its use for the illiterate. In his letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, following incidents of iconoclasm, he states that,

“Pictures are used in churches so that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books...What writing does for the literate, a picture does for the illiterate.”¹⁷⁷

It is now widely recognised that Pope Gregory was not implying that the illiterate could learn solely from art work but that the art may remind them of the grace of God and the lessons and teaching they would hear, most likely in a church. Augustine highlighted the dangers of learning only from artworks as they can be easily misinterpreted.¹⁷⁸ Celia Chazelle discusses the likelihood that the priest would make reference to the paintings adorning the walls of church.¹⁷⁹ The sermons would explained and recount the stories and lessons shown on the walls. They were also believed to compliment sermons and written devotions as they evoked the emotions of some viewers in a way that could hearing the lessons could not.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Norberg, D (ed) 1982 *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri VIII-XIV*, Breplois: Turnhout.

¹⁷⁸ St. Augustine 1473 *Liber beati. Augustini Ypponensis Episcopi de. Consensu evangelistarum partitus in quator libros incipt feliciter (printed edition)*, Spec Coll. BD7-d.15. For more on St. Augustine and the development of reading practices see Stock, B 2001 *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

¹⁷⁹ Chazelle, C 1990 Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serneus of Marseilles, in *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal and Visual Enquiry*, Vol.6, No.2 (April-June 1900) Taylor and Francis: London. Pg 147-8.

¹⁸⁰ Duggan, L 1989 Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?, in *Word & Image*, Vol.5 No.3 (July-Sept 1989), Taylor and Francis: London. Pg 232.

Chapter 5 Case Studies Printed Books of Hours

Print has been heralded as one of the most important technological advances in history as it made the dissemination of information easier. Literature and learning on a vast array of subjects became accessible to a new audience that had once been excluded on a financial basis and the educational barriers as many were not Latin literate. Manuscripts incurred a great cost and could only be afforded by the higher echelons of society. Now affordable vernacular texts were available to shop keepers and not only King and court. By the Tudor era printed Books of Hours could be purchased for a mere 3 or 4d, though early printed books were expensive.¹⁸¹ Eamon Duff recounts the story of a pauper woman named Avis Godfrey who was believed to have taken a ‘premar’ or Primer from Elizabeth Sekett, a domestic servant.¹⁸² Avis Godfrey denied the accusation and claimed she had bought the book in Pudding Lane for pennies. Before the invention of the printing press it would have unthinkable for a servant or even a pauper to own a Book of Hours.

With the invention of print and the shock waves from the immense transformations still resonating across Europe it could be argued that these changes would be expected to manifest themselves in Books of Hours. The printing press would also have allowed the Catholic Church to control and regulate what was included in specific religious texts. I will discuss a few examples of printed devotional works from various authors to evaluate whether the invention of print affected the wide variety of images that were popular in the manuscript version or whether, in the case of the Catholic Books of Hours, there appears to be a strict pattern evolving to suit the Church of the time. The examples used can be found in Special Collections at the University of Glasgow as well as the ever useful resource EEBO (Early English Books Online)¹⁸³ which holds a wealth of information and images of complete early printed books on a wide range of topics.

The first example comes from the University of Glasgow. This printed Book of Hours was published in Paris and has been dated to around 1503 making it the earliest of the examples studied.¹⁸⁴ It is part of the Euing Collection and is entitled ‘*Ces presents heures a lusage de Rome au long sans requerir ont este imprimées pour Nicolas Vivien, libraire...*’.

¹⁸¹ Duffy, E 2006 *Marking the Hours: English people and their prayers 1240-1570*, Yale University Press, London. Pg 4. This would roughly be about £5 today. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid>

¹⁸² Duffy, E 2006. Pg 4

¹⁸³ eebo.chadwyck.com

¹⁸⁴ Sp Coll BD19-h. 10

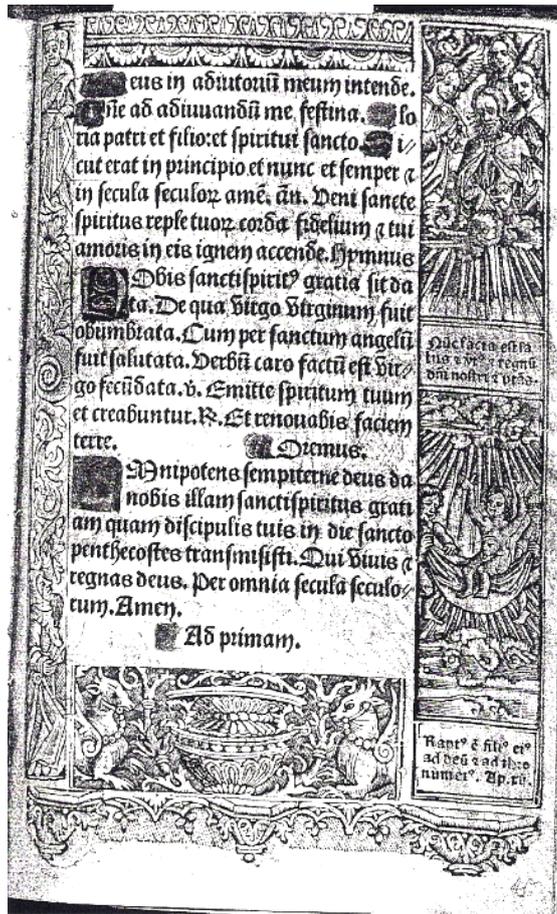


Figure 19 Printed Book of Hours¹⁸⁵

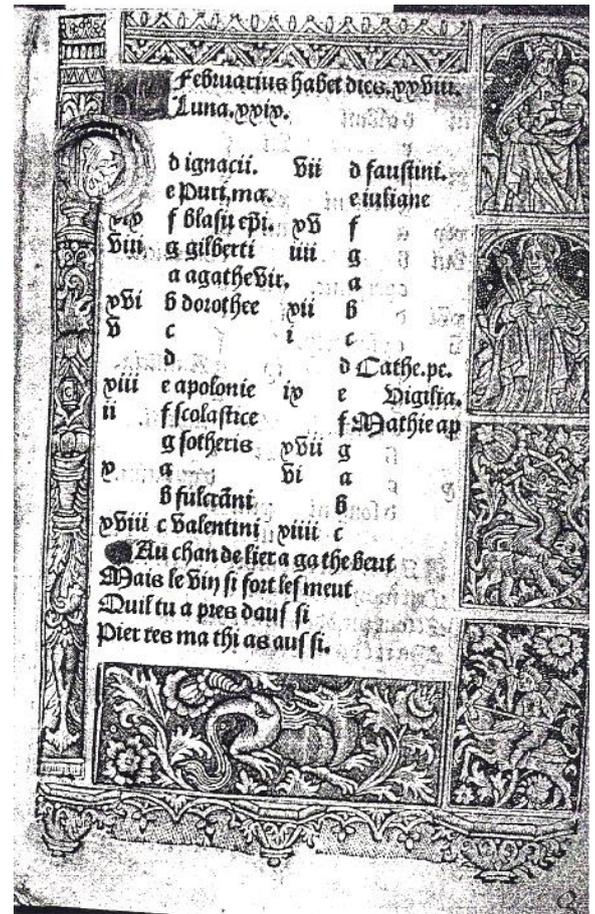


Figure 20 Printed Book of Hours¹⁸⁶

Here is an example of the style of a printed Book of Hours. Fig. 20 shows a section of the calendar. Both pages have had the initials hand painted and have faint red justification lines although these cannot be seen on the above image. In the border of the calendar page the Virgin and Child are featured and possibly Saint Agatha underneath as well as miscellaneous images.

The next printed in the Book of Hours comes from EEBO. It is dated to 1526 and was printed in Paris according to the imprint which reads '*Parisius impressa: In edibus francisci regnault: viri diui Jacobi ad signum Elephantis commorantis iuxta templum Mathurmorum, Anno salutisere d[omi]ni M.ccccc.xvj. Die vero. xj. mensi Januarij*'. This particular Book of Hours has a full page miniature for every month of the year depicting a different scene; much in the same way, though not the same high degree, as seen in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* by the Limbourg brothers dating

¹⁸⁵ *Ces presents heures a lusage de Rome au long sans requerir ont este imprimées pour Nicolas Vivien, libraire...* Printed Book of Hours. Held by Special Collections: Glasgow University BD19.h-10. Pg 45.

¹⁸⁶ *Ces presents heures a lusage de Rome au long sans requerir ont este imprimées pour Nicolas Vivien, libraire...* Printed Book of Hours. Held by Special Collections: Glasgow University BD19.h-10. From the Calendar. Pg 12.

sometime between 1412 and 1416. The printed book does not show seasonal activities, as seen in the Duc de Berry's calendar, but the advancing stages of a man's life. This collection of images is known as the Second Age of Man and can be found in some calendar illustrations in sixteenth century



Figure 21 Childhood ¹⁸⁷

Figure 22 Marriage ¹⁸⁸

Figure 23 Death Bed ¹⁸⁹

Above are some of the images included in the life of man sequence. In the first image a small boy in front of his teacher surrounded by his class, the second a marriage which follows earlier images in the book of courtship and finally in December a death bed scene as the man's life ends. Philippe Pigouchet and Simon Vostre, who produced numerous Books of Hours together, often use short verse quatrains in Latin or French in connection with the calendar's months.¹⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that above the stages of the life of man there is a small window showing the corresponding zodiac sign for that month. This is also present in the Duc de Berry's calendar miniatures.

¹⁸⁷ Parisius impresse: In edibus francisci regnault: viri diui Jacobi ad signum Elephantis commorantis iuxta templum Mathurmorum, Anno salutisere d[omi]ni M.cccc.xxvj. Die vero. xj. mensi Januarij 'Pg 3.

¹⁸⁸ Parisius impresse: In edibus francisci regnault. Pg 8.

¹⁸⁹ Parisius impresse: In edibus francisci regnault. Pg 13.

¹⁹⁰ Harthan, J. P 1982 *Books of hours and their owners*, Thames & Hudson: London. Pg 171.



Figure 24 Pisces in February¹⁹¹



Figure 25 Duc de Berry's February¹⁹²



Figure 26 Duc de Berry's Pisces

Below are two images from *Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad consuetudine insignis ecclie Sar nuper emaculatis suni multis ora tioth pulcherrimis annexis* printed in London by *Winadum de Worde in the fletestrete* (Wynkyn De Worde in Fleetstreet) in 1526.



Figure 27 The Annunciation¹⁹³

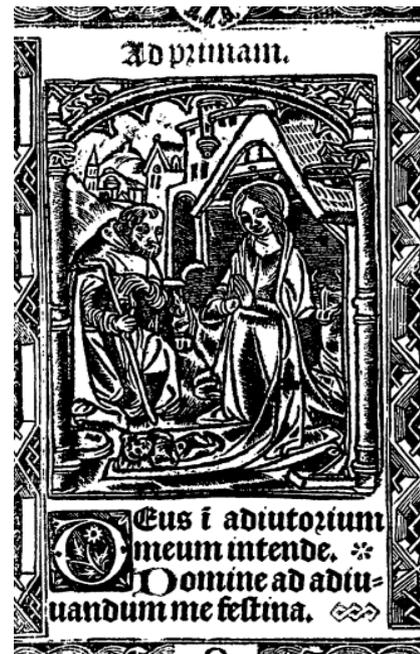


Figure 28 The Nativity¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ *Parisius impressa: In edibus francisci regnault.* Pg 3.

¹⁹² Musée Condé, MS. 65.f 2v. fig. 26 magnification of image

¹⁹³ http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898589&FILE=../session/1363297378_1060&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173277&PAGENO=26&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=
Pg 26.

¹⁹⁴ http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898589&FILE=../session/1363297378_1060&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173277&PAGENO=40&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=
Pg 40.

Wynkyn de Worde was Caxton's successor and was born in Worth, Alsace. By 1535 he had produced 700 works. This date attributed to this book places it at a time when both manuscript and printed Book of Hours would have occupied places in the book market.

In the examples shown above the Annunciation uses the iconography as seen in the manuscript tradition. Mary is greeted by Gabrielle as she kneels in front of an open book and the Holy Spirit descends from heaven. However, there is no lily present in this scene, instead the angel carries a rod with an ornate head but it does not resemble a flower. The next image focuses on the Nativity. The lowly stable with the crumbling roof surrounds Mary and Joseph as they kneel in wonder at the Christ child. The ox and ass are present as usually seen in manuscript versions which is regarded to be a reference to the Old Testament prophecies in Isaiah and Habakkuk.¹⁹⁵



Figure 29 The Annunciation¹⁹⁶



Figure 30 The Nativity¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ 'The ox hath known his owner, and the ass his master's crib' ([Isaiah 1:3](#)), and, 'Between two animals thou art known' ([Habakkuk 3:2](#)).

¹⁹⁶ http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898585&FILE=../session/1318090892_14832&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173271&PAGENO=25&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR%20Fig.%2033&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= Pg 25

¹⁹⁷ http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898585&FILE=../session/1318090892_14832&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173271&PAGENO=36&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR%20Fig.%2033&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= Pg 36.

These next two miniatures come from Phillipe Pigouchet and Simone Vostre's printing press in Paris entitled *Horae ad usum Sarum* dated 1501. This Annunciation miniature is more elaborate than the earlier version (fig 27). Mary is again kneeling before her book as Gabriel approaches with the good news. Gabriel carries the same staff he did in the previous image and there are no lilies in the scene. The only additions appear to be God the Father who sends down the dove, the Holy Spirit, from heaven and the addition of an empty chamber possibly symbolic of Mary's chastity in place of the absent lily or it may be a symbol of Mary and the task she is being asked to undertake in housing the Messiah. In the second image the Nativity scene is very similar to the previous one. Apart from the added decoration in the background the image appears to mirror that of the earlier example (fig 27) save the slight difference in the position of the animals. The first example included in this piece work of the English Book of Hours had a plain decorative border. In contrast the Parisian Book of Hours has borders containing pictorial representation of various religious and secular scenes. The border surrounding the Annunciation shows a hunting scene. These images have been a great aid to uncovering the activities, attitudes and norms of the era. Pigouchet and Vostre were renowned for their borders which allowed the printed version of Book of Hours to have the same array of images allowing the owner the pleasure of many of the scenes and depictions found in an expensive commissioned manuscript Book of Hours.¹⁹⁸ Some of the combinations of miniatures and borders are quite poignant.

Surrounding the Nativity miniature are scenes of the Passion of Christ. These include his trials and the cruelty of the soldiers as they blindfold and beat him, lay lashes on his back and push the crown of thorns into his brow. Pairing these images with the Nativity scene tinges the birth of Christ with sadness as it is placed with images of his cruel death. It is almost as if this one page intends to summarise the crux of the Christian faith: Christ was born of a Virgin to attain salvation for mankind through his death on the Cross.

¹⁹⁸ Harthan, J. P 1982 *Books of hours and their owners*, Thames & Hudson: London. Pg 171.

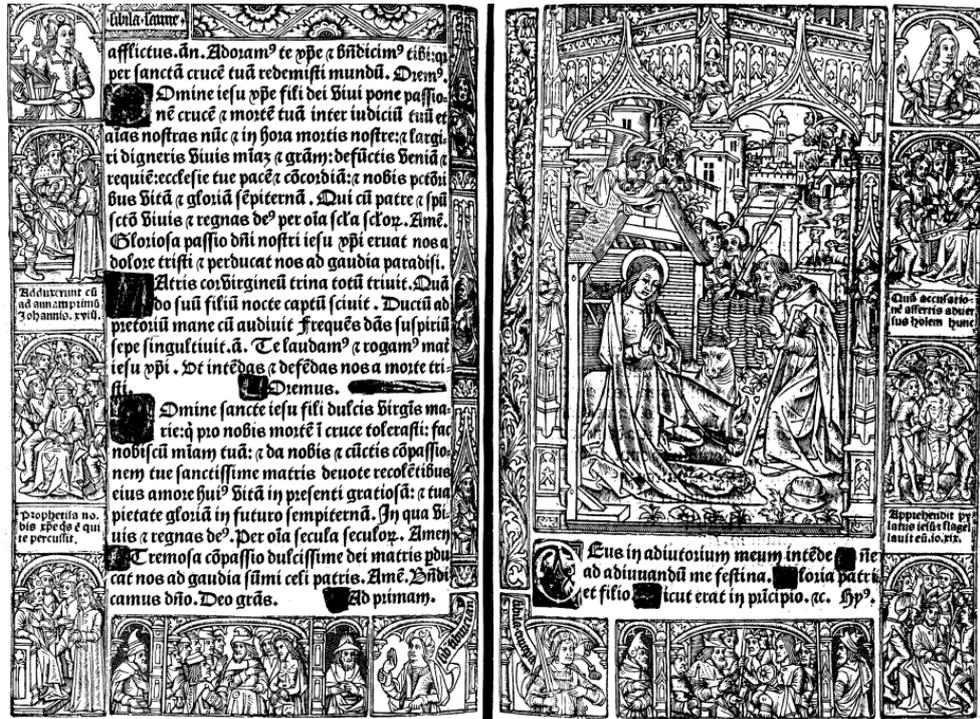


Figure 31 Nativity miniature with Crucifixion borders¹⁹⁹

It was not only the Catholic Church that embraced printed Books of Hours. Despite religious tensions in England and any ‘papist’ objects outlawed, the emergence of an interesting variation on the Book of Hours attempts to fill the sudden devotional void. Richard Day, a prominent English printer, compiled ‘*A booke of Christian prayers*’ which claimed to be ‘*collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull vnto us*’.²⁰⁰ It was first published in 1552 and subsequently in many editions.²⁰¹ This book had much the same aim as the Book of Hours, although the focus differed. Instead of prayers assigned to the canonical hours, matins has been replaced with ‘prayers upon waking’ and ‘prayers upon dressing’. The remaining hours are replaced with other activities during the day. There are also prayers to cater for every eventuality such as illness and even lawyers.

¹⁹⁹ http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99898585&FILE=../session/1318090892_14832&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=173271&PAGENO=36&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR%20Fig.%2033&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD= Pg 36.

²⁰⁰ Richard Day had worked under his father John Day in his printing business but was granted his own printing licence in 1578. Evenden, E 2008 *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd: Aldershot. Pg 161 For more on Richard Day see Evenden, E & Freeman, T. S 2011 *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Fox's 'Book of Martyrs'*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

²⁰¹ British Library holds editions dated 1581, 1590, 1608 and 1851.

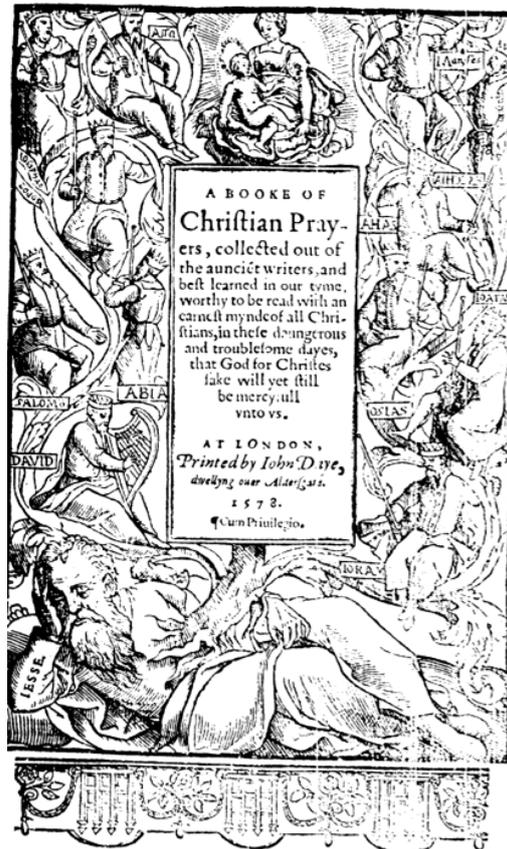


Figure 32 Tree of Jesse²⁰²

The book begins with the familiar Tree of Jesse with the Virgin and child seated at the top. As with the Catholic Book of Hours, the Tree of Jesse is shown before images of the Virgin. Richard Day's 1578 edition of the prayer book follows with Queen Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen and champion of the Protestant faith. One could be forgiven for mistaking this image at a glance to be the Annunciation. However, on closer inspection it is lacking the normal iconography such as Gabrielle, the lily and the dove of the Holy Spirit.

As discussed previously regarding this image in chapter two Mary had been a central figure of the Church for centuries and the main focus of Books of Hours for generations as well as divine intercessor and Queen of Heaven but here she has been simply removed from her usual honoured place for another virgin queen kneeling in prayer, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth. This comparison has a functional though not an exactly iconographical equivalence.

²⁰² Day, Richard 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, title page.



Figure 33 Queen Elizabeth²⁰³

The borders of this book are very similar to that of most Catholic Book of Hours. Here we see Mary's marriage to Joseph and the Annunciation.



Figure 34 Mary and Joseph
marry²⁰⁴



Figure 35 The Fall²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Day, Richard 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, miniature follows title page..

²⁰⁴ Day, Richard 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, pg 2.

²⁰⁵ Day, Richard 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, pg 2.

The Richard Day book of prayers differs in one main aspect to Books of Hours and printed manuscript. Mary is the pinnacle of female perfection which is demonstrated throughout Books of Hours, whereas in Richard Day's book lessons on good and godly virtues transmitted through a similar yet different medium. The virtues are demonstrated by female figures which crush their antithetic vice or sin under their feet. This is reminiscent of the *Psychomachia of Prudentius*, which dates back to the early 5th century.²⁰⁶ It depicts a battle between the virtues and vices, depicted as women in classical garb, for the soul. It was a development from Pauline thought regarding the Christian arming himself spiritually.²⁰⁷ Miniatures of the Battle of the Virtues features in the Book of Hours of St. Hildegard (c. 1170).²⁰⁸

5.1 Conclusion

Books of Hours, both printed and manuscript still enjoyed popularity on the continent. The tradition of devotional texts in Britain, due to the religious politics of the day, quickly developed to suit the lay-people who had depended on Books of Hours. They were now offered a similar book with aims and lessons but that aligned itself with the powerful institutions such as church and state. The invention of print coupled with this growing acceptance of, even widely encouraged, reading material in a language for those who received no formal education aided the democratisation of learning. These seismic changes heralded unprecedented diversifications politically and in religion. The Richard Day Book of Christian prayer shows how the popular genre of devotional texts could be easily adapted to suit the emerging Protestant faith by taking Mary, who had become an emblem for a multitude of lessons, and replacing her with other iconography which gave instruction on the moral topics but had fewer allusions to the Catholic church. This was facilitated by the tendency for printed Books of Hours to showcase their ability to provide many images compared, generally, to the fewer elaborate illustrations found in manuscript versions. The ways in which the Virgin Mary was shown in Books of Hours has been explored in the previous chapters. Books of Hours were generally devoted to Mary.

²⁰⁶ Prudentius (b.348) 1743 *Psychomachia: the War of the Soul; or the Battle of the Virtues, and Vices*. Translated from Aur. Prudentius Clemens. Printed London. Held at the British Library. Available online. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?type=search&tabID=T001&queryId=Locale%28en%2C%2C%29%3AFQE%3D%28BN%2CNone%2C7%29T144949%24&sort=Author&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&version=1.0&userGroupName=glasuni&prodId=ECCO>

²⁰⁷ Katzenellenbogen, A 1939 *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, Warburg: London. Pg 1.

²⁰⁸ Cod. Lat. 935 folio 32vff. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Munich.

Chapter 6 Mary and Emblems

6.1 What is an Emblem?

Emblem books are generally considered to be the first pan-European text image form and were immensely popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁰⁹ The founding father of the Emblem book was Andrea Alciato. His book *Emblematum liber* or *Emblemata* is recognised as the first printed emblem book and due to popular demand it enjoyed over 100 editions during the sixteenth century.²¹⁰ The genre of Emblems was collectively welcomed with the same enthusiasm as Alciato's first book. Only eighty-five years after Alciato's work appeared on the market seven hundred editions of emblem books were published by various authors.²¹¹ As Alciato's first edition was in Latin it allowed the genre to spread easily through Europe and became popular throughout. The allure of the new trend was so captivating that Gabriel Harvey was appalled at the number of students at Cambridge who spent their time studying over emblem works, such as those of Claude Paradin, instead of classical works, such as those of Aristotle.²¹² An emblem is generally, by definition, a tripartite structure of text and image that usually consists of an *inscriptio* (a title, motto or proverb), a *pictura* and a *subscriptio* (a verse or text).

The emblem is not concrete in the message it carries. It has a degree of flexibility due to its reliance on allusions made by the reader. The reader is required to take an active role and interact with the emblem to allow themselves to decode the meaning. Julie Barr argues that it is this flexibility that differentiates the emblem from other examples of allegorical literature,

“the author offers a recipe to the reader that only comes to life upon the interaction by the reader with the text and image and is therefore necessarily coloured by the reader's own cultural reference-system.”²¹³

This fluidity was facilitated by the nature of the moveable woodcut. Woodcuts were often re-used with other texts to create new emblems such as *A collection of emblemes, ancient and moderne: quickened with metricall illustrations, both morall and divine: and disposed*

²⁰⁹ Barr, J. E 2008 *A Comparative, Iconographic Study of Early-Modern, Religious Emblems*, PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow. Pg 6.

²¹⁰ Adams, A Glasgow University Emblems Site, Andrea Alciato's *Livret des Emblemes*, Paris, Chrestien Wechel, 1536 <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FALa&o=>

²¹¹ Diehl, H 1986 Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 49-66, The University of Chicago Press on the behalf of the Renaissance Society of America. Pg 49.

²¹² Deil, H 1986, Pg 49.

²¹³ Barr, J. E 2008. Pg 8.

into *lotteries* (1635) where George Wither took emblems from various books and re-worked them as a new edition. This practice is discussed in Barbara Benedict's argument that,

“By their distinctive practice of separating previously published literature into small chunks of reading matter and arranging these according to the principles of the new text or context, each of the malleable, even mechanical units. These units, furthermore, are represented as responsive to new or personal recombinations and reinterpretations. While commodifying literature into usable and reusable elements, this format allows both the traditional, intensive study of a few new texts, and new, comparative survey of many that a burgeoning literary market would increasingly promote.”²¹⁴

The practice of using and re-using images in different contexts is common in printed books. Examples of this are most striking where the original image has been taken from its context and been knowingly reworked to give an opposing or contrasting message from the original, it is this area that I will focus on in our emblem case studies. Laurence Grove argues that it is the context that is pivotal to the meaning of emblem and not the component, with which it is constructed,

“Such an adaption to context was very much in keeping with the workings of the emblematic process of creation. By its very definition an emblem is the bringing together of disparate parts in the knowledge that the process of amalgamation will create a finished product that surpasses the sum of the individual elements.”²¹⁵

6.2 *Emblems: Educational Weapon*

It was exactly this necessity for extensive and varied knowledge to unravel the puzzle that gave the emblem so great an appeal to the Renaissance reader. Robert J. Clements' article *Emblem Book on Literature's Role in the Revival of Learning* discusses how the emblem required a wide and varied understanding of many different subjects to be fully able to unlock the concealed message in its entirety.²¹⁶ Many Renaissance authors, such as the

²¹⁴ Benedict, B. M 1996 *Making the Modern Reader*, Princeton University Press: Princeton. Pg 34.

²¹⁵ Grove, L 1997 Tristan l'Hermite, Emblematics and Early-Modern Reading Practice in the Light of Glasgow University Library SMAdd.392, in Grove, L (ed) *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition: Including an Edition and Studies of a Newly Discovered Manuscript of Poetry by Tristan l'Hermite*, Glasgow Emblem Studies: Glasgow. Pg 173.

²¹⁶ Clements, R. J 1957 Emblem Books on Literature's Role in the Revival of Learning, in *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol. 54, No.2 (Apr.,1957). Pp85-100. University of North Carolina Press.

Italian emblemist Fabricii da Teramo, attempted to rally the people against ‘the monstrous sphinx of ignorance unleashed in this century’.²¹⁷

Emblems were a forceful weapon against ‘the evils of ignorance’ as they drew references from many subjects. The varied references not only educated the reader but may have inspired them to cast their intellectual net wider to allow a much greater understanding of collections of emblems. Mario Praz quotes the Jesuit Le Moine on the ingredients of a good emblem and the many sources it should allude to or incorporate.

“La philosophie et la poësie, l’histoire et la fable, les connoissances annciennes, et les modernes, celles du College et celles du monde y entrent en petite, et par abregé...Pour s’acquiter dignement de cet employ, ce n’est pas assez de connoistre tous les animaux, et toutes les plantes, d’avoir Aristote et Pline en la teste: il faut y avoir avec Pline et Aristote, un jugement net et éclairé, un esprit riche en nobles images et en vives expressions; et sur le tout, une délicatesse de goust, qui sçache trouver ce qu’il y a de fin et d’exquis en chaque chose.”²¹⁸

These varied sources granted emblems a popular place during the Renaissance, where learning and scholarly pursuits were the height of fashion. The emblem book was produced in large numbers and was owned by people from varied stations in life.

6.3 Calvinists and Emblems

Alciato’s work is not seen to fall into any distinct religious category but it has been pointed out by Russell that although the emblem was a signal of a new genre of literature independent of the contemporary epistemology which was so bound up in religion that nothing of this era can be considered without understanding its relation to a world defined by the church. Alciato’s work, while not overtly religious, must still be viewed as part of a culture where christianity was an integral and all encompassing entity.²¹⁹ It was not until the publication of *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes 1567/1571* by Georgette de Montenay that the emergence of a religious emblem book with a clear denominational slant is found.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Clements, R. J 1957. Pg 86.

²¹⁸ Praz, M 1964 *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: Rome. Pg 176

²¹⁹ Russell, D 1995. Pg 58.

²²⁰ Debate on the date of the first publication discussed in depth by Adams, A 2001 Georgette De Montenay’s *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes, 1567: New Dating, New Context*, in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, T.63. No. 3 (2001), pp 567-574. Librairie Droz: Geneva

Georgette de Montenay (1540-1607) was once believed to have been a lady-in-waiting in the court of Jeanne d'Albret Queen of Navarre (1528-1572), herself a prominent Protestant, although this claim is now refuted it is still understood she had links with the court and devoted emblems to Jeanne d'Albret specifically.²²¹ Georgette de Montenay is unique in that she produced the first overtly denominational religious emblem book. It was pro-Calvinistic at a dangerous time in French history as the sixteenth century experienced heightened religious tensions. It set the precedent for using emblems in an organised manner as religious propaganda. She is even more unique in that she was a female writer. Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* claims yet another accolade in that it is the first emblem book to use incised engravings which were produced by Pierre Woeiriot.²²²

It is curious that Georgette de Montenay should spearhead the propaganda front through emblems for the Protestant camp as a woman in sixteenth-century France. It is also interesting that the Protestant side would embrace emblems when images were one of the most contentious issues that divided Catholic from Protestant. It is interesting to note that emblem books appear as the Reformation is in its formative stages and in the centres of reform activity, such as Augsburg and Paris, as well as other reform centres in Northern Europe.²²³ The nature of emblems and the images and lessons they aim to convey often give the illusion that they erred on the side of Catholicism. Many standard medieval religious images were featured in emblems but they gave the medieval images a different message from its Catholic iconographic roots. However, from the earliest stages emblems have had equally, if not more, significant ties with the Protestant reformers.²²⁴ Alciato remained a Catholic during his life but he did spend considerable time teaching at the University in Bourges which was a bustling hub of reform and his most famous student from his years here was none other than John Calvin. Alciato's emblem book publications are also contemporary with a surge in reform activity in Paris and Augsburg but were never published in Rome.²²⁵ This does not explain, however, why Protestants were producing emblems that even, on occasion, contained the same sacred images that they destroyed in churches and other buildings in frequent bouts of iconoclastic attacks. These destructive acts were rarely condoned by Protestant leaders as they did not necessarily

²²¹ Sapiens Mulier Aedificat Domum in *Emblems ou Devises Chrestienne* 1571

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMob>

²²² Adams, A French Emblems at Glasgow website.

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOa&o=>

²²³ Diehl, H 1986. Pg 51.

²²⁴ It was not until Georgette de Montenay that we see texts that are specifically self-aware.

²²⁵ Diehl, H 1986. Pg 52.

oppose the images but how man and the church had come to revere them and treat them like gods, misdirecting the respect and awe inspired worship from the God they represented to the images themselves. Reformers complained that men and women prayed and left precious offerings to the statues and paintings much like the pagans to their idols.²²⁶ Much of the religious iconography was blamed for the masses turning their thoughts to the tangible representations of godly things and to neglect thoughts of the spiritual causing a lack of internalisation of these moral lessons. The Reformed movements, whilst rejecting the worship of images, saw the potential for images to act as an aide-memoire to remind people of unseen spiritual truths. John Donne, poet and cleric to the Church of England, describes it as,

“the Gallery of the soul hang’d with so many, and so lively pictures of the goodness and mercies of thy God to thee, as that everyone of them shall be a catechism to thee.”²²⁷

6.4 Catholics and Emblems

The reformists camp realised the potential of the emblem as a propaganda tool and harnessed that power many years before the Counter-Reformation joined the text and image battle. The production of ‘Catholic’ emblems may have started much slower than their Calvinistic counterparts but the imbalance was soon rectified. This was partly to do with many laws passed in various parts of France which prohibited the publishing of Protestant works or any literature condemned by established Catholic institutions. These laws were contemporary to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 which had aimed to encourage religious tolerance.²²⁸ Gabriel François Le Jay (1657 -1734) was a priest employed as a teacher at the College Louis le Grand and produced an emblem book called *Le Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand* (1687), to mark the celebrations at the college following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.²²⁹ The Jesuits produced many emblems. For this reason the majority of our case studies from Catholic authors will come from emblems produced by Jesuits.

The Jesuits produced many emblems and not only used them for educational purposes, encouraging the pupils to create their own, but used them in decoration for the end of year celebrations. Emblems were a valuable teaching tool at Jesuit colleges as they could be

²²⁶ Diehl, H 1986. Pg 56.

²²⁷ Diehl, H 1986. Pg 56.

²²⁸ Barr, J 2008. Pg 19.

²²⁹ Barr, J 2008. Pg 56.

used in a various subjects. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus explains the usefulness of the emblems as a teaching tool,

“ Jesuits used the emblem form for a range of didactic purposes imparting information on topics ranging from symbology, poetry, and rhetoric, through philosophy and ethics and mythology, to alchemy and medicine.”²³⁰

As well as being used for pedagogical purposes relating to secular subjects emblems were an integral part of mediation and spiritual development. The first case study from the Jesuit priest Jerome Nadal’s *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* published posthumously in 1595. It comes from his works on the Infancy Narrative.²³¹ Nadal served as secretary to Ignatius between 1545 and 1548. Nadal’s many accomplishments in life are far too numerous to summarise as part of our studies.²³²

Paul Hoffaeus, the German assistant to Fr. General Mercurian attempted to convince Pope Clement VIII to sanction funding for publication, as he described the work as,

“...useful and profitable to all classes of persons who know Latin, especially to candidates for the priesthood...(the book) is not only much desired by contemplatives in Europe, but also coveted in both the Indies by the Company’s workers who, using the images, could more easily imprint new Christians with all the mysteries of human redemption, which they retain with difficulty through preaching and catechism.”²³³

The first example taken from Nadal is the Annunciation. It follows the example that can be found in some manuscript Books of Hours and their printed form. The image displays the general iconography of an Annunciation scene. The Archangel Gabriel carries the lily to Mary. She kneels in devotion in front of an open book within the confines of the domestic sphere, the example of a good woman. Figure 36 contains letters which relate to the co-ordinating *inscriptions* below. For example, the image associated with A is related to the *inscriptio* which informs that this is a representation of the assemblies of angels, where God declares the Incarnation of Christ. This construction follows the common Catholic tradition where the reader is led around the emblem and given an explanation of

²³⁰ Barr, J 2008. Pg 57.

²³¹ The Infancy Narrative features at the start of the Hours of the Virgin starting with the Annunciation at Matins through to Compline featuring images such as Coronation of the Virgin, Flight into Egypt or the Massacre of the Innocents.

²³² For an in depth study on Nadal’s life see Walter Melion’s introductory study in Nadal, J 2003 (Trans Homann, F. A) *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospel, Volume 1: The Infancy Narratives*, Saint Joseph University Press: Pennsylvania.

²³³ Melion, W. S 2003 *The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal’s Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, in Nadal, J 2003 (Trans Homann, F. A) *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospel, Volume 1: The Infancy Narratives*, Saint Joseph University Press: Pennsylvania.

what it depicts. This diminishes the effort required by the reader in deconstructing the deeper meaning of the image as it is laid out before them. This is especially the case with Nadal as the *subscriptio* comes in the form of an extended explanation of the scene again coded by letters where, for example, it explains the sewing basket sitting on the chair in front of Mary's lectern is there in anticipation of her soon to be assumed maternal role. This displays the same kind of text and image control by the Catholic church that the Reformation aimed to counteract by allowing the reader to employ their own reason and interpretation to the emblems images and meanings. However, Nadal's work does come with a 'Gospel Reading' from the passage of the Bible relating to the associated image. This was to encouragement of the lay public to read and study the vernacular scriptures and to understand on an individual level as well as encouraging personal renewal.

Nadal's Annunciation refines the example of a complete narrative in a single image. This was previously seen in the earlier examination of the message of the miniature coupled with the message of the border images in printed Books of Hours. In this example multiple images are incorporated into a single scene to yield the complete narrative of the Annunciation as well as the surrounding events that give the focal scene its importance.



Figure 36 The Annunciation²³⁴

²³⁴ Nadal, J 1595 *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*. Pg . Plate, 1.

The other smaller parts of this emblem show us, in order of the *inscriptios*, Gabriel being chosen to carry out God's will in revealing his plan to the submissive Mary. Nadal's representations of the pivotal events in the Christian story of salvation include aspects that are not as frequently shown with the Annunciation. In the top right hand of the image God becomes a man in the splendour of heaven during the creation of the world and in stark contrast the opposite side the Crucifixion can be seen where Christ is sacrificed for those he created. Below the Crucifixion the angel can be seen informing those in Limbo of Christ's incarnation. In this one image the story of the salvation of mankind is shown from the creation of the world, to Christ's incarnation according to prophecy and ending with his victory over evil and our redemption.



Figure 37 The Visitation²³⁵

The next example is the Visitation. The events surrounding Mary and her stay with her cousin Elizabeth can also be seen through the windows and doors of the house. The Annunciation is included at the top of the scene showing the start of the journey Mary and Joseph will take together as documented in the New Testament. At the top of this image the Annunciation is also shown as a reminder as of the start of Mary's story. It is interesting

²³⁵ Nadal, J 1595 *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*. Plate 2.

that Joseph and Zechariah are now both a part of this narrative wherein most representations before they are excluded and the focus is placed on their spouses. In the background to the left there is also featured the birth of John. The centre window shows Mary and Joseph departing. Within this scene the entire story of Mary and Elizabeth is told from Mary receiving the news from Gabriel, to sharing the news with Elizabeth, the birth of John and then Mary and Joseph leave to continue their journey. The reader is left in no doubt of the scenes they encounter as they are lead around the image by the letters and associated explanations.



Figure 38 Bride of Christ and Coronation of the Queen of Heaven²³⁶

Nadal's work also included this image of Mary as the Bride of Christ and above crowned by God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. As discussed previously, these images show the various ways the Church viewed of Mary throughout the centuries. These are images which were popular at the height of Marian worship and still adorn many churches today, such as Notre Dame in Paris, as well as in religious paintings and devotional texts such as Books of Hours.

It was not only Nadal who published emblem books with such strong Catholic iconography reminiscent of the Books of Hours. The following examples come from Etienne Binet's

²³⁶ Nadal, J 1595 *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*. Pg 153.

Meditations affectueuses sur la vie de la tressainte Vierge Mere de Dieu (1632). Binet was also a Jesuit. This work is loosely dubbed an emblem book as it contains the basic structure described as an emblem.²³⁷



Figure 39 The Annunciation²³⁸



Figure 40 Holy family, Holy Labour²³⁹



Figure 41 Mary sews in the Temple²⁴⁰

Again, the Annunciation is depicted with Gabriel, the lily and the open book motifs. Binet also included depictions of the Holy family involved in various labours. Mary sits sewing looking on at Jesus helping Joseph at his carpentry. In the next image Mary is sitting in the Temple sewing with her class. As previously discussed the importance of work and guarding against idleness, as well as the connection between Mary and sewing, were important lessons not only in Books of Hours and images of the Virgin Mary but also, as highlighted early in the section, in Georgette de Montenay's emblems.

Carl Stengel uses the image of the Holy Family and Mary teaching the Christ child as the frontispiece for his emblem book devoted to St. Joseph *Emblemata Iosephina cum Eulogijs Opera* (1658). Here, instead of St. Anne holding a book she appears to be in prayer whilst Joachim sits opposite studying the book on his lap.

²³⁷ Praz 1964. Pg 273 as stated in the Hoe catalogue.

²³⁸ Binet, E 1632 *Meditations affectueuses sur la vie de la tressainte Vierge Mere de Dieu*. Pg 7

²³⁹ Binet, E 1632. Pg 17.

²⁴⁰ Binet, E 1632. Pg 5.



Figure 42 Holy Kindred Frontispiece

There were also other emblemists who devoted books of emblems solely to the subject of Mary. Jacques Callot was a famous engraver in Paris and published many works and illustrations on subjects for royal court pageantry to military parades and caricatures of individuals as well as many religious works.²⁴¹ In 1646 Callot published *Vita beatae Mariae Virginis Matris Dei. Emblematis delineate* (*Vie de la bien-heureuse Vierge Mari*). There are no pictorial representations of the Virgin Mary instead the emblems substitute her image for that of objects and creatures that symbolise the aspects of her character outlined in the emblem. Callot uses birds, palm trees and lioness to teach about the various qualities and virtues with which Mary is imbued. His emblems will be explored in the following section.

6.5 Emblems and the Use of Marian Iconography

Mary appeared in emblems books not only in traditional representations found in Books of Hours as shown in the previous section. This iconography was adopted and reworked into emblems which were dedicated to the Virgin as well as emblems that subverted this

²⁴¹ Brown University. Dept. of Art and Rhode Island School of Design. Museum of Art, *Jacques Callot, 1592-1635: Exhibition held at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island, Mar. 5 through Apr. 11, 1970* (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1970. See also Russell, H. D 1975 *Jacques Callot prints and related drawings; (with Jeffery Blanchar (theatre section) John Krill (technical section)*, National Gallery of Art: Washington.

iconography to convey a contrasting message. An example from Georgette de Montenay is an image which displays the most important attribute connected with the Virgin Mary.

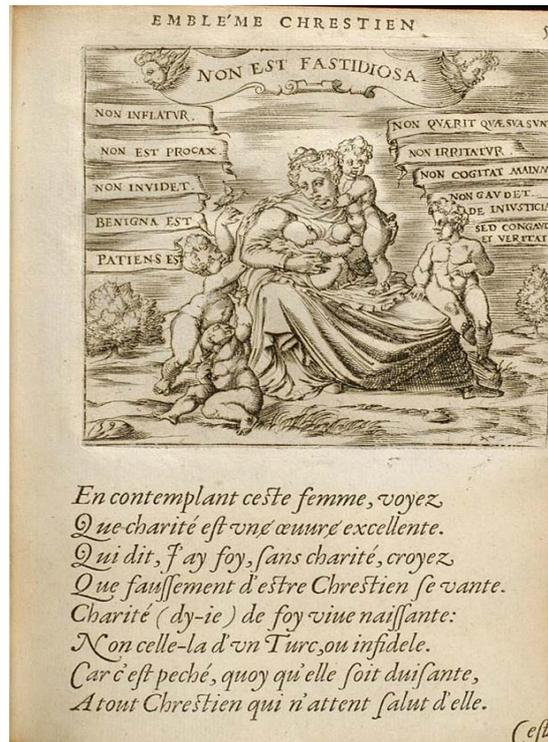


Figure 43 *Non Est Fastidiosa*²⁴²

Mary was held in such great regard because she was the woman who gave birth to the Saviour of mankind. Here a mother is surrounded by small children and nursing a baby. She is the epitome of love as she cherishes and nurtures her children. The quotations which surround the maternal figure extol her virtues such as ‘it is kind’, ‘it envies not’ and ‘it thinketh no evil’, it also states that ‘it does not rejoice in injustice but rejoices in the truth’. These are taken from 1 Corinthians 13 which lists the positive qualities of love stating that faith without love or charity is dead. Regine Reynolds-Cornell has argued that this emblem attempts to show that salvation cannot be achieved without charity as charity is mark of a true Christian.²⁴³ The text accompanying the *pictura* also states ‘A tout Chrestien qui n’attent salut d’elle’.

Mary was arguably the most recognisable maternal figure of this age as well as the co-redemptrix to which many believed was the way to salvation. Here Georgette de Montenay takes the instantly recognisable mother image to which she attributes many virtues and states that it is this mother figure representing charity and love. When this emblem is

²⁴²Montenay, Georgette de 1571 *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes*. Folio 59 r3r
<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FMOa059>

²⁴³ Reynolds-Cornell, R 1987 *Witnessing an Era: Georgette de Montenay and the Emblèmes Ou Devises Chrestienne*, Summa Publications: Birmingham, Alabama. Pg 81.

taken together with its reference to 1 Corinthians verse 13 it shows that love is the sign of living faith and it is that faith that saves the soul and not Mary. The Catholic Church also used the image of Mary as an example of positive female attributes. It is interesting that the mother in this image has so many children as if it was a conscious effort to steer away from the instantly recognisable mother and child where Mary has only one child. It is almost suggestive that in having more than one child to care for this woman is more loving and caring and exhibits these qualities to a greater degree. It is also possible that this was chosen to represent a more naturalist portrayal of women of the time as most women would have many children. In attempting to show the average and not the divine woman the effort may have been to dispel the idea of the divine mother and the unattainable example of Mary but highlight the real woman acknowledging the qualities of a mother and encouraging the reader to extend those qualities the bestow on their children and extend them to their fellow man.

As a Calvinist, Georgette de Montenay appears to reject the traditional sacred female figure of Mary as well as the classical female representation of Venus or the Virtues to represent appropriate qualities and virtues of women. Instead, where there is a female character, the image displays what could be described as an average woman.²⁴⁴

An emblem from Georgette de Montenay which again takes an image often associated with the Virgin Mary is *Sic amica mea inter*. Mary and the lily have been interconnected for many centuries. As seen in the representations of the Annunciation Mary is generally seen with a lily as testimony to her purity.

Sic amica mea inter or *So is my love among...* makes reference to Songs of Solomon 2:2, 'As a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters'. This passage is generally believed to refer to the love Christ has for his church, his own people.²⁴⁵ Here the allusion to the symbol of the Virgin and her purity with a passage regarding the Church (which Mary was also a symbol of as the Bride of Christ) are coupled. Georgette de Montenay then alludes to an image of the church threatened by the surrounding cruel world which persecutes its faithfulness and truth.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Georgette de Montenay does depict the Queen of Navarre in *Sapiens Mulier Aedificat Domum* and a female demon is present cowering in the corner of *Et Usque Ad Nubes VeritasTua*.

²⁴⁵ Wiersbe, W. W 2008 *The Wiersbe Bible Commentary*, Cook's Communication Ministries: Colorado Springs. Pg 1145.

²⁴⁶ Adams, A 2003. Pg 47.



Figure 44 *Sic amica mea inter*²⁴⁷

The *subscriptio* also mentions the deep roots of the lily which alludes to the parable of the Wheat and the Tares which tells the story of seeds which fell on different ground.²⁴⁸ This could be a comparison Georgette is making on the grounds that during the sixteenth-century Protestants were encouraged to the point of compulsion to read the vernacular bible and feed on its teachings, to use the biblical metaphor. Whereas, this text was generally withheld from Catholics who relied on their clergy and devotional texts such as Books of Hours for their sustenance.²⁴⁹ To compare this interpretation to the traditional image of Mary's purity, Georgette de Montenay's, given her religious stance, may be alluding to the 'purity' that comes from reading the Bible for one's self in contrast to the encompassing sinful world. By extension Montenay may have been suggesting the act of engaging with vernacular scripture may help the reader grown as their spirituality becomes deeper like that of lily's roots and that it might withstand the persecution of the majority, the 'weeds', who disagree.

The image of the lily and the weeds also features in Jean Terrier's emblem book *Portraits des S S Vertus de la Vierge contemplées par feue S.A.S Isabelle Clere Eugenie Infante D'Espagne* (1635). Jean Terrier, who was a doctor of law, a general lieutenant and councillor for the parliament in Dole, intended to dedicate his book to the Infanta Isabella

²⁴⁷ Montenay, G. De 1571. M3r f39.

²⁴⁸ Matthew 13:1-9, 18-23. The seeds which fell on good soil had deep roots so when the harsh sun beat down they did not wither but grew strong. The weeds, however, according to Matthew are the 'sons of the evil one, and the enemy who sewed them is the devil'.²⁴⁸ This passage also tells how the 'sons of the evil one', just like the weeds, will be bound together and burned in the fire when the harvest comes. The idea of the plant with deep roots is compared to its counterpart with shallow roots which withered and died as it did not have the means to sustain it.

²⁴⁹ Barr, J 2008. Pg 36, quotes

Clara Eugenia, the widowed governess of the Habsburg Netherlands.²⁵⁰ In 1599 the Infanta Isabella and her husband the Archduke Albert of Austria came into power. They wished to re-establish Catholicism after forty years of religious turmoil under Habsburg rule.²⁵¹ The image below show the image of the lily surrounded by thorns much the same as Georgette de Montenay's emblem. Inside Terrier's flowering lily which towers above the thorny weeds, the Virgin Mary cradles Christ crucified. Cherubs surround Mary and Christ holding the instrument of the cross, such as the spear and sponge dipped in hyssop as well as the cross itself. The Infanta Isabella kneels at the foot of the lily holding up the crown of thorns while an ornate crown rests on the ground. The following pages contain a long prayer for the Infanta address to Mary with the plea 'lily amongst thorns pray for us'.



Figure 45 Lilivm Inter Spinis²⁵²

This emblem book contains an edited version of the Litany of Loreto, written in 1575.²⁵³ The iconography of the lily is used in a traditional sense in this emblem unlike Georgette de Montenay's example. This shows that the same image could be used by those, both reformer and counter-reformer, who wished to establish their religious views. Georgette de Montenay produced her emblem showing the lily as the threatened fledgling protestant

²⁵⁰ Wyhe, C. V 2002 Introduction, in Terrier, J 2002 *Portraits des S S Vertus de la Vierge contemplées par feu S.A.S Isabelle Clere Eugenie Infante D'Espagne, A facsimile Edition with Critical Introduction by Cordula Van Wyhe, Vol. 7.* Glasgow Emblem Studies: Glasgow. Pg VI. The Infanta died before it was finished, it was then dedicated to her successor Cardinal Infante Ferdinand of Austria.

²⁵¹ Wyhe, C. V 2002. Pg VI

²⁵² Terrier, J 1635. Pg 72.

²⁵³ Wyhe, C V 2002. Pg VII.

church amidst prosecution. Terrier's emblem of Mary and the lily was dedicated to rulers who wished to re-establish the catholic faith in an area in which it had been endangered.

A common image found in many emblems books is that of a ship tossed in a storm. One of the first examples of this iconography in Alciato's *Spes Proxima* in *Livret des Emblemes* (1536). It depicts a ship being battered by winds on both sides.

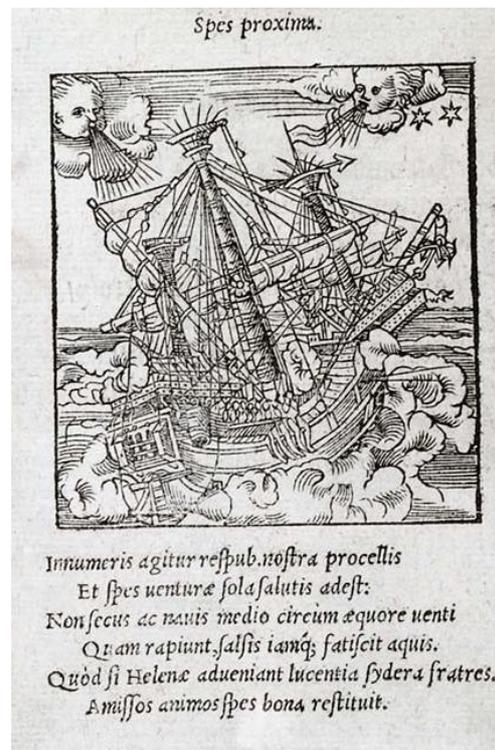


Figure 46 *Spes Proxima*²⁵⁴

The *subscription* explains that the ship is a symbol of a country facing many trials. The stars that can be seen on the right hand side are identified as the brothers of Helen, Castor and Pollux, also known as the protectors of sailors.²⁵⁵ According to the text their presence bolsters the courage of those on the ship. This image can also be found in Callot's *Sidus Amicum Est in Vita beatae Mariae Virginis Matris Dei. Emblematibus delineate* (*Vie de la bienheureuse Vierge Marie*, Chez François Langlois, dict Chartres, rue S (1646). This emblem also depicts a stormy sea and distressed ship.

²⁵⁴ Alciato, A 1536 *Livret des Emblemes*, SM23B University of Glasgow. Foli7v.
<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FALa034>

²⁵⁵ French Emblems at Glasgow <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FALa034>



Figure 47 Sidus Amicum Est²⁵⁶

In this emblem the star which was associated with Castor and Pollux, in the earlier example, is compared to the Virgin Mary and the hope and courage she gives to '*homes perdus*'. Alison Adams states that a stormy sea was a common metaphor for life in emblems.²⁵⁷ Here the ship has come to symbolise the passage of lost souls being battered by the '*cruel orage*' of life and it is the shining light of Mary that guides them through that storm and gives them hope. A similar example of Callot's use of this emblem is also found in Terrier's emblem book. Here there are two ships, in one the Infanta Isabella kneels in prayer with her ladies in waiting. In this image Mary's face can be seen in the centre of the star which bursts through the clouds of the storm.

²⁵⁶ Callot, J 1646. Pg 2.

²⁵⁷ Adams, A 2003 *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century*, Librairie Droz: Geneva. Pg 221.



Figure 48 Ora Pro Nobis²⁵⁸

It was not only Alciato and his catholic successor's that used this common emblematic image. An example of this iconography can be found in Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes Chrestiens* (1584) entitled *Quem Timebo*. A man stands in a ship, again on stormy waters. Instead of a star guiding his way an arm reaches out of the clouds and holds a flaming torch. The text explains that the man is not afraid as he knows that those who put their faith in God will be saved. It alludes to the well known Psalm 27v1, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation. Whom shall I fear?'. The torch can be a symbol of faith or God and the man can be seen to set the ship toward it.²⁵⁹ In this emblem there is no star symbolic of Mary who saves the lost, it is a flaming torch representing the faith in God alone which saves.

²⁵⁸ Terrier, J 1635. Pg 1.

²⁵⁹ Adams, A 2003. Pgs 35 and 211.



Figure 49 Quem Timebo²⁶⁰

Georgette de Montenay was not the only prominent Calvinist emblem author. Théodore de Bèze was also an emblemist. However, first and foremost he was a religious leader who fled his native France to settle in Switlerland in 1548. On Calvin's death Bèze took on his role as Pastor of Geneva in 1564. He produced many important literary works such as *Icones, id est verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium [...] quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant* in which he outlines those who made a contribution to Reformation in various ways. He also played an important role in the translation of the psalm and work on the New Testament for use in the Geneva Bible.²⁶¹ The following image is by Bèze and can be found in *Vrais Pourtraits (1581)* entitled *Emblemata XLIII* and also deals with the image of a boat caught in a storm.

²⁶⁰ Montenay, G 1584 *Embleme Chrestiens*, Jean Marcorelle: Lyon. Pg 11. University of Glasgow SM771. <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FMOa011>

²⁶¹ Adams, A Glasgow University Emblem's site Théodore de Bèze <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FBEB&o=>



Figure 50 Embleme XLIII²⁶²

Again the ship is struggling in the tempestuous sea. The crew are divided into two groups, one huddled at the stern and the other at the bow of the ship. In the *subscriptio* Bèze explains that this emblem represents contemporary events. He states that the ‘mad man’ that is standing at the centre of the ship is drilling holes in the ship’s hull with fatal intentions much to the dismay of the on looking sailors. Bèze is following the more traditional symbology of Alciato where the ship represents the state which is poorly captained by a reckless ruler. There are now stars featured in this emblem as a symbol of hope for the future or protection. Bèze was prominent Calvinist and many of his other emblems from *Vrais Pourtraits* deal with religious subjects however this emblem deals with more political issues as it has been suggested that this emblem could refer to King Henry III of France (1580).²⁶³

²⁶² Bèze, T 1581 *Vrais Pourtraits*, Jean de Laon: Geneva. Pg 283. University of Glasgow SM161.

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FBEB043>

²⁶³ French Emblems at Glasgow University.

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FBEB043>

The emblematic image of the ship at sea was also dealt with by humanist emblemists such as Joannes Sambucus. He originated from Hungary and was a court-historiographer for the Habsburg in Vienna.²⁶⁴ This emblem comes from his book *Les Emblemes* (1567).

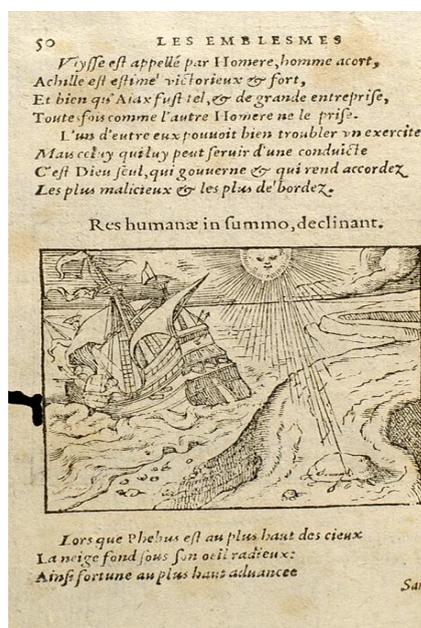


Figure 51 Res Humanae in Summo, Declinant.²⁶⁵

In this image the sun, or Phoebus, shines on the struggling ship. The *subscriptio* explains that all are equal in death and even the loftiest of affairs melt away just as the sun melts the snow shown in the emblem.

From the examples it can be seen how the simple image of a ship at sea can be used to convey religious, political and moral lessons. What started as a secular image it was adopted to symbolise the saving grace of Mary by catholic emblemists. The same image was also used by Calvinists. Georgette de Montenay used the image to show the importance of faith in God, while Bèze used it for political means. The ship represented the passage of the soul as well as symbol of a state and the shining light guiding it varied from the classical Phoebus or Castor and Pollux to the Virgin Mary.

²⁶⁴ French Emblems at Glasgow University.

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FSaA&o=>

²⁶⁵ Sambucus, J 1567 *Les Emblemes*, Christophe Plantin: Antwerp. Pg 50. University of Glasgow SMAdd429. <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FSaA030>

6.6 Conclusion

Mary was a familiar figure in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. Her images adorned churches as well as inspiring devotional works of art in the home. With the advent of Emblem books Mary does seem to undergo a marked change. The Mary that once featured countless times in images now seems to have been transformed into a variety of objects. She had often been compared to or referred to as many things in literature such as the Tabernacle, the gate, the ark, the rod of Aaron, a vessel, bride chamber, pillar of virginity, table, heavenly ladder, a lily amongst others.²⁶⁶ However, after 1550, Mary disappears from Protestant Churches and images. As Serguisz Michalski points out,

“Despite Luther’s relative tolerance of them, Marian images vanishes from Protestant iconography and from Protestant churches after c. 1550. In this sense Christocentric Protestant theology caused the disappearance of an entire pictorial theme.”²⁶⁷

As the case studies show, Mary rarely features in the Protestant examples. This may be for several reasons. Georgette de Montenay does appear to favour representations of everyday objects or actions such as the lily and thorns or the mother. Instead of the revered images of Mary that filled church and attracted the idolatrous worship of the masses, Georgette’s emblems display ordinary objects which are not revered and would not tempt praise or adoration but rather would act as an aide-memoire for the spiritual lessons represented. In contrast, her fellow Calvinist, Béze, chooses a message similar to Alciato’s emblem to convey a political message.

In contrast the Jesuits take the traditions of the medieval devotional texts and well known associated images and incorporate them into the style of the new emblem fashion. In these examples, much of the iconography that was present in the Book of Hours illustrations such as the lily at the Annunciation or the various objects associated with Mary that represented a moral lesson or desired female quality she possessed, for example the many subtexts attached to images of her with a book or sewing.

Viewing these examples as a whole give a picture of how the Reformation had produced many denominations, only a few of which have been covered. Mary’s image once stood as a universal example for various lessons. In some examples her image was replaced by

²⁶⁶ Kalavrezou, I 1990 Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became “Meter Theou”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers Vol 44 (1990)*, pg 165-172, Pg 167.

²⁶⁷ Michalski, S 1993 *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*, Routledge: London. Pg 36.

other styles and images depending on the author's denomination. In other cases her image was transposed by everyday objects to modify an existing emblem to convey lessons on her character. Even within denominations variations can be seen. Georgette de Montenay and Béze have shown that merely having the same religious beliefs do not necessarily mean that the emblems they produced would adhere to the same styles and trends. This suggests that in the same way decoding an emblem produced many different interpretations of the image as each individual brought their own allusions to the meaning; the author producing the emblem includes themselves and their own allusions, to an extent, in their creation.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The written word has been pivotal to most cultures for hundreds of years. The skill had been dominated by the Church. Saints with the divine gift such as glowing fingers enabling them to write all night and others who evoked the help of the devil to produce extensive and lavish works both feature in manuscript folklore.²⁶⁸ It was not only the text that was important but its ever-evolving predecessor the image. Pope Gregory the Great had been extolling the usefulness of the image as an important learning tool since 600 A.D and religious images grew from strength to strength with each century as new styles created new images which decorated churches, inside and out, as well as religious texts and various other material culture ranging from tapestries to ornaments and gifts.

Books have always been a status symbol, in the early phase of their evolution it was the mark of the clergy. They eventually became lavish gifts for kings and the wealthy and powerful. It was here, in the realms of the religious and influential, they stayed for generations. This was due to the fact that the acquisition of manuscripts required wealth, power and resources in great quantities. There was a constant commissioning battle as each family aimed to own the most lavish and fashionable books in the court. Equally they were an important investment for artisans and workshops of books who wished to attain the profitable patronage of a prominent ruler or upper class figure.

One of the leading genres of late medieval manuscripts was the Book of Hours. This was a collection of devotional texts designed for meditation for the laity and to allow the incorporation of this aspect of the monastic into the lay person's day. Prayers began with matins in the morning and continued at various times throughout the day until compline in the evening. They consisted of various Offices and Hours, collections of different prayers and accompanying texts, such as the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and the Office of the Dead. These books became an essential part of life for upper class ladies and men as a symbol of their status and wealth, as well as their pious nature. These books were also written to comply with doctrine and Marian culture that leant heavily towards the belief that Mary was redemptrix with her Son. The reader could gain Mary's favour and intercession through rigorously following these prayers devoted to her. Many believed that these books were essential in their attainment of salvation as a large part of Marian folklore

²⁶⁸ Marsden, J 1995 *The Illustrated Life of Columba*, Floris Books, Edinburgh. Pg 39.

detailed how people, good and bad, had been saved before Christ's judgement seat by the pleas of Mary, his mother, as the soul she defended had paid homage to Mary or shown her reverence, even infrequently, during their life.

It was Mary's connection to the book that made a lasting and deep rooted change in the way women interacted with books. The Marian cult grew stronger and images of Mary, such as the Coronation of the Virgin, were commonplace between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. These images portrayed her as the mighty Queen of Heaven, with all the majesty and power of her son. From the thirteenth century some images appear of the humble young mother as representations of Mary highlighted her softer human side, making her appear more approachable than that of other contemporary images which focus on the awe inspiring majesty with which she was often shown. As Mary had been chosen by God as 'honoured among women' and it was seen as fitting that she should be accomplished and devoted to studying the scriptures. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* recounts how rigorously she studied the scriptures as well as devoting herself to prayers and singing psalms. Mary's connection to the book also acted as an irrefutable example for women in their own devotions, which has been established as being essential and an acceptable pursuit as they were excluded from so many activities which remained firmly in the male domain. This had considerable influence on the production of texts in the vernacular.

The number of vernacular works was also encouraged with the invention of the printing press which revolutionised the way in which books could be produced. Texts could now be printed at a much lower cost, and while still a time consuming practice it could produce many more copies in the same space of time as a scribe. This opened up the market allowing those who had never imagined they could own books to purchase them. The giant leaps the printing press offered society through the far reaching ramifications are such that many, such as Luther, extolled the wonders of the invention. It was mainly the Reformers who harnessed the full extent of the press' power as they could now disseminate their information to a much wider audience and in a much shorter space of time.

The printing press introduced the use of moveable printing blocks which revolutionised the way in which illustrations appeared with text. This new technology transformed the traditional style of manuscript Books of Hours into its image laden printed successor. The borders of printed books differed slightly from the manuscript version of marginalia. Instead of borders consisting of flowers, patterns and images of biblical scenes and that of

daily life, borders were denser in images with sequences of biblical stories and various religious scenes were introduced and added additional narratives to the page. Books of Hours carried on this medieval tradition as was demonstrated in the example of the Nativity miniature with Crucifixion borders. Examples of this can also be seen in Nadal's emblems.

The printed Books of Hours gives us an insight into the political and religious struggles contemporary with its invention. The Richard Day *Booke of Christian Prayers* is indicative of how the devotional tradition was re-worked to align with the views of the day as well as showing the reliance people placed on these books. The dependence people had on this genre made it profitable to produce and print Protestant versions of an essentially Catholic book. There is little difference in the depiction of Mary but these representations are now only in reference to her role as the mother of Christ. All of the virtues that she symbolised such as hard work, purity, charity and many more are now modelled by other female characters. In this case, Richard Day's book shows Queen Elizabeth I in the preliminary pages in a scene reminiscent of the Annunciation. As King explains Queen Elizabeth replaced many of Marian images in an attempt to validate her reign by imbuing her with all of Mary's cherished qualities. It also acts as an example of enforcing the conversion of England to a protestant state by removing Mary, a very common catholic image, and replacing her with the protestant virgin queen Elizabeth.

With the birth of the printing press there is the arrival of a new literary genre, the Emblem book. Though some argue the Emblem grew out of the medieval use of image, it was truly a product of the Renaissance. The Emblem draws on the reader's personal knowledge of subjects as widely varied as nature, classics, languages, religion, poetry and prose. It not only teaches but encourages the reader to expand their learning in order to unlock the full potential of the emblem.

The case studies consisted of emblems from a variety of authors; though a small cross section of a large group. These studies attempt to establish whether their different stances produce a unique style or use of a particular image or theme. The first case study came from Georgette de Montenay. Her emblems lacked any images relating directly to the Virgin Mary, however, many of the virtues and moral lessons her image had come to represent are dealt with through different images. Georgette uses everyday images such as farming, flowers and weeds and her representations of women are either factual and recognisable, Jeanne d'Albret, or in the case of *Non est fastidiosa* a strikingly average and

realistic scene can be seen compared with the divine ideal of motherhood portrayed by the majestic Virgin. It almost appears as though she makes a conscious decision to step away from any female figure that is a sacred image, such as Mary. The rejection of the divine may be due to the firm line Calvinists and other Reformist groups took which condemned the Catholic Church for their idolatrous behaviour. This clash resulted in many cases of iconoclasm.

Georgette de Montenay did however adopt traditional Marian iconography such as the lily in her emblem *Sic Amica Mea Inter*. When this emblem is compared to that of Terrier's *Lilivm Inter Spinas* similarities can be seen in the iconography in that both show tall lilies surrounded by thorns. Terrier takes an interpretation which is literally Mary centred. He places Mary inside the flowering lily showing her cradling her crucified son. Georgette de Montenay bases her emblem on a more scriptural interpretation as the title refers to the Songs of Solomon 2:2, 'As a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters'. This is taken to refer to Christ's love for his bride, the Church. There is also reference to the parable of the Wheat and the Tares in the *subscriptio*. There is no mention or reference to the Virgin Mary. This divide can also be seen in both of the author's representation of the common emblem of a ship at sea. Terrier, again, uses the image to convey the kindness and saving grace of the Virgin Mary while Montenay's continues to base her emblem on scripture; psalm 27v1 'The Lord is my light and my salvation. Whom shall I fear?'

It is interesting to note that Georgette de Montenay's fellow Calvinist, Thèodore de Béze, produces a very different message from this image. He also adopts the common image of the ship at sea but instead of religious message he uses it as a political lesson on reckless rulers. The similarity between Béze and Georgette de Montenay lies in that they both choose the same common image but from it they derive very different lessons. This comparison also begs the question whether is there a gender difference inherent in the work of female and male emblem authors? This is a debate too complex to be dealt with here.

Callot also produces an emblem with this image in his emblem book dedicated the Virgin Mary. Understandably his emblem refers to Mary the hope and grace she bestows on lost souls. In Callot's emblem she cannot be seen in the image but the *subscriptio* explains that she is symbolised by the stars. In Terrier's emblem Mary is depicted in the centre of the star.

In contrast to our Calvinist emblems Mary still featured heavily in some Catholic emblem books. Nadal's work, though emblematic and often described as an emblem book, seems to be a direct stepping stone between the Book of Hours and the Emblem book traditions. Nadal's emblems featured most of the scenes that could be found in a Book of Hours in a similar order. The Annunciation, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi all appear with much of the same iconography as the earlier manuscript versions. Nadal occasionally uses inconspicuous objects to act as lesson within the scene which he explains in the adjoining text, for example the sewing basket in the Annunciation scene acts as a pointer to Mary's coming maternal role.

Callot's emblems are different again to the other examples. Mary is not seen in these emblems, she is substituted by animals, flowers and objects. In Books of Hours representations of Mary are shown in conjunction with various endeavours and virtues to highlight them as pleasing attributes for a lady. In contrast, in Callots' emblems Mary is invisible but it is these virtues and characteristics, that she had become synonymous with through generations of depictions, that spark allusions to her person.

This research has aimed to establish the trends present through transitions in religious belief and technology with relation to use of images, such as Mary, in devotional works such as Books of Hours compared to Emblems books. As discussed, Mary's character is multivalent through the history of the Church to represent various ideals and examples. She has been majestic and regal yet humble and obedient. The various depictions of Mary were aimed at women during the various stages their lives, she was an example to maiden, mother and wife. With the invention of new technology and the wider social and religious changes brought around by this development, images in devotional works start to change. With the formulation of a new church there were works emerging from both sides and a clear distinction between their doctrines represented in their imagery. Richard Day's *Book of Christian Prayer* may look, on the surface, similar to a Book of Hours but there are significant differences in iconography and text, which shows how political and religious change can influence iconography. Print, as well as the developments it triggered, heralded the Emblem book. The genre flourished at a time a great religious upheaval and the nature of emblems allowed various authors to create emblems which could be used as powerful propaganda tools. The stark contrasts between Calvinist and Catholic emblemists and how they deal with the image and character of Mary can be seen. Mary, through the centuries, became a symbol which could be interchanged with many images.

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