

Unsurprisingly, the cost of Books of Hours might vary widely. Medieval book prices are notoriously elusive, but probate valuations from late medieval York give us some sense of the range of prices at any rate for secondhand Books of Hours. So the Primer 'with devotions' of Thomas Overton, a York baker who died in 1444, was valued at 9s, as against the 6s 8d estimated for the primer covered with red velvet belonging to Thomas Morton, canon of York Minster. Cheaper still was the 4s 6d estimated as the value of the primer left by John Collan, a York goldsmith who died in 1490, and whose Book of Hours was in all probability one of the printed versions only recently available.³⁹ Given this steady growth in accessibility, by the late Middle Ages, wealthy bourgeois women felt naked unless they too possessed an example of this most chic of devotional fashion accessories. Its social cachet sprang from its iconic function. Wherever we turn in representations of later medieval and renaissance lay piety, the Book of Hours is present, for example, in Memling's well-known Donne Triptych of 1478, showing Sir John Donne and his wife, Elizabeth Donne née Hastings, in prayer before the Virgin and Child [Pl. 17]. Lady Donne's rapt state of prayer is symbolised here by her Book of Hours, now sadly lost, though her husband's Book of Hours, made for him shortly after this altarpiece was painted, survives, as does the even more magnificent example made for Lady Donne's ill-fated brother, Sir William Hastings (executed in 1483), and now in the British Library.⁴⁰

2

DEVOTIONAL INTIMACY: A BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE

Books of Hours were, from the start, intensely personal objects, carried about, when small enough, in a sleeve or at the belt, passed from hand to hand, a personal dimension indicated in the bequest by a fifteenth-century London merchant of 'my primer with gilt clasps *whereon I am wont to say my service*' or the York merchant's wife Agnes Hull, who left 'my primer which I use daily' to her daughter, or the London wax-chandler Roger Elmsley who in 1434 left to a favourite godchild 'a prykker to serve God with'. In 1395 the Hampshire widow, Lady Alice West, who had taken a vow of chastity after her husband's death, bequeathed to her son Thomas 'a peyre Matyns bookis and a peire bedes, and a ryng with which I was yspousyd to God, which were my lordes his fadres'.¹ The 'matins book' here is Our Lady's Matins, the Primer or Book of Hours, and that cluster of religious and domestic sanctities (combining, it should be noted once again, the religion of bead and book) is entirely characteristic of the devotional world of which the Book of Hours was the principal token. This process of transmission within families and kinship groups might go on for generations and even centuries.

But books were also passed on outside families. Since many devout people had more than one book of hours, in addition to passing them



on to children, they might be given or bequeathed to god-children, friends, chaplains, or servants. A printed Book of Hours published in 1528 and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York nicely epitomises this sort of transmission history. Given by Catherine of Aragon to a lady in waiting, it had then moved on through that recipient's family: an inscription on the flyleaf records that 'Thys boke was good queen Katrins boke and she gave yt to Mrs Coke hir woman and she gave yt to Katryne Ogle hyr dawghter and she gave yt to Roger Ogle her husband and the sayd Roger wyll that at my deth she shall have the sayd boke ageyn and non other to have yt.'²

Roger Ogle, evidently an opponent of the Henrician reformation, was clearly concerned to keep this devotional relic of 'Good Queen Catherine' in the family, but books often did gravitate outside the families for which they were made, and in the process more often than not moved down-market, not least because the very dynastic additions – portraits, coats of arms and obit entries – which at first made them emblems and expression of elite religion, combined now to lower their value, and constituted a problem for new users. There is in the Bodleian a once handsome but long since battered and disbound late fourteenth-century Book of Hours produced in an Oxford stationers for the Wyllylie family, minor Shropshire gentry from the Much Wenlock area. The book passed by marriage from the Wyllylies into the Parlour family, hereditary foresters of Morfe: obits for members of both tribes were entered into the calendar. By the later fifteenth-century, however, the Parlours had evidently fallen on hard times, either financially or genetically, for the book moved altogether out of the family, and was acquired, probably by purchase, by another Shropshire household, the Wegges. They or whoever sold the book to them carefully dealt with the removable traces of the earlier history of the book by pumicing out of the vellum all the Wyllylie and Parlour obits, which can now only be read under ultra-violet light. The new owners were still gentry, but not nearly so grand as the Wyllylies, as is evidenced by their willingness to buy a century-old prayer-book secondhand rather than commissioning a new book of their own. They started afresh, however, entering their own series of obits at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. An Egge daughter married into the Corberts early in the sixteenth century, and another married a Ward. The book, still in use and by now into its

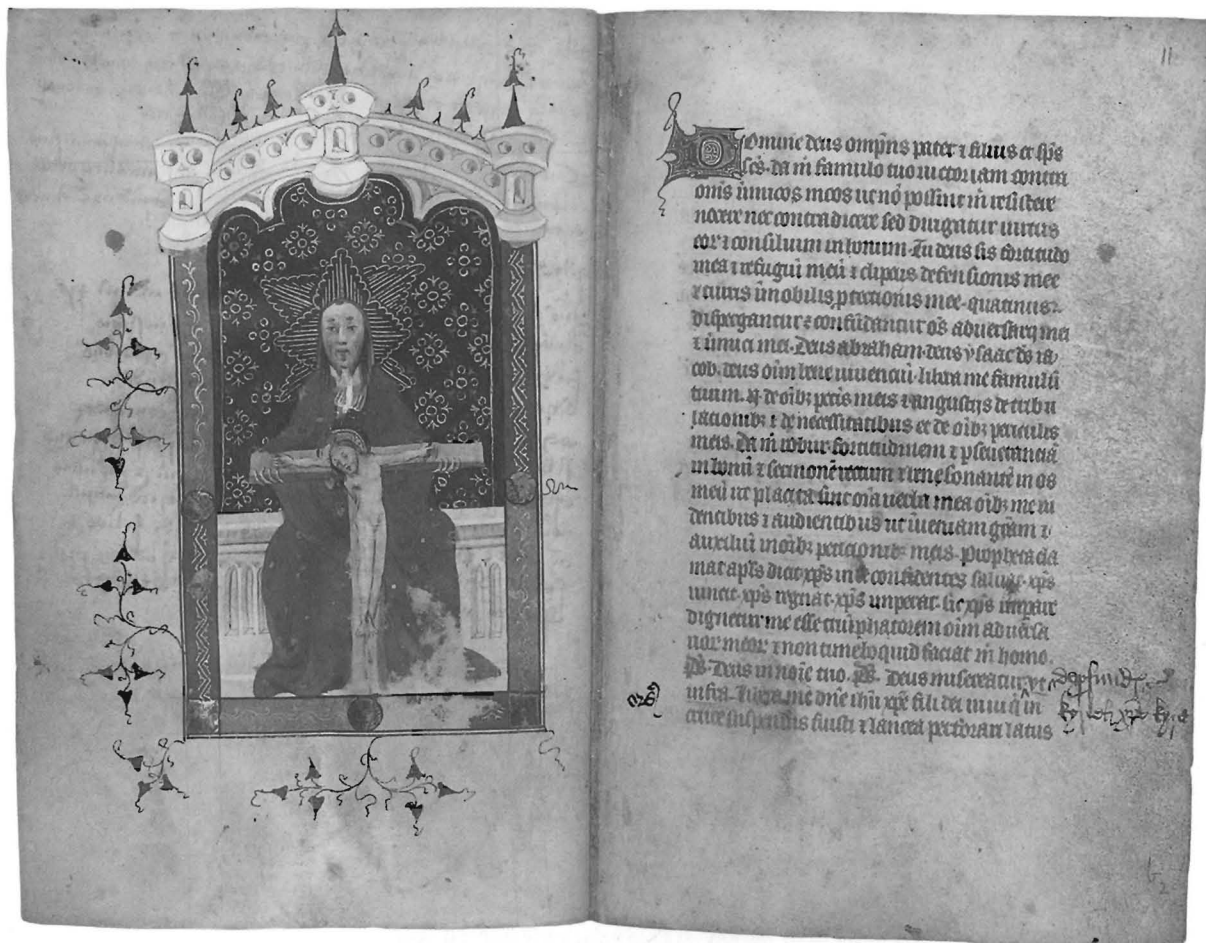
second set of covers, moved on in the female line, and therefore in the course of the later sixteenth century accumulated Egge, Corbert and Ward obits and birthday entries, till at length the family evidently conformed to the new religion, and new entries ceased altogether.³

In the same way, a handsome manuscript Book of Hours produced *c.* 1450 for Ann, daughter of Richard Duke of York, and Duchess of Exeter, and now in the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, had by the mid-Tudor period fetched up in a middle-class household in Ipswich, where its flyleaves and blanks were being used as a copy-book to instruct young Edmond Church in handwriting and good manners.⁴ We catch a glimpse of the economic realities behind this sort of social descent in the note added to a tiny Book of Hours made originally for Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (d. 1460), and now at Ushaw College, Durham, which records that an early sixteenth-century owner, Edward Ashton of Chadderton, had picked it up secondhand for three shillings, well within the buying-power of even a modest yeoman or city merchant or shop-keeper.⁵

But there was no need for merchants, shopkeepers or country gentry to resort to the sellers of secondhand books to acquire a Book of Hours. From the end of the fourteenth century the stationers' shops of the Low Countries and Northern France were catering for a mass market, producing manuscript books on vellum with a largely plain or lightly decorated text, and where such full-page illustrations as were provided were bulk-bought in sets by the stationers, and tipped into the volumes to dress them up. Nearly two hundred of such assembly-line books for England survive [Pls. 14, 15], and a large proportion of their known owners were, as Nicholas Rogers, the leading authority on these books has observed, 'middling merchants and local gentry, people with social pretensions who would be attracted by something which looked more expensive than it really was.'⁶

All this ensured that in the course of the fifteenth century the Book of Hours and the religion it represented ceased to be the monopoly of aristocracy and the upper gentry, and became an integral part of the religious experience of the urban and rural 'middling sort': the King's Lynn housewife and small-time brewer Margery Kempe owned a Book of Hours, and, as we have seen, they are a common bequest in the wills of merchants and better off shopkeepers. But the decisive democratising of the Book of Hours came at the end





14. ASSEMBLY LINE PIETY

A late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century example of the modestly produced Flemish Books of Hours for the English market, with a comparatively plain text and tipped-in full-page illuminations. Here, in a standard pairing, a picture of the Trinity accompanies a popular prayer for protection against enemies. One of the book's many owners has corrected the text by adding in the margin the opening words of Psalm 129 (130), *De Profundis*, omitted by the original scribe.

Cambridge University Library Ii 6 2 fo. 10v-11. Page size 19 × 13 cm



15. ASSEMBLY LINE PIETY

A book using pictures from the same workshop as Plate 14 (note the canopy over both images). The *Imago Pietatis* or 'Image of Pity', the wounded Christ surrounded by the 'Instruments of the Passions', is prefixed to a series of devotions to the Cross and Passion of Christ. The Image of Pity often carried an accompanying indulgence, promising spiritual reward to all who 'piteously behold' the image [see Pls. 17, 20, 28].

British Library Sloane 2683 fo. 65v-66. Page size 20 × 12 cm

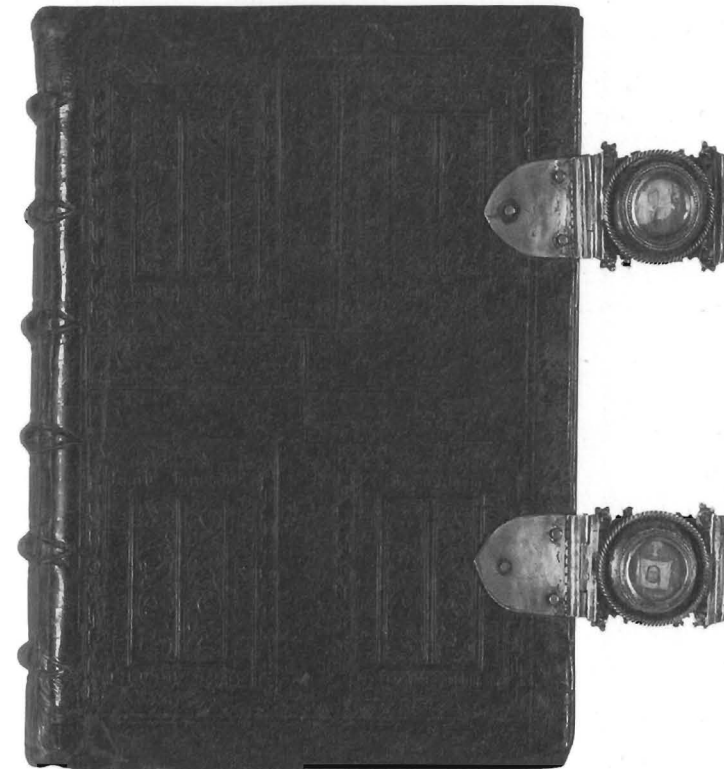


of the fifteenth century, with the arrival of print. Books of Hours became, in terms of numbers of editions, quite simply and without any rival the chief product of the new technology.⁷

All these people, then, high and low, aristocratic and plebeian, were using the same book. That book contained a standardised selection of psalms, antiphons, hymns and prayers, arranged for recitation in honour of Mary at each of the eight monastic divisions or hours of the day. To these 'hours' of the Virgin were added the office for the dead or *Placebo et Dirige* (Vespers Matins, and Lauds of the dead), the short Hours of the Cross, which in books for the English market were usually inserted between the Hours of the Virgin, the long Psalm 118 (119) called the Commendations of the soul, the seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany of the Saints, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, and a series of individual 'suffrages' or short prayers to saints, especially to the Virgin Mary. These made up the core contents of the Book of Hours, which by the later fifteenth century had expanded to become a compendium of popular devotions. By then most included also a series of devotions (with accompanying illustrations) to the Trinity, the Wounds, the Passion and the Veronica or Holy Face of Jesus, prayers to the Virgin such as the popular prayers beginning *Obsecro Te*, and *O Intemerata*, hymns to and about Mary, such as the well-known poem on the passion, the *Stabat Mater*, or the Marian hymn against the plague *Stella Coeli extirpavit*. Many also included eucharistic devotions like the *Anima Christi*, ('Soul of Christ, sanctify me, Body of Christ, save me . . .') designed to be recited at Mass, and almost all contained the shortened version of the Psalter known as St Jerome's Psalter, which included almost 200 verses from the psalms, including the whole of Psalm 50 (51), the *Miserere*, and which normally carried a prefatory legend which guaranteed the user protection against the devil and untimely death.

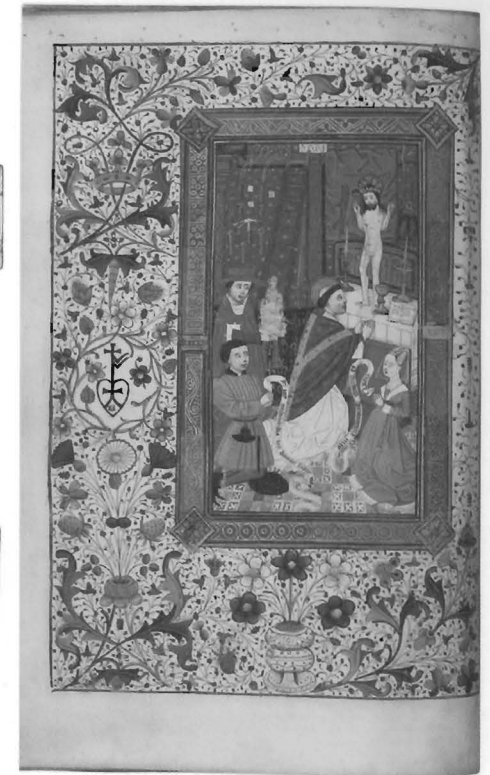
As we have seen, Books of Hours were, to begin with, precious objects, whose expensive gold illumination, heraldic emblems and fine binding placed them among the most valuable objects an individual might own [Pls. 16, 17]. They were often covered with a protective chemise,⁸ and in a famous illustration from the Hours of Mary of Burgundy from the 1470s, you see just such a book with its chemise in use [Pl. 18].⁹

But of course, such wonderful books were always great rarities. In



16. Most Books of Hours have lost their original bindings, but the Browne Hours, imported from Bruges in the 1460s for the Stamford merchant John Browne, retains the customised binding added to this 'off the shelf' book to personalise it for its first purchaser. The binding, by the Bruges craftsman Anthonis van Gavere (died 1505) is in blind-stamped calf, and has silver-gilt clasps with miniatures of the Virgin and Child and of St Veronica under crystal. On the reverse Browne's name and merchant's mark are engraved.

Philadelphia Free Library, Widener Ms 3, Browne Hours, cover



17. A PIOUS BUSINESSMAN
The Browne Hours is a gaudy example of the books mass-produced for the English market in Bruges in the later fifteenth century. It was customised for John Browne c. 1460 with a rich binding, and by the inclusion of this prefatory miniature of the legendary Mass of St Gregory, in which Browne and his wife Agnes feature as witnesses of the miracle. Browne's merchant's mark is in the left-hand margin. A later owner scraped out the Pope's tiara and defaced the indulgence rubric on the page opposite, in obedience to Henry VIII's repudiation of papal obedience.

Philadelphia Free Library, Widener Ms 3, Browne Hours, fo. 7v. Page size 23 x 17 cm





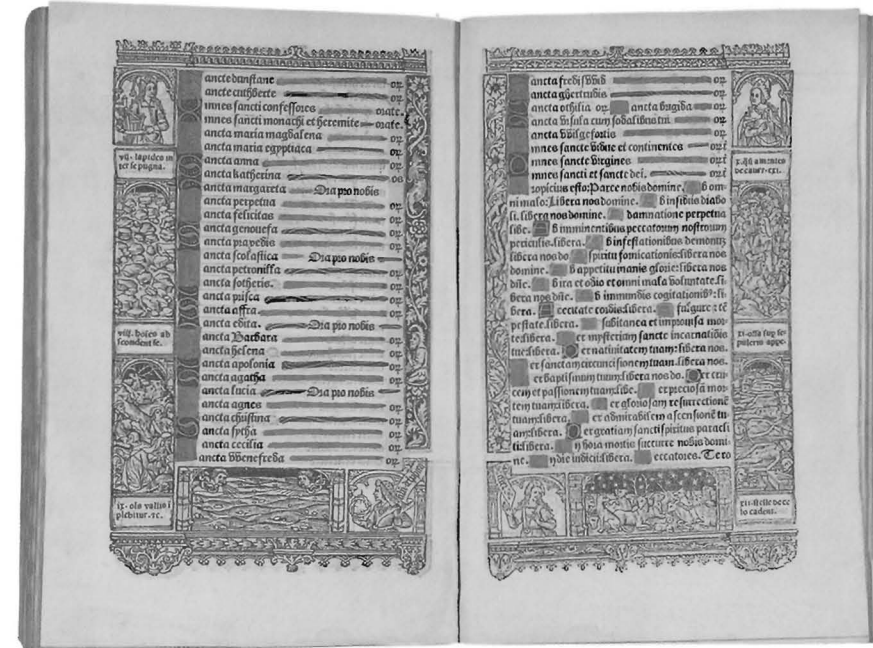
18. MARY OF BURGUNDY AT PRAYER her precious Primer protected by its chemise: lap-dog and jewels suggest the domestic use of the Book of Hours, while, through the window, the visionary scene of Mary and her entourage at prayer to the Virgin (here a figure of the Church) in a sacred building symbolises a wider ecclesiastical context for such prayer. The miniature prefaces a prayer to the Virgin attributed to the English saint Thomas Becket.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 1857 (*Hours of Mary of Burgundy*) fo. 14v, Page size 23 × 16 cms

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most Books of Hours were humbler objects, mass-produced with no illustrations, few illustrations or just bad illustrations.¹⁰ Books of this kind¹¹ of course, though superficially flashy and designed to impress, might be aesthetically poor enough things, embellished with stiffly drawn and crudely coloured pictures, as in the Bolton Hours. The advent of print, however, and of books with full or half-page illustrations and ornamental borders produced from detailed metal plates, meant that the effect of richness and sumptuousness could be achieved at a much lesser cost. Indeed, print made possible inexpensive Books of Hours which were incomparably more sophisticated than all but the most lavish manuscript books, capable of rivalling some of the great aristocratic commissions of the high Middle Ages. By the early years of the sixteenth century, French publishers producing multiple editions of Books of Hours for a variety of European markets, including

England, were employing artists of the calibre of the so-called 'Master of the Très Petites Heures' of Anne of Brittany, and producing books of unsurpassed sumptuousness.¹² Such books could be enhanced by hand-colouring the printed illustrations, to imitate the effect of manuscript illumination [Pls. 19, 20]. So by the sixteenth century every prosperous shopkeeper who aspired to devotional gentility might have their own splendid Book of Hours at, relatively speaking, bargain prices, and with a degree of iconographic complexity which, till the advent of print, had been available only to the most aristocratic (or at any rate monied) book-owners.

Before printing, as we have seen, the personal character of these books was often signalled by the inclusion of prayers specially composed or adapted for their owners. A book commissioned for a woman might have the Latin grammatical forms in the feminine gender, or the owner's Christian name might even be incorporated directly into



19. PRINT RIVALLING MANUSCRIPT

Several surviving copies of this splendid edition of the Sarum *Horae* of 1520 are printed on vellum rather than paper. The book was printed by Nicholas Higman for Simon Vostre, a Paris-based international publisher who specialised in luxury Books of Hours. The borders to the Litany of the Saints here depict the Fifteen Signs of the End of the World, a popular theme in late medieval art and a regular item in the decoration of French-printed Books of Hours.

British Library C 41 e 9 sigs K6v-k7 (RSTC 15926). Page size 20 × 11 cm



20. PRINT IMITATING MANUSCRIPT

The borders, initials and half-page illuminations of this book printed in 1494 in Paris for the English market have been hand-coloured, to resemble an illuminated manuscript book. The Mass of St Gregory here prefaces a set of prayers to the Crucified Christ attributed to St Bede, a common pairing. The book's first owner was John George, a gentleman with property in Cirencester and Bawdington, who wrote his name on the flyleaf in 1495.

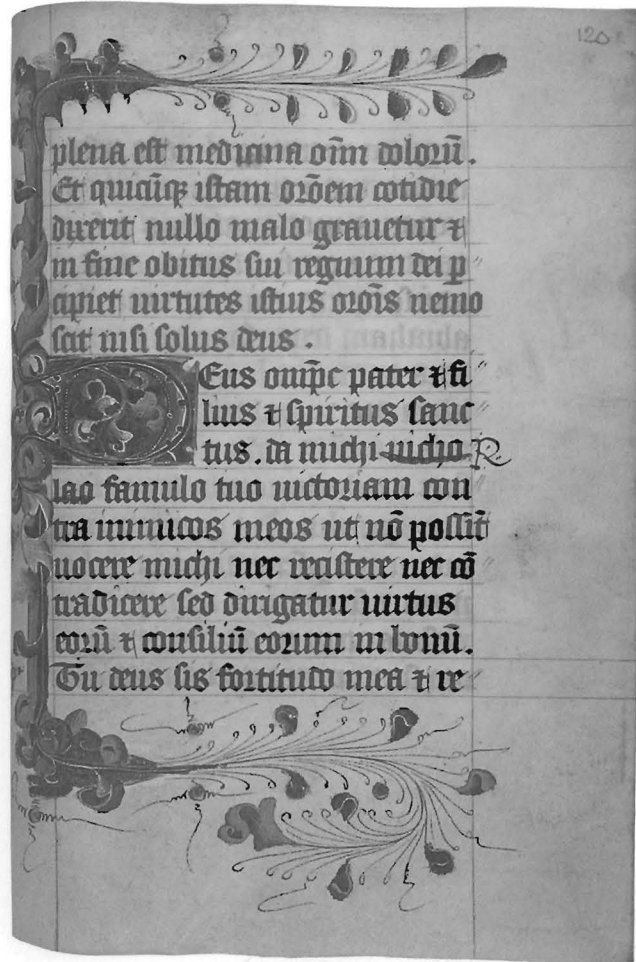
British Library 1A40311 (RSTC 15879)' unpaginated. Page size 14 × 8 cm



21. FROM HAND TO HAND

Made in London c. 1405–10, this book was acquired c. 1440 by a man named Nicholas, living in Bury St Edmund's (the feast of the dedication of the parish church of St Mary, Bury St Edmund's, was added to the calendar for 4 October). A Bury scribe added a new supplement of prayers to the book, including this popular invocation of the Trinity against spiritual and material enemies. Nicholas's name, included as part of the text, has later been scratched out, and replaced with the letter R, the initial of a subsequent owner.

Cambridge University Library Ee 1
14 fo. 120r. Page size 21 × 15 cm



the prayers. Many late medieval prayers for help against enemies or protection against spiritual and material evils actually required the petitioner to name themselves in this way – to say their name. This might be achieved by leaving a blank space which the user filled in by speaking the name, and the blank might have a capital initial N for *nomen*. But where patrons requested it, the name was often written out in full, as an integral part of the text by the scribe. The ostentatious De Bois Hours, written and illuminated in the 1330s for Hawisia De Bois, and crusted with her family's armorial bearings, also contains a series of prayers for protection personalised by the inclusion of Hawisia's name – 'libera me Hawisiam famulam tuam ab omne opere malo',¹³ and a similar example is the long prayer against ene-

mies added to the secondhand Book of Hours which Richard III may have had with him at Bosworth Field, and which is written throughout using his name, with the formula 'me, your servant Richard'.¹⁴ In the event, the prayer didn't work, of course, and after the battle the book was given by the victorious enemy Henry VII to his mother the Lady Margaret Beaufort. The new Queen Mother evidently acquired Richard's book as a trophy rather than a devotional aid, and I doubt if she prayed with it much; at any rate she did not bother to scratch out Richard's name very thoroughly, though she did write her own on the back flyleaf – 'In the honor of God and sainte Edmonde/Pray for Margaret Richmonde', a mark of proprietorship which was itself scratched out in due course by a subsequent owner – also in all probability a woman.¹⁵ But where a book was in continuing use, the writing in of names might well create problems when the book duly passed to another user, as in fact most Books of Hours eventually did. One early fifteenth-century London-produced book in the Cambridge University Library, for example, was expanded in the 1440s for an East-Anglian owner. The new material included a well-known prayer to the Trinity for protection, which had the commissioning owner's Christian name, Nicholas, written as part of the text throughout: a still later owner has scratched through the name wherever it occurs, substituting what is presumably their own initial, 'R' [Pl. 21].¹⁶

Even before a book changed hands this customising might create problems. The Tudor matron Anne Withypole owned several books of hours, manuscript and printed, two of which survive. A manuscript book now in Ipswich Public Library contains a particularly embarrassing change of name and circumstance, though in this case not that of the owner. Mistress Withypole was a much married woman, and Paul Withypole, protégé of Cardinal Wolsey and one of the most important figures in the city of London under Henry VIII, was her third husband.¹⁷ Her printed Book of Hours contains calendar entries recording her marriages to William Rede and to Paul Withypole (the entry on her marriage to Rede, it has to be said, being a good deal warmer than that recording her subsequent marriage to Withypole) [Pls. 22, 23].

In the body of the manuscript book, there is an edifying Latin prayer for marital harmony, which she evidently used for all her

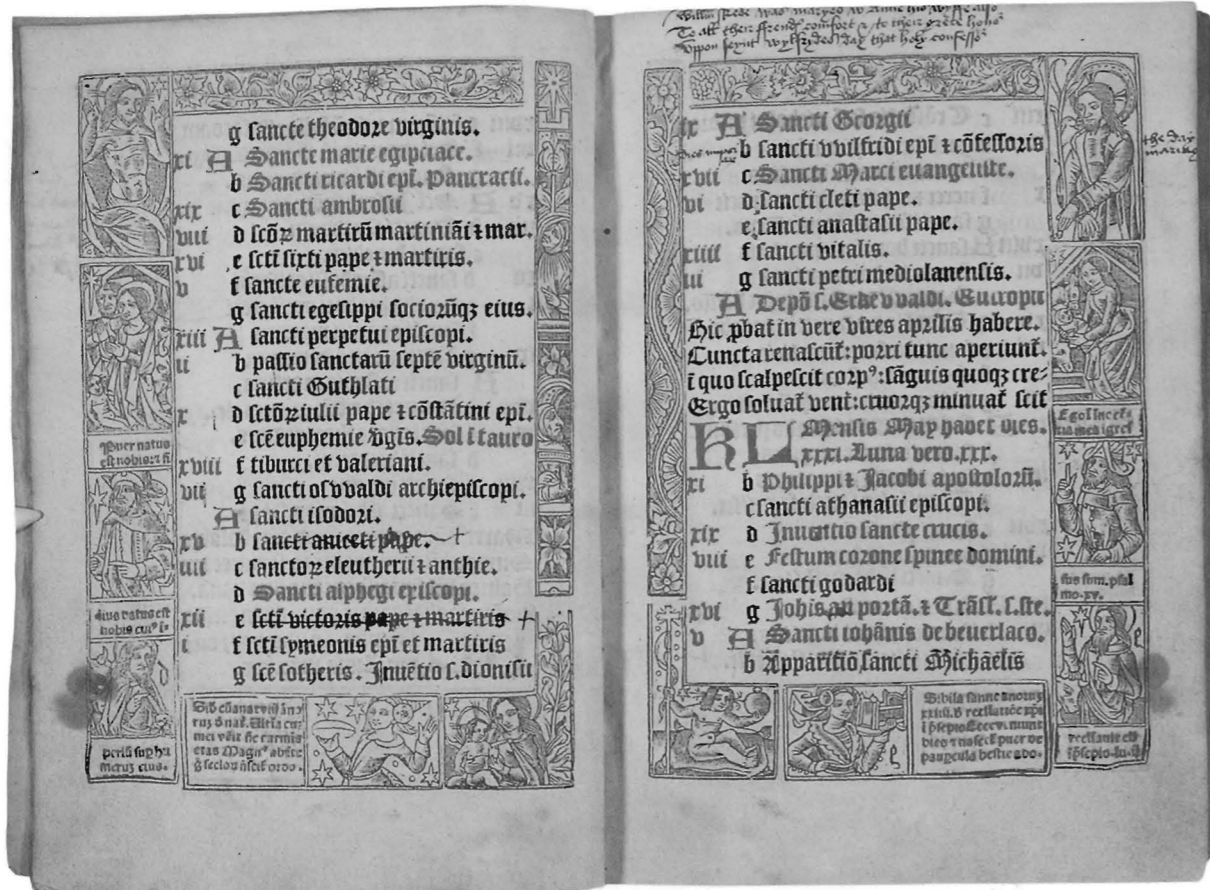


22. A PIOUS ACCESSORY

Paul Withypole was a prominent Merchant Taylor and M.P. for the City of London during the Reformation Parliament. He regularly loaned money to Henry VIII and was an associate of Thomas Cromwell. In this domestic altarpiece, commissioned from a Venetian painter, his piety as well as his prestige is on show. Withypole's clasped and closed Book of Hours lies before him on the table on which the Holy Child rests. Two Books of Hours owned by Withypole's much-married wife Anne, one printed [Pl. 23] and one manuscript, survive.

Antonio de Solario, *Withypole Altarpiece*, 1514. Bristol Museums and Art Gallery. Panel size 77 × 89 cm





husbands. The phrase in the prayer which asks for 'true concord and love between me and my husband' (*veram concordiam et verum amorem inter me et maritus meum*), has a blotted and scratched erasure, over which she has inserted the name of her third husband, 'Paulum'.¹⁸

In more expensive manuscripts, the personal character of the Book of Hours was sometimes expressed by commissioning a portrait, or at any rate a stylised representation, of the owner at prayer. As we have seen, this was already so in the earliest surviving English Book of Hours, the De Brailes Hours, where the first owner appears four times in the book.¹⁹ In the Pabenhams-Clifford (Grey Fitzpayne) Hours, the original owner, Joan Clifford of Frampton, appears with her husband John Pabenhams – they were married round about 1314.²⁰

In the mid-fifteenth-century Talbot Hours John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife Margaret Beauchamp, kneel in adoration

23. DOMESTIC PIETIES

Anne Withypole, Paul's wife, was the daughter of a minor Suffolk gentry family (Curson of Brightwell) and widow of a Cambridgeshire gentleman (William Freville) and a Boston merchant, William Rede. She inscribed the calendar of this printed book of Hours with memoranda of Tudor dynastic events and with family notes. Here (top right) she records her (second) marriage to William Rede 'to all their frendes comfort and to their grete honor, upon Seynt Wylfrydes day, that holy confessor'. Note also the deletion of the title 'Papa' wherever it occurs, in compliance with royal command after 1534.

RSTC 15880, Bodleian Douce 24
Sigs Aiv(v)–Av. Page size
16 × 11 cm



24. DYNASTIC PIETY

A distinctive long format, perhaps derived from prayer-rolls, characterises several fifteenth-century Books of Hours made for members of the Talbot family. This example, written in Rouen c. 1444 for John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of a pair made for him and his wife Margaret Beauchamp. Both books contain similar heraldic frontispieces, in which the donors are presented to the Virgin and Child by their patron saints, over a panel containing their arms, garter emblems and entwined monograms. Margaret Talbot is accompanied by her name-saint, and John Talbot by St George, patron of the Order of the Garter, of which Talbot was a Knight.

Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum,
Talbot Hours fo. 7v. Page size
27 × 11 cm

of the Virgin and Child under the tutelage of their patron saints – her name-saint Margaret behind Lady Talbot, with St George as patron of England, and of the Order of the Garter in particular, behind John Talbot. Below them left and right are the arms of Talbot and Beauchamp, and at the bottom, the crowned monogram of John and Margaret. This is about as elaborate a system of reference to status, alliance and identity as you can get [Pl. 24].

By the end of the Middle Ages this custom of visual allusion to the owner or donor had become much more post-modernistically self-referential. The owner frequently not only appears at prayer in their own prayer book, but is portrayed in the very act of using the book which contains the picture. This is so in the well-known picture of Mary of Burgundy using her own Book of Hours. In the same way, Henry VIII's sister, Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland, features in





25. THE VIRGIN'S HOURS

The Angel's greeting to Mary at the Annunciation, *Ave Maria Gratia Plena*, 'Hail Mary full of grace', formed the opening words of one of the most frequently recited of all prayers, and was a constant refrain in the Hours of the Virgin. Depictions of the Virgin reading as the angel greeted her often included books modelled on the Book of Hours, and enabled the user of such books to identify their own prayer with that of the Virgin herself.

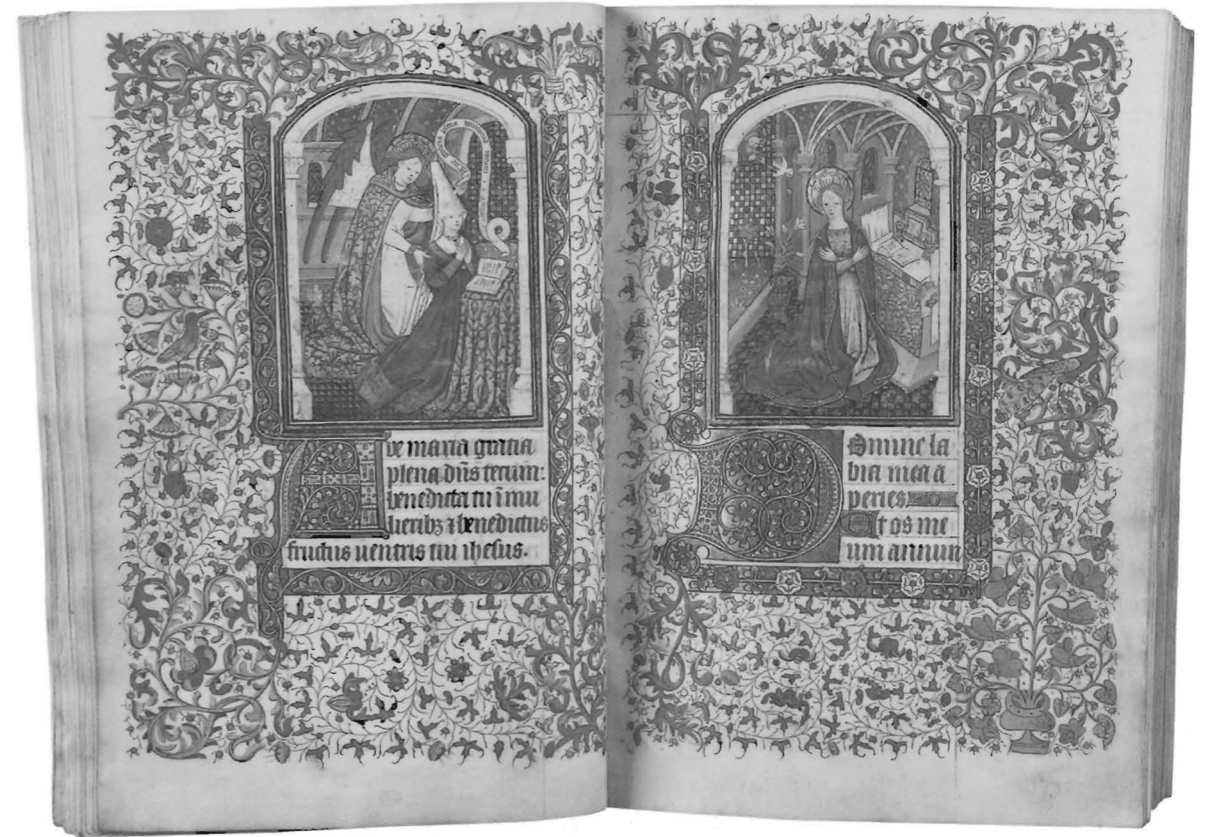
Master of Urgel Cathedral c. 1490, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya

a Book of Hours made for her and her husband King James IV around 1500, saying the Hail Mary, for on the altarpiece before which she kneels is portrayed the Annunciation, in which the Angel Gabriel spoke the Hail Mary.²¹

The inclusion of portraits of the owner in a Book of Hours was of course the exclusive preserve of the rich, and like the use of specific names in prayer texts, only occurs in custom-made books. But most later manuscript Books of Hours were mass-produced, and of course such customising could not happen at all in a printed book. It is also worth remembering that by the end of the Middle Ages most Books of Hours were in fact printed. By 1530 there had been at least 760 separate printed editions of the Book of Hours, 114 of them produced for England alone.²² In any case, a Book of Hours which

contained any illustrations at all did contain an idealised surrogate portrait, applicable to every user. Any Book of Hours was liable to have a picture of the Annunciation in it, when the Angel Gabriel appeared to Mary to tell her that she had been chosen to be the Mother of Christ. By the end of the Middle Ages, Mary in the Annunciation is very frequently portrayed as surprised in the very act of praying from a book. The text she is reading was by tradition taken from the prophecy of a virginal birth in Isaiah chapter 11, and in many Annunciation scenes Mary is reading the prophecy from a Bible or Breviary, recognisable by their large size and double columns. But by the later Middle Ages the book in her hand or on a desk before her has shrunk to a single column on each page, and has been illuminated or bound as a Book of Hours. In representations of the Annunciation with donors, the book used by the Virgin often corresponds exactly to the Books of Hours depicted before the donors [Pl. 25].²³

There was a double self-referentiality here, to the pray-er, and to the prayer they were reciting. The main component of the Book of Hours was of course the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, and the



refrain that runs through that office was the most popular of all prayers, the Hail Mary, *Ave Maria, Gratia Plena*, the opening of which was made up from the words of the Angel Gabriel at the Annunciation. That reference is picked up and played with in a French Book of Hours now in the Walters Collection in Baltimore, where the owner had her portrait included physically within the Annunciation scene [Pl. 26].

On one half of a double page spread the owner of the book kneels, reading from the book, attended by the Angel Gabriel. On the facing page, the Virgin kneels at a small domestic altar on which she has laid her book of hours. Gabriel begins his message *Ave Gratia Plena, Dominus Tecum*, written on a scroll issuing from his mouth, but he pauses to present the owner of the book. She kneels at a carpeted desk with her book open before her: and below her are once again the words of the Hail Mary, at the opening of Matins. The female user of the book therefore no longer simply recites the Hail Mary, she has

26.

In this Annunciation scene at the opening of Matins of the Virgin, the owner of the book is depicted as a devout spectator of the biblical episode. Reciting the Hail Mary, she is introduced to the Virgin by the Angel Gabriel, also uttering the same words as he announces the incarnation of Christ in the Virgin's womb. The image encapsulates the involvement with the sacred drama which many late devotional regimes aspired to.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms 267 fo. 13v-14



27. DEVOTIONAL ACCRETION

In the 1490s a London scribe added a new supplement of prayers to update a century-old Book of Hours for a new owner, Sir Thomas Lewkenor of Trotton in Sussex. This depiction of the Side-Wound of Jesus was also added to the original part of the book. The Side-Wound occupied a place in late medieval piety similar to that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in modern Catholic devotion. The image has been attached to the vellum page with five stitches, perhaps an allusion to the five wounds of Jesus. The English inscription reads 'The mesure of the wonde of our Lorde ihesu crist/[that] he suffurde on the crose for oure redempcion'.



Lambeth Palace Ms 545 fos. 78v-79. Page size 15 × 10 cm

climbed inside it, and has become part of the scene which her prayer evokes and commemorates.²⁴

But even if the owner of a Book of Hours could not impress their personality on their book by the inclusion in its design of specially personalised prayers or commissioned portraits, they might leave a personal mark all the same. Almost half the 300 Books of Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris have manuscript annotations and additions of some sort, and it was very common indeed for English owners too to annotate their books. Such additions might amount to no more than the insertion of some regional or personal patron saint in the standardised calendar, but they often include devotional material added by the owner. The Lewkenor Hours, originally the product of a London workshop in the 1390s, was expanded for a new owner with a series of prayers and devotional images in the 1490s. The owner for whom these alterations was carried out was Sir Thomas Lewkenor, of Trotton in Sussex, a servant of the Lady Margaret Beaufort who shared many of his mistress's religious tastes. Sir Thomas's additions included an image of the side-wound of Christ, drawn on parchment and neatly stitched on to a blank page in the book [Pls. 27, 28, 29].²⁵



28. DEVOTIONAL ACCRETION

The additions to Sir Thomas's book include pictures as well as words. Here the Psalms of the Passion are preceded by the Image of Pity. This version of the *Imago Pietatis* is closely modelled on a small Byzantine mosaic icon displayed as a miraculous image in the basilica of Santa Croce in Rome.

Lambeth Palace Ms 545 fo. 144. Page size 15 × 10 cm

A more complex addition was a devotion to the Cross which incorporated both the text of the hymn used at the shrine of the Holy Cross at Bromholm, and a pilgrim souvenir card from the shrine, superimposing a drawing of the shrine reliquary on top of the text of the hymn.²⁶ Carefully pasted into the book, the Lewkenor Hours pilgrim card is an extraordinary testimony both to personal devotional adaptation of the standard content of the Book of Hours, and to the convergence of popular and elite religion at the end of the Middle Ages. Later still, in what appears to be a regretful allusion to the destruction of the shrine, a subsequent female owner wrote across the bottom of the card 'Thys ys the holie cros that ys or sped'; in an unconscious association of sacred and secular intimacies, the same woman, Mary Everard, noted later in the book that 'In my cofcr [are] xij payers and a shet.'²⁷

There is an obvious deliberation about this process of customising a book by adding devotional memorabilia in the Lewkenor Hours – Sir Thomas clearly commissioned the devotions to the Cross to provide a context for his treasured souvenir card. Occasionally such pilgrimage memorabilia might even be built into the specifications for Books of Hours in the first place. The wealthy East Anglian owner





29. DEVOTIONAL ACCRETION

The most remarkable addition to the Lewkenor Hours is a pilgrim devotional card from the East Anglian shrine of the Holy Cross at the Cluniac Priory of Bromholm, pasted on to a page apparently left blank for the purpose at the end of a Latin devotion invoking the Cross as a protection against the snares of the devil. The card depicts the conventional patriarchal (two-barred) cross-reliquary in which fragments of the cross were normally displayed, superimposed on a hymn used at the shrine, and the English inscription 'This croc that here peyntyd is/Signe of the cros of Bromholme is'.

Lambeth Palace Ms 545 fols. 184v-185. Page size 15 × 10 cm



30. POPULAR AND ELITE

This handsome Book of Hours was produced c. 1480 in England for a patron in the diocese of Norwich, whose calendar it contains. Though sparingly illustrated, it contains this full-page replica of a Bromholm pilgrim card, very similar to the real card pasted into the Lewkenor Hours [Pl. 29]. The integration of such a commissioned image into the design of an expensive book of this kind, with its allusion to a popular East Anglian pilgrimage site, vividly highlights the convergence of popular and elite piety in fifteenth-century England.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
 Ms 55, fo. 57v. Page size 20 × 14 cm

who commissioned an illustrated Book of Hours now in the Fitzwilliam Museum evidently also had a devotion to Bromholm, one of the most famous of all East Anglian shrines. They commissioned the artist who painted the illuminations for the book to copy an almost identical pilgrim card to that pasted into the Lewkenor Hours and incorporate it into the scheme of illustrations, not as a pasted enclosure, but as an integral part of the book' the frame around this 'fake' pilgrim card paste-in explaining that 'Thys croc that heyr peyntyd is/Syng [sign] of the cros of bromholm is' [Pl. 30].²⁸

This sort of inclusion, providing in some sense a 'virtual' pilgrimage for the sedentary user of the book, might occur in even the

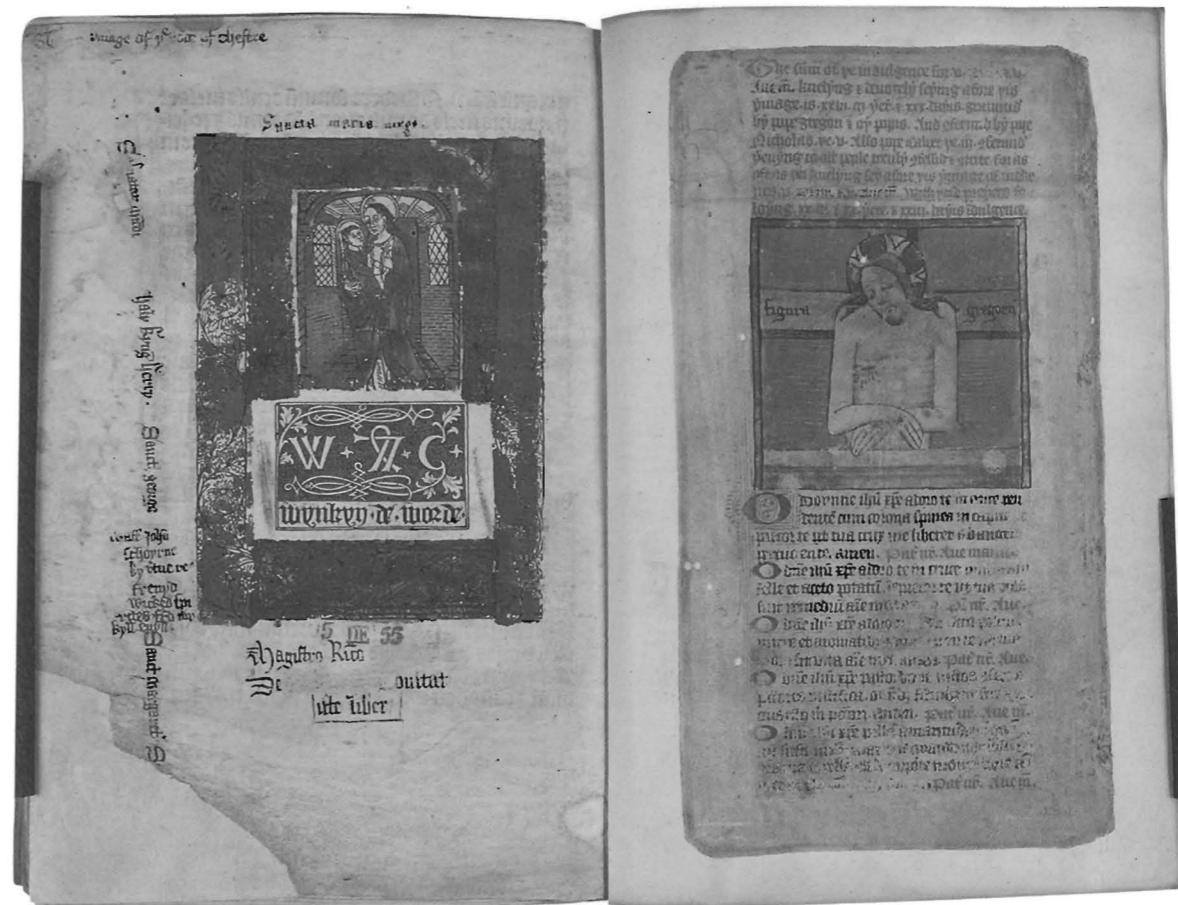




31.
By 1503, when Wynkyn de Worde printed this Sarum Hours, French publishers were beginning to invade the English market, and their products often outclassed English books like this one in quality of design and illustration [cf. Pl. 20]. De Worde's book, printed on vellum and with its illustrations and floral borders hand-coloured, has not yet parted company with the elite devotional world of the illuminated manuscript.

British Library C 41 e 8 (RSTC 15899) fos. 4v-5. Page size 16 × 10 cm

most lavish books – Mary of Burgundy had a picture and prayer to the miraculous host of Dijon added to her book.²⁹ But such devotional gestures can also be found in the most modest books. In a printed *Horae* from the press of Wynkyn de Worde now in the British Library, the owner has added a crudely hand-coloured indulgenced image of Christ as Man of Sorrows, the so-called *Imago Pietatis*, on the end flyleaf. On the opposite page, jottings invoke some of the owner's favourite devotions: 'haly kyng herry', 'sanct George', Master John Schorne, Saint Margaret, the Image of the 'Rode of Chestre', '*Sancta Maria Vergine*', and Christ as *Salvator Mundi* [Pls. 31, 32].³⁰ And in fact most additions to such books were simple hand-written text like those invocations, rather than extra illuminations [Pl. 33].



Some of this material we should be inclined to call secular, like the jottings on the triumphs of Henry VII which Anne Withypole added to the calendar of her printed Book of Hours now in the Bodleian Library,³¹ or the dates of notable battles in the Wars of the Roses, and the notables killed there, written into the calendar of Fitzwilliam 54,³² or, more mundanely, Mary Everard's notes on bed-linen and blankets which we have already encountered in the Lewkenor Hours, or the notes on rents due and payments made on the back flyleaves of a late fifteenth-century Book of Hours in the Fitzwilliam Museum [Pl. 34].³³

Notes on agreements, debts and contractual obligations of this kind are a regular item in such jottings, even in books manifestly still in devotional use, rather than merely used as a convenient (because redundant) source of paper. They possibly reflect the fact that Books

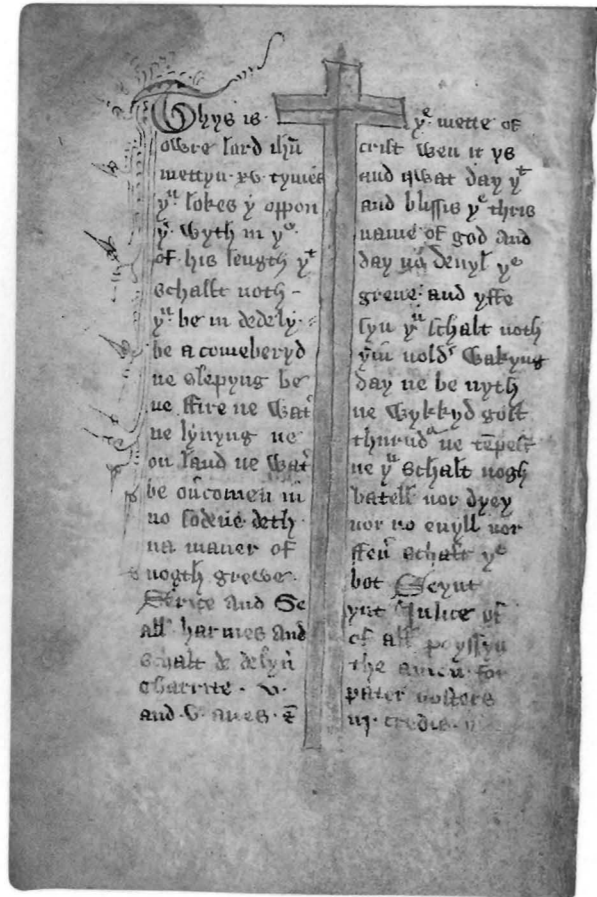
32.
The owner of this comparatively luxurious printed Book of Hours has jotted the names of a series of saints and of shrines ('image of the Rode of Chestre, Master John Schorne') on the colophon page, and opposite has pasted-in a down-market printed broadsheet of the Image of Pity with the indulgence and the so-called Prayer of St Bede which often accompanies it.

British Library C 41 e 8 (RSTC 15899), back fly

33. DEVOTIONAL ACCRETION

Written originally for a female member of the family of Sir John Carew, who fought at Cressy, this late fourteenth-century book passed in the female line by marriage into the Poyntz family. A late fifteenth-century inscription to Katherine Carew (née Huddersfield) from her half-sister Elizabeth Poyntz, asks for prayers (f. 86). The book acquired many added devotions as it passed from hand to hand. On this fly-leaf a drawing of the Cross said to be exactly one fifteenth of the height of Christ is copied as a talisman, with promises of miraculous protection and blessing. 'Measured' images of this kind were a common feature of popular piety in late medieval England [cf. Pl. 27].

Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum Ms 48 (Carew-Poyntz Hours) fo. 2v. Page size 18 × 11 cm



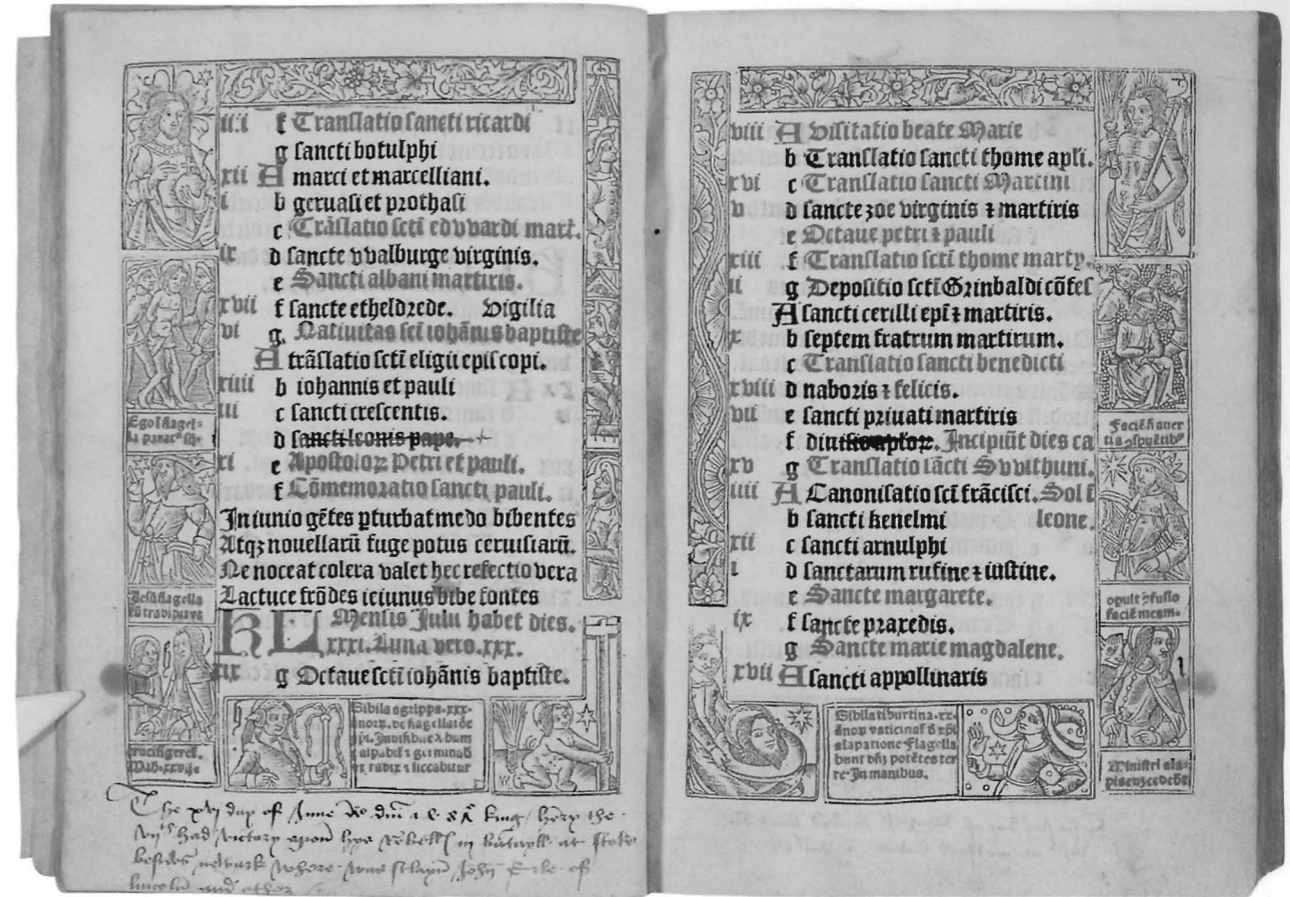
34. RESPECTABILITY AND POWER

The alliance between piety and power is reflected in the calendar pages of Anne Withypole's Book of Hours, recording not only family events like marriages and births, but also key Tudor dynastic events, beginning with the landing of Henry VII at Milford Haven in 1484, the defeat of rebels at Stoke before Newark (here lower left) and the death of the Earl of Lincoln. Very similar jottings are found in other contemporary elite Books of Hours, including the Beaufort Hours, which belonged to Lady Margaret Beaufort.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce 24 Sigs. A vi (v)–A vii (r)

of Hours were sometimes used instead of Gospel books for swearing solemn oaths and obligations. But Fitzwilliam 54 also has a series of dates of births of the Skipwith family of South Ormsby added to the calendar, and stretching from 1510 to 1623. Most of the 'secular' material in the Books of Hours is family material of this sort, the records of births, deaths and, less often, marriages. But it is probably a mistake anyway to think of such entries as secular. They found their way into calendars in the first place primarily in the form of obits, often no more than a bare note of the name and date of decease, but which might be more personal, like the note made against 27 November in the calendar of one such book, which simply says, 'my moder departed to God' [Pl. 35].³⁴

Such entries of course were not a matter of simple mnemonics. They were a call to prayer, a reminder of the obligation to intercede



for the repose of the soul of the person commemorated. Birth entries, though they became almost as common, had on the face of it no such function, and certainly did have the straightforwardly practical purpose of determining seniority among inheritors and, in some cases, of providing precise information for the casting of horoscopes — hence in many such entries the careful note of the precise time as well as the day and date of birth. But they might and usually did also qualify as religious, and help determine a child's name, by noting the saint's day on which they had been born, or by blending the facts with a prayer. Flyleaf jottings in a Book of Hours which belonged to the Derham family of Crimplesham in Norfolk record the births of sons and daughters with astrological precision, and with devotion: 'Thomas my son was born the xiii day of Januarii the yere of our lorde 1488 on a Tewesday at nyght, between viii and ix: god make hym a good man:



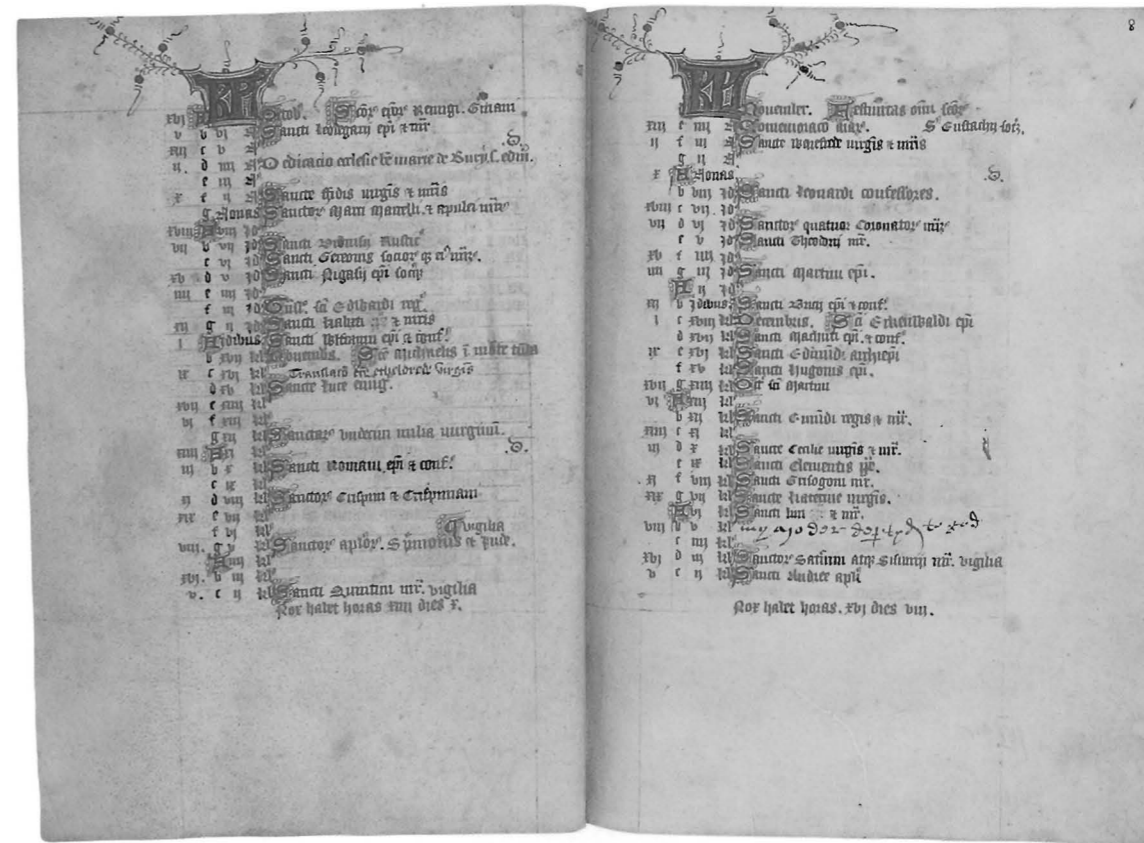
35. REMEMBRANCE AND INTIMACY
 'Obits' (reminders to pray for a person on the anniversary of their death) are very common additions to Books of Hours, normally a simple record of the deceased's name and titles added to the calendar. Touchingly, the owner of this early fifteenth-century book has written against 27 November, 'my moder departyd to god'. Two other common types of marginalia are also in evidence here: the addition of the feast of the Translation of St Etheldreda on 17 October (perhaps because the book's owner lived in or near the Ely Diocese) and the deletion of the title 'Papa' (Pope) after the name of St Callistus (14 October), following Henry VIII's break with Rome.

Cambridge University Library Ee 1
 14, October/November calendar.
 Page size 21 x 15 cm

that day callid sent hillary ys day', or on St Alban's day 1492 the birth of 'Frawnses my son, god make him his servaunt'.³⁵

Behind such sentiments lay a devotional ethos in which the recitation of the little hours had an important role, as a symbol of religious devotion and decency. It is made explicit in the bequest by the Rutland landowner Roger Flower, not of a simple Book of Hours but of the fuller 'portoos' or breviary, to his son Thomas in 1425, 'charging him, on my blessing, that he keep hit, terme of his lif, so that God woll her after sende him devocion to say his service theron, as I have done, that thenne he may have such a good honest boke of his owne. 'And should this son predecease him, 'I woll thanne my eldest son have it to the same entent. And I pray to the blessed trinite for his endles mercye and goodnesse he sende my children grace to be goode men and wemmen, and to yelde him gode soules, thorough the helpe and praier of oure lady seint Marye, and of all the seyntes of hevne'.³⁶ The gift of a prayer-book here was part of a complex of feelings – concern for the spiritual well-being of the child, the desire to hand on a personal and treasured object as a sign of affection and request for remembrance, and the provision of a concrete emblem of dynastic continuity. All these are in evidence in the devotional bequests of Henry IV's sister-in-law Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester, who left her daughter Joan a bed and a Book of Hours 'with two clasps of gold enamelled with my arms, which book I have often used, with my blessing', and to her son Humphrey 'a psalter well and richly illumined . . . and the arms of my lord and father enamelled on the clasps . . . which psalter was left to me to remain to my heirs, and from heir to heir'.³⁷ Anne Withypole's printed Book of Hours records, lovingly, her marriage to William Rede, to 'all their ffrends comfort and their grete honor upon seynt Wylfredes day, that holy confessor'. Widowed, she subsequently remarried Paul Withypole, but she evidently handed the book on to her son by William Rede, for Thomas Rede inscribed the book 'Though I come last, Pray for me fast: Thomas Rede'.³⁸

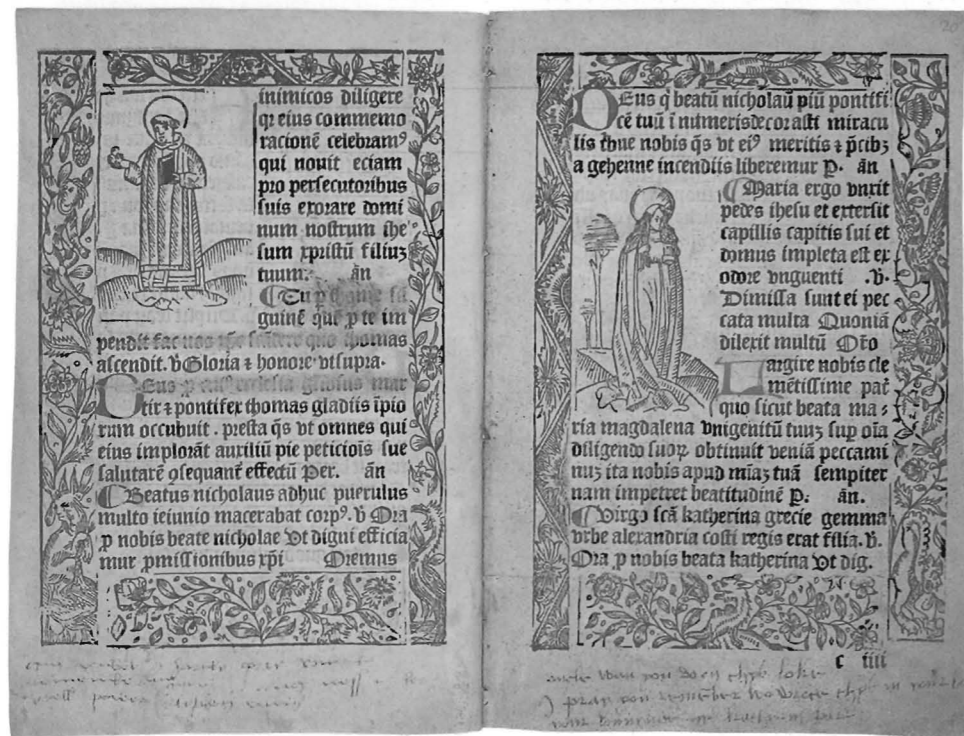
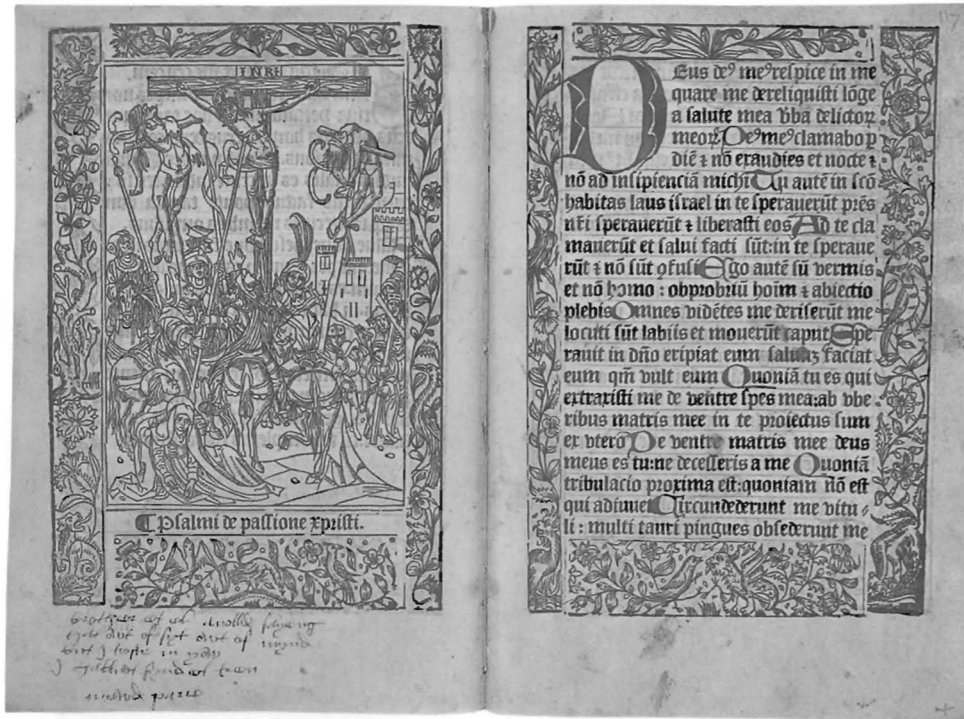
In the same way, in 1495 Sir Brian Roucliffe, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, bequeathed to his son John a large Book of Hours made about 1408/9, his 'Great Primer' (*magnum Primarium*) into which he had copied a number of additional English devotions including a unique poem to St Henry VI. The book, which is now in



the Library of Ushaw College Durham, had come to him through his wife's family, for he notes that it had belonged to his mother-in-law, Margaret Burgh, and that she had got it from Mistress Elizabeth Elyngham, one of the executors of his father-in-law's will, so perhaps an aunt or godmother, and in all probability the first purchaser of the manuscript.³⁹ Passing on this manifestly treasured prayer-book, Sir Brian was transmitting to his son an heirloom with resonances and encoded affections on both the maternal and paternal sides of the family.

Piety and family pride, spiritual and worldly concerns, are here hard to separate, and indeed, in these sorts of contexts medieval people did not neatly divide the world into sacred and secular dimensions. Even a simple practical request for the return of the book in the event of loss might be cast in devotional mode, like the rhyme entered alongside a series of added prayers on the flyleaf of a book now in the Cambridge University Library:





Who so ever thys book fynd,
I pray hum have thys in hys mynde,
For huys love that dyed on tre,
Save thys booke and bryng yt to me
William Barbor of New Bokenham.⁴⁰

The living as well as the dead might call for prayer. Because Books of Hours were such personal items, in daily use and often a gift or bequest from loved ones, they were an especially appropriate place for gestures of affection. Fitzwilliam Ms 56 is a handsome Book of Hours which was once the property of the Henrician courtier, Robert Ratcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter, the first Earl of Sussex, who died in 1542. His book carries inscriptions from two of his three wives, the fullest at the foot of folio 159, where his third wife Mary Arundell wrote

Good my lord I shall you heartely pray,
to remember me when ye thys oryson say
as sche that ys your unfayned lovyng wyfe
and so schall remayne duryng my lyfe, Mary Sussex.⁴¹

Cambridge University Library houses a handsome Book of Hours printed on vellum in 1494 by Wynken de Worde, given by Mabel Lady Dacre to her nephew Thomas Parr, and passed on after his death by his widow Maud to his brother Sir William Parr, later Baron Parr of Horton, uncle to Queen Catherine Parr. Sir William certainly used the book, and as he did so will have been reminded of his family obligations, for his sister-in-law and her children had inscribed the book for him. Maud wrote, rather sternly,

Brother et es another sayenge
That owt of syt owt of mynd
But I troste in you
I shall not fynd it true
Maud Perre.

His niece Catherine, the future queen, placed a more affectionate memento appropriately at the foot of a suffrage and picture of her name-saint, St Katherine of Alexandria [Pls. 36, 37],

Oncle wen you do on thys loke
Pray you remember wo wrote thys in your boke
Your lovyng nys Katheryn parr.⁴²

The conventional character of such gestures is obvious enough –

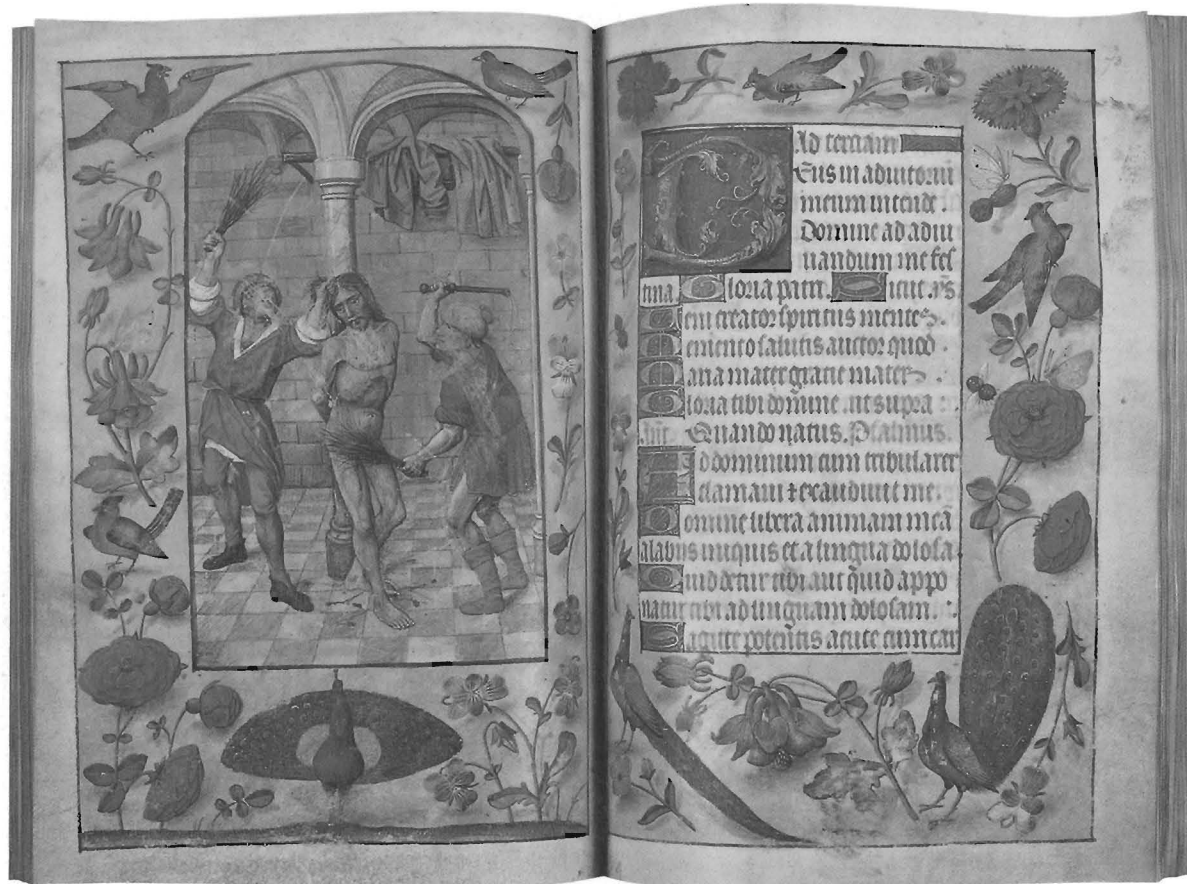
36.
Devout remembrance might be a very practical and urgent affair. Donating her late husband's printed Hours to his brother, Sir William Parr, Maud Parr urges him not to forget her or her children: 'owt of syt owt of mynd/But I troste in you/I shall not fynd it true'. Her gift inscription is strategically placed at the foot of the best illustration in the book, the fine crucifixion scene prefacing the Psalms of the Passion.

Cambridge University Library
RSTC 15875, Inc 4.F.1.2 [3750],
unpaginated. Page size 16 x 10 cm

37.
Henry VIII's future (and final) queen, Catherine Parr, here places an affectionate request for remembrance in her uncle William's Hours, appropriately immediately under a devotion addressed to St Katherine of Alexandria. Handsomely printed on vellum, this was Wynken de Worde's first Book of Hours, and contained the popular supplement of prayers which Caxton had produced under the sponsorship of Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, and of his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort.

Cambridge University Library
RSTC 15875, Inc 4.F.1.2 [3750],
unpaginated



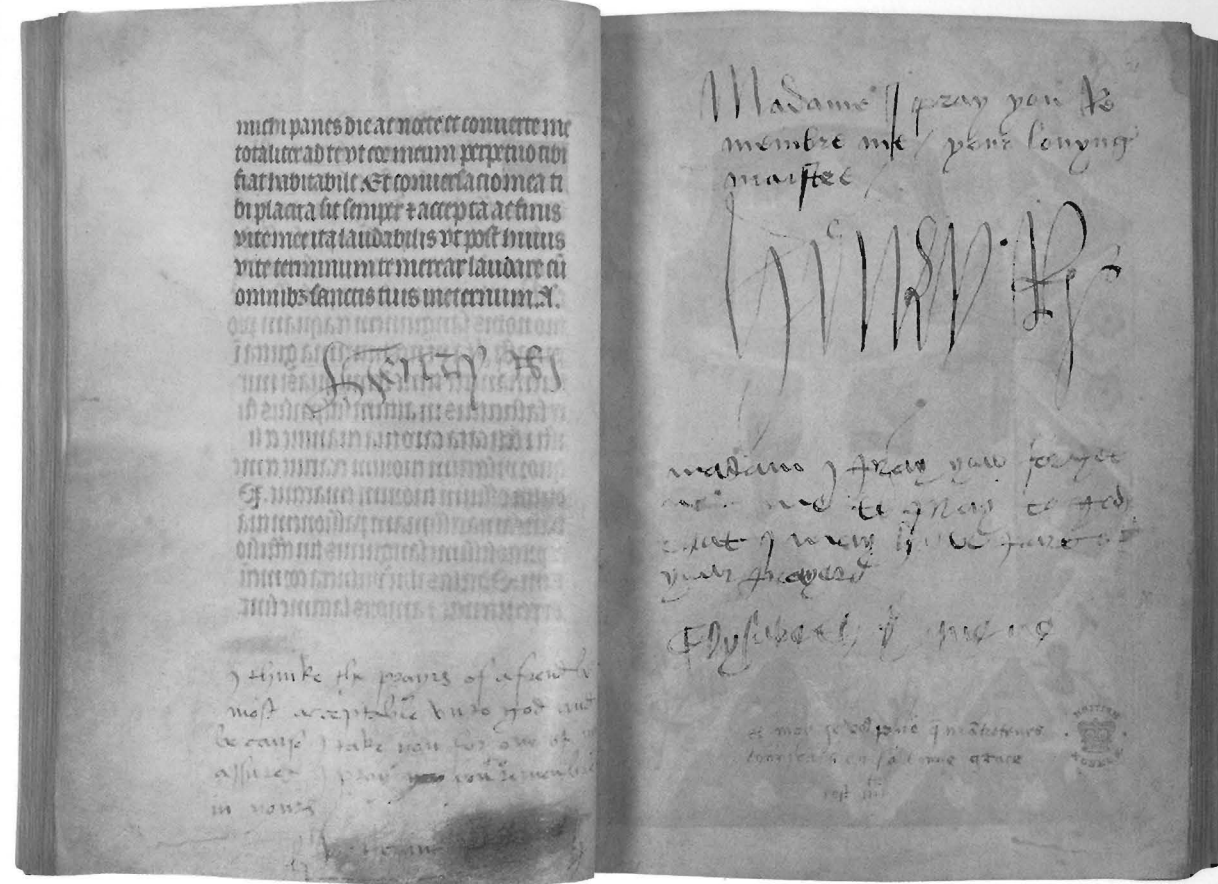


38. CONSPICUOUS PIETY

This magnificent Book of Hours was made in Antwerp in the late 1490s. With its full-page illuminations and sumptuous borders decorated with birds and flowers, it represents the most luxurious end of the trade in Flemish Books for England. It belonged to a lady in waiting at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and contains many pious autographs. The book is open at the beginning of Terce, illustrated, as was usual in manuscript books for the English market, with a miniature of the Flagellation of Christ.

British Library Add 17012, fols. 72v-73. Page size 20 x 14 cm

Catherine's brother William put a similar message on the foot of the next page, and we need not suppose these family inscriptions represents an especially intense piety. Nevertheless, the transmission of the book was clearly a matter of consequence for all concerned, and the custom shows that the conventions of affectionate remembrance at prayer were specifically linked to the use of very personal books such as these. In a Paris Primer of 1495 now in the British Library someone has written 'I whas and ys and ever schell be youwre awne true bedewomen tyll I dee'.⁴³ In another printed Book of Hours of 1495, now in the Bodleian, an inscription runs 'My nowne good nese I requer you to remember me yor lovyng aunte margret



grey'.⁴⁴ And in a printed Book of Hours of 1498 in the Folger, Henry VII's queen Elizabeth of York wrote 'Madam I pray yow remember me in youwr god prayers yowr mastres Elyzabeth R'.⁴⁵ Henry himself gave his daughter Margaret a Book of Hours inscribed 'Remembre yor kynde and lovyng fader in yor prayers. Henry Ky', and 'Pray for your loving fader that gave you thys boke and I geve you att all tymes godds blessing and myne. Henry Ky'.⁴⁶

An entry of this sort clearly moves us in the direction of the autograph album, and such inscriptions were clearly recognised expressions of royal condescension to favoured servants. Books of Hours were used publicly. They were meant to be looked at by others, and they were often used in public places. George Cavendish, servant and biographer of Cardinal Wolsey, tells of a vivid encounter with

39. FIDELITY AT COURT

A page of pious remembrances from Henry VII, Henry VIII, Elizabeth of York and, most poignantly (bottom left) Katherine of Aragon, requesting the prayers of her 'most assured' friend, who subsequently blotted Katherine's name and title out, after Henry VIII had divorced her.

British Library Add 17012, fols. 20v-21. Page size 20 x 14 cm



Thomas Cromwell, in a window-alcove in the great chamber of the palace at Esher, where Cromwell sat weeping and saying his hours, in the aftermath of the fall of his patron Wolsey, a public display of traditionalist piety which, as Cavendish sardonically noted in the light of Cromwell's subsequent career 'would since have been a very strange sight'.⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly therefore, the Book of Hours could become the location for public assurances of affection, trophy signatures, not least in the court. Henry VII's wife, Elizabeth, seems to have made the gift or exchange of such books a regular mark of favour, and a sumptuous manuscript Book of Hours owned by a Tudor court lady is a monument to these sorts of public gestures of affection. On one page King Henry VII has written 'Madam, I pray you remember me your lovyng master, Henry Rex': underneath Elizabeth of York has added 'Madam I pray you for you forget not me, to pray to God that I may have grace of your prayers, Elizabeth the Queene'.⁴⁸ Other members of the Court added their own pious autographs. On folio 180 Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, wrote

Madam wan you ar dysposyd to pray
remember your assured sarvant always, T Roos.

Lower down the same page Francis Poyntz added

Madame when ye most devoutyst be
have yn remembrance f and p.⁴⁹

But the most touching additions to the book bring us into the heart of the reformation crisis, which will be the subject of a later chapter.

At the foot of folio 20v Queen Katherine of Aragon has written

I thinke the prayers of a frend the most acceptable
unto God and because I take you for one of myn
assured I pray you remember me in yours. Katherine
the queen.

At the end of the book, the princess Mary wrote

I have red that no body lyvethe as he shulde doo but
he that folowethe vertu and y rekenyng you to be
one of them I pray you to remembre me in your
devocions.

It is part of the heartlessness of Tudor history that the signatures and titles of both Katherine and Mary, the court lady's *assured friends*, have been carefully and ruthlessly blotted out [Pls. 38, 39].⁵⁰

With such inscriptions, and the sometimes fragile fidelities they promised or invoked, we are in a world of devotional intimacy and friendship, real or pretended. What was the spatial setting for such intimacies – where is all this devotion going on? Mary of Burgundy, pictured at prayer in her own Book of Hours, appears to be in her own 'closet' or private room, jewellery and clothing scattered before her, her lap-dog on her lap [Pl. 18]. We know what sort of prayer she is saying, because her portrait serves as a counterpart to a devotion on the joys of the Virgin Mary which regularly appears in Books of Hours, and was supposedly revealed to Thomas Becket in a vision of the Virgin. Using this prayer seems to transport Mary of Burgundy herself into a visionary setting, which we see through the window – into a public church where she and her attendants kneel before the Virgin and Child, larger than life. As in Petrus Christus's well-known image of a young man praying from a book of hours [Pl. 40],¹ Mary of Burgundy's picture shows us the user of the book of Hours in the first place as a solitary, in line with the Dominical instruction on prayer in the Gospel of St Matthew: *Tu autem cum orabis intra in cubiculum tuum et close ostium tuum ora Patrem tuum in abscondito* (But thou, when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber and, having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret).² In the vision, however, she is in a public church, surrounded by her



39. These examples from Rees-Jones and Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York', with my thanks to Felicity Riddy.
40. Reproduced in Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, cat. no. 213; Lorne Campbell (ed.), *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Schools*, London 1997, p. 377. Similar (later) examples from the reign of Henry VIII reproduced as *Gothic* cat. no. 276 and pl. 49 (Knyvett altarpiece) – though here, to judge by the double columns, the lay patrons appear to be reading breviaries rather than Books of Hours; cat. no. 135 (Withypole altarpiece). For the Hastings Hours, see D. H. Turner (ed.) *The Hastings Hours, a 15th century Flemish Book of Hours made for William Lord Hastings*, London 1983. For a suggestion that this manuscript was in fact made for Edward V and given by him to Sir William Hastings, see Pamela Tudor Craig, 'The Hours of Edward V and William, Lord Hastings: British Library Manuscript Additional 54782', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Woodbridge 1987, pp. 351–69, queried in J. J. G. Alexander, 'Katherine Bray's Flemish Book of Hours', *The Ricardian*, 8, 107, 1989, pp. 308–17. For the Hours of Sir John Donne, now in the library of the Catholic University at Louvain, see Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, cat. no. 215, pp. 338–9.

Chapter 2

1. F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate*, Early English Text Society 1882, pp. 5, 102; for Agnes Hull's bequest, see P. J. Goldberg, 'Lay book ownership in late medieval York', *The Library*, 6th Series 16, 1994, pp. 181–9, at p. 185. And compare Margaret Hungerford's bequest to her granddaughter in 1478 of her 'matins boke . . . covered with blewe velwette and clasped with silver and gilte with my worde 'Myne assured trouthe', Meale, *Women and Literature in Britain*, p. 147; Anne M. Dutton, 'Passing the Book: testamentary transmission of religious literature for and by women in England, 1350–1500', in L. Smith and J. H. M. Taylor (eds), *Women, the Book and*

- the Godly*, Cambridge 1995, vol. 1, pp. 41–51.
2. Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 1034 (STC 15959) final flyleaf, recto.
3. Bodleian Ms Don.d.206, *passim*; information from Professor John Barron, who is preparing a study of the book for the *Bodleian Library Record*.
4. Sidney Sussex Ms 37, fos. 154v–6.
5. Ushaw College Ms 43, fo. 136.
6. Rogers, 'Books of Hours', p. 48.
7. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 209–32, and below, ch. 8.
8. An example illustrated in Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London 1994, p. 169.
9. Inglis (ed.), *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, fo. 14v.
10. This is true of many of the books discussed in Rogers, 'Books of Hours', *passim*.
11. Examples of cheap mass-produced manuscript illustrations from fifteenth-century books for the English market in Alain Arnould and Jean Michel Massing (eds), *Splendours of Flanders*, Cambridge 1993, cat. nos. 32, 33, 39. Two such late-fourteenth century books from the same workshop are CUL Ii 2 6, and BL Sloane Ms 2683. See pls. 14, 15, 53–60 *infra*. And for the illustrations for the Netherlandish books for England in general, see the exhibition catalogue *Vlaamse miniatures voor van Eyck c. 1380–1420*, Leuven 1993. (Thanks to Nigel Morgan for this reference).
12. The publishers were Philip Pigouchet and Simon Vostre; representative pages by the Master of Anne of Brittany in Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, p. 345, and Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, pp. 33, 57; I. Netteboven, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle und die Pariser Buchkunst um 1500*, Turnhout 2004. (Thanks to Nigel Morgan for this reference).
13. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms M. 700, De Bois Hours, fos 30, 146v, 147, 147v; Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, pp. 254–5.
14. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 474 ff., 181–3v: for a transcription and translation of the prayer, Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, Stroud 1990, pp. 76–8.
15. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. II, p. 164;

- several women's signatures occur through the book, and obits suggest it went on being used into the 1540s.
16. CUL Ee.1.14 fos 119v–120r: Binski and Panayotova, *Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 82, pp. 193–4. For the same prayer customised for an owner named John, see New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms M. 487, fos 219–22v.
17. G. C. Moore Smith, *The Family of Withypoll*, Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, Official Publication no. 3, 1936, pp. 13–23.
18. M. R. James, 'Description of the ancient manuscripts in the Ipswich Public Library', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, vol. xxii, 1938, p. 87; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, II, pp. 991–2; for the printed book, see Alan Coates et al., *A Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library*, III, Oxford 2005, pp. 1391–3.
19. If one accepts that the depictions of the biblical Susannah are allusions to the 'Susanna' who owned the book.
20. Binski and Panayotova, *Cambridge Illuminations*, pp. 192–3.
21. De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 170.
22. Duffy *Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 6; for printed Books of Hours for the English market, the standard reference work is Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers with kindred Books . . . an Introduction*, London 1901; see also, Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, Madison Wisconsin 1951, and C. Butterworth, *The English Primers 1529–1549*, Philadelphia 1953.
23. Harthan, *Books of Hours*, p. 37; for Annunciations with Bible or Breviary, see Otto Pächt, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, London 1997, Pl. 1 and fig. 3; for Annunciations with Hours or Psalter, see Isolde Lubbecke, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Early German Painting 1350–1550*, figs. 84–5, and Pächt, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, figs. 65, 88; De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 166.
24. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms 267, fos 13v and 14; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, figs 12a and 12b, and Plate 14, pp. 43, 74.
25. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 545, Lewkenor

- Hours, fos. 78v–79.
26. *Ibid* fo. 184v–185. Illustrated in Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, p. 435; 'or sped', suggested by Erler, 'Devotional Literature', p. 513 seems a better reading of the inscription than the 'so goode' proposed by M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Cambridge 1930–2, pp. 747–50. For another such paste-in of a less elaborate card of the Cross of Bromholm, see Stonyhurst College Ms LVII, fo. 174.
27. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 545 fo. 193v.
28. Fitzwilliam Ms 55 fo. 57v.
29. *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* fos 1*v–2*. For a more sustained example of a 'virtual pilgrimage' in a Book of Hours, see Kathryn M. Rudy, 'A pilgrim's Book of Hours', *Studies in Iconography*, 21, 2000, pp. 237–79. I am grateful to Kathryn Beebe for alerting me to this article.
30. STC 15899, BL C 41 e 8: unpaginated back flyleaf. For illuminating discussions of late medieval and Tudor devotional card insertions and 'paste-ins', see Mary C. Erler, 'Pasted-in embellishments in English manuscripts and printed books c. 1480–1533', *The Library*, VI Series, vol. 14, 1992, pp. 185–206, and *idem*, 'Devotional Literature', pp. 511–14.
31. Bodleian Douce Ms 24, unpaginated calendar *passim*: the charming note on her marriage occurs on the April page (Feast of the Translation of St Wilfred, 24 April); the notes testify to the Withypole family's court connections, for they seem to be replicated from similar additions to BL Ms Royal 2.A.XVIII, the Beaufort Hours, which Margaret Beaufort inherited from her mother Margaret Beauchamp, and the calendar of the Beaufort Hours contains an obit dated 1537 for Paul Withypole's daughter, Elizabeth Lucas: Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts* no. 37 at p. 131, and Coates et al., *Catalogue*, pp. 1391–3.
32. Fitzwilliam Ms 54, fos 2v, 3v.
33. Fitzwilliam Ms MacClean 89, back flyleaf.
34. CUL Ms Ee 1 14, Calendar for November.
35. C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church*, London 1904, pp. 58–9; Colin Richmond, 'Margins and



marginality: English devotion in the later Middle Ages', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Stamford 1994, pp. 242–52, at p. 245.

36. Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, p. 58.
37. N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta*, London 1826, p. 148.
38. Bodleian Library, Douce 24, sigs A5r and D1r, Q10v, Coates et al., *Catalogue* pp. 1391–3.
39. Ushaw College, Durham, Ms 10: description in Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. IV, pp. 516–19, and in E. Bonney 'Some prayers and prayer-books of our forefathers', *Ushaw Magazine* 12, 1902, pp. 273–87. See the satisfying and characteristically astute detective work by Rogers, 'Patrons and purchasers', p. 1169.
40. CUL li 6 4: see the similar inscription in York Minster Add Ms 67 f 125v.
41. Fitzwilliam Ms 56, fos. 1v, 159.
42. CUL Inc 4.J.1.2 [3750]; J. C. T. Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge*, Cambridge 1954, vol. 2, p. 685; Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge 2002, p. 119.
43. RSTC 15880, BL IA 41332.
44. RSTC 15881.3, Bodleian Arch n f 42.
45. RSTC 15889. For this and the two previous examples, Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety*, pp. 119–20.
46. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, Hours of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots, fos. 14, 32v: Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, cat. no. 45, pp. 184–5; cf. British Library King's Ms 9 (Lovell Hours), fo. 231 (inscription by Henry VIII: and see Henry VIII's inscription to the owner of the Prayer-roll (now Ushaw College Ms 39), 'Willyam Harris I pray yow pray for me your loving master Prynse Henry', Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. IV, p. 540.
47. R. Lockyer (ed.), *Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal, his life and death written by George Cavendish his gentleman-usher*, London 1962, p. 141.
48. BL Add 17012 fos. 20v–21r.
49. Lady Joan Guildford married Sir Anthony Poyntz of Iron Acton.
50. BL Add 17012, fo. 192v.

Chapter 3

1. National Gallery, London, no. 2593.
2. Matthew 6:6.
3. Carol J. Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan Van Eyck*, Princeton 1982, pp. 144–56.
4. Colin Richmond, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-Century Gentleman', in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, Gloucester 1984, p. 199.
5. On whom, see Clarissa Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim, the Book and World of Margery Kempe*, Ithaca and London, 1983; Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World*, London 2002, ch. 5.
6. M. J. Charlesworth (ed.), *St Anselm's Proslogion*, Oxford 1965, p. 110.
7. Above, p. 55.
8. See, for example, the title-page of STC 15973, published by François Regnault in 1531 (reproduced in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars* pl. 93).
9. Reproduced in Oskar Batschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein*, London 1997, p. 160.
10. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Early English Text Society 1940, pp. 212, 221.
11. C. A. Sneyd (ed.), *A Relation of the Island of England*, Camden Society old series 37, 1847, p. 23.
12. Donovan, *De Brailes Hours*, p. 130 is mistaken in claiming that the Dominicans followed the Une of Rome. I am specially grateful to Nigel Morgan for clarification of this point.
13. Ann Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, Oxford 1988; Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: Vernacular theology. The Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70, 1995, pp. 822–64.
14. On the importance of language as the language of the Bible, Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: a History of the Bible in England*, London 2001, pp. 166ff.
15. See the examples collected in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, figs. 12–19, plate 2.
16. Examples include the Gounter monument at Racton, the Ernley monument at West

Wittering, and the Sackville monument at Westhampnett, all in Sussex: the Sackville monument is illustrated in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pl. 9.

17. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 459 fo. 11r.
18. Latin text in *Horae Eboracenses*, pp. 83–4.
19. N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1971–6, vol. 1, p. 39.
20. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8.

Chapter 4

1. Above pp. 33–55.
2. Analysis of the standard contents in Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, pp. 26–119; see also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 7.
3. See, for example, Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. IV, pp. 788 (item 8a) and 810 (item 7).
4. Above pp. 17–19.
5. For another Book of Hours with Talbot family associations in a similar narrow format see Ker, *Medieval Mss in British Libraries*, vol. II, pp. 111–18 (Blairs College Ms 1).
6. The two books are calendared and analysed in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge 1902, pp. 218–38; F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 441–54; Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, cat. no. 94, pp. 230–1, where the dedication miniatures of both books are illustrated.
7. Biographical details on John and Margaret Talbot from the ODNB article by A. J. Pollard.
8. *I Henry VI*, III. vi. 70.
9. *I Henry VI*, IV. ii. 11–12.
10. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 232.
11. Cf. the similar portrayal of John, Duke of Bedford, with Saint George in the sumptuous Bedford Hours, reproduced in Janet Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, London 1990, p. 54, and commentary, pp. 37, 55.
12. E.g. the opening rubric of the Fifteen Oes 'And also oure lord seithe he that seithe the ose orois-

sones hor hertrth hem he schal se myne body and receive hit xv deyes before hys dethe', Fitzwilliam 40–1950 fo. 55v. The oes are so named because they all start with the words 'O Jesu'.

13. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fo. 50.
14. *Ibid*, fos 81–2.
15. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 223–4, 228–30. Fitzwilliam 40–1950 fo. 82.
16. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8.
17. On the Charlemagne prayer, see *ibid*. p. 273.
18. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fo. 35, my translation.
19. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fos. 108–14v.
20. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fo. 115.
21. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fo. 133. See below on CUL li 6. 2, and see also CUL Ff.6.8 fo. 1, for another version of this prayer. See also below pp. 81, 86–7, 129–31.
22. Fitzwilliam 40–1950, fos 107v, 132–5v.
23. Fitzwilliam 40–1950 fo. 135–135v: Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, p. 231.
24. Fitzwilliam 40–1950 fo. f 73. It precedes a hymn to the Virgin, *Salve Mater Misericordiae*.
25. Most of the contents of Talbot's book are replicated in his wife's book, and in another book from Blairs College now in the Scottish National Library, which seems to emanate from the Talbot affinity. For the overlap between these books see James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, *passim*, who asterisks the common material in the two Talbot books in the Fitzwilliam, and Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 113–18.
26. RSTC 20195; cf. Susan Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, 6th Series, vol. 20, 1998, pp. 197–240, at p. 212.
27. RSTC 15875; this was taken as the basic copy-text in Edgar Hoskins's analysis of the English *Horae*. For its inclusion in this and other printed versions, see Hoskins, *Horae*, pp. 116, 187, 211.
28. Above, pp. 534.
29. RSTC 15912, fos cxxxvi (verso) ff. This edition is illustrated below, plate 84.
30. Fitzwilliam 40–1950 fo. 107v.

Chapter 5

1. A comparable analysis might be made from the additions to many other fifteenth-century Ms

