OMNIA DE NOBIS EST.
DOMINUSVE PLEBIS.
AMEN.

Pater Noster

O Deus, qui *pater est,*

NOS IN CRISTIANIS MEDIIS

SALVAM.

OMNIA DE NOBIS EST.
DOMINUSVE PLEBIS.
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SALVAM.
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 wherein 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 primer 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 psalter Matins books and a peire bides, and a ringe with which I was yspousyd to God, which were my lordes his fathers’. 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 godchildren, 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 copybook to instruct young Edmund 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 thruppenny a shilling, 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 gent 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 margins the opening words of Psalm 129/130, De Profundis, omitted by the original scribe.

Cambridge University Library Fi.6 a. ff. 101-11. Page size 139 x 150.

15. ASSEMBLY LINE. PIETY
A book using pictures from the same workshop as Plate 14 (note the canopy over both images). The Image Pictae 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 Pis. 17, 20, 28].

British Library Sloane 2663 ff. 65v-66. Page size 20 x 12cm.
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 Litanies 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 late 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 Obeure To, 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 ex tipavi t. 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
the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most Books of Hours were humbler objects, mass-produced with no illustrations, few illustrations or just bad illustrations. Books of this kind 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. Such books could be enhanced by hand-colouring the printed illustrations, to imitate the effect of manuscript illumination. 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
21. FROM HAND TO HAND
Made in London c. 1445–10, this book was acquired c. 1449 by a man named Nicholas, living in Bury St Edmund's (the fee 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 i 15 fo. 120r. Page size 21
3 2
6
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

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’. 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 Richmond’, a mark of proprietorship which was itself scratched out in due course by a subsequent owner — also in all probability a woman. 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].

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. She 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) [Pis. 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...
husbands. The phrase in the prayer which asks for "true concord and love between me and my husband" (verum 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 Pabenham-Clifford (Grey Fitzpayne) Hours, the original owner, Joan Clifford of Frampton, appears with her husband John Pabenham—they were married round about 1414. 20

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

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23. JOHN STIR. PL. 24
Anne Widby, who Paul's wife, was the daughter of a minor Suffolk gentry family (Lavan of Brightwell) and widow of a Cambridge gentleman (William Ferrile) and a London merchant, William Rele. She subscribed 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 Rele "to all their friends comfort and to their great honor, upon Seynt Wise day, that holy confessor". Note also the deletion of the title "Papa" wherever it occurs, in compliance with royal command after 1534.

RSTC 1586, British Library 24
Page size 16 x 11 cm

24. DYNASTIC PITY
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 Rhenish 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 emblazoned 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.
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. 

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. 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].

There was a double self-referentiality here, to the prayer, 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
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 Image Picta is closely modelled on a small Byzantine mosaic icon displayed as a miraculous image in the basilica of Santa Croce in Rome.

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. 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 cofr [are] xii payers and a shet.'

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...
The most remarkable addition to the Lewkenor Hours is a pilgrim devotional card from the East Anglian shrine of the Holy Cross at the Cunitz 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 cros that here peyntyd is/Signe of the cros of Bromholm is’.

Lambeth Palace MS. 545 fo. 189v-190v. Page size 15 x 20 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 cros that hyst peynted is/Syng [sign] of the cros of bromholm is’ [Pl. 30].

This sort of inclusion, providing in some sense a ‘virtual’ pilgrimage for the sedentary user of the book, might occur in even the
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. 4r–5. Page size 16 × 11.0 cm.

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

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, or the dates of notable battles in the Wars of the Roses, and the notables killed there, written into the calendar of a Fitzwilliam Museum manuscript [Pl. 34].

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

31. 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 a down-market printed broadsheet of the Image of Pity, with the indulgence and the so-called Prayer of St Ilde which often accompanies it.
Books of Hours, including the Beaufort Hours, which belonged to Lady Margaret Beaufort. Very similar jottings are found in other contemporary elite of Henry VII at Milford Haven in family events like marriages and births, but a mistake any way 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 mother departed to God' [PL 35].

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 sanctity 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 Derby family of Cramplesham in Norfolk record the births of sons and daughters with astrological precision, and with devotion: 'Thomas my son was born the xiii day of January the yere of our lord 1488 on a Tewesday at nyght, between viii and ix: god make hym a good man.'
that day callid sent hillary 35 day', or on St Alban's day 1492 the birth of 'Frawnses my son, god make him his servant'.

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 'portors' or breviary, to his son Thomas in 1425, 'charging him, on my blessing, that he keep hit, terme of his lif, so that God will her after sende him devocion to say his service theron, as I have done, that themhe 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 endless mercy and goodnesse he sende my children grace to be good men and wommen, and to yelde him gode soules, thorough the helpe and praior of oure lady seint Marye, and of all the seyntes of Rome.

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 Primarum') 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 Elyhungham, 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. 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:

Cambridge University Library
Exch 14. October/November calendar.
Page size 21 × 15cm.
I pray, that I may have this in my hand,
For thy soul that didst die on thee,
Save thy books and bring them 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 heartily pray,
to remember me when ye thys oryson say
as sche that ys your unfayned loyenge wyfe
and so schall remaine duryng ye 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 out of syt out 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].

Ouence wens you do on this boke
Pray you remember wos wrote thys in your boke
Your loyngy mys Katheryn parr. 12

The conventional character of such gestures is obvious enough –
39. 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 17013, fos. 220-23. Page size 20 x 14cm

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 was and ys and ever shall be youwere awne true bedewomen till I die’ 43 In another printed Book of Hours of 1495, now in the Bodleian, an inscription runs ‘My owne good nese I requir you to remember me yor lovynge 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 you remember me in your god prayers your mastres Elizabeth R’. 45 Henry himself gave his daughter Margaret a Book of Hours inscribed ‘Remembre your kynde and loyng fader in yor prayers. Henry Ky’, and ‘Pray for your loving fader that gave you this bok and I give you all tymes godds blessing and mync. 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 Henry VIII at one of these occasions.
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'. 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 loving 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'. 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 servait always, T Roos.

Lower down the same page Francis Poyntz added

Madame when ye most desyvart be have yn remembrance f and p. 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 201 Queen Katherine of Aragon has written

I think 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 queene.

At the end of the book, the princess Mary wrote

I have red that no bod) lyvetht as he shulde doo but he that foloweth vertu and v reckenyng 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].

Chapter 2


2. Pierpoint Morgan Library, PML 1034 (STC 13595) final fylleaf, 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 Records.

4. Sisley Sussex Ms 37, fols. 154v-6.

5. Ushaw College Ms 43, fols. 136-7.


9. Inglis (ed.), The Hours of Mary of Burgundy, fols. 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. Two such late-fourteenth-century books from the same workshop are CUL Li 2 6, and BL Sloane Ms 2683. See pls. 14, 15, 53-60 infra. And for the illusion of Hours for the Netherlandish books for England in general, see the exhibition catalogue Vlaamse miniatures twaer van Eyck c.1390-1420, 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 Weick, Painted Prayers, pp. 33, 57; I. Nettebone, Der Meister der Apokalypse der Saone Chapelle and die Partner Bandhuist am 1500, Turnhout 2004. (Thanks to Nigel Morgan for this reference).

13. Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, Ms M. 700, De Bois Hours, fos 30, 146v, 147, 147v, Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, pp. 234-5.


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 Es.t.14 fosc. 1500-1520: 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 Vi. 87, fols. 219-21v.


19. If one accepts that the depictions of the biblical Susannah are allusions to the 'Susanna' who owned the book.


23. Harthan, Books of Hours, p. 37, for Annunciations with Bible or Breviary, see Otto Pächt, Early Netherlandish Painting, London 1997, PI. 1 and fig. 3; for Annunciations with Hours or Psalter, see Isolde Lubbecke, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Early German Painting 1250-1550, figs 84-5, and Pächt, Early Netherlandish Painting, figs 65, 68; De Hamel, Illuminated Manuscripts, pl. 166.

24. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms 265, fols 123v and 124, Weick, The Book of Hours, figs 124 and 125, and Plate 24, pp. 43-74.

25. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 545, Lowken Hours, fos. 78v-79.


27. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 545 fols. 1901.

28. Fitzwilliam Ms 55 fols. 57v.

29. Hours of Mary of Burgundy for 14v-25. 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. 473-91. In grateful to Kathryn Beebe for alerting me to this article.


31. Bodleian Douce Ms 24, unpaginated calendar for the charming note on her marriage occurs on the April page (Feast of the Translation of St Wilfred, 24 April); the note testify to the Withypole family's court connec­ tions, for they seem to be replicated from similar additions in BL Ms Rot. II. XVII, 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. 151, and Coates et al., Catalogue, pp. 1390-3.

32. Fitzwilliam Ms 54, fols. 2v, 3v.

33. Fitzwilliam Ms MacChlan 8b, back flyleaf.

34. CUL Ms Es.t.14, Calendar for November.

35. C. Wordworth and H. Littlehales, The Old Service Books of the English Church, London 1964, pp. 58-9; Colin Richmond, 'Margins and
Chapter 3

8. See, for example, the title-page of STC 19973, published by François Regnault in 1531 (repr. in Duffy, Stripping of the Altars pl. 134).
12. Donovan, De Britis Hours, p. 130 is mistaken in claiming that the Dominicans followed the use of Rome. I am specially grateful to Nigel Morgan for clarification of this point.
15. See the examples collected in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, The Hours of Richard III, figs. 12–14. Plate 2.
16. Examples include the Gonnet monument at Racton, the Erskine monument at West Wittering, and the Sackville monument at Westhampton, all in Wiltshire, the Sackville monument is illustrated in Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pl. 9.
17. Lambeth Palace Library Ms 459 fo. 1r.

Chapter 4

2. Analysis of the standard contents in Wicac, Medieval Paintars, pp. 26–119; see also Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, ch. 7.
3. See, for example, Ker and Piper, Medieval Manuscripts, vol. IV, pp. 758 (item 8a) and 801 (item 7).
5. For another Book of Hours with Talbot family associations in a similar narrow format see Ker, Medieval Missals 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, with asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common material in the two books see James, Descriptive Catalogue, passim, who asterisks the common materia