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Anne McClanan
Portland State University, anne.mcclanan@pdx.edu

Shirleanne Ackerman Gahan
Portland State University

Melissa Medefesser
Portland State University

Kenna Miller
Portland State University

Matthias Bladou
Portland State University

See next page for additional authors

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Authors
Anne McClanan, Shirleanne Ackerman Gahan, Melissa Medefesser, Kenna Miller, Matthias Bladou, Thomas Goodwin, Devin Courtright, Bethany Kraft, Jackie Anderson, Charolette Stoehr, and Caitlyn Au

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TEXTS
OF TIME

The Portland State Book of Hours
and the Medieval Manuscript Tradition

FEATURING HOLDINGS FROM PORTLAND STATE
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

May 4, 2015–July 17, 2015
TEXTS OF TIME

The Portland State Book of Hours and the Medieval Manuscript Tradition

May 4, 2015-July 17, 2015

EXHIBIT CATALOG

Exhibit and Catalog researched and written by the students of the winter 2015 art history seminars taught by Professor Anne McClanan in honor of the acquisition of the Portland State University Book of Hours

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AC K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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Millar Library Special Collections

Through all of this work, the students received unfailing support and encouragement from the Head of Special Collections, Cristine Paschild, and her assistant, Carolee Harrison, and so we owe them a special thanks.

Getty Center

The seminar students’ research benefitted enormously from a generous grant we received through the Richard Brown fund that allowed the seminar to make a research trip to the Getty Center’s Manuscript Department in Los Angeles, where both Elizabeth Morrison and Christine Sciacca shared their expertise. Getting a behind-the-scenes view into how a world class collection displays its holdings inspired them plan our show in Portland in more ambitious, creative ways.

Graphic Design

Catalog and exhibit materials designed by Kylie Freeman and Alexandra Gary, Portland State Graphic Design students
Illustration I
Seminar students with Elizabeth Morrison in the Getty Center Department of Manuscripts, February, 2015
INTRODUCTION

Through the winter quarter of 2015, the students in my art history seminar fought in a battle against time. They had signed up for the class not really knowing what it entailed. Then arriving in January, they discovered were challenged to create the exhibit that would showcase the Book of Hours manuscript that Portland State University recently acquired through the Gordon Hunter Special Collections Acquisition Fund. Over the course of ten weeks, the students researched, wrote, and curated all that you see included in the exhibit on view in the Millar Library in May through July of 2015, Texts of Time: the Portland State Book of Hours and the Medieval Manuscript Tradition.

This manuscript from fifteenth-century Paris is the first intact medieval manuscript to enter our library’s permanent holdings, and marks a major breakthrough in the opportunities that we will now have to teach and study this paradigm shift in the history of the written word. As you will see, the students also made selections from PSU Millar Library’s Special Collection holdings to include in the exhibit in order to provide historical and cultural context for the Book of Hours, in keeping with the title they chose for the exhibit. They crafted not only the catalog that follows and exhibition’s wall texts, but also all of the podcasts and other supplemental materials.

Our exhibition bridges across academic disciplines, too. In addition to the fields of art history and philology, we also had a student in art conservation from the Tami Lasseter Clare Regional Laboratory who performed extensive analysis of the manuscript’s pigments. This research can now be the foundation of conservation decisions that we will need to make to preserve the Portland State Book of Hours for generations of students to come.

Anne McClanan
Professor, Medieval Art History
Portland State University

Illustration II
Seminar Students in the Special Collections Department, Millar Library, Portland State University, Winter Quarter 2015.
Many famous French Books of Hours were commissioned by kings, queens, and other members of the nobility. These patrons owned beautifully crafted Books of Hours that have been the subject of much scholarly research. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, people of lesser social status, such as clerics, merchants, and civil servants were also able to acquire Books of Hours. Their books were often “less carefully designed,” with fewer illuminations, and purchased on the open market of Paris, which was the center of book production during this time. Sometimes bourgeois patrons wrote their names in their Books of Hours as a sort of record keeping for births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths. Determining patronage of bourgeois Books of Hours becomes a complex task for historians when there are no identifying marks within the book.

The original patron of the Portland State University Book of Hours remains a mystery. It has no written inscriptions or painted portraits revealing ownership. The Portland State Hours contains four, full-page miniatures and six, small miniatures, though it is missing three leaves which were likely illuminated as well. The amount and quality of the miniatures, and the absence of coats of arms, suggests that the owner was not of noble heritage. The original text is written in Latin and French in a Gothic bookhand, with prayers added in a cursive script later by the owner. By analyzing the calendar, added prayers, and style of the miniatures, we can determine if any connection to place, status, profession, family, or gender can be made.

Parisian bourgeois patrons often purchased Books of Hours from a bookseller, who usually was also an illuminator or scribe. Due to high demand, booksell-
ers would keep sections of Books of Hours on hand to be chosen for binding at a customer’s request. The seller might have a complete shop copy to show to potential buyers. The patron would have chosen which available offices, prayers and conventional miniatures to have bound in his or her book. This type of market made the Book of Hours somewhat customizable to a patron such as the owner of the Portland State Hours.

To further personalize the book, two prayers were added to the Portland State Hours shortly after its original purchase, suggesting that the patron traveled to the Marne region in northeastern France. The Portland State Hours was written for the Use of Paris, indicated by the saints’ days written in red ink in the calendar; among those highlighted are the feasts of St. Geneviève (January 3), St. Étienne (August 3), St. Lue (September 1), and St. Giles (September 1) (Figs. 1 and 2). These four saints were traditionally venerated in the diocese of Paris during the time period in which the book was produced. A prayer to St. Godo, in a cursive script, different from the main text, was added to the end of the Hours of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 6). St. Godo founded the Abbey of Oye in the city of Marne (present day Sézanne) in the 7th century AD. A prayer to St. Fiacre was also added to the book in the Suffrages in the same handwriting. St. Fiacre was a seventh-century Irish saint who traveled to France and founded a chapel and hospice in Marne. St. Fiacre is the patron saint of gardeners. His relics in the Meaux Cathedral were said to perform miracles: healing tumors, venereal disease, and hemorrhoids. Perhaps the patron made his or her living through agricultural activities, or suffered from one of the diseases St. Fiacre was known to heal. The presence of these two prayers provides evidence for the location of the book, and implies that the saints were significant in the life of the patron.

While many clues point to the Portland State Hours’ place of origin, further research is necessary to determine the gender of the patron. Often scholars are able to analyze the Latin adjective endings or pronouns in prayers to determine whether Books of Hours were specifically written for female readers. However, the prayers were often written with masculine endings even if they were owned by a woman. A layperson who was shopping on the market may not have been able to select a Latin form. One scholar posited that some scribes working for a bookseller were not always educated enough to change Latin grammar. The presence of prayers to St. Anne and St. Margaret in the Suffrages could give a clearer indication that the patron was a female.

In order to further understand the patron’s gender or social status, we can compare the style of the Portland State Hours’ miniatures to similar books with known provenances. A Book of Hours housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum in New York, MS Morgan 1027, was also completed in the late fifteenth century in Paris by the Master of Jean Rolin. It contains twelve large miniatures that are painted with the same vibrant colors, in yet a slightly more detailed style, than those of the Portland State Hours. For instance, in the image of the Annunciation (folio 46r.), the artist carefully rendered patterns in the red drapery behind the Virgin Mary. The windows of her room have leaded panes and the stone walls are carved in a Gothic relief. The book rest is delicately highlighted with yellow and structured with several nooks that we can see into. The most interesting aspects of this page are a painted scroll inscribed with the motto of Benoît Damian of Blois, “De Surplus,” within the marginal decoration and the Damian coat of arms painted at the bottom. The scroll and arms are repeated on folio 23r, which features a miniature of King David. The Damian family was raised to noble rank in Provence by the Duke of Orléans in 1460. The higher degree of detail in the miniatures and inclusion of arms indicates that Benoît Damian was of (recently) higher social status than the original owner of the Portland State Hours.

Another example of a Book of Hours similar to the Portland State Hours is MS Additional 58 in the University of Sydney Library. This manuscript was probably first purchased by a laywoman from a Paris workshop around 1460. The Sydney Hours first contained sixteen half-page miniatures, which were also painted by a close follower of the Master of Jean
Rolin, though the style differs from that of the Portland State Hours. The color scheme is slightly warmer and the marginalia have tiny animals painted in the foliage. The Deathbed Scene (folio 117) and the Pietà (folio 102) feature possible patron portraits (Illustration III). In both miniatures, there is a female figure wearing a mauve colored dress and black head cowl. She might have received this Book of Hours as a gift in memory of a recently deceased family member. The furnishings of the domestic interior of the Deathbed Scene indicate that her household was of considerable wealth. In comparing the depiction of the Sydney Deathbed Scene with the Portland State Book of Hours’ Madonna and Child (Fig. 13), also an interior scene, we can see that the artist of the Sydney Hours paid more attention to details in the room. A grand fireplace is painted to the left of the figures. A large bed and carved chair are central furnishings. There are multiple windows with leaded diamond and quatrefoil panes in the background. The Portland State Madonna and Child scene is situated in a fairly plain room with stone walls and no windows. A red canopy hangs behind the Madonna. To her left is one arched doorway. Based on the level of detail in the miniatures, the Sydney Hours was probably sold at a higher value than the Portland State Hours.

In 1505, the Sydney Hours was purchased second-hand and several new illuminations were added. It was given as a gift to a nun entering the Paris Hôtel-Dieu, Sister Anne la Routye, which is confirmed by a written inscription bearing her name and a shield and scroll with her initials. The name “la Routye” can be translated as “the fervent one” or “the roasted one,” alluding either to her intense piety or to her position in the kitchen or as a laundress. Interestingly, about twenty years later in her career at the Hôtel-Dieu, Sister Anne was reported for misbehavior after shouting “Let the Devil take you!” and “It’s a Norman trick! The Devil take the Normans!” during Mass. Aside from the clues within the manuscript, the contemporary written reports and inventories regarding the patron of the Sydney Book of Hours provide valuable information for scholars.

Despite the absence of written names, painted portraits, or coats of arms within the Portland State Book of Hours, we can make educated guesses as to what sort of individual originally owned the book. It was certainly a non-aristocratic, that is, bourgeois man or woman. The patron may have been from a modest family who moved from Paris to Marne. Perhaps it was given to a son or daughter upon his or her betrothal. The book may have been gifted to a Parisian woman who married into a Marne family. The book could have been purchased by a young cleric entering a monastery in Marne, maybe the Abbey at Oye, or another religious community in that region. A merchant who did business in northeastern France could have purchased the book for himself or to resell at a profit. Until further evidence of the original owner is discovered, whether in the text itself, in comparisons with similar books, or in contemporary documents, we cannot yet name with certainty one individual or family as the patron for our Book of Hours.
ENDNOTES


3. Ibid., 62.

4. Ibid., 23.

5. Ibid., 26.


10. Ibid.


13. Ibid., 104.


15. Ibid., 108.

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Illustration IV
Bedford Master. Bedford Hours: Miniature of Anne, Duchess of Bedford, Praying Before St Anne detail, 1423 CE, France, use of Paris, British Library, MS 18850, f. 257v. The use of green tiled floors seen in the Portland State Book of Hours was likely influenced by the Bedford Master.
The artistic language of manuscript miniatures provides insight into changes and developments of style within specific regions. The six small scale and four full-page miniatures in the Portland State University Book of Hours were illuminated in the style of the Master of Jean Rolin, one of the leading manuscript illuminators in Paris in the middle of the fifteenth century. This style, which is characterized by an increased interest in linear perspective, an emphasis on form, and figural interaction, marks a transition from the abstraction of Gothic art to the more naturalistic and expressive art of the Renaissance.

The Master of Jean Rolin studied under the Bedford Master, whose name was taken from the two manuscripts he illuminated for John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford. Complex compositions, elongated forms, and painterly brushwork characterize the Bedford Master’s style, sometimes referred to as the Bedford Trend or the Bedford Style. This style was associated with the Gothic International Style, or “soft style,” which was often used in painting during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Like the Master of Jean Rolin, the artist of the PSU Book of Hours incorporates elements set forth by the Bedford Master while integrating a closer study of the natural world.

The compositions of the miniatures in the PSU Book of Hours convey a clear sense of space and relationship between figures and objects. The simple composition departs from the style of the Bedford Master, who was known for including several narratives in a single pictorial frame. The green tiled floors, seen in images with interior settings, are also derived from the Bedford Master, as seen in Miniature of Anne, Duchess of Bedford, Praying Before St. Anne from the Bedford Hours (Ill. IV). In the PSU Book of Hours these tiled floors appear to recede toward a single point in the background creating a sense of perspective while inviting the viewer into the scene. This is especially noticeable in the images of the Flagellation and the Madonna and Child (Figs. 10 and 13). Spatial depth is conveyed by angled views of architectural elements and background objects. However, these objects do not always line up toward the vanishing point, as seen in the angles of the podium and bedchamber in the image of the Annunciation (Fig. 4). It is possible the artist was incorporating elements of linear perspective, which had become popular earlier that century.

Vibrant shades of blue, green, orange, and yellow provide a pleasing aesthetic to the miniatures while correlating with the marginalia. The palette is also characterized by gray tones, seen especially in the violets, and gold to highlight prominent forms. This application of color was strongly influenced by the Master of Jean Rolin, as can be seen in depictions of garments in the image of the Crucifixion from the Missal of Jean Rolin. Depictions of drapery in the PSU Book of Hours are defined by immediate shifts in hue creating a naturalistic sense of shadows and forms. However, this tone-on-tone design is also suggestive of stylized drapery seen in earlier, Gothic art. The portrayal of monochromatic colors was characteristic of the Bedford Master who often used shifts in color, rather than line, to define edges. This resulted in the soft, painterly effect associated with his style. While elements of this can be
seen in the PSU Book of Hours, primarily in representations of garments, bold outlines are also used to convey form. Thick, black lines outline the entire body of Christ in the images of the Flagellation and Crucifixion (Figs. 10 and 11). They are also used to emphasize hands and faces.

Although there is a stiff quality to the figures in the PSU Book of Hours, emphasized by vertical postures and outlines around forms, they also suggest some study of the natural world. Tall, elongated figures associated with the Bedford Master and International Gothic style became more proportionate with the development of the Master of Jean Rolin’s style. Figure proportions in the PSU Book of Hours follow this trend and are also relatively naturalistic. Curved torsos and diagonal limbs help express movement, while gesture and three-quarter views of figures create a sense of interaction between them.

Figure sizes are generally consistent in relation to each other, although it is worth noting the size difference of the Virgin compared to the nearby angel in the depiction of the Madonna and Child. The Madonna and Child continued to be an important iconographical depiction throughout the Middle Ages, with Gothic images often placing them into a separate niche to convey importance. Although the figures have been grounded into a natural and earthly realm, the size difference maintains a level of hierarchy to dominate the focus of the viewer.

While it appears the artist of the miniatures in the PSU Book of Hours was influenced by elements of Gothic art, the inclusion of perspective, form, and movement allude to the increasingly naturalistic artistic style of late fifteenth-century French miniatures.
ENDNOTES


3. Hourihane, 270.

4. Ibid.


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Illustration VI
The pigments used to illuminate the Portland State University French Book of Hours were analyzed with a micro-XRF spectrometer. This non-destructive instrument determines the elemental composition of microscopic sample areas, allowing for pigment identification without damage to the medieval manuscript. Tami Lasseter Clare Regional Laboratory for the Science of Cultural Heritage Conservation.

Illustration VII
Important feast dates inscribed in the calendar of the PSU French Book of Hours are highlighted in brilliant red letting using vermilion pigment. The contrasting black gothic text was likely written with iron gall ink.

Illustration VIII
This page displays the variety of illumination present within the PSU French Book of Hours. The small vermilion red flowers and lead white blossoms intertwine with the red lead filigree, show the range of pigments used even for the smallest marginaia details.
ILLUMINATING THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT:

PIGMENT ANALYSIS OF A FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS

Kenna S. Miller

Through pigment identification using spectroscopic analytical techniques, one can gain insight into the history and origins of cultural heritage materials, such as historic manuscripts. This information also allows for more successful preventative care of the item. To identify the materials used in the production of a manuscript, a wide variety of analytical instrumentation have been developed. One of these methods, X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, was used to examine the recently acquired Portland State French medieval Book of Hours, created around 1470 (III. VI). Filled with thick red and black gothic script, ornate illuminations, floral marginalia and Biblical miniature paintings, our research shows that the PSU Book of Hours is a prime example of which pigments were readily available during that time.

With the help of the Lasseter Clare Regional Laboratory for the Science of Cultural Heritage Conservation located at PSU, I analyzed many of the pigments that compose the multicolored decorations using a non-destructive spectroscopic method called X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, or XRF. An XRF spectrometer emits x-rays, which are directed at and absorbed by the sample pigment to be identified. Once the excited atoms of the pigment relax, a specific wavelength, or energy, unique to each element, is given off. These energies are then detected and counted by the instrument. The data is processed by specialized software, generating XRF spectra. Because a spectrum visually represents the quantity of each elementally unique energy emitted from a sample, the elemental composition of the pigment can be determined. In addition to XRF, a complimentary method that analyzes a pigment on a molecular, rather than elemental, level is infrared spectroscopy. This method relies on an emission of multiple wavelengths of infrared energy directed at the pigment sample. Depending on the types of molecules present, some of these wavelengths are absorbed, while others are transmitted.

Like many of its contemporary book of hours, the Portland State medieval French Book of Hours contains an illuminated calendar before the main text. In this calendar, shown in Illustration VII, important feast dates are highlighted in a bright, saturated red color. Through XRF spectroscopy, high concentrations of mercury were found to be present in these sample areas, indicating the use of the pigment cinnabar or vermilion for the red color. While cinnabar is naturally occurring and sourced from a mine, vermilion is synthetically produced but molecularly identical. With the knowledge that this pigment was used, a conservator can work to prevent blackening of the red color. Impurities present during production of the pigment are the catalyst to this common problem. Because vermilion darkens more often when mixed with egg tempera binders, identifying the binder using infrared spectroscopy can aid further prevention of a medieval manuscript.

The remainder of the structured gothic text was written using black ink. A favored type of ink, commonly used on medieval manuscripts, was iron gall. Tannic and gallic acids were ex-
tracted from gall-nuts and combined with an iron salt solution, producing the black ink.\textsuperscript{5} The faded, red appearance of the Portland State Book of Hours’ black text further suggests that this type of ink is present. While it is difficult to confirm iron gall through XRF spectroscopy, analysis of the black dots within the marginalia shows the use of a different black pigment, most likely produced from burning animal bones or linseed oil.\textsuperscript{6}

Along with the important dates, the bright red flowers and strawberry-like plants scattered throughout the ornate marginalia contained high concentrations of mercury, confirming the use of vermillion. Some areas of red paint also contained high concentrations of lead, indicating that white paint containing the pigment lead white was mixed with the vermillion paint (Ill. VIII). Lead white was also identified as the pigment used in the manuscript’s delicate, white flowers and the skin of the painted figures. The dynamic red-orange filigree contained only lead, rather than a mix of lead and mercury, suggesting the presence of the pigment red lead. Lead white and red lead, although drastically different in color, are synthetically produced using the same material. To manufacture lead white, sheets or coils of lead were exposed to acetic acid and carbon dioxide, resulting in a white crust that was ground into a powder.\textsuperscript{7} A product of the lead and acetic acid reaction was removed and roasted until the substance become bright orange in color, creating red lead pigment.\textsuperscript{8}

Also found in the Portland State medieval French Book of Hours are high concentrations of copper in green and blue colored sample areas. These results suggest that the weaving vine work and filigree were likely painted with malachite, while the robes of the Virgin Mary were likely painted with. Both of these common medieval pigments contain copper.\textsuperscript{9} Unlike the almost purple, rich Ultramarine blue pigment, azurite is generally a more neutral blue with a lighter tone. When exposed to moisture in the air, the crystals of the pigment react and turn into malachite, which is green.\textsuperscript{10} Even though this potential conservation issue is not yet affecting the illuminations of the Portland State Book of Hours, those areas of pigment can be monitored over time for change.

With each material that is identified, more conservation issues can be determined and monitored. X-ray fluorescence and infrared spectroscopy are invaluable analytical methods, although both benefit from other complimentary techniques for a more thorough investigation of an item. Using further non-destructive methods of analysis, the remainder of the pigments, binder, and other materials used within the Portland State University French Medieval Book of Hours can be identified, illuminating the history of an object and protecting it for the future.
ENDNOTES


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Books of Hours were produced all over Medieval Europe, as can be seen in this exhibition showcasing examples from French, Italian, and Dutch manuscripts. While stylistic and material analyses can help establish regional variations, a linguistic analysis of a Book of Hours’ text can yield significant insight as to where and when it was produced. Most Books of Hours were written in Latin, as it was, and still is to this day, the language of the Church. However, some of these manuscripts were written, at least in part, in the vernacular of the various regions where they were produced.

French society in the Middle Ages was highly multilingual, that is not to say that everyone spoke many different languages but rather that the country was divided socially, culturally and geographically in several linguistic groups. Latin was considered to be at the very top of the linguistic hierarchy in France at the time, it was associated with the church, education, intellectual life, and also power, as most people could not read it. French, along with the various regional dialects in France such as Gascon, Occitan, or Provençal, was thought to be the language of the common people. While it was commonly used in spoken communication, its written component was associated with ignorance and illiteracy.

Books of Hours, however, were primarily owned by laymen and women, individuals that were not part of the clergy. These books were made for individual devotion and were thus very personal possessions, sometimes even tailored to the owner. While this can be seen in simple acts such as the owner writing their name in the book, it could also take on a less explicit but arguably more meaningful form. Indeed, Books of Hours’ patrons sometimes had personalized prayers for specific saints who were pertinent to them. Furthermore, with the rise of Devotio Moderna, or Modern Devotion, it was not uncommon in more lavish manuscripts for the owner to be depicted in a miniature in the presence of a saint or a religious figure. However, this was also a marker of status, as only wealthy patrons could afford having a Book of Hours created specifically for them. Because of this close relationship between a Book of Hours and its owner, the choice of Latin, a language used...
for specific purposes, would be less meaningful to the patron, and partial vernacular text in
Books of Hours became more prevalent.

The Portland State University Book of Hours is a great example of this state of linguistic
transition. The highlighted feast day of Ste. Geneviève in the calendar, as well as the prayers
to St. Godo and St. Fiacre place the manuscript around Paris, more specifically in the Marne
region (Figs. 6 and 12). The French language, originally just a vernacular, started developing
in the area known as Île-de-France, the region surrounding Paris where most of the royal
administration took place. While it was first a regional dialect, it eventually expanded and
became the kingdom’s “langue maternelle,” or mother tongue. The parallel between personal
or intimate devotion and the use of the native language is further strengthened by the fact
that the more canonical prayers were usually kept in Latin, whereas the vernacular was
more often used for the personalized parts of the book, as in the month of January from
the Portland State Book of Hours calendar (Fig. 1), written in French with important days
highlighted in red as mentioned above. The text in Latin, “Domine labia mea aperies,” the
opening verse from the Hours of the Virgin, is an essential part of any Book of Hours (Fig. 4).

With the advent of printing, Books of Hours saw major changes in their process of production,
and towards the end of the Middle Ages Books of Hours written in vernacular languages
were becoming more prevalent, with about half of them written in Latin and the other half in
vernacular by the middle of the sixteenth century. However, while this transition to printed
Books of Hours accompanied the increased use of French text, there are also instances of
prayers in the vernacular becoming more scarce. For example, the Book of Hours here at
Portland State contains the prayer, “Quinze joies de la Vierge” (Fifteen Joys of the Virgin),
which is a French prayer that would later become much less frequent with the shift to print.

Books of Hours provide significant insight on the subject of linguistic trends in the Middle
Ages, in France and in the rest of Europe. The clues they give modern scholars are even
more relevant when we consider that besides being used for a religious purpose, Books of
Hours were also used as a teaching tool to promote literacy. Students were required by their
instructors to recite passages from Books of Hours or Psalters as a means to gain proficiency
in Latin, and it is somewhat ironic that this more highly valued language was being taught
using the native, vernacular language of the pupils.
ENDNOTES


2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.


9 Ibid.

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The Transition from Psalters to Books of Hours

Thomas Goodwin

The Psalter was one of the more widely distributed texts during the Middle Ages (Figs. 15 and 19). These manuscripts were used by clergy in liturgical settings, as well as by the laity for private, devotional use. The Psalter’s development can be considered a stepping stone leading to the production of the Book of Hours as we can observe it today. Beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Books of Hours began to gain the favor of both patrons hoping to commission lavish gifts and individuals seeking tools for private prayer. The shift in popularity from Psalters to Books of Hours was due in large part to religious pressures of the time. Though the two forms of text share a variety of aesthetic elements, differences can be identified between them in terms of content and illustrative modes.

Psalters typically consisted of 150 Psalms, or hymns in praise of God, Hebrew Bible texts at the core of the Christian devotional practices in the medieval period. For spiritual practice and edification, the manuscripts would include a calendar at the beginning of the text to outline the correct order of prayers one would recite throughout the day. Much like the calendar seen in later Books of Hours (Figs. 1 and 2), this element could include devotions specific to certain regions. Such inclusions are used by historians to not only geographically situate the text, but also make inferences about the religious customs throughout Europe. Signs of the zodiac and labors of the month traditionally accompanied the calendar as well. Other sections included in Psalters were canticles (songs and hymns), creeds, and the litany of the saints.

Illuminations were of course abundant in these manuscripts as well. Psalters set several important precedents that influenced later Books of Hours’ artistic decoration. Christological imagery became the standard for Psalter illumination over the course of the eleventh century. The demand for scenes from the life of Jesus expanded the traditional Hebrew Bible scope of Psalter decoration to include New Testament imagery as well. Synthesizing properties from both testaments, Psalters began to play the role of annotated, illustrated Bibles. However, unlike narrative biblical passages, which readily provided content to be transcribed in pictorial form, Psalter text was not so easily translated to literal images. Instead, artists were left with room to embellish and invent. As a result, Psalters are commonly filled with lavishly decorated initials and marginalia that do not correspond in a literal way to the text they adjoin. The example included here showcases the exquisite degree to which some Psalters were illustrated (ILL. IX). Foliate and bird designs wrap around the central text of the page, while small figures sit in the margins and engage with their surrounding decorations. We know from historic accounts, particularly those of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, that these seemingly extraneous additions were the subject of some debate. Whether or not the decorative features were intended to serve as anything beyond a visual companion to the page remains unclear, but what they do signify is a wide experimentation with decorative programs.
These developments were instrumental in informing the layout and production of Books of Hours. A defining characteristic of the Hours is an increased focus on the Virgin Mary and the human suffering of Christ, two relatively new concerns in medieval spirituality expressed in manuscripts. Psalters had been known to approach New Testament narratives, most notably with the brief inclusion of the Hours of the Virgin, though their content remained largely conservative compared to evolving religious interests of the time. The waning popularity of Psalters can, in part, be attributed to the ecclesiastical context for their use. Serving a role within the church, Psalters were subject to demands and interests of the clergy. A growing emphasis on the Hours of the Virgin, previously merely an addendum to the Psalter calendar, and a widening enthusiasm for individual prayer offered the opportunity for the development of an entirely separate manuscript. Because Books of Hours were primarily made for private use, outside of formal religious services, we see content varies varied both in terms of illustrative style and devotional subject matter.

The Portland State Book of Hours represents the culmination of all of these shifting elements. It is small in size, encouraging its owner to carry and access the content over the course of the day. Several leaves are given over to full page illuminations, often celebrating the life of the Virgin. Foliate marginalia accents the edges of many of the pages, while colorful initials signal important passages. Each of these features pays an homage to the earlier manuscript types discussed above. The legacy of the medieval Psalter, carried over to other handwritten and printed documents, signifies how effective these manuscripts were in recording the written word and articulating the interests of cultures at large.
Illustration IX
Alphonso Psalter, f. 11r, Flemish, Ghent, 1320-1330 CE, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. Douce 6. This leaf demonstrates the lavish, decorative liberties taken by manuscript artists.
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Devin Courtright

William Caxton has a remarkable place in print history. If Gutenberg is credited with the invention of modern printing, Caxton, an Englishman, is credited for bridging print to the English language. Before becoming a printer, Caxton was a merchant of England who traveled all around Europe trading wool and other medieval goods.  

Caxton’s success as a merchant and negotiator, for England’s King Edward IV, eventually earned him the title of “Governor of the settlement of English merchants in Bruges.” It was through Edward IV that Caxton became acquainted with his sister Margaret of York, the Duchess of Burgundy. Because Caxton was an “enthusiastic reader and lover of books,” he was willing to obey the Duchess’s command to translate into English a medieval text popular in the Burgundian court known as The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, a historical romance originally written in Latin and later translated into French by Raoul Lefevre – detailing the history of Troy. “Despite experiencing a bit of despair” along the way, Caxton, thanks to Duchess Margaret’s encouragement, eventually completed his translation of the historical romance for her. The details of this relationship between Caxton and the Duchess are not entirely clear; while most scholars think the Duchess was just Caxton’s patron, N.F. Blake suggests that perhaps there might have been “a closer relationship” between the two. Whatever the case may be, a paradigm shift was occurring as Latin texts were translated into vernacular languages throughout Europe – especially in England.

While translating The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, Caxton’s life became even more mysterious. Around this time the English throne was in turmoil, due to the feud between the House of Lancaster and the House of York in the Wars of the Roses. King Edward IV, from the House of York, was eventually dethroned by Henry VI, the previous king of England from the House of Lancaster, in 1469. While the war was going on, Caxton “suddenly left Flanders in the summer of 1471” and decided to stay in the German town of Cologne for eighteen months. Why did Caxton leave Bruges? And why did he move to Cologne? According to some scholars, it is thought that perhaps he was exiled to Cologne because his governorship was compromised when the house of York lost power and as a result had to relinquish his title – which would mean Caxton got into printing by mere chance. Blake, however, disagrees with that notion, saying that was not the case at all because King Edward IV actually ascended back to the English throne in May 1471. Other sources, such S.H. Steinberg, believe Caxton specifically wanted to move to Cologne to learn the new art of printing, “in order to publish the book (his translation of The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye) according to his own taste.” This would make sense because according to Blake, “Caxton’s decision to learn printing is one of which appears to have been planned over a period of time.”

When Caxton settled in Cologne, he finished his translation of The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye sometime in 1471-72. It was around this time he also met up with Johannes Veldener, a German type-cutter and printer, who taught Caxton the art of the printing trade. This partnership worked out for both men because while Caxton learned the basics of printing, Veldener received compensation and large sums of financial capital from Caxton to fund their printing enterprise. As Blake would say, “Caxton bought himself into the printing trade.” Although Caxton eventually learned how to print, he did not design his own types but rather acquired the majority of the types he used from Veldener – which were Gothic in style, similar to the script seen in illuminated manuscripts. Veldener, according to Hellinga, “began his career in the
printing business in Cologne where he must have designed types for several printers, whom he may also have assisted in other ways.” Not only was Veldener the ideal candidate to teach Caxton how to print, but the city of Cologne itself was an excellent location to learn the art of printing as well. At one point the largest and most densely inhabited city in Germany, Cologne was the “center of north-west German printing” since 1464. Caxton, being a merchant at the time, must have been aware of this when he decided to move there. Cologne also had “close connections with England,” which also made it a convenient and logical location for Caxton to look into.

After learning the craft, Caxton, along with Veldener and his assistant Wynkyn de Worde, traveled back to Bruges in 1472 to open his first print shop. It was there that Caxton printed his translation of *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, the “first English printed book,” in 1473–74 and dedicated it to Duchess Margaret. Although Veldener “helped in the early stages of the typesetting” for the *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, he and Caxton eventually went their separate ways in order to open his own print shop in the Flemish town of Louvain. However, they apparently left on good terms because even after his departure, Veldener still supplied Caxton with type. While still in Bruges, Caxton also printed such works as *Game of Chess*, *Les Fais de Jason*, *Méditations sur les sept psaumes*, and *Quatre dernieres choses* in 1474. Although the first text was translated from Latin to English by Caxton, the other three texts were printed in French. Why would Caxton, an Englishman, print books in French? Blake suggests that Caxton “found it difficult to sell English books to customers in England while he and the printing press were in Bruges.” In order to adapt and sustain his printing enterprise, Caxton recruited the calligrapher and bookseller Colard Mansion to better gauge the manuscript market in Bruges. Mansion was an ideal business partner for Caxton because he had an established workshop that “produced luxurious manuscripts,” which would have easily caught Caxton’s attention while in Bruges. In addition, Mansion also had close contacts with Flemish royalty/ aristocracy and was a member of the Guild of St. John the Evangelist – which was “the corporation of the booksellers in Bruges.” Once again Caxton found himself in a beneficial partnership because while Mansion benefitted from learning how to use a printing press, Caxton in return obtained from Mansion manuscripts and “information about what was being produced and read locally” in the Bruges – not to mention a pool of potential patrons to fund Caxton’s publishing enterprise. If Caxton learned how to print in Cologne, it was in Bruges he learned how to be a publisher and bookseller.
Caxton eventually moved his printing operation to Westminster, England in 1476, where he was near Westminster Abbey. One may ask, “Why would Caxton leave such a successful location as Bruges behind?” Perhaps it was his way of expanding his print business because, according to Steinberg, Caxton “imported books from abroad on a fairly large scale and also exported some to France” around the time he moved to Westminster. Maybe Caxton wanted to tap into the English bookselling market because it was dominated by his Dutch, German, and French contemporaries and wanted to be recognized as the first Englishman to do so; “thus Caxton was not only the first English printer-publisher but also the first English retailer of printed books.” As a matter of fact, the first book to ever be printed in England was *Dictes or Sayings of the philosophers* by Edward IV’s brother-in-law, the second Earl Rivers, on November 18, 1477. Another first for Caxton was his creation of the “first advertisement in the history of English publishing,” which was a handbill advertising a festival calendar “according to the use of Salisbury.” Apart from Caxton’s firsts in the history of printing in England, he is well known for a “flood of printed material issued from his press” around this time while staying in Westminster for the remainder of his life. Works such as Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1480), *Polychronicon* (1482) (Fig. 23), *The Golden Legend* (1483) (Fig. 22), *The Canterbury Tales* (1483), *The Knight of the Tower* (1484), and *King Arthur* (1485) were among his most popular ventures.

Caxton died in 1491 and had no male heirs to inherit his business. As a result, his apprentice Wynkyn de Worde took over his successful printing enterprise after the iconic printer’s death. One cannot help but reflect on this man’s life and think of the many ways Caxon has shaped and influenced our modern perception of printing today. From the time he made his first translation of the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* to his first printed edition of the *Dictes or Sayings of the philosophers* in England, Caxton has guided our understanding towards the paradigm shift from hand written manuscripts to printed books in the fifteenth century. One may think that the new technology of printing killed off the Medieval manuscript tradition but in reality it was embraced by everyone, including the scribes and illuminators whose job was actually made much simpler thanks to the new technology of printing. Not only did manuscript makers not have to painfully copy books by hand, but printing fulfilled a demand that had been growing in Europe, a hunger for the written word in a vernacular language everyone in their local region can understand. If Gutenberg is credited for introducing the printed word, Caxton is credited for introducing the printed word in English.
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The evidence found within our Book of Hours manuscript can help identify aspects of its creation such as whether the patron was wealthy, where and when the patron may have lived and who may have produced the manuscript. Even still, many clues lie within this manuscript that can be utilized to locate its approximate place in history. The contents of our Book of Hours supply us with a glimpse of life in late fifteenth-century France. An important element of this is the costumes of the figures, which can be examined to peel back the curtains and reveal the contexts of the manuscript’s production.

In a Book of Hours these pictures usually depict the lives, martyrdoms, and miracles of saints and of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Traditional religious iconography helps make these saints identifiable and part of that iconography is what the saints are wearing. Though their dress changes slightly with variances in the conventions of time and place, the characters of these kinds of religious scenes can still be identified by what they wear or what they hold. Dress as part of an iconographic program is another aspect of clothing that historians can explore to ascertain the significance they are looking for. There are a total of ten illuminations in PSU’s Book of Hours, four of them large and full page, six of them small miniatures, all including figures and therefore clues. The scenes presented in these illuminations are rather easily identified by the characters and iconography depicted in them. For instance, the Annunciation scene can be identified by the Virgin Mary in a bedchamber with the Angel Gabriel with a small dove representing the Holy Spirit flying through a window on the rays of light that symbolize Christ as the bringer of light to humanity (Fig. 4). The Virgin herself can be identified because of the symbolism associated with her golden halo and the elements of her dress.

While inspecting the illuminations in Portland State University’s Book of Hours, a figure appears throughout, a woman draped in a rich blue robe. This woman is present in three of the large illuminations and two of the small ones. While her surroundings help to identify her, many people only need to look at her blue dress to know that she is the Virgin Mary. The sumptuous color of her blue dress, the color she is most often depicted in, signifies her place as Queen of Heaven, which is a tradition that artists have used throughout time, adorning her with the fabrics and jewels associated with royalty. While she is also sometimes seen depicted with elements of white such as a veil which conceals her hair, a symbol of her purity, and in red, representative of the presence of the Holy Spirit and as a connection to the Eucharist through the color of Christ’s blood, she is most often seen in the Gothic period in shades of blue. Because of this iconographic tradition, the Virgin Mary today is identifiable to not only historians, but to the everyday person.

Despite her traditional iconography, the figure of the Virgin Mary is very telling of the time period of the manuscript’s production. The rendering of the Virgin Mary in PSU’s Book of Hours
is not in the clothing of the ancient Roman period in which the Biblical events transpired but is actually very contemporaneous to when the representation was made. Aspects of her dress like the high waist line demonstrate the fashion of showing off a woman’s most appealing attribute, her fertility, with an emphasized stomach, as well as her mantel, the cape like part of her dress, which clasps at its neck, and the golden chain around her waist, all follow the conventions of women’s dress at the time of the manuscript’s production⁴ (Figs. 4 and 13).

Mary is not the only one of the characters present in the scenes in our Book of Hours to be dressed in contemporary clothing, in fact almost everyone’s costume follows the conventions of the time. Even Christ, seen in the garden scene at Gethsemane, wears a long, richly colored robe with front pleating that would have been worn by noble men during the time of the manuscript’s production (Fig. 8).⁵ Others, like the men who present Christ to Pilate and those that flog him during the Flagellation, wear the hose and tunics that lay people would have worn in fifteenth-century France (Figs. 9 and 10). These tunics, or pourpoints as they would have been called, which are much shorter than those of earlier in the century, are representative of the popular fashion of the period just as the pointed toes of the hose that they wear.⁶

The only figure who does not appear in strictly contemporary clothing appears kneeling in the Pentecost scene as he turns to view the miracle (Fig. 5). This figure, perhaps John the Evangelist as denoted by the symbolism of the codex he holds,⁷ is depicted in a robe similar to Christ’s but with a mantel-like element draped over his right shoulder more like a Roman toga than any fashion of the Gothic period.

The use of these contemporary conventions had a purpose for the makers and the users of the manuscript. The inclusion of these kinds of images functioned as windows into devotion. As the owner would read through this text, his or her eyes would contemplate the scenes presented in these small snap shots; these images were aids meant to help incite a higher form of meditation.⁸ Because of the contemporary aspects present in them, the owner had something to relate to and to draw him or her in.

When a historian looks through these windows at an object from the past, he or she looks for relevant evidence that can help place that object in a historical past and root it to a time and place. What people wore when has been studied through images, entries and descriptions in journals, inventories, and commission letters, as well as through existing pieces. These studies have provided a relatively extensive base for the subject of historic dress; it is a helpful tool for historians to be aware of. Thanks to this knowledge, PSU’s Book of Hours offers a glimpse at the life lived by the people of the Marne region in France around 1470 because the producer of this work unknowingly filled it with clues.
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Jackie Anderson

Portland State University’s Book of Hours’ marginal illumination depicts delicate vines and flowers (Figs. 8, 9, and 10). Many of the tiny leaves are gold, adding to the delightful visual effect found in the margins. There is evidence that using gold in the miniature illustrations and borders of these books indicated status; the more gold in commissioned books, the higher the status.

The small prayer books were used faithfully every day by the religious, as the devout recited at least seven prayers daily. Perhaps the elegant images within the margins of such a Book of Hours would assist the reader with their personal expression of reverence. For example, the red flowers found in the margins of Portland State University’s Book of Hours are possibly red clover. Most likely, red clover does not have any special meaning to the modern viewer; however, to the Early Christians it had a long history as a religious symbol of the Trinity because of the three leaves of the clover. The small blue flowers seen in the margins are likely bachelor buttons; their spiritual representations are that of celibacy and blessedness. Both of these flowers are indigenous to Europe and are illustrative of significant symbolism in Christian history. Though the images of the flowers were subtle, the medieval audience understood the importance of these metaphors.

When examining the contrast between the beautiful and bizarre in its border imagery, it is not difficult to agree with historian Lucy Sandler when she refers to manuscript marginalia “as a phenomenon.”1 The spectacle in the margins of illuminated books began with simple words and doodling by the medieval monks or scribes. The marvel is that words and doodling evolved in extraordinary ways. Seeking to describe the evolution of this marginal art in a modern way is to say that the weird, nonsensical and grotesque creatures found on a border of a Book of Hours in the thirteenth century was like a modern-day fad, one that preceded the contrasting spectacle of the beauty that would follow, while the other would fade away. Historians today debate the purpose of the images of “lascivious apes, autophagic dragons, pot-bellied heads, harp-playing asses, arse-kissing priests and somersaulting jongleurs.”2

The images found in the marginalia of the historical illuminated manuscripts continue to assist us today in our understanding, perception, and sensitivity of the different regions of the medieval cultures that cherished their Book of Hours.
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CHAROLETTE STOEHR

The Book of Hours represents a change of beliefs that was taking place as the needs and uses of devotional manuscripts were shifting from primarily liturgical use to personal use. When Portland State University’s Book of Hours was created, a shift from liturgical prayer and worship to personal prayer and worship was taking place throughout Christendom. As a broad segment of the population began to learn to read for themselves, where once only the priests in the churches and monks who transcribed the illuminated manuscripts could, the desire emerged to skip the “middle man” and seek a direct connection to God through personal prayer and devotional study.

The new use of illuminated manuscripts as personal devotional objects created a demand for smaller manuscripts that could be held in the hand or carried on the person. The text remained in Latin in most medieval illuminated manuscripts with some, such as PSU’s Book of Hours, written in both Latin and the vernacular French.1

Illuminated miniatures of the Annunciation largely continued to be traditional, using the same subjects, and changes were only reflected in the arrangement of subjects and the way the message was depicted from Gabriel to Mary (Fig. 4). The message could be writing suspended in the air, golden lines of light such as the PSU Book of Hours or a scroll bearing writing. An image of God sometimes appeared above the picture suspended in the heavens looking down, with open hands in blessing or, as in PSU’s Book of Hours, a white dove suspended in air over Mary’s head.

There are many points of difference and continuity amongst Book of Hours. We can see that differences occur over time periods, between regions, uses and the people who owned the books of Hours. Despite the many changes and individualized illuminations, the Book of Hours endured throughout the centuries as a personal tool of devotion and became a reflection of the time period.

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The illuminated miniature of the Annunciation and its accompanying text from the Portland State University Book of Hours are framed by a golden arch (Fig. 4). The use of precious gold leaf indicates the relative importance of the arch frame to the composition and possibly its symbolic significance. In the background of the miniature, an arched doorway and window are the main compositional elements. If you look closely, you will see that the illuminator has not depicted the wedge-shaped bricks, or voussoirs, needed to form arched structures. Instead, the doorway and window are simply cut out of the stylized brick of the wall. That the symbolic presence of the portal was made known seems to have been more important to the illuminator than its naturalistic depiction, as the arch could not have stood without voussoirs.

Depictions of the architectural arch are ubiquitous in illuminated Books of Hours, as pictorial elements as well as framing devices. In the PSU Book of Hours, three of the four large miniatures are set in an interior that includes arched windows and doors (Figs. 4, 5, and 13). Even in the fourth large miniature, which depicts an outdoors scene, an arch portal is shown in a building in the background (Fig. 7). Despite the minimal compositional scheme of the PSU Book of Hours, the relatively plain buildings are never depicted without some kind of portal or niche. That this holds true even when the image is crudely drawn or almost devoid of architectural detail is an indicator of the arch’s prominence in the visual vocabulary of the time. The arch as pictorial frame is equally common, used to frame codices, calendars and tables as well as texts and miniature paintings. Why should this be the case, and why does the arch appear so frequently in religious Books of Hours?

The arch has a long and diffuse history. Ancient yet pervasive, early use of the arch as a sacred symbol can be traced over millennia. In the ancient Near East, around 2500 BC, Assyrian places of worship followed the layout of the common dwelling. The figure of the god was sheltered in its own house inside the temple—an arched recess, or niche, set directly across from the main entrance. The religious icon literally had a house-within-a-house, for which the arch shape was an appropriate symbol, with its two vertical sides and upper roof.

Many examples of niches in religious architecture can be found in various traditions. The Bamiyan Buddhas, countless Islamic mihrāb, and the niches of the Roman Pantheon are among the most memorable. Etruscan tombs, the most elaborate of which date from the sixth century BC, were underground houses built to resemble their aboveground counterparts, and the tombs of royalty and nobility were copies of palaces. This elaborate tomb-dwelling was signified by arched niche-tombs, both hollow and solid, for the common people.

The recessed, arched niche persisted as a popular way to display religious sculpture in the
Roman Empire. The Roman house of the gods, however, ceased following conventions of domestic architecture. That way of thinking was no longer in the architectural vocabulary, and the Roman temple had largely cast off its connections to the home. The only vestiges of this earlier reality can be seen in surface elements that evolved from originally structural forms, such as the pediment. Despite this, the recessed niche retained its particular function.

Civic Roman architecture, on the other hand, was highly secularized and was primarily meant to reflect the glory of the state, so we see two divergent symbolic meanings for the arch. In addition to the use of the arched niche as a dwelling for religious statuary, the triumphal arch was loaded with meanings of a different kind. Built to memorialize Roman leaders, the triumphal arch was a potent symbol of the power of the empire.

The argument has been made that medieval illuminators imbued their religious images with symbolic connotations of glory and importance by emulating the Roman triumphal arch. Saints were honored by being enshrined under pictorial renditions of these arch monuments. It is no surprise that Medieval imagery was heavily influenced by the art and architecture of the Roman Empire, but I am inclined to think that there was a more complex explanation for the arch’s ubiquity. Although a reasonable argument, this idea of conferring importance shouldn’t be taken alone, or at face value.

Gunter Bandmann argues that God was thought to exist in every construction that accurately expressed the divine order. Every element in Gothic religious architecture was meant to not only reflect the symbolic order but to become a physical manifestation of the Kingdom of Heaven. The complex arrangements of columns, arcades, and vaults were far from arbitrary; a grouping of twelve columns, for example, symbolized the twelve apostles.

If we take the ecclesiastical structure as a realization of the Heavenly City, the arch takes on great significance. The arch, being the element that led to the development of the flying buttress, was the root of innovation in Gothic architecture, and literally held up the weight of the structure. In reference to the symbolic order, which linked the physical reality to the divine, the
architectonic necessity of the arch made it a suitable location to place symbols of Christ himself. A carving of Christ was often depicted on the load-bearing central voussoir, or keystone, without which the arch could not function.8

It comes as no surprise that Medieval illuminators used the arch as stock imagery, given the ancient tradition of housing religious figures within niches and the arch’s symbolic importance in contemporary architecture. It is likely that illuminators looked to holy architecture for reference, as it was a manifestation of the divine, resulting in the frequent appearance of the arch as both frame and background element in Books of Hours. It is also possible that the arch-frame draws influence from the tradition of the Byzantine ciborium, which was erected over sacred objects such as the altar. Ciboria evolved from the tent-like baldachin, which in turn originated in the prehistoric necessity of covering thrones and hearths.9 I would suggest that the ciborium does not separate the area beneath its canopy from the surrounding space as much as it covers and draws attention to it, thus having a quite different implication from the arched niche and free-standing arch, which provide a more sheltered enclosure.

The illuminations in PSU Book of Hours use the arch to frame sheltered, interior spaces that are separated from the surrounding page, which leads me to believe that arches depicted therein reflect the visual and symbolic traditions of the arch-niche rather than the baldachin-ciborium. The possible influence of the ciborium, however, should not be disregarded. This essay only begins to describe the intricate dialogue that likely unfolded between the niche, free-standing arch, stele, niche-tomb, and ciborium. Further study is required to parse the complex dynamics and symbolic exchange between these forms, whose many manifestations have undergone a long evolution since ancient times.
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6 Ibid., 78.


8 Ibid., 62.

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A LOVE AFFAIR:
PASSIONATE PURSUITS OF THE BOOK OF HOURS

Tammy Boyer-Martel

Held close—corporeally and conceptually—the Book of Hours filled laypeople’s daily lives with meditative reflections. This devotion elevated the Book of Hours to the position of best seller, superseding the Psalter.¹ The Books of Hours and their embellished contents provide crucial resources of cultural context that reveal the intimate and personal relationship between text and owner. A love affair grew between portraits of the Passion narrative and laypeople. Interests in the Passion were cultivated during the Middle Ages, starting in the twelfth century.² Members of the clergy used themes of the Passion in manuscripts such as Psalters and Breviaries in private and public recitals. A compassionate connection between laity and the Divine developed and was no longer a relationship reserved solely for members of the clergy; others desired the assurance of salvation that the manuscripts provided.

Not only was the written word gaining in popularity because of increasing literacy rates, the following of the Cult of the Virgin Mary was growing as well. In addition to being considered the Holy Mother of God, as deemed by the Council of Ephesus in 431, her prominent position raised her up to the status of principle intercessor who spoke to God on the believer’s behalf. Originally, the Book of Hours referred to the Hours of the Virgin, but now, the title signifies the whole book, though the contents of the books vary according to patronage and region.³ The Book of Hours contained numerous prayers addressed to the Virgin and a particular section devoted to Mary is called the Little Office of Our Lady or Hours of the Virgin, which was read early in the morning. In some instances more prayers were directed toward Mary than to God or the saints.

Books of Hours, like rosary beads used in prayer to the Virgin Mary, were also accessories carried or worn and were frequently used in public places. The smaller editions of the Book of Hours were portable, further providing evidence of the intimate relationship between book and owner. When small enough, these deeply personal objects were carried about in a sleeve or on the belt.⁴ In the Good Wife’s Guide the husband instructs his young wife in proper behavior and attire in public. Upon her arrival at church she was to select a private and solitary place in front of a beautiful statue or altar while keeping her eyes on her book and constantly praying.⁵

In the late fourteenth century, the French author Eustache Deschamps further illustrated the prominent relationship between owner and the Book of Hours in his poem:

A Book of Hours, too, must be mine
Where subtle workmanship will shine,
Of gold and azure, rich and smart,
Arranged and painted with great art,
Paint it with gold and with azure
Covered with fine brocade of gold;
And there must be, so as to hold
The pages closed, two golden clasps.⁶
In addition to commissioning these opulent prayer books, the affluent also received Books of Hours as wedding gifts or family heirlooms. Among the leaves family notes were commonly written, recording marriages, births, deaths, and even recipes. Given as gifts they could be used as binding testaments of regard and fidelity. The Book of Hours was not only purchased for pious use but also for the manuscript’s beautiful decoration. Although the content stimulated religious contemplation in the devout mind, they also delighted the secular eye. These manuscripts also attest to literacy among women and the rising prominence of the vernacular as seen in regional variances. The role that women played as patrons of Books of Hours was an important one, exemplifying the mother’s cherished role of nurturing, tutoring, and shaping religious beliefs. They taught their children to read with the aid of illustrations that decorated the Books of Hours. It is from these books and the Office of Prime that the word “primer” evolved. In Britain, the term “Primer” is interchangeably used with the Book of Hours.

Even though women were prominent in commissioning the Books of Hours, men too held a close and personal relationship with the text which provided script for their personal prayers. Both women and men treated their Book of Hours as a representation for the body of Christ, with which they were encouraged to foster a close physical relationship. Owners of the Book of Hours would express this intimate relationship by kissing or touching the images. A soldier would recite the prayers that adorned the pages of his Book of Hours and decorate it with charms for protection against the enemy. A prayer known as the “Charlemagne Prayer” is found in various late Medieval Books of Hours. It remained popular with soldiers and versions of it were carried into battle by French and German troops until the Second World War.

Tragically, death is a part of war, and death was at the forefront of the religious sentiment of the time. In addition to war, life proved to be fragile in the face of plague, other diseases, and the dangers of childbirth. The Medieval senses were heightened to the carnal aspects of life and death. This resulted in the vivid illustrations that accompany the Office of the Dead, the section containing prayers for funerals and commemorations as found in the PSU Book of Hours. This paraliturgical text was adopted from the Breviary (Fig. 18). In addition to sewing charms to the parchment they also sewed curtains over an image, such as those found in the Office of the Dead. Having to lift the curtain before contemplating the image, would have added to the intimate relationship with the manuscript. However, before one’s existence drew to a close, Medieval lives as viewed through Books of Hours were managed by natural cycles, religious ceremony, and cultural traditions.
ENDNOTES


BIBLIOGRAPHY


WORKS ON EXHIBIT
Our Book of Hours begins with the perpetual calendar page for January.

Figure 1

January Calendar page, fol. 1r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4”). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 2
This Calendar leaf illustrates feast days for the month of September, including those of St. Leu and St. Giles, two important saints venerated in fifteenth-century Paris.

September Calendar page, fol. 9r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 3
Gospel reading
fol. 17v-18r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4”). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
The Annunciation scene depicts the moment of the Virgin Mary’s incarnation, and was a popular scene throughout medieval art. Annunciation full-leaf miniature, fol. 30r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 5
Pentecost full-leaf miniature
fol. 121r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 6
Hours of the Holy Spirit, prayer to Saint Godo added in a later hand.
fol. 124v, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
**Figure 7**
Burial full-leaf miniature
fol. 125r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4”). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 8
Office of the Dead with small illumination of Garden at Gethsemane
fol. 175v, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 9
Office of the Dead with small illumination of Presentation to Pilate
fol. 177r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4 in). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
**Figure 10**
Office of the Dead with small illumination of Flagellation
fol. 177v; Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 11
Office of the Dead with small illumination of Crucifixion
fol. 178r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 12
Prayer to Saint Fiacre added in later hand
fol. 190v, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 13
This image begins the Joys of the Virgin cycle of devotions.
Madonna and Child full-leaf illumination, fol. 191r, Portland State University Book of Hours, c. 1450-1475, France, Use of Paris, 173 x 120 mm. (6 3/4 x 4 3/4"). Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 14
Recto, French Book of Hours Leaf, c. 1470, Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Mss 12, Portland, Oregon.
regit me. Quare ego praequentium
medias: Hæc libris mas satura
min: Ques mihi robuist ut sal
lauturatemonesc et: Ques mihi
det ut sciemur in libro mello fer
co aut plumbea lamina: ut celte
salpantur ut salæ: Sæo eun mix
repro: nisi sciet: hæc novissio die
drerum surreuntibus bi. Et multis
amol detelo: pelle mea: et eam mea
videloc qui salvator mei. Quem
vulneris sum ego et ousi mei co
xerum sum et nó alius. Reposta
cst terips mea in sum meo. X
Libera me uno de vus infern qui portas
eras consingist et visitasti infernì et
Figure 15
Recto, French Psalter Leaf, fourteenth century CE, Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections, Mss 34, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 16
Recto, Dutch Book of Hours leaf, Middle Dutch text, c. 1440, Possibly from Utrecht, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 19, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 16
Verso
Nuntiatus Sibimus.
Semperne Deus qui nos omnium sanctor
rum tuorum inimicitiam sub unam tribusfie absolutate vene
rant: quossumus ut testeratas non
bis me propiciationis abunda
nam multiplicans intercessio
bus largitate. Primum no-
strum eum chustum filii tuum
Qui tecum nunt regnat in unita
te spiritus sanctus Deus Peromna
secula seculorum: Amen.
Figure 17
Verso
Figure 18
Verso
Figure 19
Recto, Flemish Psalter Leaf, Psalm 149, c. 1300 CE, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 25, Portland, Oregon.
ignis igni vis gleam spirit
prelari qui solutur orbis
mon tes omnes cores igni succentes omnes oder
est amoris prora
ignis succentes omnes oder
est amoris prora
segnentes caro
omnes'esentes
popul phanes omnes inde est
nuentes aeternites sones cimmon
ize laudam nomin distri qua exalta
tum est nomen eius solius
conse
io eius super culum aetum:
texalt
ur tuon populus sup

multus ute
zy santus eius
sume superior appro
purgana sub

amus et hoc cuncta
romand

refer a sanctus lex

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Figure 20
Recto, Peter Lombard’s Commentary on Romans 15:14-26, Manuscript Leaf,
C. 1215, France, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 8, Portland, Oregon.
Figure 21
Armenian Prayer Roll, c. 1800 CE, Istanbul, Portland State University
Library Special Collections, Mss 38, Portland, Oregon.
The Nativity of our lady. Fo. C.C.XXVIII.

deyl, ɪ was resablithed in the dignite of his office. And afterward Whā he ab-
suted t IPS he repered hym of sodved \oce of this ᵖ he had done. ɪ san to greee
\deo of hym untu ɪ brygyn Marju ɪ all bento
cyn of the thought, ppragenge him to be
his ayde he helps. And then on a tyme our
blessed lady appered to hym in a vision ɪ
rebuked hym of his foly, ɪ comanded hym
to forake ɪ deuyl ɪ made hym to con
fesse Jesu Christ to be ɪ son of god 2 to
knowledge hynsfelte to be in purpose to be
a chysten man. And thus he recovered ɪ
grace of her ɪ of her soule. And in syme of
pardon ɪ she had gotten hym. He delpier-
ted to ᵖ again his obligacon ɪ had
gruned to ᵖ deuyl ɪ lay it ᵖ his hett-
s ɪ he had never doubt to be sralite of
the deuyl. But he enjoyed that he was so
delpierd by our blessed lady. And Whā
Theophylad had herde all this ɪ he had
made to ful ɪ rode it ᵖ biship ɪ to
foste ᵖ preople ᵖ was belffe ᵖ. And all
meriyled grate ɪ gave laude ᵖ papy-
lyng unto the glorious virgin our lady
sain Mary. And the dapes after he re-
sed in pease. There be many othe mrac-
les which our blessed lady hath showed
them ɪ call on her. Whiche were our
longe ɪ myere here. But as tonge
her naturate this suffyeth. Than lec ɪ
the ausually myere laude ᵖ papolng to her
as moche as we may ᵖ lec ɪ saie with
Ihrom this responce. Sancta et immac-
ulata virginitas ɪ. And how this ho-
ly responce was made ɪ purpose binder
tecypen to myere here. It is so that ᵖ
was at Colers ɪ herbe redeec be
by a noble doctore ɪ the holy and be-
noue saie Ihrome had a custome
to blythe the chiroces at Rome ɪ so he
ca me ᵖ to a chiroce Where an ymage of our la-
dy rode in a chapel by the doce ᵖ he en-
terce ᵖ passd for ᵖ by without an salu-
tecyon to our lady ᵖ went forthe ᵖ every
urence ɪ made his prayers ᵖ all the
laytes in the chiroce ᵖ after other ᵖ
returned agayne by the same ymage ᵖ
out any salwlogy ᵖ to her. Than our bly-
led lady ᵖ spoke to hym ᵖ laide ymage ᵖ
demanded of hym the caule ᵖ he made no salwlogy ᵖ her
seyng ᵖ he had done honour ᵖ wo
nyng ᵖ to all the other laytes ᵖ the ymage ᵖ the chiroce. And than
laye Ihrom knielt down ᵖ laide thus
Sancta et immaculata virginitas qui-
bus te laudibus refera nece. Quia qure
celi eapere non poterant tue grimo con-
testis. Whiche ᵖ is ᵖ mye ᵖ un-
deforted blygynite. I bore newer ᵖ laude ᵖ papolnges ᵖ Hall grue ᵖ to
the. For hym ᵖ that all the heuens ᵖ
ot ne conpecy ᵖ ha ᵖ home in thw
wombe. So fyr this holy man ᵖ thoghe
hyselė insufficent to grue ᵖ her laude.
Tha ᵖ Hall the sproul htrehes ᵖ
but pur ᵖ holy ᵖ her mercy ᵖ knoi-
beryng ᵖ insufficent ᵖ grue ᵖ her dute
laude ᵖ papolnges ᵖ let ᵖ mely be
sech him ᵖ to accept ᵖ good ᵖ ᵖ dyll
and ᵖ her mercy ᵖ we may attay-
ne ᵖ after this lyfe ᵖ to ᵖ in heuens
lyng lyfe ᵖ heuen. Amen.

Of saie Ihrom.

Figure 22
Recto, Golden Legend, Leaf recounting the life of Saint Adrian, 1527, Printed
by William Caxton’s assistant, Wynkyn de Worde, Portland State University Library
Special Collections, Mss 33, Portland, Oregon.
The lyse of laynt Adryan.

There folweth the lyse of laynt Adryan martyrt And ryght of his name.

Adryan is laynt of a whiche is a
moche to lay as whort / of pions
that is water. For after he coffered to be
christen. He was about water of hymne.
Oz he may be layt of Andoz / he is to laye
lyght and dyan that is to laye god. For
he was enlumyned with lyght dyvnyn
by pasyon and martyrt dom.

Adryan suffered deth under Mart
ynen’s emperor. For whan the
layt Martyren was in the cite of Prychyn
where as he sacrificed to yiodoles.
And thay by his comandement they bought
all chysten men; some bought them for
hede / some for lyne / some for promesse
of fylyer. So that he neighbour to his
neighbour to martyrt dom / was thy
syl. Amonge whome xxxi, were taken
and bought to be the emperor. And the
emperor sayd to they / have ye not hrede
what passen is speyn in against chysten
men. And they sayd to hym / we have
hrede / comandement of thy syl.

Then the emperor was angry / comandement that they shold be beten to rade souctes
and thay mouthe to sales / seale of chysten
guys shold be perced with an
hote pyn / that they shold be bolden
in passon. And thay sayd that chysten was
vest in the office of knyghts hede
laid to them. I comme yow by your god
that ye telle to me / I rewarde ye entent
to have for these turneries. And the holy
men sayd / we ene we no ene ene
heres of man myght thyme the thyme
that our lord makech teby for them
loyn hym percyfyt. And Adryan lepte
in the mynde amongst them a sayd. Acoste
me with them here / for I am a chysten
ter. And when the emperor herde
that / as that he solde no sacrefys / he
dyd do bynde hym a thaye hym in py-
son. And Whas Natalye his dophy kneve
that her hulbode was in pyson for the
pysh of Jesu christe / he was gladde / to
ramme to the pysh he kyto the chaynes
that her hulbode was bolden with / and
also of the others / the was christen se-
cretely / but the dyed nor publishe it for
herde of the preseruyp. And the sayd to
her hulbode. Blysted arr thou my lord
Adryan / thou hast bolden the chaynes
whic thy fader / moder never leste to
the / whiche haue neve of them that pos-
cede many thynges / that haue thereof
gre nevide Whan they had no neve to
boysde ne to take. Whan that one shall
not deluyer that other fayn / and sayd
for the stone / ne the moder / the dyder /
ne the alasia the maister / ne one fende
an other fender / ne chaynes them al
of them. And whan she had admonished by
that he shold do the yll specy all doody glyce
and fender / thay kynde / that alaye he
shold haue his here bote ete / all ynges.
Adryan thay sayd to her. So now me
lys the pysh of our passyon hasteth of
Which thou shalt to our end. Then she
recommanded her hulbode bote the other
faynes / that they shold conteyn hym
than the returned home to her huse. And
after Adryan bereyne whan the daye
of his passyon shold be he gait gyfesty to
kepers of the pysh / that deluyer to them
the other faynes in pledge / and went to
his house to call Natalye / lyke as he
had prymte by oth / that the shold be
prymte as they pashon. And a man that
haves hym come to me to sonne hym a sayd
to Natalye. Adryan thay hulbode is de-
veryd / le bo where he cometh. And Whas
she herde it / she lyte it not / and sayd
And which may deluyer hym fro his bod-nes / god soldebe that he be toled of his
bones / departed fro the faynes. And
as the sayd these Bloodes a chyde of the
myspy came that sayd. Certes my tode
is lit go. Than the supposed that he had
Figure 23
one ounctur that had Neerdy in plasty fourteen yer This theoces-
tius was the kynges son of gochis and was dydyed to Zeno
in pludge when the covenaut of pre se was mad yenne Whan
theocesius was eyeghen yer old he passd bulganan and pannu-
na and fedd hym and his in the lsi of Aquylya Thine
Odaer met hym with alle the power of plasty and was over
cone of hym Threfor he turnd agaynes to Rome and was put
of by the Romanys and Benta to Rauyn and thare he las of
eseged the pre and slaine right there Thine theocesius cos-
me to Rome anly was gladly respeced and feredd Andicsly
the daughtar of Thedonys kyng of fane, Anly marpyd his
doughters and his sufferers to kynges that Welkyd thare aboue
Soo that Wel nygh al plasty las ofne to hym by luck affy-
ngy

Capitulum quartum

Halsoyus Was emprout shes and twenty yer In his
first yer symt patrak wyde the fyfise bishop of Irland; the
yer of his owne age fiftysc and eyegh. In Anrykys Un-
bross tymye the las Henne kyng of bryayyng Bys in eyr.
In his tymye wer the abatt columba that had eleuthere he al so
And symt wyde it at symt patrak wyden and profyse and th
ouerpyr hym sixte yer This wer wer burnyd in Irker
in the two dyneres as it wer in a test with two chambers
Her lodges las founden the fyfise yer of the cempyng of
St John the seconde kynges harpes fore in to Irland. Sym
the wyrmes theses wyrmes by dothyn Lech lacent in duno qui wumbl si
mulanutus in bow-Serygly patraus atque columba pius, that
is to saye In duno wyrm the wyrmes burnyd right in on wyrm
wyde with patrak and also columba the nymphe CR Mon fas-
p that thes fyfise patrak among his other Wonderfull Werkes sh
de dypp the grete bingses. One is that he wos of his staf at
the Enemous kes; out of Irland. The second is that he pry-
pe and it Was grunted to hym of god alwayest that none wissh
man sholde abode the cempyng of Ancrias The thrye Boster
is rad of his purgatory, but that it was not wyrm to the las
se patrak that was abbede and not bishop. And was in his staf
we about the yer of our body euyght hundryd and fifty

CASE 1 PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY BOOK OF HOURS, FRANCE, C. 1475, FRANCE, POSSIBLY PARIS.

Fig. 1 January Calendar page, 1r

The perpetual calendar of our Book of Hours begins with January, and

Fig. 2 September Calendar page, 9r

This Calendar leaf illustrates feast days for the month of September, including those of St. Leu and St. Giles, two important saints venerated in fifteenth-century Paris.

Fig. 3 Gospel reading, 17v-18r

Fig. 4 Annunciation full-leaf miniature, 30r

The Annunciation scene depicts the moment of the Virgin Mary's incarnation, and was a popular scene throughout medieval art.

Fig. 5 Pentecost full-leaf miniature, 121r

Fig. 6 Hours of the Holy Spirit, new hand at bottom beings prayer to Saint Godo added in a later hand, 124v

Fig. 7 Burial full-leaf miniature, 125r

Fig. 8 Office of the Dead with small illumination of Garden at Gethsemane, 175v

Fig. 9 Office of the Dead with small illumination of Presentation to Pilate, 177r

Fig. 10 Office of the Dead with small illumination of Flagellation, 177v

Fig. 11 Office of the Dead with small illumination of Crucifixion, 178r

Fig. 12 Prayer to Saint Fiacre added in later hand, 190v

Fig. 13 Madonna and Child full-leaf illumination, 191r

This image begins the Joys of the Virgin cycle of devotions

Fig. 14 French Book of Hours Leaf, Portland State University Millar Library

Special Collections Mss 12

Fig. 15 French Psalter Leaf, Portland State University Millar Library Special Collections Mss 34
CASE 3: REGIONAL VARIATION

Fig. 16  Dutch Book of Hours leaf, Middle Dutch text, c. 1440, Possibly from Utrecht, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 19

Fig. 17  Italian Book of Hours, Leaf: Resurrection Prayer, 1500-1510 CE, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 32

Fig. 18  Breviary Leaf, 1400 CE, Northern France, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 31.

Contents of the Latin Breviary were combined with canonical hours of the divine office of prayer that divided the day, and eventually evolved into such works as the PSU Book of Hours.

Fig. 19  Flemish Psalter Leaf, Psalm 149, c. 1300 CE, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 25

CASE 4: SCROLLS TO PRINTING

Fig. 20  Peter Lombard’s Commentary on Romans 15:14-26, Manuscript Leaf, c. 1215, France, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 8

Fig. 21  Armenian Prayer Roll, c. 1800 CE, Istanbul, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 38

Fig. 22  Golden Legend, Leaf recounting the life of Saint Adrian, 1527, Printed by William Caxton’s assistant, Wynkyn de Worde, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss 33

Fig. 23  Polycronicon by Ranulf Higden, printed by William Caxton, 1482, Leaf, Portland State University Library Special Collections, Mss
**Illustration I** PSU Medieval Art History Seminar students with Elizabeth Morrison in the Getty Center Department of Manuscripts, February, 2015

**Illustration II** Seminar Students in the Special Collections Department, Millar Library, Portland State University, Winter Quarter 2015

**Illustration III** Book of Hours: Deathbed Scene, c. 1460, France (Paris), RB Add, Ms. 58 fol. 117, Image provided by Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Sydney Library

**Illustration IV** Bedford Master. Bedford Hours: Miniature of Anne, Duchess of Bedford, Praying Before St Anne detail, 1423 CE, France, use of Paris, British Library, MS 18850, f. 257v.


**Illustration VI** Analysis of pigments using micro-XRF spectrometer. Tami Lasseter Clare Regional Laboratory for the Science of Cultural Heritage Conservation.

**Illustration VII** Detail, Portland State University Book of Hours. Calendar page of highlighted in brilliant red letting using vermilion pigment. The contrasting black gothic text was likely written with iron gall ink.

**Illustration VIII** Detail, Portland State University Book of Hours. The small vermillion red flowers and lead white blossoms intertwine with the red lead filigree, show the range of pigments used even for the smallest marginalia details.

**Illustration IX** Alphonso Psalter leaf, late thirteenth century, England, British Library, MS 24686.
British Library  Illustration IX

Rachel Correll  Figure 2

Carolee Harrison  Figures 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23.

Kelly James, Portland State Magazine  Cover, Frontispiece, and Detail, Figure 5

Anne McClanan  Illustrations I and II

Kenna S. Miller  Illustrations VI, VII, and VIII

Phil Pirages  Figures 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13

University of Sydney Library, Rare Books and Special Collections,  Illustration III

Wikimedia Commons  Illustrations IV and V