

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

French Books of Hours

The book of hours was a “best-seller” in medieval and early modern Europe and the era’s most commonly produced and owned book. This interdisciplinary study explores its increasing popularity and prestige, offering a full account of the book of hours *as a book* – how it was acquired, how it was read to guide prayer and teach literacy, and what it meant to its owners as a personal possession. Based on the study of over 500 manuscripts and printed books from France, Virginia Reinburg combines a social history of the book of hours with an ethnography of prayer. Approaching the practice of prayer as both speech and ritual, she argues that a central part of the book of hours’ appeal for laypeople was its role as a bridge between the liturgy and the home. Reinburg describes how the book of hours shaped religious practice through the ways in which it was used.

VIRGINIA REINBURG is an Associate Professor of History at Boston College, Massachusetts.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

French Books of Hours

Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by

Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107007215

© Virginia Reinburg

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Reinburg, Virginia.

French books of hours : making an archive of prayer, c. 1400–1600 / Virginia
Reinburg.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-00721-5 (hardback)

1. Books of hours – France. 2. Books and reading – Social aspects –
France – History. I. Title.

BX2080.R45 2012

242.0944–dc23

2011037681

ISBN 978-1-107-00721-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to
in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations and a note on translations</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
Part I A Social History of the Book of Hours	11
Prologue to Part I	13
1 Culture and commerce	15
The evolution of hourly prayer and the book of hours	15
The book of hours and intercessory prayer	19
Manuscripts	20
The advent of printing	26
How many printed books of hours?	37
Explaining the rise and decline of production	41
Cost and value	43
The social composition of book ownership	49
2 Owners and their books	53
A portrait of the owners	54
The <i>livre de raison</i> and the family-owned book of hours	62
“For the use of women”	71
Treasured possession and devotional object	76
3 Prayer book and primer	84
French and Latin	85
Latin, the liturgy, and the book of hours	87
A sacred language?	92
Latin and French in the book of hours	96
A primer for literacy	100
Reading the book of hours	109
Image and imagination	112
Conclusion: A book for prayer and literacy	127

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi Contents

Part II An Ethnography of Prayer	129
Prologue to Part II	131
4 Words and rites	139
Prayer as speech	140
The colloquy style	149
The contract style	154
Charms, blessings, and recipes	158
Prayer as rite	162
Conclusion: Oral rites	171
5 A fragment of a religion	172
Praying to the saints	173
Prayer during the mass	188
Legends and promises	198
6 Prayer to the Virgin Mary	209
The Annunciation	212
Mary's passion	218
Shrines and pilgrimage	224
Conclusion	236
<i>Bibliography</i>	242
<i>Index</i>	289

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Illustrations

1	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 269, fol. 76r.	<i>page</i> 24
2	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 18014, fol. 117v.	25
3	Houghton Library (Harvard University), ms. Richardson 6, fol. 120r.	27
4	University of Sydney Library, ms. RB Add. 58, fol. 117r.	28
5	[Book of hours, use of Rome] (Paris: printed by Pierre Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 17 April 1497), fol. b8r. Library of Congress (Rosenwald Collection no. 438/442A).	34
6	[Book of hours, use of Rome] (Paris: printed by Pierre Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 17 April 1497), fols. a3v–a4r. Library of Congress (Rosenwald Collection no. 438/442A).	36
7	Book peddler, from <i>Les cris de Paris</i> , Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (Rés. Est. 264, p. 1).	45
8	University of Sydney Library, ms. RB Add. 58, fol. 227r.	55
9	[Book of hours, use of Rome] (Paris: Antoine Vérard, 20 January 1500 [=1501]), last page, verso. Boston Public Library (**Q.405.107).	56
10	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 89, fol. 3v.	69
11	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 222, fol. 1v.	70
12	Free Library of Philadelphia, ms. Lewis E 133, binding (front cover).	77
13	Robert Campin and assistant, central panel of <i>The Annunciation Triptych</i> . The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection.	79

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii	List of illustrations	
14	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 183, fol. 166r.	102
15	[<i>ABC, L'oraison dominicale</i>] (Le Mans: Mathurin Le Roux, 15[8 or 9]1). Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Rés. X 2822).	104
16	Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 159, pp. 1–2 (The Primer of Claude de France).	106
17	<i>La Croix de Par Dieu</i> (Paris: Ulrich Gering and Bertold Rembolt [?], sixteenth century). Aberdeen University Library (Inc. 200).	107
18	Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, ms. rés. 1189, fol. 65r.	115
19	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3114, fol. 165r.	118
20	Boston Public Library, ms. q. med. 81, fol. 143r.	120
21	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 1164, fol. 24v.	124
22	[Book of hours, use of Rome] (Paris: printed by Pierre Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 17 April 1497), fol. a4r, detail. Library of Congress (Rosenwald Collection no. 438/442A).	125
23	Pierre Gringore, <i>Heures de Notre Dame</i> (Paris: Jehan Petit, c. 1527), fol. 49r. Library of Congress (Rosenwald Collection no. 989).	142
24	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 220, fol. 150v.	164
25	Library of Congress, ms. 51, fol. 128v, detail.	166
26	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 274, fol. 118r.	170
27	Free Library of Philadelphia, ms. Lewis E 95, fol. 137v.	178
28	Leaf from <i>Hore dive virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum</i> (Paris: Gilles and Germain Hardouyn, c. 1510/11), verso, detail. Private collection.	180
29	Houghton Library (Harvard University), ms. lat. 160, fol. 164v.	181
30	Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 274, fol. 180r.	186
31	Keble College, Oxford, ms. 38, fol. 14r, detail.	190
32	[Book of hours, use of Rome] (Paris: printed by Pierre Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 16 September 1498), fol. a2v. Library of Congress (Rosenwald Collection no. 442).	200
33	Leaf from <i>Hore dive virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum</i> (Paris: Gilles and Germain Hardouyn, c. 1510/11), recto, detail. Private collection.	205
34	Two sides of a leaf (recto and verso) from a manuscript book of hours, third quarter of the fifteenth century, northern France. Private collection.	206

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of illustrations	ix
35 Princeton University Library, ms. Garrett 54, fol. 19r.	211
36 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3200, fol. 29r.	215
37 Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 267, fols. 13v–14r.	216
38 Houghton Library (Harvard University), ms. Richardson 7, fol. 146v.	219
39 Houghton Library (Harvard University), ms. Richardson 7, fol. 151r.	220

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1 Editions of books of hours published in Paris,
1501–40, by year. | <i>page</i> 39 |
| 2 Editions of books of hours published in Paris,
1501–99, by decade. | 40 |

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Looking at books of hours has been a pleasure, and learning to read them has been a long journey. I am grateful to the librarians and curators who provided access to manuscripts and rare books at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, Walters Art Museum, Library of Congress, Princeton University Library, Houghton Library (Harvard University), Beinecke Library (Yale University), Boston Public Library, Free Library of Philadelphia, New York Public Library, J. Paul Getty Museum, Henry E. Huntington Library, Honnold Library (Claremont Colleges), British Library, Fitzwilliam Museum, and Cambridge University Library. My thanks as well to the librarians and staff of the Boston College Libraries, especially Leslie Homzie, Adeane Bregman, Gail Lefebvre and Kenneth Liss. Anne Kenny and her colleagues in the interlibrary loan department often accomplished the seemingly impossible. Their expertise and dedication are the hidden support of scholarship at Boston College. Sara Hilder of Sydney University Library provided help from afar.

I am the fortunate beneficiary of postdoctoral fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities (Summer Stipends), the Bibliographical Society of America, and the Princeton University History Department. Boston College has generously supported my research for more than two decades.

My greatest debt is to Natalie Zemon Davis. The seed of this book was the dissertation she advised at Princeton University. I am grateful for her guidance and support, and thank her for being an exemplar of engaged scholarship, generosity, and perseverance.

Michel de Certeau wrote that “we never write on a blank page, but always on one that has already been written on.” No thought could better capture my debt to my colleagues, friends, and students. Over the years that I worked on this project, they shared their wealth of knowledge, read and commented on chapters and papers, asked questions, and alerted me to books, ideas, and works of art not to be missed. They also provided

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii Acknowledgments

much appreciated moral support. I am grateful to Aditya Ashok, Martina Bagnoli, Philip Benedict, Pamela Berger, Ann Blair, John Bossy, Paul Breines, Elizabeth Gilliam Brown, Patricia Fortini Brown, Peter Brown, Timothy Carraher, Roger Chartier, Mary Jane Chase, Olivier Christin, Sherrill Cohen, Michael J. Connolly, Denis Crouzet, Patricia DeLeeuw, Jean Delumeau, Barbara Diefendorf, Eamon Duffy, Crystal Feimster, Elisa Foster, Luce Giard, Anthony Grafton, Carol Hurd Green, Earle Havens, Thomas Head, Jennifer Hill, Mack P. Holt, Daniel Jourdan, Patrick Jourdan, the late Robert M. Kingdon, Thomas Kren, Deborah Levenson-Estrada, Flora M. Lewis, Jonathan McGrath, Karen K. Miller, Edward Muir, Rebecca Nedostup, William B. Neenan, Nancy Netzer, Laurie Nussdorfer, John W. O'Malley, James Palmitessa, John Paoletti, Andrew Pettegree, Karen Potterton, David Quigley, Lilian Randall, Claire Reinburg, the late Nancy Lyman Roelker, R. Todd Romero, Sarah Gwyneth Ross, Richard Rouse, Bernard Roussel, Miri Rubin, Paula Sanders, Stephen Schloesser, Regina Schwartz, the late Bob Scribner, Lois Rutherford Scribner, Bridgette Sheridan, Judith Smith, Karen Spalding, William P. Stoneman, James Thuline, John Van Engen, Henk van Os, the late Peter Van Wingen, Marc Venard, Lee Palmer Wandel, the late Thierry Wanegffelen, and Roger S. Wieck.

Elizabeth Friend-Smith guided me through the publication process at Cambridge University Press. I am grateful for her advice, good judgment, and enthusiastic commitment to scholarly excellence. Many thanks to the outside reviewers of Cambridge University Press for their thoughtful reading of the manuscript and suggestions for improvement. Gillian Dadd and Rosina Di Marzo shepherded the book from manuscript to print with attentiveness and good cheer. I am also grateful to Cynthia Col, who prepared the index with care and scholarly expertise.

Warmest thanks to my extended family – the Reinburgs, Jourdans, Robbinses, Smiths, Petrillos, and MacQueens. Claire Reinburg, Maria Petrillo, and Karen Miller helped more than I can express. I dedicate this book to the memory of my parents, LeRoy Reinburg, Jr. and Marjorie Fayard Reinburg, and my sister Anora Reinburg Robbins, in gratitude for the love of books and much more that we shared.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations and a note on translations

Avril and Reynaud no.	François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, <i>Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520</i> (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale and Flammarion, 1993)
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
BPL	Boston Public Library
BSG	Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris
Lacombe no.	Paul Lacombe, <i>Livres d'heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris</i> (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907)
LC	Library of Congress
Leroquais no.	Victor Leroquais, <i>Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> , 3 vols. and supplement (Paris and Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1927–43)
Macfarlane no.	John Macfarlane, <i>Antoine Vérard</i> (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1900)
NYPL	New York Public Library
Randall no.	Lilian M. C. Randall, <i>Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery</i> , 3 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Walters Art Gallery, 1989–97)
Rézeau, <i>Les prières aux saints</i>	Pierre Rézeau, <i>Les prières aux saints en français à la fin du moyen âge: Prières à un saint particulier et aux anges</i> (Geneva: Droz, 1983)
Rézeau no.	Pierre Rézeau, <i>Répertoire d'Incipit des prières françaises à la fin du moyen âge: Addenda et corrigenda aux répertoires de</i>

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00721-5 - French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600

Virginia Reinburg

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Abbreviations and a note on translations

	<i>Sonet et Sinclair, Nouveaux Incipit</i> (Geneva: Droz, 1986)
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Schutzner no.	Svato Schutzner, <i>Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress: A Descriptive Catalog</i> , vol. I: <i>Bibles, Liturgy, Books of Hours</i> (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1989)
Sinclair no.	Keith V. Sinclair, <i>Prières en ancien français: Nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques, corrections et tables des articles du Répertoire de Sonet</i> (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1978)
Sonet no.	Jean Sonet, <i>Répertoire d'Incipit de prières en ancien français</i> (Geneva: Droz, 1956)
Vulg.	Vulgate Bible (as in <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , ed. Robert Weber, 3rd edn. [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983])

All translations into English are mine, unless otherwise noted. Where I translate prayers into English, the language of the original text (Latin or French) is specified, sometimes in the notes.