

Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Sue Ellen Holbrook, 'Caxton's Adaptation of The Lyfe of Saynt Paula for Vitas Patrum: Holy Debt and Mary's "Pappes" as Signs of Cultural Shaping ', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 38 (2007), 171-217

Permanent URL:

https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=123853&silos_library=GEN01



Leeds Studies in English
School of English
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**Caxton's Adaptation of *The Lyfe of Saynt Paula*
for *Vitas Patrum*: Holy Debt and Mary's 'Pappes'
as Signs of Cultural Shaping**

Sue Ellen Holbrook

Jerome, quoting Horace *Odes* 3.30.1 near the end of his *Vita Sancte Paulae*, proclaims that what he has written is a "monument more lasting than bronze", which no lapse of time will be able to destroy'.¹ Jerome's memoir of Paula (d. 26 January 404) has indeed endured over time, passed along in its original form as well as in Latin and vernacular adaptations. Adaptations yield insight into how producers and readers of books bring their cultural repertoires to texts to make meaning of them. It is in this light that I compare here the original *vita* with the English translation made by William Caxton for the *Vitas Patrum* published by Wynkyn de Worde (Westminster, 1495) and Caxton's source-text, a French adaptation for *La vie des saintz peres* published by Nicolaus Philippe with Jean Dupre (Lyon, 15 January 1486). These vernacular renditions of Paula's *vita* have hardly been noticed, yet they reveal much about editorial shaping, all the more so because the unnamed Lyon translator worked directly from the original Latin *vita* as printed in the edition called *Vitaspatrum* published by Anton Koberger (Nuremberg, 19 May 1478). With Caxton's French source-text and, in turn, its Latin source-text at hand, the adapting methods become conspicuous.² In step with the Lyon translator, Caxton makes adjustments of expression, omission, and addition. Along with what is retained, some of these alterations indicate care for intelligibility and appeal to the readership of the Lyon and Westminster presses. Such revision, particularly for Caxton's version, may be demonstrated in two culturally freighted episodes: the deletion of Paula's borrowing of money to fund almsgiving (§15), and the addition of the image of Mary nursing her newborn to the vision Paula had of Christ's birth while first visiting Bethlehem (§10). Reshaped according to a late-medieval western cultural standpoint, the radical anti-materialism of an ascetic senatorial widow becomes comfortable 'ryght grete charytee' for the 'loue of god' (fol. lix^{va}), and the 'contemplacyon' of the 'Natyuyte

of oure lorde' (fol. lvi^b), not in a cave of mystery but in a domestic stable, becomes invested with a thousand years' worth of changes in Marian devotion and inventions about the birth of Christ.

Vita Sancte Paulae and Vitas Patrum

Jerome's memoir of Paula falls into eight well-articulated sections. It opens with a paean of Paula's virtues (§1-2), followed by information about her parentage, husband, and children (§3-4). The second part is a chronological sequence highlighting her conversion to asceticism: her husband's death, her turn to the service of the Lord (§5), her decision to emigrate to the holy land with her daughter Eustochium, and her embarkation (§6). The third segment, also chronological, recounts her journey: the voyage to Cyprus and then Antioch, south through Syria and Palestine touring biblical sites, including Jerusalem and Bethlehem, onward to Egypt, and back to Bethlehem to build monasteries for women and men and a hospice for pilgrims (§7-14). The fourth segment, largely topical, illustrates Paula's virtues (§15-22); it includes a description of the order of her monasteries (§20 *de ordine monasterii*) and an anecdote about an illness exacerbated by her strict regime (§22). The fifth part (§23-25), an ostensible digression, explains Paula's avoidance of heresy. Although this heresy is not named, Jerome represents himself debating and defeating a proponent of the belief developed by the Alexandrian Christian philosopher Origen (d. c.254) that 'rational creatures have through their faults and previous sins fallen to bodily conditions' (§23 *rationales creaturas ob quaedam uitia et antiqua peccata in corpora esse delapsas*), and therefore at the Resurrection they will rise bodiless in a spiritualized state, whereas in orthodox belief, they will rise as Christ rose, having a real body and 'of the age of the fullness of Christ' (§25 *et in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi*).³ In the seventh segment, Jerome tells of Paula's qualities of mind when studying scripture, her skill in Hebrew, Eustochium's likeness to her mother, and Paula's granddaughter (§26). The remainder of the memoir concerns the end of Paula's life on earth, including her terminal illness, the funeral services, and Paula's legacy to Eustochium (§27-34).

During the medieval period, *Vita Sancte Paulae* circulated in Latin in several contexts, including Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda sanctorum* (c.1260), known as the *Golden Legend*, which carries an adaptation (BHL 6550), and *vitas-patrum* collections, which assemble texts about ascetics largely in Egypt,

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Palestine, and other areas of the eastern empire during the fourth through seventh centuries.⁴ During the 1470s, three forms of Latin *vitas-patrum* collections became available from the presses, of which the fullest and most influential was Koberger's. The whole Koberger volume, which amounts to 242 folios in four formal parts, was translated for the first printed edition in French, Philippe's *Vie des saintz peres*, which is illustrated by a cycle of woodcuts.⁵ The commission is indicated in the preface on the verso of the title page, which explains that the book has been 'newly translated from Latin into French and diligently corrected in the city of Lyon' in 1486. The rhymed colophon at the end also specifies that the translator finished the work the year the book was printed (sig. R [7]). In 1491, Caxton turned the whole of the Lyon *Vie des saintz peres* into English. His preface directs us to the Philippe incunable as his source (sig. Aa ii^a). Caxton died upon finishing the translation; four years later, de Worde brought out the English 'lyues of holy faders' under its traditional Latin title, *Vitas Patrum*, using a title page (as does Philippe, whose title is in French) and double-column print block (as do Philippe and Koberger), printing folio numbers (as does Koberger but not Philippe), dividing it into five parts (following Philippe), and incorporating woodcuts based on Philippe's.

Caxton in Westminster, de Worde there and later at his new press on Fleet Street in London, and Philippe in Lyon were sensitive to the appeal of vernacular books to clientele with interests in edifying and spiritual literature. When Caxton worked with Colard Mansion in Bruges, he produced books in French; when he founded his press in England in 1476, he emphasized compositions or translations in English, making about twenty translations of his own, usually from French, and from about 1481 on, began to include woodcuts in some. While also cultivating Latin schoolbooks and service books, de Worde (who became associated with Caxton soon after the establishment of the Westminster press) built up that programme of vernacular books with pictures, not only reproducing and re-editing staple works, such as Caxton's *Legenda Aurea*, but bringing many new texts into print. Philippe, a German originally from Bensheim, and his partner Marcus Rinehart, a German from Strasbourg, began printing in Lyon in 1477, concentrating on Latin books on theological and legal matters as well as traditional subjects of learning. As in Paris, Rouen, and other European cities, the book trade in Lyon was located around the cathedral.⁶ It is within this milieu of script and print book producers and buyers, and the assorted seculars and professional religious having to do one way or another with the great cathedral, that the Lyon translator belongs. By 1480, Philippe and Rinehart began to add

illustrated books in French to their repertory. These include *Fables d'Ésope* (20 August 1480); Jean of Vignay's translation of the *Golden Legend*, *Légende dorée* (c.1477-78; c.1482; and by Philippe alone in 1485/86); and *Mirouer de la vie humaine* (1482). It was Philippe and Rinehart's *Ésope* that Caxton translated into English and their woodcuts that he adapted for his *Aesop* of 26 March 1484. *La vie des saintz peres* belongs to this line of vernacular illustrated editions, but Philippe did not publish it with Reinhart; rather, as the rhymed colophon indicates by the phrase 'par bon accord', he contracted the assistance of 'Jehan dupre', who is known to have managed a large establishment in Lyon from 1486 through 1495. On 8 June 1486, in what must have been another arrangement, the Paris 'Maistre Jehan Dupre libraire', as the colophon identifies him (that is, bookseller or manager of a book publication centre), brought out another edition of *La vie des saintz peres*, with a virtually identical text and copies of Philippe's drawings.⁷

The Lyon translator and Caxton, in turn, retain all of the texts and the order established by Koberger. Thus, in de Worde's edition, Part One (fol. I-Clxxv^y) consists of 165 consecutively numbered chapters, of which the first thirty-three constitute the *History of the Monks in Egypt* (*Historia Monachorum in Egypta* BHL 6524), though not called so (fol. i-xxviii); and the remaining 132 are comprised of twenty-three 'lyues and fayttes' (fol. xxviii^{va}-Clxxv^y). Part Two (fol. Clxxvi-CCCxvi^y) encompasses both the Anonymous collection of sayings (BHL 6525), which ends on folio CCxx^{va}, and also the Pelagius and John subject collection (*Adhortationes Sanctorum Patrum* BHL 6527 and 6528). Part Three (fol. CCCxvii-CCCxxx) presents 'of the rule & conuersacyon of the holy faders of Egypte' (BHL 6526), an unattributed text fusing excerpts from Sulpicius Severus's *Dialogue I* and John Cassian's *Institutes* and *Conferences*. Part Four (fol. CCCxxxi-CCCxxxvi) has the Paschasius subject collection of sayings (BHL 6531); and Part Five (fol. CCCxxxvii-CCCxlvi), which Koberger attached to his fourth part, is made up of 'smale treattys of the praysyng of virtues' (source untraced). The *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* (ch. 40) is the sixth *vita* in part one.

As is typical of vernacular translation, the Lyon text tends to have doublets for a Latin word, and Caxton's, following suit, tends to have yet more (for example, where Lyon gives 'maisonette' for *cellula*, Caxton writes 'maisonette and lytel house'). Furthermore, as we will see, the Lyon adaptor has a penchant for adding or converting statements into exhortations to the readers, a style suggesting involvement in preaching or at least an ear for the homiletic voice. Caxton follows right along with this distinctive rhetoric. In places, the Lyon translator is fairly straightforward in turning Latin into French, but often, as we will

also see, more freely expresses the gist. In the main, the Lyon adaptor, and Caxton in step, shortens the Koberger texts throughout all four parts. Largely, the methods of shortening are to omit prologues to *vitae*, to select a representative statement out of a longer passage, and to skip portions (for example, in a section of the life of *Hilarion* relating eight miracles, Lyon and Caxton omit two).

The drive to reduce length in the whole volume by these methods applies to the life of Paula. Whereas Jacobus cuts and re-arranges, Lyon and Caxton retain the shape, order, and major contents of the original *vita*. In some segments, small-scale deletions are made, such as the etymological explanations of Gaza and Eschol, rooted in scripture, provided during Paula's travels in the Holy Land. In other places, whole units are passed over, such as the section identifying Paula's children. In Koberger, *Vita Sancte Paule* occupies thirteen folios. Even with its larger typeface, two woodcuts, and fewer abbreviations, Philippe's *Vie de Sainte Paule* is half that length, about six and a half folios, and de Worde's *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* somewhat over seven and a half.

Traces of Reader Reception

Because notes and marks added by readers to a copy of an early printed book may indicate not only its history as an artifact but also its reception as a text, this study takes notice of hitherto neglected annotations on the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* and the other works in the copy of de Worde's *Vitas Patrum* belonging to the Paul Mellon collection (Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven, CT). Brown ink dots and straight or squiggled lines lie in the outer and inner margins of most of this copy's 685 pages of text. Alongside and often on top of many of these ink lines, others have been made later with orange crayon, leaving an impression on the facing page. Next to numerous passages marked by the ink lines are various abbreviations for *nota bene*⁸ and/or words referring to the text, such as *yre*, *poverté*, and *lytyl tyme* in the outer margin of the page presenting the first several sayings in the Anonymous collection in part two of the edition (fol. Clxxvii^b). Whether the words were written independently of the ink lines is hard to ascertain, but they were added before the thicker crayon, for an orange line to the right of an ink squiggle runs over the initial letters of words in at least one case (fol. xxix^v inner margin, 'faith' and beneath it 'hope'). When the Mellon copy's pages were trimmed and rebound in the eighteenth century,⁹ many of the words in the left outer margin were severed, and most of those in the inner margins can no longer be seen in entirety

because the binding is too tight. Nevertheless, enough can be retrieved to determine that the script is similar throughout the book's five parts.

The first documented owner of this copy appears to be Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), whose cipher, or entwined letters, has been drawn in brown ink on the title page,¹⁰ but the verbal annotations were probably made closer to the time of de Worde. Half the size of the text type and relatively neat, they are made in a clerk's hand using a mixed script with Anglicana (also called 'court') and Secretary features and taking advantage of abbreviations and contractions developed for Latin. Throughout the copy, from folio v to folio CCCxxxvii, two forms of the letter *r* are discernible, one in the short shape of a 2, and one with a long descender.¹¹ The long-tailed *r* features in English cursive script as early as the mid-thirteenth century, while the short form of *r* drifts in during the fifteenth century under the influence of the cursive model being imported from France, which during the sixteenth century became known as Secretary.¹² Only the short *r* appears in a 1485 grant from King Richard III written, according to Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle, by a clerk in a 'neat Secretary hand', but both forms can be seen in an example written for John Fastolf in 1451 by William Worcester in a business hand derived from court hand,¹³ and also in what M. B. Parkes judges to be a 'typical example of late-fifteenth-century Anglicana' in a copy of the *Brut*.¹⁴ Compared to examples in later sixteenth-century Secretary, especially with regard to the tell-tale long *r*, which fades away around 1525,¹⁵ the handwriting of the verbal annotations in the Mellon copy suggests that while they could have been made at any point during the three decades subsequent to the edition's publication in 1495, the prevalence of the long *r* makes the first ten or so years most likely.

At the end of part one's first chapter, which is about 'saynt Johan the heremyte' (John of Lycopolis), an anachronistic interpolation invites the possibility that the verbal annotations are owed to the book culture interests of Carthusian monks, such as those at the London establishment or at Sheen on the south side of the Thames. After the description of John the Hermit's death on his knees while in prayer, we find, marked by a marginal *nota bene*, ¶ O ye Relygiouse of Charterhouse / and Heremytes. Well ought ye to beholde & see in this Heremyte.as in a myrroure' (fol. vii^a). Living by himself in an individual cell in which he was occupied with manual work as well as prayer, a Charterhouse monk did, indeed, lead a hermit life resembling this Egyptian father's.¹⁶ A major Carthusian occupation was book production, which brought the monks into association with Caxton and de Worde, who put into print form several texts

transmitted or owned in manuscript form by the Carthusians and also known to the Brigittines at Syon, across the Thames from Sheen. In 1410, Nicholas Love, Prior of the Charterhouse of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, made the English adaptation of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* that Caxton and de Worde later printed, as we will see. Thomas Betson, the Brigittine deacon at Syon who maintained the catalogue of the brothers' library, composed the *Treatise to Dyspose Men to Be Vertuously Occupyed* printed by de Worde ([1500]). Furthermore, Carthusians and Brigittines also owned copies of books printed by Caxton and de Worde, including Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* of 1494, a special edition of which, as we will also see, was sponsored by Lady Margaret Beaufort. The Carthusian James Greenhalgh at Sheen annotated a copy of de Worde's *Scala* he was using in 1497-1500, and afterwards gave it to Joanna Sewell, a Brigittine sister at Syon.¹⁷ Notes made on the Cambridge University Library copy of de Worde's *Vitas Patrum* reveal that by 1568 it had come to be in the company of Carthusians in exile living in the area of the Butter Market in Bruges. These men were from the London Charterhouse, but upon coming back to England after a seventeen-year stay in Bruges, they had occupied the abandoned Sheen site in 1556-58 before being forced to return to Bruges. Ten years later they were granted their own house there, which they called Sheen Anglorum.¹⁸ The question of who contributed the marginalia of the Mellon copy awaits further investigation, but it would not be surprising to find Carthusian or Brigittine involvement.

Just as the verbal annotations are similar in script, they are consistent in character. Because the words typically echo language in the passage to which they are adjacent, they serve as finders for a portion of text, as mnemonic shorthand for a significant theme, and/or as focal points for an idea to mull over. As such, they not only mark places for other readers to note but also reflect acts of reading on the part of the person making them.¹⁹ Frequently, the word is an abstract noun, such as *yre* mentioned earlier, which names the subject of the exhortation next to which it is written: 'yre behoueth vnto man not against some other [...] but for to be angry against hym selfe and his synnes / to the ende that more easely he maye put them from hym in amending of his lyfe' (fol. Clxxvii^b). Thus, the annotation identifies the subject for other readers and also emphasizes an emotion to be directed towards the development of virtue. Other words are more concrete. For instance, 'Mach A' and underneath 'of grapes' are visible in the inner margin next to an anecdote in the chapter on the 'Vertues' of Macarius Alexandrian in part one. When Macarius is given a 'cluste of grapes', he sends it to an ill brother, who sends it to another brother, and so the hermits pass the fruit

from one to another until it ends up returning to Macarius, thus illustrating the 'grete loue that they had togeder' (fol. xxv^{vb}). When that story recurs in the book of exhortations 'for to acquyer the vertue of pacyence and humylyte' in part two, the word 'grapes' again is penned in the inner margin (fol. Clxxxx). In the *Lif of Saynt Poul First Hermyte*, the sight of a crow delivering a full loaf of bread to Paul while Anthony is visiting him, rather than the usual half-loaf, is pointed to by the words 'crowe' and underneath 'lofe of brede' written in the outer margin next to '¶ And in saying suche wordes togyder.came a Crowe or a byrde whiche lete falle a loof of brede tofore thise two holy men'. The words indicate the telling of a wonder and its significance, the care God takes of hermits, as Paul remarks to Anthony: 'lete vs thynke on the goodness of our lorde [...] he is moche mercyfull & lowely [...] at thy comyng god hath multeplyed the portion.and hath sente dowble pytaunce' (fol. xxix^{va}). The letter '.O.' and a *nota bene* abbreviation are added to the outer margin next to an anecdote in part two about a brother so obedient that when summoned by his mentor, he left before finishing the letter *O* he had begun to write (fol. . CCclxxxviii^v); two other versions of this story occur, both annotated with an '.O.' (fol. CCii^v inner margin, encircled by crayon, with a large crayon *O* in the upper margin; and fol. CCCxxiii^v outer margin, 'a lettre .O.'). The annotations of grapes, bird-delivered loaf, and *O* all provide visual images for the memorial imagination to retain.

The margins of the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* look like those on the pages of the Mellon copy in general. They bear dark ink lines, often accompanied by crayon; eleven *nota bene* abbreviations; and on all but three of the fifteen-and-a-quarter pages, the remains of thirty verbal annotations.²⁰ In addition, two biblical quotations, enclosed in parentheses, are underlined in ink within the print block: Gloria in excelsis deo, from Luke 2.14 (fol. lvi^b), and Audi israhel, from Deuteronomy 27.9 (fol. lxi^a), which is underlined in crayon as well. Although scriptural quotations abound in this memoir, these are the only two retained in Latin, which Lyon-Caxton then goes on to translate. Many of the verbal annotations in the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* reiterate words in the text next to which they have been written. For instance, 'son' is noted in the outer margin next to the passage in which Paula stops overnight at the 'brynke' of the Jordan River and 'att the sonne rysynge she remembred the Sone of Justyce' (fol. lvi^{va}). There the natural sunrise is associated with the prophecy in Malachi 4.2 that for those who feared the Lord's name the Sun of Justice (*sol iustitiae*) would arise with healing power (a prefiguration of Christ). The word 'humilite' is set in the outer margin next to the segment in which Jerome illustrates Paula's virtues, beginning with

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'The fayrest of whyche is humylyte' (fol. lviii^b). The word 'foles' has been written in the inner margin next to Paula's rejoinder, based on Corinthians 4.10, to the man of religion who told her 'she semed to moche people to be as a foole & Ydyote': ¶ My brother in god we ben alle semblable and lyke / That is to saye in a place comyn where as alle the men in this worlde shall be assembled ¶ And we all ben called fooles for the loue of Jhesu Cryste' (fol. lix^a). Though missing their initial letter, '[w]yntyr' and '[h]arvest' are legible in the outer margin next to the passage from Song 2:12 that Paula hears and responds to as she dies: 'she herde oure lorde / whiche callyd her sayenge / ¶ Come to me my spowse my culuer or douue / ¶ For the wynter and the Rayne ben passed / ¶ To whom she answered / ¶ The flores ben on the erthe / The tyme of Harueste is come / I byleue to see the goodes of oure lorde in the londe of lyuyng people' (fol. lxi^{va}). As these examples suggest, the words written in the margins record events and places in Christian sacred history as well as virtues, ideas, and beliefs within a Christian paradigm, such as the attitude towards death, in which the 'harvest' is the happy release of the soul into the spiritual fulfillment for which it longs. Clearly, such verbal annotations indicate places on which readers may focus their memorial imaginations as they make meaning of the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula*. As we are about to see, those places include holy poverty and the Nativity.

Paula's Almsgiving and Debt

Paula and Jerome understood material renunciation to be an essential step in serving the Lord; for those of senatorial status, as Paula was, dispossession in order to embrace voluntary poverty was a radical act, removing wealth from circulation among the senatorial families. From beginning to end of the memoir, Jerome relates Paula's distinguished lineage to her inherited wealth, the dispersal of which yields a yet more distinguished inheritance in spiritual good *vitas*. In various sections, we find that Paula's dispossession comes through giving to the indigent, the ill, and the servants of the Lord and also financing the monasteries and pilgrims' inn she founded in Bethlehem. Within the segment of the *vita* devoted to her virtues, a lengthy subsection develops her liberality in regard to the needy (¶15). It begins with the way Paula finances her charity: in order not to turn away a request, 'she borrowed money at interest and often contracted new loans to pay off old ones'.²¹ Jerome records their quarrel over this borrowing; although he reproves her, Paula prevails, and so she continued to follow the 'Lord in his

poverty, giving back to him what she had received and becoming poor for his sake. She obtained her wish at last and died leaving her daughter [Eustochium] overwhelmed with a mass of debt'.²² Jerome then describes the way she managed her wealth so that she could help all in true need who applied to her for aid and records a long passage-weaving speech characteristic of Paula's discourse (§16). In this, Paula evokes seven scriptural passages justifying almsgiving and its spiritual rewards. Jerome returns to the 'mass of debt' towards the end of the memoir (§30), again referring to Eustochium, who inherits the monasteries as well as the debt.

The Lyon-Caxton adaptation of Paula's life keeps the inversion of spiritual and material inheritance and nearly all mentions of her almsgiving, but makes adjustments here and there. For example, the initial declaration is rendered in balanced, accessible terms: 'She was noble of parentes / but more noble of holynesse of lyfe / Ryche of patrymony / But more ryche for as moche as she had renounced and forsaken the goodes of this worlde' (fol. liiii^{va}). For Jerome's description of the mourning dependents (the brothers and sisters in her Bethlehem monasteries) along with Eustochium, who is left 'rich only in faith and grace' (§2), Lyon-Caxton zeroes in on one line ('omnes suos pauperes pauperior ipsa dimisit')²³ and distills it memorably into '¶ She loued alle the tyme of her lyfe the sure astate of pouertee / ¶ For whanne she deyed she was more pore than they whom she gaaf her almesse' (fol. liiii^{vb}). In the Mellon copy, this passage occasions the first verbal annotation on the text: next to it in the inner margin is an ink squiggle and 'pouertee,' underlined in orange crayon. To Jerome's praise of those of high birth who reject riches (§3), Lyon-Caxton adds criticism of those who say they have renounced all but have entered a religious order that will provide for them:

But for asmoche as whanne some ben come of hyghe byrthe and of grete place / And they dyspyse the Rychesses of the world / They shew themselves in soo dooyng to be of the very lygnage of Jhesu Cryste / and to haue towarde hym gretter loue / thenne to theym whyche haue noughte or lytyll thinge in value ¶ And say that they renounce and forsake alle / ¶ As some done whyche putt them selfe in to Relygyon.for to haue prouysion & suretee of theyr lyuyng. (fol. liiii^{vb})

In the Mellon copy, the final remark about those who put themselves in religion is marked by an ink squiggle, *nota bene*, and crayon. When the newly widowed Paula in Rome undertakes poor relief, Lyon-Caxton assumes she is distributing

her late husband's money (rather than the dowry that under Roman custom would have reverted to her): 'it is to be noted that after the deth of her husbonde Toxocius / She dystrybuted and dealed that halfe of his godes vnto the poore people' (fol. 1v^a).²⁴ Furthermore, the adaptation shrinks the passage on Paula's judicious management of her wealth to one pithy sentence: 'And neuer the poore departed from her.but if he hadd her almesse' (fol. 1vii^{vb}). It retains most of the scriptural justifications of almsgiving in the long segment following, such as 'Lyke as the water quenchyth the fyre. Soo dooth almese the synne.' This is yet another passage noted in the Mellon copy: a squiggle overlain by orange crayon is drawn alongside it and 'Almesse' written in the adjacent margin. The culminating passage of Paula's teaching on almsgiving, which refers to rolling and living stones of which the 'city of the great king in John's Apocalypse was built' and will be turned into 'sapphire and emerald and jasper' and other gems (based on Revelations 21.19-21), is converted into what must have seemed a more pointed expression for the Philippe and de Worde presses' readers, who would have included the wives of merchants: 'Her money was not atatchyd not putte to bye precious stones for to make rynges of golde to put on her fingers / As now done burgeyses wyues' (fol. 1vii^{vb}). In the segment exemplifying Paula's patience, the subsection on her reaction to the exhaustion of her patrimony (§19), which involves another speech woven of scriptural quotations, is kept nearly intact, eliminating only one brief quotation and part of another long one. To the first of the retained quotations, Matthew 16.26, '¶ What prouffyteth to wynne alle the worlde.yf one lese his soule that it be dampned.what marchaundyse maye a man take in recompence of his soule', Lyon-Caxton adds a gloss: '¶ As yf she wolde saye / Lyke as the Rycheses of thys worlde ben cause of the dampnacyon of the soule' (fol. 1viii^{vb}). Four places in this speech are marked in the Mellon copy, beginning with that quotation. Merchants are added again, and even addressed in Lyon-Caxton's rendering of Jerome's passage towards the end commending Paula's admirable example of giving all her wealth to the poor (§30):

¶ Lete us thynke thenne we myserable synnars / ¶ And pryncypally they that amasse and possesse grete Ryches & tresours / ¶ How the good lady Paula abandouned and forsoke alle her tresour for to gyue for goddis sake / ¶ Helas what cowde one more yeve / She reteyned and kepte noo thyng for herselfe / ¶ Thynke marchauntes what marchaundyses she made / Whanne she chaunged alle her golde and her syluer into thynges

Incommutable / ¶ She forsoke alle for to haue alle. And she wolde
be ryght poore for to be Ryche / (fol. lxi^{vb})

That last line is noted in the Mellon copy by an ink squiggle and *nota bene*.

Clearly, the retentions and rewritings in the Lyon-Caxton adaptation place value on the passages about the right use of wealth, and so do the annotations in the Mellon copy of de Worde's edition. And yet, the quarrel about debt is completely excised from the section on Paula's virtues. After describing Paula's humility, help to any 'poor body' she saw, and advice to the rich 'to do well', much as Jerome does (¶15), Lyon-Caxton skips the equivalent of about thirty lines in the Koberger Latin, and picks up the line 'No person went away from her empty-handed' and the speech on almsgiving, as we have seen. Jerome's later reference to the debt left to Eustochium leads into the passage on Paula's abandonment of treasure for God's sake, quoted above, yet it too is omitted.

Considering the care given to presenting Paula's preference for a spiritual life over wealth and to inviting readers to eschew covetousness and to give alms, the absence of the passages on Paula's borrowing to care for paupers and leaving behind the accumulated debt does not seem to be an accidental casualty of general shortening. In the abridged and rearranged version of Paula's life in the mid-thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*, Jacobus also adjusts the text to eliminate the accumulated debt. He makes the subject of the quarrel only the prodigality of Paula's almsgiving and omits leaving the debt to Eustochium.²⁵ As a Dominican Friar Preacher in Genoa, writing probably for preachers and educators of preachers, Jacobus may not have seen the point of broadcasting Paula's radical attitude toward material renunciation; for the members of the order and the laity they reached, it was caring for the poor that mattered, as homiletic theme, individual counsel, and personal practice.²⁶ Similarly, the Lyon translator may have eliminated the whole of the quarrel and the reference to debt because unlike those about almsgiving, these passages would seem alien to the readers of *Le vie des saintz peres*. Caxton is following the Lyon adaptor, but the message of his translation accords with contemporary attitudes and practices regarding the right use of wealth indicated in recent studies of London widows, and also Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII.

Consider Joan Buckland (d. 1462), daughter of a London citizen and fishmonger, who married another fishmonger and during the years of her marriage was, in Jenny Stratford's description, 'very rich and in the first rank of merchant's wives'.²⁷ During her marriage, she and her husband, Richard, gave a

sizeable monetary donation to the double house at Syon for Brigittines, mentioned earlier, which had been founded by Henry V in 1420 for an order initiated by Bridget of Sweden and finally established in 1384. When Richard died, Joan oversaw his bequests on behalf of the 'poor, the sick, hospitals and prisoners'; to the household priest and some particular friars as well the four orders in London; and for several chantries, certain churches, and work on St. Paul's Cathedral.²⁸ At the same time, Joan took over the management of Richard's extensive business interests, mainly in shipping, and pursued money owed by the crown to Richard so that she could, in turn, pay his creditors. In the testament she drew up for herself twelve years before she died, Joan left considerable property to a parish church, including many Latin service books; more property to some vicars; a good sum of money to the 'poor men of the fishmongers' craft of London'; and a lesser amount for the orders of friars. Ultimately, she also asked that if her country estate were to be sold, a third of the proceeds were to go to 'the poor'.²⁹

Among the many kinds of patronage in which charity and largesse were linked in the life of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood demonstrate that she provided housing and clothing for almsfolk at her estate of Collyweston near Stamford, paid for the schooling of almschildren and saw that they were apprenticed, fed the poor at Christmas, and gave allowances so that the offspring of her servants could move through life's 'rites of passage' in being christened, married, and buried. She also 'acted as a moneylender' for members of a 'restricted court and family circle'.³⁰ She herself, however, was never in debt, thriftily managing almsgiving and other acts of patronage (such as founding colleges) along with the upkeep of both the Collyweston estate and her house in London. During Lady Margaret's funeral ceremonies, alms were distributed as her body was taken to Westminster, while in London 'doles to the poor' were made and certain inmates in the jails were set free.³¹ On a far less grand scale but in a similar vein, the widow Margaret Croke (d. 1491), whose husband had been a merchant of the staple in London, raised a 'charity child' as well as her own twelve progeny and apart from engaging in numerous lawsuits, lent money to both a son-in-law and one of her sons, which they failed to repay, a lapse she overlooked.³² One last example, within the span of the Westminster press, is Alice Claver (d. 1489), a London mercer who married another London mercer (Caxton's own craft before he retired to take up the business of printing). After her husband's death, Alice's atelier of silk-workers supplied goods to Edward IV, then Richard III, and then Henry VII. She took in a widow and regularly raised almschildren whom she then apprenticed to 'good'

masters. When she died, she left a sum of money for what Ann F. Sutton calls the 'conventional bequests chosen by dying Londoners of her day': 'poor householders', 'poor girls' marriages in her parish', and inmates in 'each of the London prisons'.³³ Among Alice's male associates was William Pratte (d. 1486), a friend and patron of Caxton; William's wife, Alice, was Alice Claver's friend. No record exists of books Alice Claver owned, but Sutton suggests an attractive vignette: 'she could have read with [Pratte's] widow' Caxton's translation of a French book that William gave to him to print, the *Book of Good Manners*, which translation Caxton duly published on 8 May 1487. Alice was a prudent businesswoman, unostentatious in her habits for all that hers was a luxury trade, and filled, in Sutton's phrase, with the 'love that took in the poor'.³⁴

For Christians, almsgiving to the penurious, the imprisoned, the ill, and so forth is based on the six charitable acts named in Matthew 25.35-46 when Christ, as risen King at the Last Judgment, informs the saved 'sheep' at his right hand that when they fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirsty, welcomed the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick, and visited the prisoners, they did so to him; the condemned 'goats' on his left hand failed to do so to the 'least of them' and therefore to him. In a variety of ways throughout the medieval period, the laity were reminded of their obligation to carry out these acts of mercy through almsgiving. In about 1440, Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders, would have seen her elegantly dressed self pictured on a page in her prayer-book putting coins from her purse into the bowls of a barefoot child, old woman, and crippled man, all badly clothed, while in the lower margin Christ behind prison bars is offered a bowl of food by a modestly dressed woman.³⁵ At about the same time, parishioners of All Saints on North Street in York would look up at scenes of all the acts of mercy in a stained glass window, performed by people dressed like them.³⁶ Just about everyone in the bourgeois and aristocratic classes would have known a special prayer to the Virgin Mary, 'Obsecro Te' (I beseech thee), in a prayer-book produced in abundance for laity throughout Europe as well as England, which includes the request, 'make me fulfill the seven works of mercy'.³⁷ It is within such a culture of almsgiving that Lyon-Caxton's Paula fits, as the annotations in the Mellon copy indicate. In Lyon as in London, debt and personal money-lending there would have been, almsgiving there would have been, but begging oneself to carry out the acts of mercy, there would not have been.

Paula's Nativity Vision

In the Latin memoir, when Paula arrives at the village of Bethlehem after visiting Jerusalem, the first place she sees is the cave (*specum*) in which the 'saviour' was born.³⁸ At this time, the Nativity cave lay under a basilica built by Constantine in 329. As John Wilkinson explains, the Bethlehem cave was linked with the two Jerusalem caves of Golgotha, site of the Resurrection, and the Mount of Olives, site of the Ascension, as the 'three holy caves' corresponding to the three Christian tenets of the Lord's incarnation, suffering and death, and triumph.³⁹ Entering this sacred space, Paula 'perceive[s] with the eyes of faith' (*cernere se fidei oculis*) an ensemble of scenes concerning the Nativity. Jerome identifies himself as ear-witness to her description of what she sees and to her commentary:

When she looked upon the sacred inn of the virgin and the stable where 'the ox knows its owner and the ass its master's manger' [Isa. 1.3], that the words of the same prophet might be fulfilled, 'Happy are you who sow beside all waters, who let the feet of the ox and the ass range free' [Isa. 32.20], she swore in my hearing that she could perceive with the eyes of faith the infant wrapped in swaddling cloths wailing in the manger, the wise men worshipping God, the star shining overhead, the virgin mother, the attentive foster-father, the shepherds coming by night to see the word that was come to pass and thus even then to consecrate those opening phrases of the Evangelist John: 'In the beginning was the word' and 'the word was made flesh' [1.1, 14]. She declared she could see the murdered infants, the raging Herod, Joseph and Mary fleeing into Egypt, and with a mixture of tears and joy she cried, 'Hail Bethlehem, house of bread, wherein was born that bread that came down from heaven'.⁴⁰

Paula's vision conflates elements of Matthew, which tells of the wise men seeing the star, Herod, and the flight into Egypt (2.1-13), and Luke, which tells of the swaddling cloths, manger, and shepherds (2.7-16). The detail of the infant's wailing (*uagientem*), which is repeated later, is not in apocryphal accounts or the Vulgate; it also occurs in other of Jerome's descriptions of the birth of Christ, in which it connotes the suffering the son of God experienced in taking on human corporeal form.⁴¹ The first five elements of the vision blend the Nativity with the

Adoration of the Magi. Paula's commentary and the speech that follows the whole sequence emphasize the fulfillment of prophecy. Weaving in six passages from scripture, Paula relays the fulfillment of the prophecy of Christ's coming and aligns the event of Christ's birth with her arrival in the place of its occurrence.⁴² She proclaims that 'I, miserable sinner, have been judged worthy to kiss the manger in which the baby Lord wailed, and to pray in the cave in which the virgin in labor gave birth to the infant God' (¶10 et ego, misera atque peccatrix, digna sum indicata deosculari praesepe, in quo dominus paruulus uagiit, orare in spelunca, in qua uirgo puerpera deum fudit infantem). The speech culminates in her decision, expressed through four quotations, that since her saviour chose Bethlehem, so must she: "'This is my rest" [Isaiah 28.12] for it is my Lord's native place; "Here will I dwell" [Psalms 132.14] for this spot has my Saviour chosen. "I have prepared a lamp for my Christ [Psalms 131.17]. My soul shall live unto him and my seed shall serve him [Psalms 22.31]".⁴³ Paula's experience and speech reflect the Bethlehem cave as a special location for apprehending the mystery of the incarnation.

In contrast, acts of omission, addition, expansion, and substitution make the Lyon-Caxton retelling compatible with late medieval sensibilities of affective devotion. The Lyon-Caxton text omits the inn (*diuersorium*) as well as the cave (*specum*), and describes Paula as having come 'in to the place where our lorde was borne in the stable'. Referring to what she sees as her 'contemplacyon', Lyon-Caxton cuts away the opening prophecies; eliminates the detail of wailing; omits the foster-father (Joseph) and shepherds; enlarges the Nativity sketch and links it smoothly with what she 'sawe also in her faythe', the latter word being echoed by 'faith' in the inner margin (fol. lvi^a): the 'thre kynges worshyppyng the lytyll chylde / And the sterre that conduyted and ladde theym', the 'Innocentes there slayne', and the flight of Mary and Joseph with 'her swete sone Ihesus' into Egypt. It keeps the ensuing address to Bethlehem as the house of bread from the prophet Michah but skips over the six-quotation prophetic speech that follows, excises the second mention that the infant lord is wailing, and replaces 'cave' with 'place'. It culminates in much the same way: '¶ Also saynt Paula sayde to herselfe Ha unhappy synnar [Lyon: *maleureuse pecheresse*] that I am. God hath shewed to me more [Lyon: *fait plus de grace*] thane apperteyneth to me / ¶ Whanne now I maye kysse the Crybbe [Lyon: *creche*] wherin my lorde god laye after he was borne ¶ Also to pray in the place where the vyrgyne bare. and was deliuered of a chylde [Lyon: *la vierge leenfanta*]' (de Worde fol. lvi^{ab}; Philippe sig. f ii^{va}). In the outer

Caxton's Adaptation of The Lyfe of Saynt Paula for Vitas Patrum

margin of the Mellon copy, this speech is marked by a brown ink squiggle and 'cribbe', a word that conjures a visual image.

The three most significant alterations concern the foster-father, Joseph; the place of the birth; and Mary's treatment of her newborn. Joseph is typically set apart from Mary and the infant in Nativity traditions, a phenomenon that reflects the custom of a husband not touching his wife on her lying-in bed until the purification ritual and also Joseph's role as Mary's husband, but not her baby's father.⁴⁴ In visual media, the idea that Joseph is not the father may be embodied, as André Grabar proposes, in the frequent representation of Joseph not looking at Mary and her child.⁴⁵ Moreover, the term Paula uses, *nutricium sedulum*, to refer to Joseph not as the newborn's father but as a guardian figure, creates an ambiguity that, as I will argue later, Lyon-Caxton resolves through the influence of certain retellings, especially the late-thirteenth-century Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ*.

Indicative of changing traditions over the centuries are the Lyon-Caxton revisions to the 'place where our lorde was borne' by excising the inn (*diversorium*) and the cave (*specum*) and retaining only *stabulum* as 'lestabile' in Lyon and 'stable' in Caxton. For Paula and Jerome, the term 'inn' is ironic, for according to Luke 2.7 in Jerome's New Testament, Mary laid her newborn in a manger because she and Joseph found no place in the inn ('reclinanti eum in praesepio quia non erat eis locus in diuersorio');⁴⁶ Paula rectified the lack of shelter for the pregnant mother of God by founding a hospice for pilgrims 'where Mary and Joseph had been unable to find hospitality' (§14 quia Maria et Ioseph hospitium non inuenerant). As for the *specum*, caves recur throughout the many texts that make up *Vie des saintz peres* and *Vitas Patrum*, usually serving as habitats for anchorites, but Lyon-Caxton tends to provide substitutes for *specum* and *speluncam*, such as 'hermitage'. In the case of the Nativity, however, it is not only an aversion to caves that we see but an assumption that it is the stable that matters. In Paula's vision as in Jerome's other Nativity descriptions, 'praesepe' has the specific meaning of the receptacle from which stabled beasts eat fodder, i.e., a manger. The Lyon adaptor translates *praesepe* as 'creche' and Caxton as 'Crybbe', envisioned within the stable. The importance and conception of the stable as well as the *praesepe*, and along with them the presence of an ox and an ass, developed largely through interpretations derived ultimately from two apocryphal texts, the *Protevangelium* and the *Book of Pseudo-Matthew*. The *Protevangelium*, first known as the *Book of James*, that is, Joseph's son James, is a composition in Greek that had circulated since the second century. The *Protevangelium* fills in

gaps in the accepted scriptural accounts as it tells of Mary's birth to Anne and Joachim and her childhood, expands the brief stories of Christ's birth, and elaborates on subsequent episodes in his childhood. The *Book of Pseudo-Matthew* is an eighth- or ninth-century Latin composition, which builds on the *Protevangelium*.

According to the *Protevangelium*, when Mary and Joseph approach Bethlehem, Mary announces that she must get down from the ass she is riding, led by Joseph's son, for "the child within me presses me, to come forth", and so Joseph finds her a cave there.⁴⁷ After the birth in the cave and the visit of the magi, when Mary hears of Herod's decree to slay the children, she 'took the child and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in an ox-manger' (§22.2), evidently farther recessed, thus explaining the manger in Luke 2.7 and 16, and perhaps implying the ass and the ox. *Pseudo-Matthew* links the ox and the ass with the Isaiah 1.3 prophecy, also recorded in the account of Paula's experience, but makes them living beasts in a stable set outside the cave. Hence, after the birth, when Mary 'went out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in the manger', the ox and ass kneeled and 'adored' the child.⁴⁸ Mary's placement of the baby in the manger in the *Protevangelium* gives rise to the move out of the cave to a stable in *Pseudo-Matthew* and subsequently to the stable setting featured in pictures and retellings of the Nativity, especially during the fifteenth century, when its typical look is that of an open-sided, small, wooden structure roofed by straw or reed thatch and the manger (Lyon's crèche, Caxton's crib) as a trough holding hay for the ass and ox.

As beguiling as it is complex, the third Lyon-Caxton revision to the Nativity sketch indicates a cultural change in both Nativity traditions and Marian devotion: the addition of Mary's active involvement with her newborn. Whereas Paula in the Latin memoir sees the swaddled child in the manger and then the virgin, in Lyon-Caxton she sees Mary herself wrapping him: 'she beganne to be in contemplaycon / and remembred how the chylde was layed and wrapped in lytyll clothes by his blessyd moder [Lyon: 'elle se print a contempler come se lenfant y eust che en petis drapeaux ennclope de sa benoite mere']'. To the sight of this maternal act, Lyon-Caxton adds that Paula, as if she had been there, then saw Mary draw out her breast to feed the infant: '¶ And lyke as she had be there drawynge oute her pappes or teetes to gyue hym souke / [et come fil eust estre illec tyrant la mamelle comme ses petiz enfant]' (de Worde fol. lvi^a; Philippe sig. f ii^b). The addition of Mary's acts of swaddling and nursing the Christ child arises from the convergence of two, long lines of attention to Mary with her son. One

concerns the Nativity as an event in accounts of the 'infancy cycle' of the life of Christ, such as those in the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew*. In Luke 2.7, Mary swaddles her son (*pannis eum inuoluit*), which is echoed by the *Pseudo-Matthew* account in which Mary wraps him before re-locating to the manger. Luke does not mention breastfeeding. However, in the *Protevangelium*, after Mary gives birth and the light recedes, the child 'went and took the breast of its mother Mary', while in the *Pseudo-Matthew*, the midwife Zelomi, after verifying by touch that Mary's hymen is intact, is amazed that 'any one should have her breasts full of milk, and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin' (§13). Yet, despite the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew*, retellings do not routinely include the milk-filled breasts of the newly delivered virgin mother and, apart from a very few exceptions, neither do visual representations. The other line of attention concerns the meaning of the Mother of God, or the Virgin, in incarnation theology and salvation history. In this regard, Mary is seen as an intercessor with special access to her son; it is among verbal and visual images of Mary in this role in Europe and Britain that her lactating breast tends to appear.

The Nativity Mary becomes associated with the lactating Mary (*Maria lactans*) in two texts that changed the iconography of the Nativity in the fifteenth century: the aforementioned *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, and a late-fourteenth-century account of a revelation received by Bridget of Sweden. The Nativity in the Lyon-Caxton life of Paula has common ground with both works. The topic of lactation as a Nativity element has had little notice in Marian scholarship. Therefore, to appreciate the cultural import of the Lyon-Caxton amplification of the Nativity sketch, it will be helpful first to summarize traditions of the Nativity and *Maria lactans* relevant to their eventual association in the *Meditations* and Bridget's revelation and then to see how this convergence is manifested in Lyon-Caxton.

The Traditional Nativity: Mary Reclines on the Childbed

The earliest extant visual depiction of the Nativity did not become the standard scene for this event. The earliest known picture is a fresco in Rome dated by Fabrizio Bisconti, 'according to the latest restorations', to 230-40.⁴⁹ It is located in a niche of the central 'arenaria' in the underground communal cemetery (catacomb) associated with the shrine of Priscilla on the Via Salaria in the northeast suburb of Rome.⁵⁰ This fresco depicts Mary clasping her tiny boy to the

right side of her bosom, apparently nursing him; overhead is a large, golden, circular shape among some smaller ones, presumably the star that led the magi, and to Mary's right stands a prophet, identifiable by his headgear, who may be, according to Bisconti, 'Balaam, or Isais' (quoted in the Paula memoir) or even a 'generic personification of prophecy'. It is the conjunction of a maternal image with a prophet that signifies the Nativity. According to Bisconti, the two 'iconographic tendencies' in early catacomb decoration are truncated scenes of biblical events, i.e., vignettes, and cryptic symbols. The Madonna painting belongs to the symbolic mode, not the vignette. In the juxtaposition of prophet and Madonna, Bisconti explains, the 'Old and New Testament come into intimate contact to stress the cohesion between the two Testament traditions'.⁵¹ As we have seen in Jerome's account, that 'intimate contact' informs Paula's vision in Bethlehem. This symbolic mode of depicting the Nativity, however, was not perpetuated in other representations of the birth of Christ.

Rather, from the late sixth century onward through the fourteenth, Nativities are vignettes that consistently depict Mary reclining on a cushioned bed, a fully swaddled child in a box, and Joseph pensive and marginalized; frequently, an ox and an ass appear. Among eastern examples, such a scene is painted on one panel on a pilgrim box from Palestine dated to the late-sixth/early-seventh century. Each panel signifies by its picture a place visited by the pilgrim. Accordingly, the Nativity panel, which sets the scene within a round cavern into which a star shines, indicates Bethlehem.⁵² An early instance among western representations lies in an illuminated prayer-book probably made in the north of England and bearing the date 867. The picture shows Mary, totally covered up, lying with her head on a pillow; a four-rayed star in the upper right shines over the heads of the ass and ox, under which is the tightly wrapped child in a manger; in profile at the foot of the manger is Joseph.⁵³ The ensemble tendency we saw in Paula's vision is evident in the five compartments painted on a page in a prayer-book made in Bohemia, c.1215, probably for Princess Agnes of Bohemia. In the upper left one, Mary reclines, fully dressed and turned on her right side; her right hand touches her head while her left extends over the wrapped-up infant in the manger, above which are the benign heads of an ox and an ass separated by a star. Joseph leaning on a cane sits between the right edge of the manger and the foot of Mary's bed. The German inscription above this scene says, 'Hie ist unser herre geborn' (here our lord is born). The following scenes are the announcement to the shepherds, the visit of the three kings, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents.⁵⁴ In the illustrations of the Nativity for Prime in the hours of the

virgin in prayer-books called *horae*, which were produced in the thousands primarily for the laity, the traditional configuration with a reclining, non-nursing Mary is regularly seen into the early years of the fifteenth century. An example comes from a *hora* made c.1415-25 in the Netherlands: under the roof of the stable, Mary, propped up on her bed, steadies the half-draped infant kneeling on her lap, his face turned towards her, his arms stretched towards a cloth offered by a female attendant; the ass and the ox peer over the manger behind her, while in the lower right corner, Joseph warms another cloth at a hearth fire in a mini-scene distancing him from the central image of Mary and son on her bed.⁵⁵

The traditional configuration of the Nativity is also seen in fourteenth-century illustrations for legendaries arranged by the liturgical calendar, such as the *Golden Legend*, where the Nativity of the Lord is also standard. The *Golden Legend* text for the 'Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ' consists of various exegetical commentaries but also weaves in the story of the Nativity as embellished, in part, by a version of apocryphal *Pseudo-Matthew*, which Jacobus refers to as the *Book of the Infancy of the Saviour* that a certain 'Brother Bartholomew' drew upon in his 'compilation'.⁵⁶ The Jacobus chapter does not lend itself to illustration specific to it, for the details are distributed over several sections rather than told in a consecutive scenario resembling the apocryphal stories, and the standard elements of the childbed, swaddling, and whereabouts of Joseph during the birth go unmentioned in the text. For illustrators, however, it was sufficient to signify the subject to readers by the traditional image of the Nativity in which those latter elements had their entrenched part. Hence, for example, in a *Légende dorée* produced in 1375 for Charles of Anjou (London, British Library, Additional MS 16907), the miniature depicts Mary lying on one side, resting her head on one hand, the swaddled child in a bed behind her, and Joseph to the side, his head on his arm. A *Légende dorée* made in 1382 (London, British Library, Royal MS 19 B.xxii, fol. 21^v), which came into the possession of William FitzAlan, Ninth Earl of Arundel, the patron of Caxton's English *Legenda Aurea*,⁵⁷ pictures the ox and the ass, Joseph kneeling to the side, and Mary lying on a bed but holding the swaddled child.

As forecast, the Virgin's breastfeeding does not become a regular motif in Nativities, even in those depicting the midwives inherited from the *Protevangelium*, in which the first midwife sees Mary nursing her newborn and the *Pseudo-Matthew*, in which she notes aloud Mary's lactation.⁵⁸ In fact, the *Golden Legend* leaves out that part of the pronouncement by Zebel (as she is called there), as do other texts dependent on the *Golden Legend*. An instance is

the English Nativity day sermon by John Mirk, abbot of a house of Augustinian Canons at Lilleshalle in Shropshire. It occurs in the collection he composed about 1400 known as the *Festial*, which was circulated in more than one version in manuscript and eventually published by Caxton, de Worde, and the Oxford printer Theodoric Rood. In this sermon, the midwives do not show up until Mary has already 'lappid þat lovely lorde in hir clothes, and layde hym in the crybbe and maungere before þe ox and þe asse'. Thebell (as her name is construed), therefore, does not observe the miraculous lactation; rather, she sees a newly delivered virgin mother 'withoute payne',⁵⁹ a point also emphasized in the *Meditations* and Bridget's revelation, as we will see.

Mary the Intercessor: Theotokos Hodegetria and Maria lactans

Robin Cormack concludes from written sources that 'at least by 400, Christians were familiar with an environment of portraits of saints and of Mary, both in churches and in other structures built for the commemoration of saints and of Mary'.⁶⁰ After the Council of Ephesus ruled in 431 that Mary was Theotokos (the one who gave birth to the one who became God),⁶¹ portraits of the Mother of God holding her infant to her chest or on her lap are found in several media spread through a wide geographical range. In these, the Christ child raises one hand in the gesture of blessing and holds a decree in the other, while Mary's open right hand points to or rests on him. In this pose, the Theotokos is known as Panagia or more generally Hodegetria, a phrase referring to her son as the 'one who shows the way'. Known as icons, the earliest extant portraits on panels of Mary in this pose date to the sixth and seventh centuries;⁶² they are reputed to be copies from a painting by the evangelist Luke of the living Mary with her infant son.⁶³ Besides panels, Theotokos Panagia, for instance, is to be seen painted as a fresco of c.528 in the Catacomb of Commodilla in Rome and carved on a mid-sixth-century ivory diptych made in Constantinople for liturgical memorials.⁶⁴ A mosaic of a standing Theotokos Hodegetria made in the second half of the seventh century decorates the apse of a church in Cyprus.⁶⁵ At what may be the same time as this mosaic, an accomplished painter rendered a seated Mary cradling her son in a mural on a half column to the right of the entrance to the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary at the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt; in this recently uncovered picture, however, the composition differs, for Mary's left hand directs her full breast to the child's mouth, thus providing an early eastern image of *Maria*

lactans.⁶⁶ A seated *Maria lactans* is also depicted on a small limestone slab of the fourth-fifth century from the Fayum district, south from the Monastery of the Syrians: sitting on a folding stool, Mary holds her round right breast to her infant. This depiction is similar to one in a third-century wall painting from a house in Karanis, located in the same district, in which a seated Isis holds her right breast above her little son, Horus, who sits squarely on her lap, facing the viewers. The presence of Christians in the geographical areas in which Isis was worshipped until the end of the third century is well recognized, as is the possibility that the motif of Isis holding Horus influenced that of Mary holding her son.⁶⁷ Whether the simple Fayum stele and the elegant mural of the monastery made some two or more centuries later can be connected as remnants of an early tradition of *Maria lactans* adopted from Isis iconography has yet to be explored.

It is the non-nursing pose of Theotokos Hodegetria, or Panagia, that presents Mary as a figure of intercession and that characterizes her portrayal before and after the Iconoclast Controversy (726-842). As Bishop Photius declares in the ninth century when describing the Luke icon, Mary is 'a virgin mother carrying in her pure arms, for the common salvation of our kind, the common Creator reclining as an infant'.⁶⁸ That is, Theotokos Hodegetria intercedes with her son for 'our kind'. When images were returned to the church after having been 'scraped off', as Photius says in a sermon referring to a mosaic Theotokos Hodegetria newly made about 867 for St Sophia,⁶⁹ this representation of the intercessory Mary was perpetuated in decorative and devotional programmes passed on within Byzantium and to such places as Rome, Sicily, and northern Italy. The basic similarity of poses and scenes in these Byzantine programmes is due to respect for repetition as a way to project 'unchanging truths' and to a certain degree of church regulation to ensure tradition after the Iconoclast period.⁷⁰ If *Maria lactans* had not become recognized as a traditional subject, it would not be reiterated.

Like those Byzantine representations in which the Mother of God bears her son to us, images in various media, stories, and prayers to Mary represent her intercessory role throughout the medieval period without any reference to lactation. For instance, in the previously discussed prayer to Mary called 'Obsecro te', which is a regular element in *horae*, the petitioner asks 'Mary, holy lady, mother of God, most full of pity [. . .] fountain of pity' for help first by referring to the 'joys' and the 'sorrows' associated with her role in the incarnation and then by beseeching her to secure from 'your esteemed son the fullness of all mercy and consolation' and, to sum up the detailed list, salvation, peace, and prosperity in

every way.⁷¹ In the 'Obsecro te' prayer, which a broad band of people knew, Mary's intercessory role is compelling. But fountain though she is, in this prayer it is not a breast brimful of milk that conveys her capacity to secure her son's aid on behalf of the petitioner. In illustrated *horae*, a Madonna miniature, alluding to the joy of Mary bearing Christ in her womb, and an owner portrait, which the first-person of 'Obsecro te' invites, are often placed at the beginning of this prayer, as Roger Wieck points out. In one such miniature, the enthroned Madonna, holding her infant son on her knee, wears a crown, a reference to another of her joys, the exaltation above angels when crowned by her son in heaven.⁷² In short, *Maria lactans* is not the only image of an intercessory Mary. Rather, as the following examples will indicate, the combination of Mary's intercessory capacity with her lactation forms a distinct, if variegated, thread in Marian imagery, one pertaining to the Lyon *mamelle* and Caxton *pappe* in Paula's Nativity vision.

The Virgin's womb seems to be the part of her anatomy that most interested early writers—how the chosen Virgin conceived and what the womb was like while she was pregnant with God—but the Virgin's miraculous breast milk is sometimes linked with her virginal womb. An instance is 'Ave generosa', addressed to the 'untouched maid' (*intacta puella*), which Hildegard of Bingen composed during the 1150s for the Benedictine sisters to perform during the services in the monastery of Rupertsberg. In the fourth verse of this hymn, we hear 'O most beautiful and most tender / how greatly God delighted in you / when he set / the embrace of his warmth in you / so that his Son / took suck from you' ('ita quod Filius eius / de te lactates est').⁷³ The Divine Spirit, here characterized by warmth, which entered into Mary to impregnate her (as stated in Matthew 1.20 and formulated in the Baptismal Creed of the third century), is represented in this verse as also being the force that makes her lactate at the birth of the Son. Somewhat earlier in France, in the second of four homilies on Mary for the Advent season, the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux similarly links womb and nursing, referring to 'nursing at her gentle breast the tender limbs of the infant God or keeping him safe within her womb'.⁷⁴ As he declares in a letter c.1138-39 to the bishops of Laon, Bernard accepted completely that Mary's 'virginal fecundity' and her 'freedom from concupiscence in conceiving, and from all pain in bringing forth' were to be marvelled at and that she was to be praised as the 'mediatrix of salvation and reparatrix of the ages'.⁷⁵ Legend has it that, as a reward for Bernard's work on her behalf, the Virgin expressed a stream of milk from her breast into his mouth; a fifteenth-century Flemish painting of this apocryphal story shows her cradling her infant with her right hand and pressing the fingers of

her left hand next to the nipple on the exposed round ball of her right breast from which milk jets over the baby's head into Bernard's lips.⁷⁶ But Bernard is truly more intrigued by Mary's womb than her lactation. His very first vision, as a young novice waiting for the night office at Christmas, was that of the birth of Christ: 'The infant Word, fairer than all the sons of men, appeared before Bernard's eyes as though being born again from the womb of the Virgin Mother'.⁷⁷ Even in his homilies on Mary, Bernard does not develop Mary's role as *mediatrix* through her ability and willingness to breastfeed the infant God.

For that idea and imagery, we take an early example from Anselm, who was a monk and then prior of the Benedictine abbey of Notre Dame of Bec in Normandy before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093-1109. As Benedicta Ward points out, Anselm's Mary stands in the tradition of the Theotokos figure we have tracked.⁷⁸ In two of his three verse prayers to Mary, she is a commanding figure who must be solicited. For example, in 'Prayer to St Mary when the mind is anxious with fear', Anselm asks 'Who can more easily gain pardon for the accused / by her intercession, / than she who gave milk to him / who justly punishes or mercifully pardons all and each one?' (p. 110, ll. 25-28). In the penultimate verse of 'Prayer to St Mary to ask for her and Christ's love', he asks 'Mother of our lover who carried him in her womb / and was willing to give him milk at her breast— / are you not able or are you unwilling to grant your love to those who ask it?' (p. 126, ll. 359-61). Anselm sent these prayers to the monk Gundolf at Caen, advising 'meditating on them, since that is what they are meant for', so the reader will be 'pierced by contrition, or by love, through which we reach a concern for heavenly things' (p. 106).

The nourishment provided by Mary's milk is the central symbol of an account of a vision about salvation history experienced by the Beguine Mechthild of Magdeburg, which she relayed in Book I of the *Flowing Light of the Godhead*, composed in her native Middle Low German. This account was edited by a Dominican friar, Heinrich Halle, and translated into Latin probably by other Dominicans at the end of the thirteenth century. In a dialogue with the Soul, the Virgin Mary explains that after God chose her to be his bride and the Son to be his mother, 'my breasts became so full of the pure, spotless milk of true, generous mercy' that she 'suckled' the wise men and prophets before the Son's birth, then suckled Jesus, then suckled Holy Church under the Cross but from that became dry, and was reinvigorated from his life-giving wounds: 'Both his wounds and her breasts were open / The wounds poured forth. / The breasts flowed'. At the end of Mary's teaching, Mechthild comments that on the Last Day 'God's children—and

your children—are weaned and fully grown for eternal life. Then shall we know [. . .] the milk and even the breasts themselves, which Jesus so often kissed'.⁷⁹ We will see again this association of the blood of Christ's wounds with the breast milk of redemption.

In line with Mary's role as 'mediatrix of salvation and reparatrix of the ages' and as a personification of the Church itself, which Mechthild conveys, are images of merciful crowned Madonnas who are lactating. Starting in the earlier fourteenth century, for instance, parishioners at Fladbury in Worcestershire could look at a roundel in the stained glass of their church and see a crowned Mary offer with her right hand her nipped, elongated breast to the Christ child she holds.⁸⁰ In the quadripartite frontispiece for FitzAlan's 1382 *Légende dorée* (BL, Royal MS 19 B. xvii, fol. 5), the lower right scene depicts Christ on an arc, displaying his stigmata, while to the right kneel male saints, hands clasped, and to the left stands Mary, touching her breast. In the remaining three scenes, Mary is enthroned in the upper left, male saints are grouped in the upper right, and female in the lower left. All saints have an intercessory capability, as Jacobus points out in his chapter for All Saints: 'We need help in our weakness. Because we cannot obtain salvation by ourselves, we need the intercession of the saints'.⁸¹ But Mary's especial potency is demonstrated here in the gesture to her breast, for her lactation relates to the wounds of her divine son as a co-sign of their shared humanity—milk and blood, which are also, then, the liquids of redemption. We see Mary's breast explicitly in this regard in a miniature of the Last Judgment for the Mass of the Dead in the previously mentioned *hora* made for Catherine of Cleves. Here too Christ, his bleeding wounds visible, is seated on an arc. In the bottom foreground, the naked dead who are being resurrected emerge from winding sheets, coffins, and crevices in the earth. To the right, John kneels, open hands raised as he looks up at Christ. To the left, Mary kneels, a smile on her gazing face, her lifted left hand open, her right hand clutching her round ball of a breast (plate 49).

Mary's special capacity to intercede is rendered in a subset of *Maria lactans* images, known as the Madonna of Humility. In these, Mary holding her suckling child sits, not on a stool or throne, but on the ground, usually on a cushion, which is a detail associated, as we will see, with the Franciscan *Meditations*. This pose may have originated in northern Europe, but as Millard Meiss argues, it was largely developed in Siena, before spreading to other parts of Europe. Mary's 'lowly posture' on the ground combined with nursing portrays not only the 'character and power which arose from her motherhood, i.e., her role as *Maria mediatrix*' but also her 'inclination' to intercede.⁸²

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Popular forms of trusting the power of Mary's milk may be more basic in expression than Anselm's meditative metric Latin prayers and manuscript illuminations, but they too are motivated by the attitude Jacobus conveyed to his Dominican brothers and, as the *Golden Legend* was reproduced in manuscript and print, to thousands of others, lay and religious alike. For instance, Mirk's sermon about Mary's five joys illustrates the Nativity with the story of Gilbert, who was nearly dead of quinsy when our Lady came to him and 'anone she toke her / fayre pape & mylkyd on his throte & wente on her wey & anone there with he was made hole' (*Festial*, Oxford, 1486; sig. pi^v). Recorded in the commonplace book kept by Richard Hill, a London grocer, is an English poem also organized according to the joys in Mary's life. Following the first joy, the Annunciation, that of the Nativity is alluded to in the second verse by Mary's lactation: 'Whan Jhesus, thi son, on the was bore, / Full nygh thy brest thou gan hym brace; / He sowked, he sighed, he wepte full sore. / Thou fedes the flowr that never shall fade, / Wyth maydens mylke'. In the fourth verse, the speaker petitions Mary to intercede with her son for the salvation of all humanity: 'We pray the a bone: / Before thy son for us thou fall, / and pray hym, as he was on the rode done / [. . .] That we may wone withyn that wall, / Wher ever ys well without wo. / and graunt that grace unto us all'.⁸³ Maiden's milk feeding the child echoes Anselm and others appealing for the life-giving liquid, while the last lines recall the idea pictured in the frontispiece to FitzAlan's *Légende dorée*.

An intercessory *Maria lactans* is the focus of the xylographic woodcut on the title page for de Worde's edition of Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, the year before *Vitas Patrum*. The image has a similar configuration to the 'Obsecro te' miniature in the *hora* of c. 1470: an enthroned and, significantly, crowned Mary cradles the little child in her right arm, while her left hand offers a long, plump breast to his mouth. To the left, a monk kneels in petition. As Edward Hodnett observes, the short Latin prayer cut underneath is 'indecipherable', indicating that the woodcutter has copied a prototype.⁸⁴ However, the prayer refers to the 'sweet names' of Jesus and the Virgin Mary and evidently relates to the devotion to the Name of Jesus. The drawing does not represent an image in Hilton's text, but it and the little prayer are significant for the woman who commissioned de Worde to put the treatise into print: Lady Margaret Beaufort. De Worde's verses at the end reflect the asymmetrical relationship a printer (like a writer) has with his patron: 'This mighty princesse hath comaunded me / Temprynt this boke her grace for to deserue' (sig. [t 5]). Not unlike the monk supplicating Mary, the printer seeks the 'mighty princess's grace', for Lady Margaret was a patron of book producers as well as a reader and eventually a translator.

However, the title page is not about her patronage of others but about that need for protection and help through intercession. During this period of her life, Lady Margaret not only managed her estates prudently, cared for her dependents, gave alms to the poor, and maintained a household with largesse, as we heard earlier, but also observed a regimen of piety enmeshed with social duty, in which she engaged, along with women connected to her, in regular prayer and spiritual study.⁸⁵ Hence, she had a personal interest in Hilton's treatise on the active life, the contemplative life, and in a small, special run of de Worde's edition for Lady Margaret, the 'mixed life'. To give patronage to a printer, moreover, entails the expectation that others will benefit from the multiple copies produced by print technology. Lady Margaret evidently saw herself as someone who made important spiritual texts available to others, through script and print. For instance, she and her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, gave a copy of this special edition of Hilton's *Scala* to Mary Roos, a lady in waiting, which they inscribed and Mary signed twice as a claim of ownership.⁸⁶ Furthermore, in the version of the *Scala* that de Worde prints, Hilton has a section on the Name of Jesus. The cult of the Holy Name, which had been a church-accepted practice among professional religious and lay aristocracy in Europe since the later thirteenth century, had become instituted as a feast day in England with the aid of Lady Margaret's patronage.⁸⁷ Lady Margaret understood, of course, that while she was petitioned for grace, so must she petition the Lord for succour, hence her interest in the Hilton treatise and also in prayer-books, again not only for herself but for others. One of these is the *Fifteen Oes*, a collection of prayers Caxton prepared for her and her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, in 1491, the year he was translating the *Vie des santz peres*. To Lady Margaret, her associates, and all those who acquired copies of de Worde's edition of Hilton's *Scala*, then, the title page presents Mary as the merciful Queen whose special intercessory capacity is signified by breastfeeding her son with all of that act's implications for the healing liquids of milk and blood.

The Franciscan Meditations and Bridget's Revelations: Mary Kneels

We turn now to two works that had an indelible influence on the way late-medieval people imagined the Nativity, including the Lyon translator and Caxton. As noted, the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* was composed in Latin prose at the end of the thirteenth century by a Franciscan author, now generally called 'Pseudo-Bonaventure'. It circulated widely in Latin script and print, and was

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translated into Italian, French, and English. Love's abridged English version, which is known as the *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, was put into print by Caxton first probably in 1486 under the Latin title *Speculum Vitae Christi* with a cycle of woodcuts imported from northern France and again probably in 1490; de Worde reissued this illustrated *Speculum* several times between 1494 and 1530. As for Bridget of Sweden, the revelations she received, after being widowed in Rome in 1350 until the end of her life in 1373, had been translated into Latin by her confessors Peter of Alvastra and Peter of Skänninge from Bridget's dictation in her native Swedish. The Nativity revelation, which is among the last, is recorded in the seventh book of a collection prepared primarily by Alphonse of Jaen c. 1378 in connection with Bridget's canonization. Circulation of the Latin collection was widespread during the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries. Caxton and de Worde were well aware of Bridget because of their strong connections with the Brigittines at Syon as well as the *Fifteen Oes*, attributed to Bridget, which was included in the *horae* they printed. An English translation closely adhering to the Latin *Revelations* was produced c. 1410-20 (London, BL, MS Claudius B.i); extracts are also to be found, including one of the Nativity, in a late-fifteenth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 41).⁸⁸

In both the *Meditations* and Book 7 of Bridget's *Revelations*, the Nativity sequence builds on apocryphal versions and further invented parts that fill in the gaps of the Matthew-Luke scriptural passages. Both the extended infancy cycle in the *Meditations*, which includes a revelation of the birth, and Bridget's revelation of the Nativity are keenly visual, and both retellings, especially Bridget's, influenced a shift in Nativity iconography in visual media from the reclining Mary image to the kneeling Mary image. As we consider the re-interpretations of the Nativity in each work, we begin to see the image of *Maria lactans* combine with the image of the virgin mother, though this combination will not show up in the paintings influenced by these two texts, and we begin to recognize as well the source of the *mamelle* and *pappe* and other adjustments to the Nativity in the Lyon-Caxton adaptation of Paula's vision.

In the *Meditations*, the narrator is a Franciscan ostensibly advising a Poor Clare on how and why to meditate on Christ's humanity, but the expectation is that what he addresses to her is meant for all women and men reading this text. As the segment on the Nativity begins, we are instructed to 'feel' emotion as we 'contemplate' the events in Christ's life. To some degree we hear Anselm in this instruction, trusting that either love or contrition will enable us to engage with heavenly things. For the Franciscan, however, emotion is aimed at gaining

empathetic understanding. The narrator incites us to 'feel compassion for Him who reached these depths of humility' in 'patiently enduring' enclosure in Mary's womb for nine months. As pregnant Mary and Joseph, leading the ox and the saddled ass from which she has dismounted, are turned away from inns, we are asked to 'have pity on the Lady', only fifteen, fatigued, ashamed.⁸⁹ As in the *Golden Legend*, Joseph 'possibly' encloses the area in which they finally rest. What happens next is given as a 'revelation' received by a 'brother of our order' (in Love's version, the revelation comes from 'our lady' to this brother): on Sunday midnight the Virgin rises and stands 'erect against a column' there. Joseph, feeling 'downcast', remains sitting, but then takes hay from the manger, places it at Mary's feet, and turns away (p. 32). 'Then the Son of God came out of the womb of the mother without a murmur or lesion, in a moment. As he had been in the womb so He was now outside, on the hay at His mother's feet' (p. 33). With details to which we will return, Mary picks the newborn up, puts him on her lap, nurses him, wraps him in her head veil, which she has removed, and lays him in the manger, where the ox and ass breathe on him, for in the words of the Caxton edition of Love's version, 'they knewen by reasyon that in that cold tyme the child so simply hiled [wrapped] had need to be warmed in that manere' (sig. [c8^v]). Mary then kneels to adore the swaddled child in the manger and to give thanks in prayer, and Joseph 'adored him likewise'. Joseph then pulls the hair and wool stuffing out of the ass's saddle, and puts it beside the manger so Mary can 'rest' on it. She sits down, and turns to look on her son. The revelation ends, and the narrator tells us, 'Now you have seen the rise of the consecrated prince. You have seen likewise the delivery of the celestial queen' (pp. 34-35). With a Franciscan precept on poverty and several explanations drawn from Bernard's sermons, the narrator develops the theme of humility, and then describes 'angels coming to adore their Lord' and the shepherds likewise. Finally, we are told 'You too, who lingered so long, kneel and adore your Lord God, and then His mother, and reverently greet the saintly old Joseph'. We are to 'kiss' the baby's feet, and beg Mary to hold him. 'Pick Him up and hold Him in your arms. Gaze on His face [. . .] kiss Him' (p. 38) and then give him back to the 'mother and watch her attentively as she cares for Him assiduously and wisely, nursing Him and rendering all services, and remain to help her if you can' (p. 39).

The text's visual details, supplied to make the images memorable for contemplation and thereby encourage empathetic response, include both invented and traditional elements. Unlike *Pseudo-Matthew*, this account makes us see, through the frame of someone else's vision, the birthing itself, not the *fait*

accompli. In the reported revelation, the text follows Bernard in the day and hour of the delivery and, as the *Golden Legend* also reports, in the quick and painless process of it. The warming breath from the beasts is also reported in the *Golden Legend*. Mary's standing against the pillar to deliver, however, is unique to the revelation embedded in the *Meditations*. The narrator also makes us see some invented details after the revelation: Mary nursing and wrapping the infant on her lap, implying that she is sitting; Mary kneeling, accompanied by Joseph, in adoration of the child; and Mary sitting on the saddle stuffing (in the pose of humility). Unlike *Pseudo-Matthew*, this account has neither bright light nor midwives. Also different is Joseph's presence in the space in which the birthing takes place. While elements of the traditional Nativity iconography are kept and interpreted, such as Joseph's marginalization, the additions result in removing the traditional dominant image: there is no childbed on which Mary reclines.

The effect of these expansions and substitutions on a long entrenched way of seeing the Nativity is evident in the illustrations in a fourteenth-century manuscript of an Italian translation of the *Meditations*, made probably in Siena or Pisa (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Ital. 115). The text is meticulously close to the Latin, except for a significant element retained from the old Nativity: resisting the text, the Italian translator locates the birth in a cave. As for the drawings, some are borrowed from other sources, but many are based on the descriptions in the text. Instructions to the miniaturist have been written. Eight pictures accompany the sequence from the way into Bethlehem to the visit of the shepherds. The third of these gives the birthing: Mary stands against an ornamented pillar, while a naked baby, his lower body wrapped by the end of the Virgin's mantle, lies on the ground next to her; Joseph is seated and looking in the opposite direction; the ox and ass stare over the manger (p. 27). The instruction says only 'Here how she gives birth' (p. 410), but clearly the painter was attentive to the details of the text. For the next picture, the instructions are, in words that echo the text, 'Here how she picks Him up, embraces Him and kisses him, then washes Him with her milk' (p. 410), but the painter does not follow these. Rather, we are given an enthroned Mary holding the swaddled child in the crook of her left arm with her right hand on his lower body, their foreheads virtually touching; the two animals again stare; and Joseph has turned towards the mother and son (p. 29, top). Nothing even hints at nursing. In the fifth illustration, which matches the text and more or less the instructions, the swaddled child lies in the manger, the two animals kneel behind it, Mary is on her knees in prayer in the left foreground along with Joseph, also kneeling and crossing his arms on his chest in reverence

(p. 29, bottom). In the sixth, the instructions indicate that the saddle is to be 'at the side of the manger, where she leaned her shoulder, the stuffing under her, and her eyes on the face of the child' (p. 410). The saddle is there, Mary's elbow propped on it not the manger, but the painter has reverted to the familiar Nativity image of Mary stretched out, the ox and ass peering over the swaddled infant in the manger, and Joseph leaning on his cane (p. 30). Much later in the narrative, after a protracted series involving the magi, another picture illustrates the 'stay in the manger', for which the instruction says that the Lady is to have the child in her arms. For this, the illustrator has imported a familiar model from other contexts, for Mary is seated, not just holding her wrapped infant, but guiding her left breast into his mouth (p. 53). And yet, the illustrator did not do so for the scene following the birth, where Mary explicitly breastfeeds her newborn. What we see, then, is that despite the text and the instructions, the painting that should have shown Mary nursing fails to do so. The illustrator, evidently unused to a Nativity scene with Mary nursing and wrapping her child, resorted to a stock form of a Madonna with a lap: enthroned and non-nursing.

The revelation of the Nativity seen by Bridget of Sweden occurs while she is in Bethlehem on a Holy Land pilgrimage during the last three years of her life. As may be expected given the ensemble effect we have noted in representations of the Nativity, the vision of the Lord's birth is followed just as in the *Meditations* by the visits of the shepherds and the three magi. The revelation takes place while Bridget is in the cave of the Nativity, but unlike the sequence Paula sees, the one Bridget sees is shown to her by Mary. Bridget sees the Virgin dressed in white, her swollen womb indicating imminent delivery. With her are a dignified, old man (Joseph), an ox, and an ass; the Virgin and old man take the beasts into a cave with them, tying them to the manger. The old man goes out to fetch a candle, which he affixes to the wall, and then leaves Mary in privacy to give birth. She takes off her shoes and mantle and removes the veil from her head, revealing hair like gold spread over her shoulders. She then brings out several cloths she has prepared in which to wrap the child. Having readied herself, Mary kneels facing east, back to the manger, hands uplifted, eyes heavenward, rapt in contemplation. Suddenly, Bridget sees something move in the womb and in the 'twinkling of an eye' the son is born, giving off so much splendid brightness that the light of the candle left by Joseph is annihilated. The manner of birth is so quick that Bridget is unable to discern 'in what member [Mary] was giving birth'. But there lay the infant on the earth, 'naked and glowing' and completely clean; angels had already taken care of the afterbirth.⁹⁰ To the joyful singing of angels, Bridget sees Mary's

womb retract as it was before she conceived. When Mary, still on her knees, realizes she has given birth, she bows her head and joins her hands to pay reverence to the newborn. Eventually, after taking the chilled infant to her breast—a scene we will return to—pinching off the umbilical cord, and swaddling him limb by limb with the wool and linen cloths she had prepared, Mary together with Joseph, who has returned and 'adored the child on bended knee', places the child in the manger, and 'on bended knee they continued to adore him' (Kezel, p. 204). Visits by the shepherds and then by the magi ensue, and Mary also reappears to Bridget to teach her the humility to be seen in the circumstances of Mary and her son at the time of the birth and now their triumph in heaven.

In the text of the revelations concerning the Nativity, Bridget emphasizes not the event or the *fait accompli* but, like the *Meditations*, the manner in which Mary gave birth. This emphasis is anticipated in Book 7 chapter one (Ellis, p. 482) and underscored in a second revelation in Bethlehem right after the Nativity, when Mary insists that 'I did als I haue now shewed vnto þe, for when I was alone, knelinge on mi knees in þe stabill, I was deliured with grete gladshipe and withouten helpe of ertheli creature' (Ellis, p. 487). The Latin adds, 'But at once I wrapped him in the small clean clothes that I had prepared long before' (Kezel, p. 204). As in the *Meditations*, the emphasis on Mary's feeling no pain accords with Bernard's pronouncement to the canons of Laon in which he defines the virginal link between conceiving and birthing: 'extol her freedom from concupiscence in conceiving, and from all pain in bringing forth' (p. xv), and in Advent Homily II that she 'conceived undefiled [. . .] and unspoiled she gave birth'; she had to be 'stainless, because he was to wipe away all our stain' (p. 15 [§1]). The other details of the manner fill in a gap both in *Pseudo-Matthew* and Bernard's vision, but they also explicitly correct the impression, as Mary says to Bridget in the Latin version, that 'my son was born in the common manner' (Kezel, p. 204). Bridget, familiar as this mother of eight was with giving birth, mystified certain realities that she added—angels had cleaned the child and made the uterus retract. Other details, namely, the kneeling position, must be correcting as well the Franciscan's interpretation in the *Meditations* in which the Virgin stands erect against the pillar. As Anthony Butkovich points out, the bended knee in prayer may be viewed as making the birth more mystical than the pillar does.⁹¹

Paintings of Bridget's vision of the Nativity sprang up in first in Naples,⁹² where she had been venerated as a saint even before she was canonized in 1391, and then Florence and Siena.⁹³ The Naples picture has not been recovered, but the oldest of the three others, by Niccolo di Tommaso, shows a rocky grotto with two

angels on either side looking down at the scene filling the space. To the left, the ox and ass crouch, heads up over the manger. Enveloped in a glowing mandorla, Mary, her long hair loose, kneels, clasping her hands and stretching her arms towards the naked child near her feet. The mandorla surrounding him shines with the mystical light. To the right stands Joseph in the reverential pose of crossing his forearms on his chest and looking down. Here and in the other paintings, the manner of the birth is obliquely referenced by Mary's kneeling pose. In the text, Mary has sat down, put the newborn on her lap, refreshed him at her breast, and wrapped him before Joseph returns. But the moment crystallized in the Italian paintings, and in the many to follow this new iconography, blends her first sight of the naked radiant child on the ground with the later moment in which both human parents kneel in reverence to him. The placement on the ground and the infant's nakedness, juxtaposed with the mandorla, are reminders of the incarnated Lord's needs.

Influenced by the *Meditations* or Bridget's Revelation, the kneeling Mary pose reached *horae* by the second decade of the fifteenth century. For instance, it may be seen in the Bedford *hora* made in Paris in 1423 and about the same time in Jean, Duke of Berry's latest *hora*, the *Très Riches Heures*.⁹⁴ In the Cleves *hora*, Vespers in the Hours of the Virgin is illustrated with a specifically Brigittine Nativity. Mary, golden hair uncovered and hands outstretched, inclines over the naked child lying on a white cloth outside the stable, while Joseph kneels on his other side, a lighted taper in hand. A glowing yellow light fills the sky under a rayed half-globe of gold and illuminates the grassy hill in the background on which sheep graze near the shepherds kneeling before the angel, and falls onto the thatched roof of the stable, in which an ox is visible, and brightens the ground all around Mary, the child, and Joseph (plate 12). Nativities for Prime in four different *horae* all produced in Rouen around 1470 carry slight variations on the Cleves pattern.⁹⁵ Around 1480 men and women attending services at the church in East Harling, Norfolk, would see the new Nativity iconography in the window of Mary's Joys and Sorrows: loose, fair hair under her crown, hands upraised, Mary kneels over the unclothed baby in a shining mandorla lying in a hay-filled manger over which the ox's head leans, while the star's rays beam upon the bright child; Joseph appears to be on the right, and two nuns stand witness behind the manger.⁹⁶

As the Rouen examples indicate, the tendency to replicate scenes through the use of shared pattern pages in books manufactured in great number, as *horae* were, helped disseminate the kneeling Mary tradition of the Nativity, so not surprisingly, this iconography entered the woodcut repertory of printers. In the

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Legenda Aurea that Caxton compiled, translated, and first printed in 1483 or 1484, the double-column drawings for the life of Christ have been grouped together at the opening of the volume, beginning with the Nativity of Our Lord. This scene presents the familiar motifs of Joseph sitting on a stool by the hearth and the infant Christ lying in a manger, near the ox and ass; but the Virgin is kneeling, and although the woodcut is unpainted, the presence of light is conveyed by the rays of the star coming through the roof of the stable. Similar renditions occur, for instance, in the single-column, in-text woodcuts in the French *Golden Legend* published by the Paris Dupre in 1483 and 1489, in which Joseph leans on his cane and the child lies in a radiance, and the Lyon edition by Mathias Huss and Pierre Hongre in 1490. The new Nativity iconography is also used in the one-column woodcut that illustrates the 'Natyute of our lord Jhesu' (Part I, chapter 6) in Caxton's first edition of the *Speculum* (*Love's Mirror*). The woodcut depicts a stable over which the bright star beams through a hole in the thatched roof; on the left are the heads of the ass and ox, crouched behind a woven wicker fence; at the threshold a long-haired Mary kneels, arms stretched forward and hands clasped; the naked child lies in front of her on a cushion covered by a cloth draping from her robe, while Joseph, in the older style, leans on his staff, rather distanced from the cushioned child and his adoring mother; in the background, an angel directs an announcement to a shepherd (sig. [c 7^v]). Although this image illustrates Love's version of the *Meditations*, it is a Brigittine Nativity, as the light, Mary's hair, and overall pattern make clear. The same Nativity woodcut reappears in the subsequent editions by Caxton and de Worde. When de Worde reproduced the Caxton *Legenda Aurea* in 1493 and 1498, he replaced the double-column cut for the Nativity of Our Lord with the woodcut from the *Speculum*.⁹⁷

The Virgin Mother's 'Pappes'

Although the earliest Italian paintings and their international progeny represent the Brigittine Nativity attentively, a significant element in the revelation as told in words is left un-pictured: the Virgin's treatment of her newborn before Joseph returns to join her in adoration. In this treatment, Bridget's text and that in the *Meditations* have marked similarities, which may suggest the influence of the *Meditations* on Bridget or her affinity with, as Butkovich says, 'Bernard's mystical religiosity' and the 'Franciscan school of piety'.⁹⁸ A close look at this part of the

Nativity in Bridget's revelation and in the *Meditations* and its counterpart in Love's *Mirror* will reveal how Lyon-Caxton came to add Mary nursing her son to Paula's vision. The similarities include each Virgin's swaddling of the child, which in Bridget's description foreshadows wrapping Christ's corpse for burial; her laying him in the manger with the ox and ass, which immediately kneel down to warm him with their breath; and her kneeling in reverence. However, the element of most concern for Paula's vision is what happens immediately after Mary sees the newborn. Bridget's version is elucidated by comparison with the description of the Nativity revealed to Mechthild of Hackborn in the Middle English *Boke of Ghostly Grace*. Mechthild's vision was first recorded by Gertrude the Great in her Latin *Liber Spiritualis Gratiae*, composed in the last decade of the thirteenth century at Helfta in eastern Germany. Helfta was a Benedictine house influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux's teaching, where both Mechthild and the younger Gertrude had grown up, been educated, and served as nuns. Mechthild's vision comes during the service at Christmas (like Bernard's). Though Bridget may not have been aware of Mechthild, their Nativity visions are similar not only in using the light from *Pseudo-Matthew* but also in describing a rapid, effortless delivery involving kneeling and the Virgin's lap and breast.

In Bridget, an act of comfort, somewhat ambiguous, takes place. After the kneeling Mary bows her head to welcome the just delivered child, he cries, 'trembling from the cold and the hardness of the pavement where he lay', and turns, reaching out his limbs and seeking 'refreshment and his mother's favour' (Kezel, p. 203). Mary picks him up and presses him 'to her breast, and with cheek and breast she warmed him with great joy and tender maternal compassion'. Does Bridget see Mary feeding or only hugging him? The English translation made c. 1410-20, discussed earlier, also reads 'and with hir cheke and hire breste, scho warmed him with grete ioy and lykyng', yet surprisingly omits the maternal compassion (Ellis, p. 486). On the other hand, a late-fifteenth-century translator interprets this act of succour at the breast as one of feeding, giving 'pap' not 'cheek': 'and anon the blyssyd Vyrgyn hys moder ful loveyngly and reverently toke hym up into her hands and helde hym to her brest and with her pappe and her brest she made him warme wyth full grete yoye and gladness, with a moderly tender compassion' (Barrett, pp. 88-89). This translation may well be right in its understanding of the act, for suckling is conveyed by a very similar description in the *Boke of Ghostly Grace*. When Mary is 'beclepped all abowte with a lyght that come fro God', she rises at the sensation but then drops onto her knees to thank God; as she inclines her head, 'sche had sodaynlye that gloriouse child in here

lappe'.⁹⁹ Instead of giving her breast to the child, however, Mary kisses him. Mechthild, as the young nun watching the divine birth, also wants to kiss the child. Mary, holding him in her arms, takes him to her, and the 'blessede nunne' held him between her arms and with her hands 'impressede that lorde to here herte'. Later, after mass, as her vision continues, she takes him to the sisters; still leaning on Mechthild's breast, he kisses each of their hearts and 'att eche cusse, to here semyng, he sowkede full swetlye'.¹⁰⁰ There are three rounds in which he 'restede abowve the breste of eche of thame' and 'sowkede'. The sisters here strengthen Christ through the symbolic milk the child sucks -- their desire, goodwill, and travail in 'ghostlye excercyses'.¹⁰¹ The suckled breast in Mechthild's vision and the warming pap in the late-fifteenth-century English translation of Bridget's revelation imply the image of maternal comfort readers would bring to Mary's act in the texts that say the mother took the child and warmed him at her breast.

The devout Franciscan's revelation embedded in the *Meditations* has a similar act of tender compassion, in which the 'mother stooped to pick Him up, embraced Him tenderly and, guided by the Holy Spirit, placed him in her lap and began to wash Him with her milk, her breasts filled by heaven' (Ragusa, p. 27). Love's *Mirror* skips the birthing at the pillar (apparently resisting this innovation).¹⁰² But in accordance with Bernard's vision of the birth, the text tells that in the revelation just 'as he was conteyned in his moders wombe by the holy ghost withoute sede of man', so God's son goes 'oute of the womb withoute trauaylle or sorowe', and is suddenly at his mother's feet; then 'anone she deuotely enclynynge with souerayn ioye took hym in hir arms / and sweetly clyppynge [hugging] and kyssynge leyd hym in hyr barme [lap].and with a ful pappe as she was taught of the holy ghost wesse hym al aboute with hir swete mylk' (sig. 8c^{r-v}). Here, as in Hildegard's hymn 'Ave generosa', we see the Holy Ghost enable Mary's lactation as well as conception of the incarnate Lord and his exit from the womb. Significantly, we also see the idea of the redemptive milk that cleanses and nourishes. Although the illustrator of that Italian manuscript resisted the instruction to draw a nursing Mary at the Nativity, in the text the *Maria lactans* of intercessory mercy merges with the virgin mother whose full pap washes the newborn Christ with her sweet milk.

The narration in both the *Meditations*, including the *Mirror* version, and Bridget's revelation recalls Bernard's 'Homily II' on the Nativity in which the incarnation is conveyed as a paradox in which God is 'suckling but giving bread to angels' and 'crying, but comforting the unhappy', and 'called a prophet mighty in deed and word, but even when his mother was nursing at her gentle breast the

tender limbs of the infant God or keeping him safe within her womb' (pp. 21-22 §9). In both the *Meditations* and Bridget, compassion matters. To Albert Ryle Kezel, commenting on Bridget's portrayal of Mary comforting her newborn at her breast with 'tender maternal compassion', the Latin word 'compassione' points to the 'thought of Good Friday and the traditional image of Our Lady of Pity'.¹⁰³ But, surely, to many readers, the full pap also evokes the Mary who will ask her wounded son for mercy on them.

Like the Mary in the revelations received by Bridget and by the devout brother in the *Meditations*, the Mary in the *Protevangelium*, and the Mary in Luke 2.7, the mother in the Lyon-Caxton interpretation of Paula's vision of the Nativity wraps her infant herself, and like the brother's mother and Bridget's—implicitly or explicitly—Lyon-Caxton's mother suckles him. Of the two descriptions, the one in the *Meditations* is closer to Lyon-Caxton, especially in that the adaptation has deleted 'wailing' from Paula's report. It may well be, then, that textual familiarity, directly recalled or indirectly absorbed, supercedes pictorial to prompt the Lyon-Caxton addition of that deceptively naturalistic detail of breastfeeding to Paula's vision, and that it is the *Meditations* that particularly colours the rendition.

A pocket of ambiguity in the Latin memoir invites this revision. After describing the infant, the three magi and the star overhead, Paula refers to 'matrem uirginem' and 'nutricium sedulum', and then the shepherds. In Luke 2.6-7, Joseph is not mentioned, only Mary, 'who gave birth to her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling cloths and laid him in a manger' ('ut pareret et peperit filium primogenitum et pannis eum inuoluit et reclinauit eum in praesepio'). Moreover, the visit by the magi described in Matthew 2.11 mentions only the 'young child and Mary his mother' ('puerum cum maria matre eius'), whereas the shepherds described in Luke 2.16 'found Mary and Joseph and the infant placed in a manger' ('inuenerunt mariam et ioseph et infantum positum in praesepio'). Although *nutricius*, meaning foster-father, logically refers to Joseph, it is possible not to see him in the sequence Paula gives, connecting Luke 2.7 and Matthew 2.11 as she moves from child to magi to mother. In fact, in his translation of Paula's vision, Aubrey Stewart gives not 'foster-father', as S. L. Greenslade and Wilkinson do, but the 'careful nursing'.¹⁰⁴ Lyon-Caxton's removal of Joseph may result from a similar interpretation of *nutricium sedulum* and the assumption that it is the virgin mother caring for her child, as Luke 2.7 describes. With the mother of the *Meditations* in mind, Paula's description readily summons up an image of 'his blesseyde moder' not only swaddling but also suckling the child. In de Worde's edition, the account describing Paula's visit to the 'holy crosse. wheron oure lorde

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was crucyfied for the Redempcyon of mankynde' where 'many teeres she lete there thenne falle' (fol. lv^{vb}) occurs in the second column of the page, which fortuitously faces the account describing her visit to the place of the Lord's birth (fol. lvi^a). In the Mellon copy, the significance of these accounts is highlighted by the dark ink and orange crayon lines drawn alongside each. Furthermore, the word 'passion' is added to the inner margin to name the event of the Lord's death; just so, the word added to the inner margin next to the beginning of Paula's contemplation of the 'blessyd moder' wrapping her newborn and drawing out her 'pappes or teetes to gyue hym souke' names the event of his birth, 'natevete'.

When the Lyon-Caxton version of Paula's visionary experience in Bethlehem is considered within the long history of ways of reading the Nativity, filling in gaps in the biblical story of Mary, and giving popular, theological, and iconographic attention to the body of the Mother of God, we see that the changes made by Lyon-Caxton to the memoir's account result in a wider focus on Mary, bring out maternal compassion, and emphasize the Mother of God's intercessory role as it became signified by her lactating breast. In Jerome's memoir, Paula's Bethlehem experience stresses the fulfillment of prophecy regarding the incarnation of the divine son and Paula's pledge to serve her saviour, lighting a metaphorical lamp under the basilica's sanctuary in the cave of that saviour's birth, a holy place in which to meditate on the mystery of the incarnation. In Lyon-Caxton, the 'intimate contact' of Old and New Testaments is diluted. Instead, in the homely stable, another intimate contact, that of the mother's hand clothing her newborn and bringing forth her pap to feed him, communicates tender love in hard times.

In the adjustments to Paula's anti-materialist acts and to her experience in the Bethlehem cave of the Nativity, the Lyon adaptor and Caxton in agreement represent Paula for their times. In their revision, Paula demonstrates the 'ryght grete vertues' of selfless almsgiving and holy service inspired by the Virgin Mother's tender care for the baby come to redeem our kind. Jerome's durable monument to Paula accommodates the respectful deletions and additions that shape, and thereby perpetuate, the memoir for the readers of Philippe's *Vie des saintz peres* and de Worde's *Vitas Patrum*.

NOTES

The research for this essay was supported by a Connecticut State University Research Grant 2003-04, for which I am grateful.

¹ Jerome's *Vita Sancte Paulae* is BHL (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina) 6548. The translation here is by S. L. Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', in *Handmaids of the Lord: Contemporary Descriptions of Feminine Asceticism in the First Six Christian Centuries*, ed. by Joan M. Petersen (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1996), pp. 122-67 (p. 160). Greenslade will serve for some longer quotations from the memoir of Paula, although in several cases I have supplied a more literal translation of my own or one based on Greenslade along with two or three other translations. The Latin text used is 'CVIII Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae', *Epistulae*, ed. by Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie, 1916), pp. 306-51. I have checked the details in Hilberg against the life of Paula in Anton Koberger's edition called in the colophon *vitaspatrium* (Nuremberg, 19 May 1478), the source-text for the French translation used by Caxton. By convention, I will cite Hilberg by paragraph number, here ¶33 *exegi monumentum aere perennius, quod nulla destruere possit uetustas*. Henceforth, short quotations from Hilberg will be incorporated into the text without further identification.

² For this essay, the copy of Koberger in use is Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. I Q inf. 2. 19; the copy of Philippe is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Mitterand, Res H 366; the copy of the Paris Dupre is the one in the British Library; and the copy of de Worde is the one in the Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven, CT. Quotations from these and other incunables will be cited in the text by printed folio number when given or signature number when not. In quotations from de Worde's *Vitas Patrum*, I have silently corrected *n* when *u* is meant, and given the punctuation used there, namely, point, virgule, and because it is often used judiciously, the paragraph mark.

³ Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', pp. 151, 154.

⁴ The information I give comes firsthand from my research for a larger project on Paula and the presence of women in the world of *vitaspatrium*.

⁵ Several printers reproduced Koberger's text, including Philippe and Rinehart. The use of the printers' monogram device places it in the years 1483-87; thus, their Latin edition may have emerged by 1485, before the French version. Some slight differences between Koberger's text and Philippe and Rinehart's suggest that the Lyon translator used Koberger directly.

⁶ On the location of the book trade in Lyon, see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), p. 198.

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⁷ On Caxton's oeuvre, see George Painter, 'Chronological List of Caxton's Editions', in *William Caxton: A Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1976), pp. 211-15. For de Worde's productions, my basic source is a printout from the British Library updating H. S. Bennett, 'Handlist of Publications by Wynkyn de Worde, 1492-1535', in *English Books and Readers 1475-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 242-76. Information on Koberger's productions comes from the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the British Museum*, Part II Germany, Eltvil-Trier (London: British Museum, 1912), pp. ix-xvii. Information on the Lyon Dupre and on Philippe and Reinhart comes from the British Museum *Catalogue*, Part VIII (1949), pp. xlvi-xlvii, lv; specifically on the *Légende dorée* from Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Editions of the *Légende dorée*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 47 (1985), 87-110 (pp. 88-89, # 3, 4, and 7); and on Caxton's use of Philippe and Rinehart's *Ésope* from Painter, pp. 138-39.

⁸ A tiny *n* is often discernible at the beginning of an ink squiggle; besides abbreviated 'nota bene' together, often just *n* or 'nota' or just 'bene' occurs; in a few places 'nota valde bene' is written (e.g., fol. CCCxvi^v outer margin). For present purposes I will refer to all of the abbreviations as *nota bene*.

⁹ *Fifty-Five Books Printed Before 1525 Representing the Works of England's First Printers: An Exhibition from the Collection of Paul Mellon* (New York: Grolier Club, 1968), p. 23. The top of a loop drawn in crayon in an upper margin (fol. lxxxiii^v) indicates that the crayon marks, which disappear by part five, were made before the rebinding.

¹⁰ *Fifty-Five Books*, p. 23.

¹¹ For example, fol. v inner margin, long *r* in 'brede'; fol. vii^v outer margin, short *r* in 'hor' but inner margin, long *r* in 'cole wor[tes]'; fol. xxxii^v outer margin, short *r* in 'labor'; fol. lxvi^v outer margin, long *r* in 'byrde'; fol. lxxxix^v outer margin, long *r* in 'trees'; fol. Cviii^v outer margin, long *r* in 'mare' and inner margin, short *r* in 'a spercle' but long *r* in the rest of the phrase 'of fyre'; fol. Clxxviii outer margin, long *r* in 'labor'; fol. CCxl outer margin, short *r* in 'candel fyre'; fol. CClv^v outer margin, long *r* in 'rust' and short *r* in 'yron'; fol. CCclxxii outer margin, short *r* in 'armo[r]'; fol. CCCxxxvii inner margin, long *r* in 'charete'.

¹² M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. xv-xvi, xx.

¹³ *English Handwriting 1400-1650: An Introductory Manual* (Ashville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1999), Plate 8 for the 1485 document; Plate 7 for the 1451 document by Worcester.

¹⁴ *English Cursive Book Hands*, Plate 21 iii, in which 'Brytons' has the long *r*.

¹⁵ See Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650: A Manual* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, [1966]), Plate 4 warrant of 1525 in 'fully

developed secretary hand' and Plate 5 order of 1549, neither of which has a long *r*; and Plate 10 letter of c. 1565, mainly Secretary but 'contaminated by court-hand forms', including the long *r*.

¹⁶ Readers of Philippe's edition in France, home of the mother-house, La Grande Chartreuse, would recognize a Charterhouse monk as leading an exemplary interior life. On the Charterhouse order in England, see David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), I, pp. 129-38.

¹⁷ For the book production relations among the Carthusians, Brigittine brothers and sisters, and the Caxton and de Worde presses, see my 'Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde', *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium IV*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 26-46 (pp. 41-42 and p. 45, note 21), and Vincent Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 241-68.

¹⁸ The class mark of this copy is Inc. 3. J. 1. 2. (3538). Among the notes and inscriptions are 'Diesen boech hoort to hindere [Faij?] up de boter mart' (first blank page) and 'Ingliessen Cartusens' beneath which 'Shene' is written in a larger hand (sig. Aaⁱⁱ). For the London Carthusians in Bruges after the dissolution, see Dom Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse: Its Monks and Its Martyrs* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1889), pp. 277-86.

¹⁹ It remains to be determined whether only one reader made the verbal annotations; from time to time, the writing is smaller and more sloped than usual. However, on changes in the same scribe's script, see Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

²⁰ Folios lv, lx^v, and lxi have ink lines but no visible words or *nota bene* signs.

²¹ Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 141. ¶15 *usuras tribuens uersuram quoque saepe faciebat*.

²² ¶15 *et pauperem dominum pauper spiritu sequebatur reddens ei, quod acceperat, pro ipso pauper effecta. denique consecuta est, quod optabat, et in grandi aere alieno filiam dereliquit*.

²³ Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 126: she has left those dependent on her poor, but not so poor as she was herself.

²⁴ The counterpart in the Latin is ¶5 *quid ergo referam amplae et nobilis domus et quondam opulentissimae omnes paene diuitias in pauperes erogatas?* Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 129: In what terms shall I speak of her distinguished and noble and formerly wealthy house, almost all the riches of which she spent on the poor?

²⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, pp. 123, 125.

²⁶ See Ryan, 'Introduction', *Golden Legend*, I, pp. xiii-xviii (pp. xiii, xvii).

²⁷ 'Joan Buckland (d. 1462)', in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 113-28 (p. 119).

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²⁸ 'Joan Buckland', in *Medieval London Widows*, p. 122.

²⁹ 'Joan Buckland', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 126-28.

³⁰ *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 155, 158-59, 172.

³¹ *The King's Mother*, pp. 159, 167, 237.

³² Kay Lacey, 'Margaret Croke (d. 1491)', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 143-64 (pp. 160-61, 163).

³³ 'Alice Claver, Silkwoman (d. 1489)', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 129-42 (p. 140).

³⁴ 'Alice Claver, Silkwoman', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 140-41.

³⁵ New York, Morgan Library MS M. 945; *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), plate 57. Further references will be given by plate number in the text.

³⁶ Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550* (London: Allen, 1981), p. 68 and plate facing p. 97.

³⁷ 'Obsecro Te', trans. by Roger S. Wieck, in *Painted Prayers: the Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: Braziller, 1997), p. 87.

³⁸ 'House' (domus), not cave, is given in Matthew 7.11 when the wise men visit, but the Bethlehem cave is known by the second century: see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Philipps, 2002), p. 286.

³⁹ *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁰ ¶10 atque inde specum saluatoris ingrediens, postquam uidit sacrum uirginis diuersorium et stabulum, in quo agnuit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui, ut impleretur illud, quod in eodem propheta scriptum est: beatus, qui seminat super aquas, ubi bos et asinus calcant, me audiente iurabat cernere se fidei oculis infantem pannis inuolutum uagientem in praesepe, deum magos adorantes, stellam fulgentem desuper; matrem uirginem, nutricium sedulum, pastores nocte uenientes, ut uiderent uerbum, quod factum erat, et iam tunc euangelistae Iohannis principium dedicarent: *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum caro factum est*. paruulos interfectos, Herodem saeuientem, Ioseph et Mariam fugientes in Aegyptum. mixtisque gaudio lacrimis loquebatur: 'salue, Bethlem, domus panis, in qua natus est ille panis, qui de caelo descendit'. Translation here and in the following quotations is based on Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', pp. 133-34; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 84; and Aubrey Stewart, *The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula* (London: Adelphi, 1887), pp. 6-7. Michah 5:2-3 is the basis for the Bethlehem quotation.

⁴¹ Jerome's other descriptions include 'On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary against Helvidius', in *Saint Jerome: Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, trans. by John N. Hritz (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), pp. 11-43.

⁴² The passages are Psalms 109.3; Acts 13.46; Matthew 15.24; Genesis 49.10; Psalms 130.3-5, 6; and Psalms 132.6-7.

⁴³ In Psalms 132.17, the revised standard version gives 'anointed' instead of Paula's 'Christ'; in Psalms 22. 31, the revised standard version gives 'posterity' rather than Paula's 'seed'.

⁴⁴ Jerome raises both points in 'Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary'.

⁴⁵ *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 130.

⁴⁶ Jerome, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latinue*, 2nd edn, 3 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), part 1. Further references to the Luke and Matthew passages on the Nativity will be from this edition of Jerome's Bible.

⁴⁷ Oscar Cullman, 'The Protevangelium of James', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, rev. edn; ed. by Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. and ed. by R. Mcl. Wilson (Cambridge: Clarke, 1991), pp. 421-37 (p. 434 §17.3-19.2). Further references to the *Protevangelium* will be given by section number in the text.

⁴⁸ J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal Jesus: Legends of the Early Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 16 §14. Further references to Elliott's translation of *Pseudo-Matthew* will be given by section in the text.

⁴⁹ Fabrizio Bisconti, 'The Decoration of Roman Catacombs', in Vincenzo Ficocchi Nicolai, Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs in Rome*, 2nd edn (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002), pp. 71-145 (p. 124); Bisconti first published the findings of the latest restorations in 1996 (see note 268).

⁵⁰ Nicolai, 'The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs', in *Christian Catacombs*, pp. 9-69 (pp. 17-18).

⁵¹ 'Decoration of Roman Catacombs', *Christian Catacombs*, p.123; fig. 140; p. 124.

⁵² John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 57-58; fig.141.

⁵³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 293-21, fol.[8^v]; *La Vie de la vierge* (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1968), plate 28.

⁵⁴ New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 739, fol. 20; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, fig.11; discussion p. 21.

⁵⁵ New York, Morgan Library, MS M.866, fol. 33^v; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, fig. 44.

⁵⁶ *Golden Legend*, I, 38.

⁵⁷ On FitzAlan as Caxton's patron, see Painter, *William Caxton*, p. 144.

⁵⁸ A thirteenth-century exception in a Nativity miniature painted in Amiens, in which Mary sits up in bed and nurses her infant while one midwife prepares a bath, may be seen in Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), fig. 157, and a somewhat later Italian panel of the Nativity, but without the midwife and bath, in fig. 159. Lactation has also been added to the otherwise traditional configuration in the Nativity painted for Prime in the Hours of the Virgin in the *hora* made

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c. 1410-20 by a Paris workshop for René of Anjou. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat.1156a, fol. 48; John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), plate 87.

⁵⁹ 'In Die Natiuitatis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi', in *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial*, ed. by Susan Powell (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1981), pp. 79-85 (pp. 82-83).

⁶⁰ *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks, and Shrouds* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 73.

⁶¹ For the precise meaning of the title 'Theotokos', given here, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 53.

⁶² See Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, fig. 18 Panagia and Child, sixth century, originally at Mt Sinai; fig. 31 Panagia and Child, possibly sixth century, Church of St Maria Maggiore, Rome; and fig. 50 Panagia and Child, sixth century, St Catherine's, Mt Sinai. According to Beckwith, the Mt Sinai panel was made in Constantinople (p. 92; fig. 75). See also Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, fig. 70 Theotokos Hodegetria, Rome, made when the Pantheon was 'dedicated in 609' to 'Sancta Maria ad Martyres', pp. 89-90; and fig. 72 Theotokos Hodegetria, Rome c.640, thought to have first been at St Maria Antiqua.

⁶³ *Painting the Soul*, p. 47. For the history of the Hodegetria (Hodigitria) icon, see Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, pp. 44-64; also Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 88.

⁶⁴ Bisconti, *Christian Catacombs*, catacomb mural, fig. 121; Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, diptych, fig. 67.

⁶⁵ Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, fig. 71.

⁶⁶ Gawdat Gabra, *Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), p. 52; plate 3.3.

⁶⁷ See *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt*, ed. by Jane Rowlandson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 51; Mary and Christ child plate 14; Isis and Horus plate 11.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 88.

⁶⁹ Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 188 discussion; fig. 154.

⁷⁰ Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, p. 78 on repetition; pp. 27-31 on regulation.

⁷¹ Trans. by Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, pp. 86-87.

⁷² *Painted Prayers*, p. 88; fig. 67.

⁷³ *Symphonia*, trans. by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 122-23.

⁷⁴ 'Homily II', in *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. by Marie-Bernard Saïd and Grace Perigo (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979), pp. 15-31 (pp. 21-22, §9).

- ⁷⁵ Trans. by Chrysogonus Waddell, *Magnificat*, p. xv.
- ⁷⁶ *La legende de la lactation*, in Jean LeClercq, *St. Bernard et L'Esprit Cistercien* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), facing p. 129; see p. 129 for discussion of this and other posthumous Bernard 'marian' legends.
- ⁷⁷ Waddell, *Magnificat*, p. xv.
- ⁷⁸ *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, trans. by Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 33, 61. References to the hymns will be given in the text.
- ⁷⁹ *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, trans. by Frank Tobin (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), pp. 50-52. Tobin is translating a Middle High German manuscript. 'Beguinne' is a name for a spiritual woman living in voluntary poverty and service in a women's community outside church-recognized convents, but with the support of Dominican and Franciscan friars.
- ⁸⁰ Coe, *Stained Glass*, colour plate facing p. 64.
- ⁸¹ *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 272-80 (p. 273).
- ⁸² *Painting in Florence and Siena*, pp. 151-52.
- ⁸³ Quoted in Eamon Duffey, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 283.
- ⁸⁴ *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 180.
- ⁸⁵ See Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, pp. 175-80.
- ⁸⁶ This signed copy of de Worde's *Scala*, which is the one I am using, belongs to the Mellon collection, the Center for British Art, Yale University.
- ⁸⁷ See Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 176 on Lady Margaret's patronage of this cult.
- ⁸⁸ The British Library manuscript has been edited by Roger Ellis, *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden*, EETS o.s. 291 (London: Oxford University Press, 1987). The Nativity revelation in the Bodleian Rawlinson manuscript has been edited by Alexandra Barrett, *Women's Writing in Middle English* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 88-89. Further references to these editions will be given in the text.
- ⁸⁹ *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. by Isa Ragusa, and ed. by Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 30-31. Ragusa has chosen to translate an Italian manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Ital. 115) that adheres closely to the Latin text as presented by editions of 1761 and 1868. Since the illustrations in this manuscript will be discussed, Ragusa's translation will be used here. Further references will be given in the text.
- ⁹⁰ *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations*, trans. by Albert Ryle Kezel (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 203. Kezel's translation will be used here, for, as he says, it is an 'exact and accurate representation of the Latin original', p. 55. Further references will be given in the text.

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⁹¹ *Iconography: St. Birgitta of Sweden* ([Los Angeles]: Rosan, Inc., Ecumenical Foundation of America, 1969), p. 52.

⁹² *Iconography*, p. 51.

⁹³ Reproduced Butkovich, *Iconography*, pp. 54, 55, 56.

⁹⁴ London, British Library, Additional MS 18850 in Janet Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London: British Library, 1990), fig. 16; see also fig. 19; the *Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), plate 40; see also plate 120. The manuscript of the *Très Riches Heures* belongs to the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

⁹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 562, fol. 41^v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 13277, fol. 49 with the taper; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 253, fol. 50; Waddeson Manor, National Trust, Rothschild Collection MS 12, fol. 49 with the bath. De Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 177-80.

⁹⁶ Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), fig. 1 opposite p. 52. The date comes from Coe, *Stained Glass*, p. 109. In a window at St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, a long-haired blonde Mary is depicted with the naked infant on her lap as she sits up in bed, the ox at the manger looks on, and the shepherds play wind instruments; she appears to be offering her breast to the child. Reproduced in *The Nativity in Stained Glass*, ed. by Philip Ives (New York: Walker, 1977), p. 31. This scene may be the one in which Bridget points out the male sex of the child to the shepherds. Ives describes it as a fifteenth-century window with a Flemish virgin, having a 'potpourri of unrelated scraps used for the background' (p. 30).

⁹⁷ The copies used here of Caxton's *Legenda Aurea* and the two French editions are in the Morgan Library collection (New York) as are the copies of de Worde's editions. The copies used of Caxton's and de Worde's *Speculum* are in the Cambridge University Library.

⁹⁸ *Iconography*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 52.

¹⁰¹ In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 55.

¹⁰² The pillar is omitted not only in the Caxton and de Worde editions but also in Bodleian Library, MS Brasenose College e.9, made c.1430, the manuscript used for *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 47.

¹⁰³ *Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 307, note 789.

¹⁰⁴ *Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*, p. 7.