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From Chapel to Chamber: Liturgy and Devotion in Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum*, 1508

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From Chapel to Chamber: Liturgy and Devotion in

Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum*, 1508

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

A missal is the liturgical book containing the prayers and readings for the celebration of the Mass. Originally designed in large folio format, the simultaneous arrival of the printing press amidst a shift in the celebration of Mass from a communal to a private sphere resulted in the proliferation of the small and more portable octavo-size missal. Missals traditionally contained minimal illustrations prior to printing, resulting in their strict classification as a liturgical object. This thesis questions the previous established boundaries which categorize medieval objects as related to a particular type of religious activity. In other words, missals have been categorized based on content rather than function. This study will challenge the existing strict nomenclature applied to medieval art objects as either 'liturgical' or 'devotional.'

After missals began to be printed in the early Renaissance, the first example to contain extensive images was Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum* published in 1501 in Venice. By his October 1508 edition Giunta included a total of twenty full-page woodblock images to form a coherent iconographic program throughout the text. This thesis asserts that his 1508 *Missale romanum* exhibits the same characteristics as Books of Hours, popular devotional prayer books. In particular, Giunta's image

formula mirrors his widely successful Book of Hours publication, the *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, of 1501, by providing a model for devotion, indicating a shift in the relationship between text and image in early printed missals.

This study seeks to refine our knowledge of late medieval liturgical and devotional art, the effect of printing on the design decisions regarding liturgical books, and of the significance of reusing images from a devotional text in a liturgical one. While the focus of this inquiry remains on the 1508 *romanum*, comparisons will be made with three other Giuntine publications: his earlier 1501 *romanum*, his 1507 *Missale congregatio casinensis*, and his 1501 *Officium*. These texts, along with other contemporary Venetian printed missals, illustrate my position that the woodblock images in the 1508 edition embody the accompanying text by providing meditational themes, while their stylistic characteristics encourage private devotion. Whereas the text of a missal serves a liturgical function, the accompanying images do not fit so easily in the same classification, resulting in a new application of the 'para-' or 'quasi-liturgical' art object.

Introduction

"The lavish pictures in initials and borders of Books of Hours
designed to stimulate the thoughts of the reader, are
inappropriate in a service book."
- Mary Kay Duggan, 1991[1]

"A newly imprinted Missal for the use of Rome: with certain new
additions and joined with many beautiful images to send
annual delight, to observe while open."
- Lucantonio Giunta, 1508[2]

The focus of this study is a printed missal, containing text and images, published in

Venice by Lucantonio Giunta in October of 1508. Titled *Missale romanum*, it is the

liturgical book containing the prayers and readings for the celebration of the Mass

according to the use of Rome. This study examines the relationship between text, image,

and user in order to address its categorization as a liturgical art object. This approach

follows the ideas put forth by John Lowden in his essay, "Illuminated Books and the

Liturgy." He asserts:

> I suggest that "the liturgy" and "private devotion" are therefore best considered –
> in terms of the possible use of illuminated books – not as clearly defined
> alternatives, but as different points on a long continuum of possible use which
> also includes all manner of para-liturgical and even some types of social activity.[3]

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[1] Mary Kay Duggan, "The Psalter on the Way to the Reformation: The Fifteenth-Century Printed Psalter in the North." *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages,* ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991), 158.

[2] Title page from Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum*, October 3, 1508 edition: *Missale Romanum nouiter impressum: cum quibusdam missis de novo additis multum devotis, adiunctisque figures pulcherrimis in capite missarum festivitatum solennium, ut patebit inspicienti.*

[3] John Lowden, "Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations." *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 47.

The goal of this study is to contribute to the current discourse of redefining the use of the words 'liturgical' and 'devotional' as they pertain to medieval art.[4] This will be done by examining the 1508 *Missale romanum* as an individual object within the broad framework of liturgical function. The aim will be to address both the function and reception of the images within the text.

A review of the scholarship involved with the debate of liturgical versus devotional will provide a context for this assertion. Traditionally classified into two categories, medieval art falls under either the liturgical or devotional.[5] According to Henk van Os, an object is liturgical if it provides a function, otherwise remains devotional.[6] This rigid classification considers medieval altarpieces, for instance, liturgical, whereas a carved ivory statuette of the Virgin Mary falls under the devotional. The main indicator aside from the object's function is its location of use: if used within a communal setting, it is liturgical, and if used in private environs it becomes devotional. Completed largely within the last two decades, this phase of scholarship examines medieval art in relation to its function with a loose definition of the liturgy. Scholars, including van Os, define liturgy inconsistently by sometimes broadly including all services of the church from

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[4] Ibid. This thesis follows the emerging trend in medieval liturgical studies of questioning previously established boundaries that categorize art as related to a particular type of religious activity.

[5] This review begins with the contributions of Henk van Os; Panofsky's *imago* and *historia* are not here considered as together they form the 'devotional.'

[6] The focus of van Os's research has been on the development and function of altarpieces, particularly in Siena. See his *Sienese Altarpieces 1215 – 1460: Form, Content, and Function* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1990).

baptism to burial, while in other instances they do so very specifically by referring only to the sacrament of the Eucharist.[7]

Recent scholarship, in reacting against the loose application of the word liturgy, challenges these strict categorizations of medieval art while addressing the problems inherent in studying it on a purely functional basis. Leading this discourse is the 2001 publication of essays *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy.* Each essay reexamines a previously defined category of liturgical art objects (including altarpieces, misericords, liturgical combs, and texts) and concludes that all objects must be studied on their individual merits since they cannot fit easily within the previously established boundaries. In acknowledging the fluidity of the word 'liturgy,' this new trend understands that without defined borders it should be applied with caution to medieval art.

Scholars John Lowden and Alexa Sand, each in separate studies, follow this trend by reevaluating the definition and use of medieval psalters. Lowden, by broadly surveying manuscript psalters in general, concludes that they cannot fit neatly into either category.[8] While the text remains liturgical, the actual recitation, or use, of the Psalms by the laity took place in a devotional context.[9] Alexa Sand chooses specifically to examine a single manuscript, the Psalter-Hours of Yolande of Soissons, to conclude that

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[7] Column Hourihane, *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3.

[8] Lowden, 17-53. Lowden reinterprets other categories of manuscripts including the famous Lindesfarne Gospels. He concludes that it was never intended for liturgical use by citing the lack of rubrics and the disordering of texts, each of which fulfill neither a liturgical or devotional function.

[9] Psalters contain all 150 Psalms in numerical order intended for recitation over the course of a week, mirroring the function of the liturgical breviary.

its cycle of imagery did indeed serve as a vehicle for private devotion.[10] By addressing

the use of psalters outside of a communal setting and on the reception of images, these

studies challenge the previous categorization of medieval psalters.

This study will employ the framework established by recent scholars to consider

Giunta's 1508 *Missale romanum* as not strictly a liturgical object, and it will examine the

book as an artifact in order to consider text, image, and reader all together.[11] A brief

discussion of how books are studied will provide further understanding of this approach.

Lucien Febvre's landmark *histoire de livre* method examines the book from a

sociological and cultural perspective. This approach differs from the analytical-

bibliographical process of physically analyzing the book as an object.[12] This idea of the

book as an object is further expanded upon by Robert Darnton and his 'communications

circuit' model. This model allows the study of a printed book from a particular point

along its life cycle by examining determinants such as the author, publisher, printer, and

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[10] Alexa Sand's conclusions about this manuscript first appeared in her dissertation, "Picturing Devotion Anew in the Psalter Hours 'of Yolande of Soissons' (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 729)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1999). Her recent article, "Vision, Devotion, and Difficulty in the Psalter Hours 'of Yolande of Soissons'" in *Art Bulletin* Vol. 87, no.1 (March 2005) focuses specifically on the Christological cycles presented by the miniatures, the underlying goals of the artists in choosing the program of illustration, and the impact on the user's reception.

[11] The idea of the book as artifact was asserted by Natalie Zemon Davis in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975). This methodology allows the contents of a book, both word and image, to be placed in a larger social, economic, or political context. See also Sandra Hindman, *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450 – 1520* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[12] Febvre's approach was influenced by the French *Annales* School; see Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450 – 1800* (London: N.L.B., 1976). Analytical bibliography includes codicology, or the archeology of the book, where emphasis is placed on the physical characteristics including, but not limited to, size, paleography, rulings, pricking marks, and ink, as first asserted by L.M.J. Delaisse, "Toward a History of the Medieval Book" in *Codicologica*, I (1976): 75-83. For a recent discussion about book history and its emergence as an independent discipline see David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *The Book History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

reader.[13] However, this circuit takes into account only the text and not images. Wolfgang Iser likewise stresses the importance of considering the reader in his essay, "Interaction between Text and Reader."[14] He takes his approach a step further than Darnton by looking at the reader's participation but does not include his or her relation to images.

Unlike psalters, medieval missals were used only by those sanctioned to perform the Mass, namely priests, monks, and friars. The text was read aloud for communal worship while the images were only seen by the user.[15] Beth Williamson explores the idea of user reception in her study on altarpieces.[16] As she explains, "problems might be explored more fruitfully if one considers particular images less from the point of view of what they are 'about' and more from the point of how their users think and behave in their presence."[17] This method moves away from the traditional Panofskian approach by inquiring into an image's reception rather than uncovering the meaning behind it. Employing this methodology, she concludes that the categories of 'images' and 'religious activity' need to be reconsidered to dissolve the previous rigid opposition between the classification of liturgical and devotional.

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[13] Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" in Finkelstein and McCleery, 9-26.

[14] Wolfgang Iser, "Interaction Between Text and Reader" in Finkelstein and McCleery, 291-296. Iser argues that it is the reader who sets the work in motion therefore giving it its classification. This present research addresses how the viewer of the images rather than Iser's 'reader of words' can define classification.

[15] Traditionally designed in large folio size due to their use on the church altar, missals shifted to the smaller and more portable octavo size after the arrival of the printing press. For further discussion concerning the function of images in liturgical manuscripts prior to printing, see Lowden.

[16] Beth Williamson, "Liturgical Image or Devotional Image? The London *Madonna of the Firescreen*" in Hourihane, 298-318

[17] Ibid., 299. Beth Williamson's argument about the altarpiece first appeared in Hourihane and was recently expanded upon in the publication "Altarpieces, Liturgy and Devotion" in *Speculum* 79 (2004) 341-406. She adapts reception theory in order to place emphasis on the viewer's response to the altarpiece rather than its intended function.

Incorporating Williamson's approach, I examine how the viewer would have perceived the woodblock images in Giunta's 1508 *Missale romanum*. By addressing the inclusion of all twenty full-page woodblock images, their overall design and layout including the accompanying criblé borders, I investigate how they relate to, and function within, the text.[18] Two earlier editions of missals printed by Giunta supplement this analysis: a *Missale romanum* completed seven years earlier in 1501 and a missal for the use of the Benedictine Cassinese Congregation (*Missale congregatio casinensis*) printed in 1507. Finally, in comparing the reception of images to those used in a devotional book, Giunta's *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, a Book of Hours for the use of Rome published with great success in 1501, I reclassify Giunta's 1508 *Missale romanum* as a 'para-' or 'quasi-liturgical' object.[19]

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[18] Criblé borders, comprised of smaller woodcuts, are designed to frame a single line of text. Their name refers to the technique of white dots on a black ground resulting in a 'honeycombed' or 'pockmarked' appearance. The individual images do not necessarily correlate to the text but often act as separate narratives schemes. In liturgical printings Giunta reuses scenes randomly and extensively throughout the entirety of a text. Traditionally used in Books of Hours, they stem from the French tradition. See Jonathan P. Harthan, *Books of Hours: Illuminated Pages from the World's Most Precious Manuscripts* (New York: Crowell, 1977), 169-74.

[19] I will also examine the woodcuts used in his 1499 *Gradual romanum*. These twenty-four initial woodcuts were completed by the same artist as Giunta's other liturgical publications and will assist in tracing the development of compositional devices used in his 1501 (and later 1508) *romanum* editions.

Chapter One

Printing and the Pious: The Formation of the Early Printed Missal

The systematic codification required by the complexity of medieval liturgy

resulted in the production of numerous service books. Liturgical books formed separate

volumes organized by the two distinct service categories of Mass and Divine Office. The

missal became the service book for the Mass while the breviary became the service book

for the Divine, or daily, Office. Both services required accompanying musical chant

located in additional volumes.[20] Although the services of the medieval liturgy

incorporated the reading of the entire Bible during the cycle of the church year, the

separation of texts assisted the officiating priest by organizing the readings per service.[21]

Rather than locate the appropriate passages for each feast in a multi-volume Bible, priests

referenced these liturgical books ordered by the liturgical calendar.[22]

During the early Middle Ages, the Mass ceremony often involved several

participants each reading from separate books. The core reading consisted of passages

from the Gospel Lessons, which formed, prior to the twelfth century, a volume called an

evangelary. The additional readings for the moveable and fixed feasts made up the text

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[20] The gradual and antiphonal contain the musical notation for the Mass and Divine Office, respectively, and were used in the choir, not at the altar. This necessitated their construction in large folio size to accommodate large lettering in order to be seen by all members of the choir at the same time.

[21] Christopher DeHamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2002), 29. This pattern had been firmly established by the seventh century.

[22] Ibid. The Bible had not yet been compiled neatly into organized chapters and verses during the early Middle Ages, rendering the locating of passages more tedious.

referred to as the sacramentary. During the ceremony, the officiating priest read from the

sacramentary as it rested open on the altar. An accompanying deacon read from the

evangelary while a subdeacon read from a third volume, the epistolary, a book containing

passages from the New Testament Epistles.[23] These three books were used in conjunction

with one another prior to their assemblage into the missal during the twelfth century.[24]

Sacramentaries frequently included sumptuous images and decoration due to their

location on the altar. Powerful political figures during the early Middle Ages gifted

sacramentaries to ecclesiastical leaders and churches, resulting in the richly decorated

volumes that often remained on the altar for the veneration of the congregation.[25] The

images in early sacramentaries simply embellished the text rather than serving an

instructional function. The most frequent and often, only, illustration was the Crucifixion

prefacing the opening words of the Canon of the Mass.[26] At the very moment the priest

elevated the Host during the celebration of the Eucharist, his awareness heightened while

visually reflecting on the suffering and sacrifice of Christ.

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[23] Over time the epistolary was combined with the evangelary to form another text called a lectionary.

[24] This consolidation affected the duties of the acolytes; the development of the missal into one volume required only the priest to perform the entire Mass ceremony.

[25] The description of Heavenly Jerusalem from the Book of Revelation formed the basis for such sumptuous decoration inside churches: *et erat structura muri eius ex lapide ipsa vero civitas auro mundo simile vitro mundo* (the wall was constructed with jasper, while the city was pure gold, clear as glass), Revelation 21:18 Vulgate Bible. All objects of the liturgy, from vessels to dress, were heavily ornamented including the covers of service books which were often so extravagant that they were physically venerated more often than used.

[26] Images in liturgical books existed as either educative or decorative. The Crucifixion scene in missals falls outside these categories given its function as a vehicle for a sacrament. The ceremony of the Eucharist brings the body of Christ physically present; therefore, the image of His body becomes part of the sacrament, serving in the same capacity as icons. For further discussion on the qualities of Crucifixion scenes in missals, see Christopher DeHamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts, 2nd ed.* (London: Phaidon, 1997), 209-210.

The ceremony of the medieval Mass consisted of two parts, the Fore-Mass and the regular Mass, with the commemoration of the Last Supper taking place during the latter.[27] This ceremony maintained an ongoing communion between God and mankind by consecrating bread and wine into His body and blood.[28] It consisted of two separate parts: the sacramental in the sanctuary at the altar and the music, or choral chant, in the choir. This duality underscores the complexity of the viewers' understanding of the Mass:

> Mass was heard rather than shared. It was primarily a celebration by the priest who offered a sacrifice on behalf of the people. In almost all medieval churches the priest celebrated the Mass at an altar distant from the people, often hidden by a substantial screen; surrounded by his assisting minister he faced east, away from the people, for much of the celebration he spoke in Latin; on most occasions he alone received communion.[29]

In such a communal setting the congregation experienced Mass on a verbal rather than visual level; only the priest and acolytes witnessed the actual miracle of transubstantiation.[30]

From the eleventh century onward individuals committed to major Orders, including priests, monks, and friars, were obligated to say Mass each day while the laity attended the service weekly. Canon law required priests to own a missal prior to their

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[27] The Fore-Mass, grounded in Jewish tradition, consisted of three parts: the blessing of the salt and water, the sprinkling of them, and the preparation entrance ceremonies for the Mass itself to begin.

[28] The doctrine of transubstantiation confirmed during the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed the body and blood of Christ physically present in the bread and wine: *sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus* [*et*]: *cujus corpus est sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur* (Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine). David Charles Douglas, *English Historical Documents, Volume II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 643-76.

[29] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 110.

[30] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1440 – c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 97. In addition to an elaborately carved chancel screen, the sanctuary was further obstructed by use of a veil during Lent. These obstructions were so obtrusive that a bell was often rung at the start of every Mass to warn the worshippers engaged in prayer to look up.

ordination ensuring the ability to engage in daily performances. These communal and private celebrations utilized different missals. The communal celebration at the altar used a large folio format book (one that explicitly belonged to the church[31]), while the required daily celebrations used the smaller and more portable octavo format. The increasing number of cathedrals, collegiate churches, and monasteries, with their large number of individuals committed to the daily recitation of Mass, created the need for an affordable and portable missal.

The organization and structure of all liturgical books, including missals, is based upon the specific theological conventions of the medieval church year. The year includes four overlapping cycles: the daily cycle of Mass and Divine Office, the weekly cycle of Mass and Divine Office, the annual cycle of liturgical seasons (the Temporal) and the annual cycle of feast-days (the Sanctoral). The Temporal, also referred to as the Proper of Time, observes moveable feasts or those that take place on different days of the year while the Sanctoral, or Proper of Saints, observes fixed (non-movable) feasts that take place on the same date of every year.

Missals feature the daily, weekly, and annual cycle of readings for the Mass and the annual cycle of fixed feast days. Their contents and order remained relatively consistent from the twelfth century onward. They began with a calendar, which utilized the Roman system of calculating days in perpetuity, followed by the Temporal and

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[31] Consuelo W. Dutschke, "Liturgical Manuscripts." *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination form Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James R. Tanis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 130. The large folio manuscript missals remained the property of the church and more specifically, property of the altar itself rather than the individual priests.

Sanctoral sections.[32] The Temporal observes Sundays, any festival commemorating the

life of Christ, and moveable feasts such as Ascension Day and Pentecost. The Sanctoral

celebrates the fixed days of the saints, including those for the Virgin Mary. These

sections are followed by the Common of the Saints, a list of saints ordered by group:

evangelists, apostles, martyrs, and virgins. Missals conclude with a Requiem Mass.

All medieval liturgical books incorporated organizational tools to assist the user

with the complex structure of the services. Different colors of ink, alternating lettering

sizes, and hierarchal systems of initials clarified the intricacies inherent to the services.

Rubrics, in red, directed the reader to the beginning of each prayer or feast. The most

important feast days (saints venerated according to a particular use) of the calendar were

printed in red ink and the remaining saints in black.[33] The size of the lettering marked

sections read aloud by the priest and those reserved for responses by members in the

choir. Initials helped organize the readings by serving as chapter headings. They ranged

from the simply decorated to the elaborately flourished with lines extending the length of

the page. Initials could also be historiated; they included a scene or picture within the

borders to clarify the text. Some historiated initials became standard in missals such as

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[32] The medieval liturgical calendar is based upon the Roman, or Julian Calendar, system which organizes the year into 365 days divided into twelve months. It utilizes three key days per month to calculate the dates of any year. These are the *Kalends* (the first day of each month), the *Nones* (occurring on the fifth or the seventh day), and the *Ides* (occurring on the thirteenth or the fifteenth day). These days along with other facilitative tools for determining dates and days, give the liturgical calendar its construction of four columns. The first three columns allow the user to determine first, the date on which a specific feast day falls; second, the day of the week for that date; and third, the day of Easter Sunday with which the Temporal cycle revolves around. The fourth contains a list of saints and feasts for each of the 365 days. See Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State University Pres, 1999).

[33] For additional discussion on the use of colored initials in missals during the shift from manuscript to incunable, see Mary Kay Duggan, "The Design of the Early Printed Missal." *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 22 (1993), 54-78.

the 't' in the opening words of the Canon of the Mass, *Te igitur clementissime pater*, where the Elevation of the Host is depicted (fig. 1).[34] Liturgical books in both manuscript and print form adhered to this organizational scheme of color and initial size.

Prior to printing, missals rarely contained any musical notation; only the text of the sung parts was included.[35] Printing introduced 'noted' missals which contained both the chant performed by the priest during the celebration of the Mass as the accompanying musical notation. This included the prefaces (which vary by feast), *Pater noster*, incipits for the Ordinary chants (*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus,* and *Agnus Dei*), and other chants for the Holy Week.[36]

Printed liturgical books first appeared roughly thirty years after the arrival of the printing press in the late 1430's and early 1440's.[37] Constant demand for them quickly proved attractive for speculative printers' enterprises. Breviaries became the largest number of liturgical incunabula printed, roughly a quarter of a million printed copies prior to 1500. These were followed in second place by missals. [38] The first printed book

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[34] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). The *canon missae*, located before Easter Sunday in the Temporal, gives the texts, music, and instructions for the performance of the Mass. The principle initial divisions are the 't' of the *Te igitur* followed by three initial 'p's' beginning the reference to the secret and conclusion, the proper prefaces (*per omnia secula*) and the canon prayer (*per omnia*).

[35] The accompanying musical chant remained in graduals.

[36] Mary Kay Duggan, "Music in the Early Printed Missal." *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 1-20.

[37] Mary Kay Duggan, "Politics and Text: Bringing the Liturgy to Print." *Gutenberg-Jarbuch* 76 (2001), 104-17. Textual reform and standardization of the liturgy was one of the main aims of the Council of Basel in 1431. Duggan argues that the eruption of political divisions in Europe immediately afterward caused a long delay in the agreement of such reforms resulting in such a delay in liturgical printing.

[38] Mary Kay Duggan, "Reading Liturgical Books." *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling, and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century* ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 72.

containing the text of the *canon missae* was printed in 1458 by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz.[39] By 1501 at least half a million printed liturgical books, including breviaries, missals, psalters, and choir books (antiphonals and graduals), existed in Europe.[40]

The first two known incunable missals are a *Missale romanum* printed in Italy around 1472 and a *Missale speciale*, an abbreviated edition containing only the text for Sunday Mass and principal feasts, printed in Basel in 1473.[41] Their large folio format indicates a dependence on their manuscript predecessors. Other early printed folio missals include a 1477 *Missale romanum* printed in Venice by Alvise and Domenico Siliprandi and a 1477 *Missale romanum* printed in Naples by Matthias Moravus.[42] The printed folio missal became the bestseller of books its size; roughly 800 editions were printed by 1500.[43]

As printers uniformly decreased the size of missals, they simultaneously modified the presentation of both the contents and layout. The major design shifts include the decrease in overall dimensions (from folio to quarto or octavo), the use of smaller

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[39] Duggan, " Design," 54.

[40] Ibid., 72. Duggan cites that on average, secular clerics and religious owned at least 1.5 new liturgical books, based upon 1,087 editions with a European population of 65.8 million (five percent, or 3.3 million, estimated as clerics and religious).

[41] Ibid. (1472 *Romanum*: Goff M-643, Duggan 38 issue 1). A second copy of this missal was recently discovered in the Vatican Library, catalogued Urb.lat.109 and listed under Copinger 4130 and Duggan 38 issue 2. (1473 *Speciale*: Goff M-655, Bohatta 304, Copinger 4075). A *Missale speciale* is intended primarily for chapels in cathedrals rather than on the high altar in the sanctuary.

[42] Duggan, "Politics." The 1477 Venice edition: Bohatta 856, the 1477 Naples edition: Bohatta 857.

[43] Duggan, "Design," 55. This figure, based on the catalogue by Hans Bohatta, was compiled by Ferdinand Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde: Eine Einführung in die Welt des frühsten Buchdrucks* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

typeface, and an increase in the number of lines per page.[44] To increase legibility and

accessibility, common abbreviations were replaced with full spellings. Several service

books included extended rubrics to assist all levels of readers. Other facilitative tools

include dictionaries of liturgical Latin, commentaries on the Psalms, and even instruction

in plainchant notation.[45] Lucantonio Giunta included similar features in his 1508 *Missale*

romanum edition, for instance, by listing both the month and numerical day for the major

feast days of the Sanctoral in the margin of the text (fig. 2).[46]

Born in Florence in 1457, Lucantonio Giunta moved to Venice in 1477 to begin a

career in book dealing with his family. By 1489 he began functioning as a publisher and

in 1500 published under his own name.[47] His printer's device features a red Florentine

lily flanked by his initials (fig. 3). He died in 1538 after producing 406 editions during his

fifty-year career.[48] The Paduan miniaturist Benedetto Bordon served as Giunta's primary

artist, who, before he specialized in woodcuts, worked as an illuminator of ducal

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[44] Duggan does not address any shifts in the use of illustrations in early printed missals in her article, "Design," as she concerns herself only with the textual and musical notation layout.

[45] Ibid., 75. Duggan suggests that these types of changes in printed liturgical books were a direct result of different readership, those less proficient in Latin and desirous of participating in the services outside of the church.

[46] Giunta lists the month (*festa septembris*) as the header and the day (*die 8*) in the left margin.

[47] Victor Massena Prince d'Essling records Giunta acting as printer for Emericus de Spira on a 1587 *Missale romanum* in quarto format. See his *Les missels imprimées à Venise de 1481 à 1600* (Paris: Rothschild, 1894-96). In 1498 Giunta again printed for de Spira, a June 28 edition *romanum* in folio format. In 1500 he printed and published under is own name a *Missale carmelitarum* on January 5 in folio size. For a full biography of Giunta and his family see Paolo Camerini, *Annali De Giunti* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1962).

[48] Camerini catalogued the 406 editions via his printers mark, referred to as either a Florentine lily or fleur-de-lis.

documents and books published by Aldus Manutius.[49] Jacob of Strassburg is identified as the woodcutter of Giunta's images.[50]

As a publisher in Venice during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Lucantonio Giunta engaged in a competitive and hugely successful printing empire. Venice established itself early on after the first printing presses arrived in 1469 to become one of the leading publishers of books in Europe. With the triumph of the printing of humanist, law, and liturgical books, demand remained high for quality and innovative products.[51] The largest and grandest book ever printed in the fifteenth century was by Giunta, his *Antiphonarium* of 1499.[52] Venice's role as a publishing power, by establishing a competitive market, contributed to Giunta's grand printings and illustrative innovations.

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[49] Martin Lowry, "Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Bordon: The Quest for a Link." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 66 (1983) 173-97. Benedetto Bordon (active 1477-1530) is linked to the woodcuts of the *Hypnertomachia Polifili*.

[50] Creating woodcuts was an involved process. An artist first had to draw the image on a piece of paper to fit the desired area and then trace it onto a wooden block. A woodcutter then carved the block, cutting away everything except the lines drawn by the artist. All full-page woodcuts, except for the *Annunciation*, in Giunta's 1501 *Missale romanum* are attributed to Bordon and Jacob of Strasburg, as asserted by Lilian Armstrong, "Woodcuts for Liturgical Books Published by Lucantonio Giunta in Venice, 1499-1501." *Word and Image I*, no. Jan-June (2001).

[51] Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces*, 7. Van Os argues that a desire for pomp and splendor, propagandistic endeavors between urban religious orders, and competitions between patrons, and rivalry among artists all contributed to the development of the altarpiece in Siena.

[52] Armstrong, "Woodcuts," 71, 88. His *Antiphonarium* measured 568x385 mm. His *Gradual romanum* of 1499 measured slightly smaller at 557x383mm.

Prior to 1500, a tradition of illustrated missals had not been established.[53]

Giunta's 1501 *Missale romanum* was the first printed missal to appear with an extensive cycle of images. It contained eighteen full-page woodblocks, nine of which were reused from his 1501 Book of Hours edition, and accompanying criblé borders. This 1501 *romanum* serves as a springboard for tracing the developments of image and reader relations to his October, 1508 *romanum* edition. His *Missale congregatio casinensis*, printed in 1507, provides a second comparison given its specific audience. This anomalous edition includes the repetition of full-page woodcuts, the misuse of criblé borders, and the insertion of a woodblock designed by an artist other than Benedetto Bordon. The *casinensis*, with its limited audience and readership, offers a useful contrast with Giunta's conscious effort to produce an aesthetically balanced Romish edition to appeal to a widespread audience.

As Chapter Two traces, the late Middle Ages was a time of increased personal piety and individual interaction with the divine. This resulted in a new intimacy between the laity and devotional images. In particular, stylistic developments in artwork encouraged involvement on the part of the viewer, most highly developed in Books of Hours. In this regard, the images in Giunta's Book of Hours publications served as a vehicle for private meditation and devotion. Since this study asserts that his 1508

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[53] Lilian Armstrong, "Venetian and Florentine Renaissance Woodcuts for Bibles, Liturgical Books, and Devotional Books" *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books* (New York: George Braziller, 2004), 37. Two catalogues exist that describe the programs of illustrations in early printed missals: Victor Massena Prince d'Essling (see note 47 above) and Victor M. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits de bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Rothschild, 1924). Mary Kay Duggan's article, "Design," examines the two earliest incunable missals, one from Italy and one from Basel. However, her focus remains solely on their design and layout as the only illustrations present were the Crucifixion scene.

romanum exhibits the same characteristics as his popular Books of Hours editions, the

1501 *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis* offers further comparison.

Chapter Two

Liturgy and the Laity: Liturgical versus Devotional Worship

Two types of worship dominated the Middle Ages: the public, in the form of the

liturgy; and the private. Derived from the Greek 'people' and 'work' the word liturgy

involves any object or activity relating to public worship.[54] This includes the assemblage

of texts, music, vessels, vestments, and buildings necessary for formal worship. The

liturgy of the medieval Catholic Church served, through its organized and repetitive

structure, as a constant and stabilizing force for the population. Moreover, the Church

employed a hierarchal infrastructure as a means of governance. Such a structure did not

entertain the notion of individual relationships with the divine, as witnessed specifically

by priestly control of the celebration of the Eucharist.[55]

There existed, certainly before the Council of Trent, diverse experiences of the

liturgy among the clergy and the laity. The impoverished lay experience resulted from the

specific ecclesiastical localization of the Mass ceremony; a disconnection that was

emphasized further by the architectural settings. The clergy were secreted away behind

chancel screens at the altar while the laity listened in the nave of the church. This

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[54] The Greek word *leitourgia* literally means "the work of the people."

[55] Lay communion was obligatory each year as prescribed by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and usually took place during Easter. The priest received both bread and wine during the ceremony, whereas the laity received only the Host. For detailed discussion regarding the formation of the liturgical services in the Western Church see Harper, especially page eleven where he outlines the six principal phases.

distance between the celebrant and worshipper highlights the spiritual hierarchy of the medieval church: "the laity's participation was supposed to be less concerned with intellectual grasp of Eucharistic doctrine or scriptural teachings, than with assuming a proper role in the drama of the Mass."[56]

As direct contact with God was a privilege reserved to priests, monks, and nuns, the laity possessed no active role until after the twelfth century. Spiritual movements such as the *Devotio Moderna* during the late Middle Ages began to encourage the notion of private devotion.[57] The devotional literature surrounding this movement emphasized a non-institutional piety, in the form of private prayer and meditation. Such texts included the *Meditaciones vitae Christi, Legenda Aurea*, and *De Imitatione Christi*. Each one directed the laity to seek personal relationships with God, Mary, and the saints outside of public worship.

Fueled by the writings of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 – 1153), the founder of the Cistercian Order, prayer and meditation were placed into a broader context. Bernard's underlying theme was one of empathetic involvement. This often took the form of a dialogue between the faithful and the divine. His teachings were later expanded upon by Saint Francis of Assisi (1181 – 1226), who further encouraged the laity to engage in personal relationships with the divine as a supplement to public prayer.

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[56] Virginia Reinburg, "Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 3 (1992), 530. A few religious texts from the late Middle Ages indicate an attempt to educate the laity on the performance of the Mass. Gherit vander Goude's *Dat Boecken vander Missen*, first printed around 1507 in Antwerp, provided directions to the lay attendee of Mass with instructions on how to react. Its illustrative woodcuts explain the meaning of each phase of the celebration. See Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[57] The *Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion) movement began in the late fourteenth century in the Netherlands by Geert Grote. Taking the lead from the teachings of Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Francis of Assisi, it encouraged an individual path to salvation through meditation and prayer.

Saint Francis founded his Order's friaries in the middle of cities and towns, unlike the Cistercians, who lived as conventuals away from the world, in order to directly address the spiritual needs of the lay population. Other mendicant orders, including the Dominicans, followed suit and brought faith to the illiterate laity first via sermons and later by sacred theater. Each of these practices used images; as they had always been central to meditation for cloistered monks and nuns.[58]

The most influential text on late medieval spirituality was the *Meditaciones vitae Christi* by the Franciscan friar John of Caulibus around 1300.[59] It promoted a new way to experience faith by meditation by emphasizing the transportation of the reader into the events described. The author, practically taking the readers by hand, led them from one event in the life of Christ to the next while suggesting they step in and stand beside the characters. For instance, when viewing a scene of the Adoration of the Magi the viewer is encouraged to kneel next to the revering King:

> You, too, who lingered so long, kneel and adore your Lord God, and then His mother, and reverently greet the saintly old Joseph. Kiss the beautiful little feet of the infant Jesus who lies in the manger and beg His mother to offer to let you hold Him a while. Pick Him up and hold Him in your arms. Gaze on His face with devotion and reverently kiss Him and delight in Him.[60]

The idea of experiencing each event in the life of Jesus was crucial to achieving the proper level of meditation. In 1454 the *Zardino de Oration* (Garden of Prayer) was

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[58] Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 54. The use of devotional images to aid in meditation first began in monasteries and convents. Van Os categorizes the conventuals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as using images as tangible means to bring their own salvation closer.

[59] Francis X. Taney, *John of Caulibus: Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Asheville: Pegasus Press, 2000). The *Meditaciones vitae Christi* (Meditations on the Life of Christ) was thought to have been the work of St. Bonaventure, later revised to an anonymous writer referred to as Pseudo-Bonaventure. Only recently the text has been ascribed to the fourteenth-century Franciscan John of Caulibus.

[60] Ibid., 13.

written (and later published in Venice) which instructed young girls how to engage in prayer, "Moving slowly from episode to episode, meditate on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story. And if at any point you feel a sensation of piety; stop: do not pass on as long as that sweet and devout sentiment lasts."[61]

Such changes in late medieval spirituality manifested themselves directly in art. Scenes described in the devotional literature provided new themes and motifs. For instance, in the *Meditaciones vitae Christi*, Mary plays a more prominent role in Christ's life than presented in the Gospel. The scene of the Annunciation became central to late medieval art for it shows Mary in the pivotal role of God's arrival on earth. Moreover, the scene frequently depicts Mary reading from a prayer book to indicate her piety. The Annunciation scene, when placed in a prayer book, allows the user to imitate the actions of the Virgin Mary. The nature of Christ also underwent a significant development; the emphasis moved from his divinity to his humanity. Prior to the twelfth century, Christ was often depicted as the 'ruler of the cosmos.' With the assistance of popular devotional tracts Christ's humanity received more attention and, in particular, His suffering on earth.[62]

Other innovations in imagery stemmed from themes presented throughout devotional texts. The idea of the Holy Family emerged as artists depicted scenes of Jesus,

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[61] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 46.

[62] Van Os, *Art of Devotion*, 25. Scenes of the Resurrection, Ascension, and Descent of the Holy Ghost were not frequent motifs in late medieval and early Renaissance devotional art.

Mary, and Joseph together.[63] The themes of the *Mater Dolorosa* (Mother of Sorrows) and the *Arma Christi* (Weapons of the Passion) also surfaced. The most influential, particularly in Italy, was the Man of Sorrows, where the dead Christ reveals His wounds of the Passion. Such imagery underscored emotions such as pain and sorrow emphasized heavily in the *Meditaciones vitae Christi*.

Another innovation to late medieval devotional art was its transportation from the public domain into the private sphere. Objects like small prayer books and triptychs accompanied worshippers into environs outside the communal. Henk van Os describes how artists were able to "retell in visual form the mysteries of Christ's life in small-format, autonomous series for use in private devotion."[64] Scenes were presented in narrative format in order for the viewer to follow along in a journey through the events in Christ's life.[65]

Scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary largely formed the basis for devotional art. The *Meditaciones vitae Christi* in particular gave Mary more prominence. As the vessel with which God sent His son to earth, the faithful believed in requesting favors directly to Mary. She would in turn beseech God on their behalf with the idea that He could not deny His own mother a request. As Mary held the pivotal position as intercessor the most common devotional practice throughout the Middle Ages was the recitation of a version of the Divine Office hours, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin,

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[63] Ibid., 91. Van Os suggests that images of the Holy Family served as role models for lay families. He further indicates that these scenes even allowed celibates to participate spiritually in family life.

[64]Ibid., 165.

[65] Sixten Ringbom, *From Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984).

comprised of thirty-seven Psalms.[66] This served as the core text of the most popular

devotional prayer book of the late Middle Ages, the Book of Hours.

Books of Hours developed from the psalter during the late eleventh and early

twelfth centuries. Containing all 150 Psalms, psalters were to be read in entirety

throughout the course of a week.[67] As Bibles remained difficult items for the laity to get

their hands on, psalters became popular by providing easy and affordable access to the

liturgy for the literate laity.[68] The Hours of the Virgin were soon simply attached to the

Psalms forming a text referred to as the Psalter-Hours. By the late thirteenth century, the

Hours appeared in a single volume with an accompanying calendar.[69] It was this

arrangement (referred to simply as *Horae*) that remained the bestseller throughout the

later Middle Ages.

As a comparable lay version to the monastic breviary, *Horae* allowed the laity to

achieve the ideal religious structure by rendering time holy and providing a framework

for daily routine. From the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, more Books of Hours were

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[66] Heffernan and Matter, 474. The Hours of the Virgin developed sometime during the ninth century, possibly compiled by Benedict of Aniane, c. 750-821.

[67] The distribution of prayers over the course of a day and week to form the Divine Office was outlined most clearly by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-543) during the early sixth century. In his *Rule of St. Benedict* he prescribes the times and orders of daily prayer for monastic worship. He divided daily prayer into the eight canonical hours: Matins before daybreak (half past two A.M.), Lauds at daybreak (five A.M.), Prime at 'first hour' (six A.M.), Terce at 'third hour' (nine A.M.), Sext at 'sixth hour' (noon), None at the 'ninth hour' (three P.M.), Vespers at sundown (half past four P.M.), and Compline before retiring in the evening (six P.M.). This popular monastic liturgy became adopted throughout the Western Church over the course of the Middle Ages.

[68] The majority of churches did not own their own full copy of a Bible as these were used primarily in universities for theologians and monasteries for private study.

[69] The calendar, Penitential Psalms, Litany and Office of the Dead all came from the breviary.

produced than any other text, including the Bible.[70] Their abundance attests to the desire among the laity to have a personal liturgy, one that was not necessarily church-centered.[71] In addition, *Horae* fueled private devotional needs by allowing the laity to reflect upon the ancillary prayers and images in them while listening to the services.[72]

Although psalters were not typically illustrated, *Horae* contained extensive and often sumptuous images. For this reason they frequently became expensive objects of luxury and envy. France led the production of Books of Hours, thereby establishing an artistic tradition that resulted in several famous miniaturists, including the Boucicaut Master, the Bedford Master, and Jean Colombe. In Italy, the miniaturist Giulio Clovio illuminated the Farnese Hours in 1546 which Giorgio Vasari described as one of the "marvels of Rome."[73] Printing allowed further embellishment via vignette and criblé borders. Between 1480 and 1600 roughly 1,775 different *Horae* editions were printed in Europe, indicating their popularity.[74]

Books of Hours developed an illustrative iconographic program that became standard over time. Each major division was demarcated with a full-page illustration (miniature or woodcut) that served primarily for aesthetic pleasure. Second, they acted as chapter headings, and third, embodied the accompanying texts by providing themes upon

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[70] Swanson, 473.

[71] Ibid., 97.

[72] Ancillary prayers that were often inserted in Books of Hours typically beseeched the Virgin directly. The two most popular prayers were the *Obsecro te* (I beseech you) and *O intemerata* (O immaculate virgin).

[73] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects: Newly translated by Gaston Duc DeVere with five hundred illustrations in ten volumes* (London, 1912-15), 253.

[74] Heffernan and Matter, 482.

with the reader could meditate. For instance, while reciting the Psalms during the hour of Matins, the supplementary image of the Annunciation prompted the reader to meditate upon the future Glory of the Virgin.[75]

The standard contents of *Horae* included a calendar, Gospel Lessons, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, *Obsecro te* prayer, *O intemerata* prayer, Penitential Psalms, Litany, and Office of the Dead. Each section contained an iconographic image that provided appropriate meditation themes. Calendars, in the rare instances when they contained illustration, featured a cycle of imagery with the zodiac and its corresponding labors of the months. The Gospel Lessons included author portraits often appearing as historiated initials rather than in full-page illustrations. As the core text of *Horae*, the Hours of the Virgin showcased full-page imagery prefacing each of the eight canonical hours.

The customary image formula for the Hours of the Virgin emphasized key chronological events in the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Moreover, this sequence displayed the Infancy Cycle of Jesus. These events include: the Annunciation for Matins, the Visitation for Lauds, the Nativity for Prime, the Annunciation to the Shepherd for Terce, the Adoration of the Magi for Sext, the Presentation in the Temple for None, the Flight into Egypt (or Massacre of Innocents) for Vespers, and the Coronation of the Virgin for Compline. These events were thought to have occurred at the same time during Mary's life at their respective hour.[76] Although the Psalms bear no mention of the Virgin

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[75] Eileen F. Reilly, "The University of Florida Pigouchet and Vostre *Horae*: A Book Printed in Paris for Export to London" M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida (1996), 6.

[76] See note 67 above.

Mary, these images assisted the reader in identifying with her, thereby establishing an individual relationship.[77]

The idea of involving the faithful is further manifested through the stylistic characteristics of late Western medieval and early Renaissance devotional art. Compositional devices such as the use of a frontal figure and the inclusion of multiple spectators heightened the intensity of the encounter. These elements were not present in traditional Byzantine iconography.[78] The use of a direct gaze reminded viewers of their own involvement with the scene, while the use of multiple characters invited the viewer to stand in amongst the other spectators.[79]

A published sermon by the Dominican Fra Michele da Carcano in 1492 directly addressed how feelings of devotion could be more successfully aroused by visual images rather than by listening to the services:

> Images were introduced on account of our emotional sluggishness; so that men who are not aroused to devotion when they hear about the histories of the Saints may at least be moved when they see them, as if actually present in pictures. For our feelings are aroused by things seen more than by things heard.[80]

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[77] Heffernan and Matter, 493. The antiphons inserted to begin and end each Psalm directly reference the Mother of God. For example, the closing antiphon to Psalm 8 reads, "Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."

[78] Byzantine art focused on ideal images rather than realistic depictions, most highly developed in the icon image. The most popular icons were the Virgin Hodegetria, where Mary cradles the Christ child while pointing toward him, and the Elousa Madonna, or 'Virgin of tenderness,' in which Mary touches her cheek to the Christ child's cheek. Narrative scenes were not common in Byzantine art.

[79] Linda Seidel, *Pious Journeys: Christian Devotional Art and Practice in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2001).

[80] Baxandall, 41. The sermon further justified the use of devotional images by arguing that they remained in the memory longer than words.

Rather than focus on the Latin words of the Psalms, the user of a Book of Hours would focus more heartily on the images that accompany the text. The techniques of involving the viewer permeated the imagery in Books of Hours.

Between 1495 and 1500 Giunta published five editions of the *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, yet none matched the superior quality and execution of extensive illustrations of his June 26, 1501 edition. This exquisite text featured thirteen newly commissioned full-page woodblock images (measuring 128x80 mm) designed by Benedetto Bordon. Referred to as "il capolavoro dell'editoria giuntina, ed il più bello tra i libri d'ore italiana," this edition, printed on superior quality vellum, showcased criblé borders on every one of its 108 pages, both recto and verso, following in the French tradition.[81] Its pages measure 155x104 mm and its gothic typeface in red and black ink form single columns of text comprised of twenty-two lines on every page.

Apart from the *Crucifixion*, each woodblock shares striking architectural motifs that include classical elements: fanciful putti, decorative candelabras and gothic piers.[82] This classical style, heavily employed by Bordon, was dependent greatly on the work of the Venetian artist Andrea Mantegna (1428 -1513). Mantegna's drawings and art were well-known to other Venetian artists, and Bordon incorporated his figure styles and

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[81] Camerini, 111 (as quoted in Armstrong, "Woodcuts," 85).

[82] Ibid., 82. The visual vocabulary for all things classical permeated throughout the early Renaissance. Motifs including candelabra, garlands, and delicate architectural elements, referred to as grotesques (derived from their association with the underground 'grottoes' of ancient Roman villas), are incorporated into miniatures and woodcuts in book decoration. The lack of such motifs on the *Crucifixion* suggest a use in an earlier printing; however, the woodcut remains attributed to Bordon due to its 'strikingly Mantegnesque' style. Lilian Armstrong suggests that because it has no architectural and decorative motifs it was designed specifically for Giunta's upcoming *Missale romanum*, issued five months later. This assertion does not address why Giunta chose to incorporate eight other woodcuts each featuring the decorative framing.

shading techniques.[83] For instance, the male figures in his *Adoration of the Magi*

woodblock (fig. 4) appear with curly hair and full beards in three-dimensionality due to

his distinctive diagonal parallel line cutting technique, referred to as the 'shaded style.'[84]

Giunta followed the standard iconographic program of *Horae* in this edition:

Annunciation for Matins, *Visitation* for Lauds, *Nativity* for Prime, *Annunciation to the*

Shepherds for Terce, *Adoration of the Magi* for Sext, *Presentation in the Temple* for

None, *Flight into Egypt* for Vespers, *Massacre of the Innocents* for Compline, *Virgin*

Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion for Mass of the Virgin, *Bathsheba Bathing* for

Penitential Psalms, *Death of the Virgin* for Office of the Dead, *Crucifixion* for Hours of

the Cross and *Pentecost* for Hours of the Holy Spirit. All of these images utilized

compositional elements to facilitate mediation, as prescribed for private devotion.

The *Crucifixion* (fig. 5) incorporates multiple spectators that each radiate emotion.

In following the advice in the *Aurea Legenda*, written by the thirteenth century Bishop of

Genoa Jacobus de Voragine, who writes how art, in particular images of the Crucifixion,

should be "directed to the eye," Bordon situated Jesus frontally toward the viewer.[85]

Several spectators are present, as well as the two thieves crucified next to Jesus. In

contrast, the Crucifixion woodblock in the March 1495 Venetian *Missale romanum*

published by Phillippus de Pincis (fig. 6) depicts only the figures of Mary and John in the

foreground who, lacking emotive expressions, gaze blankly toward Christ. This

traditional Byzantine dogmatic iconography is not present in Bordon's Christ, whose

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[83] Armstrong, "Woodcuts," 69.

[84] Ibid. For additional discussion on Bordon and the 'shaded style' see Essling, Part III, 93.

[85] Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 385.

image warrants empathetic involvement by showing a drooping head, emaciated torso and frail arms, each underscoring His suffering.

The Crucifixion scene (fig. 7) in a 1499 April edition of the *Missale quinque ecclesiarum* published by Joannis Paep in Venice, includes only the stiff and stoic figures of Mary and John. This stoicism carries over to the angels who hold their chalices out stiffly underneath Christ. In accordance with the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, Bordon's scene features charged emotion from each of the characters. As described therein, Mary's physical anguish is made manifest by her inability to stand by herself as she is supported by two women. Mary Magdalene clings to the cross with both arms encompassing its base. These details force the viewer to confront the suffering and pain of the characters and to feel it personally.

By involving the spectator into the stories of the Bible, reciprocity is formed between the faithful and the divine. In this regard, the image formula implemented by Giunta in his *Officium* allowed it to serve as an instrument for a personal, non-institutional piety. As chapter three traces, Lucantonio Giunta's 1508 *Missale romanum* publication mirrors his *Officium* of 1501 in *both* presentation of a coherent iconographic image program and devotionally-inspired woodblocks. This transplantation of visual language will ultimately affect the classification of the *Missale romanum* as a liturgical art object.

Chapter Three

Reception and the Reader: Reclassifying Giunta's
Missale romanum, 1508

Printing was introduced to Venice by Johannes of Speyeras in 1469. At the end of

the fifteenth century, Venice became the leading city of book production, producing one

eighth of all the books printed in Europe.[86] The majority of stock in Venetian bookshops

consisted of liturgical and theological texts, given the established market of the clergy.

Lucantonio Giunta took advantage of this profitable and safe genre by specializing in it.

He doubled his capital base between 1491 and 1499, and nearly again by 1509.[87] In 1499

Giunta requested a privilege from the Venetian government to publish a folio gradual.

This privilege also granted permission to print both an antiphonary and psalter, as stated

on the title page of the 1499 *Graduale romanum*: *impressum*[*m*] *Venetiis cum privilegio:*

cu[*m*] *quo etiam imprimuntur antiphonarium et psalmista: sub pena ut i*[*n*] *gratia.*[88]

Printed graduals were extremely rare during the first decades of printing. The only

other printed gradual in Italy prior to Giunta's was published by Damiano and Bernardo

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[86] Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979). Roughly 150 Venetian printing presses produced 4,000 editions, nearly twice the number printed in their rival printing city of Paris. Two of the largest private libraries in Europe belonged to Venetian citizens, Marin Sanudo and Cardinal Domenico Grimani.

[87] Ibid., 18. Printing and publishing as a profession was not only extremely lucrative but often came with prestige. Nicolaus Jensen, the first and most celebrated major Venetian printer, was eventually knighted by Pope Sixtus IV for his contributions to publishing. See also Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

[88] *Gradual romanum*, 1499, University of California Berkeley, Music Library, fM2149.V4.G7.

Moili in Parma in 1472 and did not contain any illustrative woodcuts.[89] In 1497 requests

for privileges to print graduals and antiphonals were made by the printers Bernardino

Stagnino, Tommaso Veneto, and Giacomo Britannico da Brescia to the Venetian

government.[90] Nonetheless, Giunta's was the first to appear with an unprecedented

twenty-four historiated initial woodcuts, each 115x95 mm. It was printed by Johannes

Emericus de Spira, a specialist in music printing, and measured 557x383 mm.[91]

This unmatched employment of extensive woodcuts in liturgical printings by

Giunta indicates him as a publisher possessing shrewd economic receptivity. His formula

of combining liturgical texts with finely crafted images allowed him to offer beautifully

conceived products. Between 1500 and 1508, Giunta published eight editions of the

Missale romanum, two in folio, three in quarto, and three in octavo (appendix G). His

first octavo, printed in November of 1501, remains the first printed missal to contain an

extensive cycle of popular devotional images.

The text of early printed Romish missals remained relatively consistent until the

Trindentine reforms, and Giunta's 1501 *romanum* followed the standard format

(appendix C). Not having a precedent edition on where to insert images, Giunta made a

conscious effort to match each one with corresponding texts. The result is not a fine-

tuned iconographic program as in his *Officium*; however, it is clear that this edition

provided the basis for his layout decisions in his upcoming 1508 edition. The 1501

romanum contains eighteen full-page woodblock images designed by Bordon, half

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[89]Armstrong, "Woodcuts," 66.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid. By 1501 only sixteen editions of choir books were printed in Venice. See Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992).

measuring 128x80 mm and the other nine at 115x80 mm. Printing this edition in the

octavo size allowed Giunta to reuse nine woodcuts from his 1501 *Officium*, accounting

for the difference in size.[92] As the new woodcuts cut specifically for this missal

publication measure slightly smaller than the reused ones, Giunta added narrow

decorative strip borders to the top and bottom of the new woodcuts. This technique

equalized their size and mirrored his *Officium* layout (fig. 8).

The Temporal section contains nine of the full-page woodcuts: *Bathsheba Bathing*

for Advent, *Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion* for Christmas,

Presentation in Temple for Circumcision, *Adoration of the Magi* for Epiphany, *Entry into*

Jerusalem for Palm Sunday, *Crucifixion* for Ascension Day, and *Pentecost* for Pentecost.

The Sanctoral features six full-page woodcuts: *Calling of Peter and Andrew* for the

November 30 feast of St. Andrew, *Annunciation* for the March 25 feast of St. Mary

Magdalene, *Ascension of the Virgin* for the August 15 feast of the Ascension of the

Blessed Virgin Mary, *Stigmatization of St. Francis* for the October 4 feast of St. Francis

of Assisi, and *All Saints* for the November 1 feast of All Saints. The Common of the

Saints is prefaced with *Sts. Peter and Paul* while the Requiem Mass features *Death of the*

Virgin and *Dead Christ.*

Giunta's attempt to exemplify accompanying text via the woodblocks is apparent

in the new ones he commissioned. In the Temporal, Benedetto Bordon designed three

new woodblocks: *Entry into Jerusalem*, the *Resurrection of Christ*, and *Ascension of*

Christ. The placement of each of these images properly embodies the accompanying

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[92] The nine repeats are: *Bathsheba Bathing, Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion, Presentation in the Temple, Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion, Pentecost, Annunciation, Visitation*, and *Death of the Virgin.*

feasts: Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and Ascension Day, respectively. Furthermore, the insertion of *Entry into Jerusalem* after *Adoration of the Magi* and before *Crucifixion* fits in chronologically with the Life Cycle of Jesus. This concern with chronological sequencing takes precedent over matching scenes with the text. The feast of Christmas in the Temporal features *Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion* (fig. 9). Mary is depicted kneeling on the ground in prayer over the infant Jesus while several angels hover above holding the various instruments of the future Passion. The scene does not relate to Christmas as the Nativity specifically would, yet it presents Jesus as an infant thereby beginning the Infancy Cycle, followed by *Presentation in the Temple.*

Of the seven woodblocks in the Sanctoral section, two are reused from his *Officium*: the *Annunciation* and *Visitation*. Whereas the *Annunciation* exemplifies its accompanying feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the *Visitation* curiously opens the feast of St. Mary Magdalene. In this instance, Giunta departs again from his pursuit of embodying the textual content in favor of maintaining a sequential order; in this case, the Life Cycle of the Virgin Mary. The *Visitation* scene depicts a pregnant Mary visiting her cousin Elizabeth, pregnant with the future John the Baptist. Mary Magdalene is nowhere present in the scene as Jesus has yet to be born. These images placed back to back follow the Life of the Virgin Mary, transplanted directly from his *Officium* where they were first used.

The remaining five woodblocks in the Sanctoral appear for the first time, each designed by Bordon. The *Calling of Peter and Andrew* (fig. 10) depicts Jesus calling to Peter and Andrew from the shoreline of the Sea of Galilee. It prefaces the feast of St. Andrew. The *Ascension of the Virgin* woodblock (fig. 11) properly refers to the August

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15 feast of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The *Stigmatization of St. Francis, All Saints* and *Sts. Peter and Paul* woodblocks (figs. 12, 13, and 14) likewise symbolize their accompanying feasts: St. Francis of Assisi, All Saints, and Common of the Saints. Although all of the eighteen woodblock images in the 1501 edition do not illustrate the accompanying text, their placement represents an attempt of coherent cycles.

Giunta's use of extensive imagery in printed missals remains unprecedented in his Venetian contemporaries' publications. The first octavo-sized printed *Missale romanum* in Venice was by Johannes and Gregorius de Forlino on January 31 of 1482 and contains only the Crucifixion prefacing the *canon missae*.[93] This trend continued with other Venetian publishers during the last few years of the fifteenth century, including a 1497 edition by Johannes Herzog printed by Ottaviano Scoto, a 1498 edition by Emericus de Spira printed by Lucantonio Giunta, and an October 27, 1501 edition by Petrus Liechtenstein and Johannes Herzog printed by Nikolaus de Franckfordia.[94] Only five years after Giunta's 1501 edition did the publisher Bernardino Stagnino produce a *Missale romanum* in octavo size with twenty-one woodcut illustrations.[95] This was the first publication by Stagnino after printing a previous octavo *romanum* for Joannes Regacius de Monteferrato in February of 1502 containing only the Crucifixion and a few

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[93] Recorded by Essling, number 19.

[94] Essling, numbers 46, 49 and 58, respectively.

[95] Essling, number 67. The full-page woodblocks are as follows: *St. Bernard on the Seine, Procession, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Elevation of the Host, Jesus in front of Herod, Annunciation, Embarrassment, Assumption, Nativity of the Virgin, Stigmatization of St. Francis, All Saints, Road to Damascus, Death of the Virgin,* and *Dead Christ.* The woodcutter of these images, currently undetermined, could quite possibly be Jacob of Strassburg given the monogram 'ia' located on each of the woodblocks. See Armstrong's "Woodcuts" article where she discusses the relationship between Jacob of Strassburg and Lucantonio Giunta. She cites the monogram 'ia' signifying either *Ja*[*cobus*] or *J*[*acobus*] *A*[*regentoratensis*] present on several Venetian woodblocks used in Giuntine publications.

decorated initials.[96] The next octavo *romanum* to appear in Venice after Stagnino's was Lucantonio Giunta's October 3, 1508 edition.

The October 1508 *romanum* edition contains the same textual components as the 1501 beginning with a calendar, Temporal, Sanctoral, Common of the Saints and Requiem Mass. The Temporal features eleven full-page woodcuts: *David with Lyre* for Advent, *Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion* for Christmas, *and Annunciation to the Shepherds* for Station at St. Mary Major, *Presentation in the Temple* for Circumcision, *Adoration of the Magi* for Epiphany, *Entry into Jerusalem* for Palm Sunday, *Crucifixion* for the Canon of the Mass on Good Friday, *Resurrection of Christ* for Easter Day, *Ascension of Christ* for Ascension Day, *Pentecost* for Pentecost, and *Elevation of the Host* for Corpus Christi. The Sanctoral features five full-page woodblocks: *Calling of Peter and Andrew* for the November 30 feast of St. Andrew, *Annunciation* for the March 25 feast of the Annunciation, *Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary* for the August 15 feast of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Nativity of the Virgin* for the September 8 feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, *Stigmatization of St. Francis* for the October 4 feast of St. Francis of Assisi, and *All Saints* for the November 1 feast of All Saints. The Common of the Saints is prefaced with *Sts. Peter and Paul* while the Requiem Mass has both *Death of the Virgin* and *Dead Christ*.

Of these twenty full-page woodblocks, eight are the original ones commissioned for Giunta's 1501 *Officium*, nine are reused from his 1501 *romanum*, one appears for the first time (*David with Lyre*), while the remaining two appear for the first time in a

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[96] Essling, number 60.

romanum edition: *Elevation of Host* and *Nativity of the Virgin*.[97] As in his 1501

romanum, Giunta added narrow decorative strip borders to equalize the size of the

woodblocks. Of the reused nine and new three, five have one strip along the bottom while

six contain the strip along both the top and bottom.[98] The *Elevation of the Host*

woodblock is the only new one with a strip border on the top and bottom (fig. 15)

bringing the measurement to 125x80 mm, indicating that it was designed simultaneously

with the 1501 *romanum* woodblocks.

   As stated in the title page of the 1508 edition, Giunta added facilitative tools to

assist the user.[99] First, he listed both the month and day in the margin of the Sanctoral

section. This provided an easy reference for each particular fixed feast day. In contrast to

his earlier 1501 *romanum*, extensive familiarity with the multiple feast days was required

in order to locate a specific feast (figs. 16 and 17). Second, Giunta included the chapters

and verses of the various Bible readings in the margin of the text. Every mass reading is

comprised of an introit, oratio, epistle, gradual, alleluia, sequence, gospel, offertory,

secret, communion, and post-communion.[100] The epistle, for instance, is comprised of a

reading from the Gospel Lessons while the gradual is taken from the Book of Psalms.

Giunta lists the chapter headings and verses of each reading in the right and left margins

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[97] Both the *Elevation of Host* and *Nativity of the Virgin* woodblocks appeared in his 1507 *Missale congregatio casinensis* edition. See appendix C.

[98] The five with a decorative strip along the top are: *David with Lyre, Nativity of the Virgin, Stigmatization of St. Francis, All Saints* and *Sts. Peter and Paul.* The remaining six with the strip along the top and bottom are: *Entry into Jerusalem, Resurrection of Christ, Ascension of Christ, Elevation of the Host, Calling of Peter and Andrew* and *Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*

[99] See note 2 above.

[100] For detailed discussion about the divisions for mass ceremonies, see chapter seven of Harper.

of the textblock to assist the user. Third, Giunta demarcates all the principal feasts with new full-page woodblocks.

Appearing for the first time in a Giuntine publication, *David with Lyre* (fig. 18) prefaces Advent in the Temporal, replacing *Bathsheba Bathing* from the 1501 edition. This choice is reminiscent of Books of Hours where the scene of King David, playing music to compose the Psalms, accompanies the beginning of the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in order to remind the viewer of the personal and intimate nature of the Psalms. The *Elevation of the Host* (fig. 15) prefaces the feast of Corpus Christi that was also not marked in the 1501. This scene, with architectural frames and classical motifs, including columns with decorative urns, is suggestive of the woodblocks first designed for his *Officium*. The third new one, *Nativity of the Virgin* (fig. 19), prefaces the September 8 feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in the Sanctoral. Giunta does not mark the feast of St. Mary Magdalene as he did in the 1501 but rather adheres pictorially to the Life Cycle of the Virgin Mary by including this image and feast. This choice also indicates an emphasis on the major Marian feasts, a feature common to late medieval spirituality.

Giunta's preoccupation with presenting rational image cycles can be seen in his placement of other woodblocks. For instance, the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 20), first used in his 1501 *Officium* to preface the hour of Terce, is placed before the feast for the Station of Saint Mary Major in the Temporal. This location is after Christmas but before Circumcision. As a result, it chronologically follows the Infancy Cycle of Jesus

rather than provide specific meditational themes for the feast of Saint Mary Major.[101] The

last three woodblocks used in the Temporal further demonstrate a conscious effort to

achieve a comprehensive cycle of imagery: the *Ascension of Christ, Pentecost* and

Elevation of the Host (figs. 21, 22, and 15), not seen in the 1501.

Aside from their placement within the text, one of the most salient characteristics

of Bordon's woodblocks in Giunta's *romanum* editions, both in 1501 and 1508, are the

compositional developments. Such enhancements prompted a new reception by

encouraging viewer participation. Comparisons with Bordon's earlier woodblock images

reveal a shift in imagery toward the more popular devotional iconography. As one of the

largest choir books printed during the fifteenth century, Giunta's 1499 *Graduale*

historiated initial woodcuts, all designed by Bordon, measure 115x95 mm. Their size did

not allow their inclusion in his octavo publications resulting in the commission of a new

series of woodcuts from Bordon. Examination of the large initials in the 1499 publication

offers a useful comparison to the new woodcuts for the 1501 *Officium* and 1501

romanum editions.

The initial 'R' from the introit of Easter Mass in the *Graduale* (beginning

Resurrexi et adhuc) shows the resurrected Christ (fig. 23). He stands solo within the

initial while taking a contraposto stance. Bordon does not include any compositional

elements that invite the viewer to participate in this scene from Christ's life. In contrast,

Bordon's *Resurrection of Christ* woodblock (fig. 24) used in the aforementioned Giuntine

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[101] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Institutum Studorium Orientalium, 1987). The Stations of Rome were mobile Mass services that began in the third century. A Pontifical Mass was celebrated at a specific church within the diocese thereby encouraging an entire diocesan community to participate in communal worship. Sta. Maria Maggiore (St. Mary Major), built between 432 and 440 in Rome, was the site of three of the major feast days of the Virgin: Annunciation, Ascension, and her Nativity. Liturgical stations were also celebrated in other large cities including Antioch and Constantinople.

octavo publications reveals a stage-like setting. Bordon chose to include the four sleeping

guards that surround Christ's tomb. Christ rises up from the tomb and hovers in the air

above the guards. Moreover, the addition of a cityscape and mountains further assists in

the re-creation of the actual event. The viewer is able to become a spectator, alongside

the guards, and witness the event as it is taking place. In this regard, Bordon has

developed the scene of the Resurrection from his historiated initial to a narrative scene in

the full-page woodcut.

Similarly, the 'E' historiated initial woodcut in Giunta's *Graduale* shows the

Adoration of the Magi (fig. 26). Framed tightly within the initial, the figures of the three

kings are cropped off. There are no additional characters present and the figures of Mary

and Joseph gaze directly toward the kings, not engaging the viewer. This same scene in

his *romanum* editions (fig. 4) features several witnesses, one of which is situated frontally

toward the viewer. The addition of cliffs and landscaping further emphasize the narrative

by creating the actual space inhabited by the Holy Family during this event. In this

woodcut the viewer is invited to stand alongside the kneeling king as he delivers his gift.

Bordon's historiated initial featuring Saints Peter and Paul in the 1499 *Graduale*

(fig. 27) likewise changes drastically in its composition to the full-page woodcut (fig. 14)

used in the *romanum* editions.[102] In the initial, the saint's face each other rather than the

viewer, while remaining in stiff and awkward poses. By way of contrast, Bordon's full-

page woodcut depicts the saints adopting a more classical pose with their heads titled

outward from one another. This attention drawn outward toward the viewer recalls the

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[102] Saints Peter and Paul share a common feast day as they were martyred in Rome on the same day; Peter was crucified upside down and Paul, a Roman citizen, was executed by sword. Paul's attribute is a sword and Peter's attribute is the key to the Kingdom of Heaven presented to him by Christ.

advice of the *Meditaciones*, "Feel free to enter into conversation not only with the Lord

Jesus and his disciples, but also with that blessed family so devoted to the Lord and so

loved by the Lord."[103]

Bordon's *Stigmatization of St. Francis* woodcut (fig. 12) used in the 1501 and

1508 *romanum* publications further demonstrates a shift toward narrative compositions.

This scene depicts the exact moment of Francis' stigmatization; for he gazes up at the

seraph in the sky above him. Jacobus de Voragine describes this event in his *Aurea*

Legenda:

> The servant of God had a vision in which he saw above him a crucified Seraph,
> who imprinted the signs of crucifixion upon him, so that he himself seemed to
> have been crucified. His hands, feet, and side were all marked with the signature
> of the cross, but he with great care hid the stigmata from the eyes of all[104]

In addition, Bordon included the figure of Brother Leo, located behind Francis in the

cave. Brother Leo was a follower of Francis who fell asleep during this critical event,

mirroring the actions of Christ's disciples on the Mount of Olives. By way of contrast,

such narrative compositions were not heavily employed in other woodcuts for liturgical

publications in Venice. For instance, a full-page woodblock of St. Francis from Georgio

Arrivabene's 1499 *Missale romanum* (fig. 25) shows the saint as the sole figure in the

scene. He holds out a cross which points to the wounds of his stigmata. Rather than re-

create the scene as recounted in the *Aurea Legenda*, this woodcut does not include any

narrative elements that would assist the viewer in reciprocity with the central character.

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[103] Taney, 66.

[104] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints, Vol. II,* (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1993), 224.

In the *De Imitatione Christi*, author Thomas à Kempis implored his readers to experience the events in Christ's life and to come face to face with His human suffering.[105] This subject matter carried over directly into visual imagery where new themes in Christian iconography emerged. For instance, the Man of Sorrows and *Ecce Homo* (Behold the man) themes provided artists scenes in which they could call attention to the bodily wounds of Christ. Contemporary Venetian artists with Bordon likewise incorporated these new developments in large-scale paintings. For instance, in *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (fig. 28), painted by Andrea Mantegna during the last half of the fifteenth century, the viewer is placed as spectator. Mantegna employed a unique perspective to transport the viewer directly into the scene. The viewer mourns at the foot of the bed alongside the other mourners, thus allowing them to come face to face with His pain.

Mantegna also frequently enhanced the viewer's sense of spatial proximity in his devotional paintings.[106] For instance, in his 1455 *The Presentation at the Temple* (fig. 29), he extends the scene into the viewer's space by allowing the pillow on which the infant Jesus stands upon to hang over across the depicted frame. As it crosses the barrier into their present world, the viewer instantly becomes part of the scene. This technique was also utilized by another Venetian artist contemporary with Bordon and Mantegna,

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[105] *The Imitation of Christ: The first English translation of the* Imitatio Christi. Edited by B.J.H. Biggs (Oxford: 1997). This text primarily served as a manual for devotion by giving statements about Christ's life and work as a model for imitation.

[106] Dawson W. Carr, *Andrea Mantegna: The Adoration of the Magi* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum of Art, 1997), 66-75.

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Giovanni Bellini (1430-1516).[107] His *Presentation at the Temple* (fig. 30) also features

the Christ child on a pillow which hangs over the depicted frame. The elbow of the

Virgin Mary likewise juts out into the viewer's space. This pictorial device automatically

involves the viewer by placing this sacred event within their realm.

In addition to spatial proximity, another technique utilized by Mantegna was the

use of realistic settings to enhance the familiarity of an event taking place. For instance,

in his *The Funeral of the Virgin* (fig. 31), he took details about the Virgin Mary's death

from the *Aurea Legenda* but added in contemporary liturgical items including the censer

held by the priest.[108] In comparison, in Giunta's octavo woodblock *Nativity of the Virgin*

(fig. 19) Bordon depicts an interior scene with several characters, from the assistant

carrying wood for the fire to the several females assisting in the birth. These everyday

elements helped to engage the viewer with the event taking place.

Like his previous woodblocks, this scene of the Virgin's birth changed drastically

from its composition as a historiated initial woodcut. In the woodcut from the 1499

Graduale (fig. 32), only four characters are depicted while remaining tightly framed and

cropped within the initial. Comparing this narrative scene to one of Bordon's miniature

paintings further demonstrates this development. For example, in an earlier manuscript

Antiphonarium, (fig. 33) the composition contains an air of theatricality with its slightly

draped curtains that reveal only a hint of the domestic scene. The inclusion of the curtains

emphasizes a sacred privacy, one that allows the viewer only a glimpse of the event. The

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[107] Giovanni Bellini came from a family of Venetian painters including his brother Gentile, and his father Jacopo Bellini. In 1454 Andre Mantegna became Giovanni's brother-in-law. Giovanni later became the teacher of Titian.

[108] Carr, 66-75.

idea of a sacred event revealed to the viewer for only a short time can be seen in early

devotional art objects. For instance, an anonymous retable dating from the last quarter of

the fifteenth century featuring a scene of the Annunciation (fig. 34) demonstrates further

how the use of curtains discloses a scene briefly. The composition of this devotional

object, with angels pulling open the curtains, results in a theatrical performance of the

event. The viewer of this portable retable experiences the event as recreated in a

theatrical space.

As a portable object with a cycle of devotional imagery contained within,

Giunta's 1508 *romanum* warrants reevaluation. Moreover, the insertion of chronological

scenes next to their accompanying texts further indicates this book as an object serving in

a capacity for spiritual contemplation and devotion. However, a final examination of a

Giuntine octavo missal published prior to 1508 illustrates that although he is capable of

producing an aesthetically balanced text, he chooses not to do so with such a limited

audience. This comparison further attests to the necessity of reclassifying his 1508

edition.

Giunta's 1507 *Missale congregatio casinensis* edition follows the use according

to the Cassinese Congregation of the Benedictine Order.[109] Although printed in the

octavo format and containing extensive full-page woodcuts, this edition remains a far cry

from the well-executed 1501 *romanum*. With its misuse of criblé borders, repetition of

full-page woodcuts, and the insertion of a woodblock not designed by Benedetto Bordon,

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[109] The chief house of the Cassinese Congregation was located at Monte Cassino and developed under the leadership of Lodovico Barbo in 1419. Originally referred to as Saint Giustina of Padua its title changed in 1504 to *Congregatio Casinensis* and it gradually came to include some 200 Benedictine houses located across Italy. The hallmark of this particular congregation was its centralized governing system modeled directly after Italian republics.

this edition indicates a text printed with primary regard to textual content than overall appeal. As Giunta did not intend to sell this missal outside the Benedictine context, he did not use his trademark design and layout.

Containing twenty full-page woodblocks, the *casinensis* edition opens with *Congregatio Casinensis with St. Benedict* (fig. 35) featuring Saint Benedict flanked by Saints Maurus and Placidus. The Temporal, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent is prefaced by *Annunciation*. The remaining feasts and correlating images are as follows: Christmas: *Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion*; Station at Saint Mary Major: *Annunciation to the Shepherds*; Epiphany: *Adoration of the Magi*; Maundy Thursday: *Crucifixion*; Good Friday: *Crucifixion*; Easter Day: *Resurrection of Chris*;, Ascension Day: *Ascension of Christ*; Pentecost: *Pentecost*; Corpus Christi: *Consecration of the Host*. The Sanctoral features: feast of Saint Andrew, November 30: *Calling of Peter and Andrew*; feast of Saint Benedict, March 21: *Congregatio Casinensis with St. Benedict*; feast of the Annunciation, March 25: *Annunciation*; Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, June 24: *Nativity of the Virgin*; Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary, August 15: *Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary*; feast of Saint Giustina, October 7: *Saint Giustina*; and the feast of All Saints, November 1: *All Saints.* The Common of the Saints is prefaced by *Sts. Peter and Paul* while the Requiem Mass has *Death of the Virgin*.

In both *romanum* editions the criblé borders appear only in conjunction with the full-page woodcuts. Moreover, the full-page illustrations are located on the verso while the facing recto contains the smaller woodblocks (fig. 17). In the *casinensis* edition this only occurs ten times throughout the entirety of the text. In seven of these instances the

border page is on the recto whereas the remaining three contain the border on the verso (fig. 36).[110] Of these three, two appear in the Temporal and the third in the Sanctoral.[111]

Criblé borders first appeared in French *Horae*. Comprised of smaller historiated woodcuts, the scenes do not necessarily relate to the accompanying text but served instead in a decorative capacity to enhance the overall aesthetics. The famous French printing team Pigouchet and Vostre used them extensively in their popular publications during the late fifteenth century and Giunta mirrored their use in his 1501 *Officium*.[112] In his 1501 *romanum* he employed them only in conjunction with the full-page woodcuts. In this regard they served as chapter headings that assisted the user in the location of particular texts. The individual woodcuts do not refer explicitly to either the accompanying text or full-page image. They are repeated randomly throughout the text, and the positioning of a criblé border next to full-page images achieves a harmonious balance between text and image.

In the *casinensis* edition Giunta misuses the formula set forward in the *romanum* editions. He inserts criblé borders pages independently of full-page woodcuts, creating disharmony throughout the text. In the Sanctoral, December 8 marks the Marian feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary but a full-page illustration does not direct the user to the accompanying prayers. This occurs again with the September 8 feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin where it remains marked only with a recto criblé border

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[110] This occurs on fols. 69r, 173r, 176r, 197r, 199r and 211r. The remaining three are located on fols. 147v, 183v and 217v.

[111] In the Temporal, fol. 69r begins the prayers for the feast of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist (opening *S. Joannis apostolic et evangelistae*) and fol. 147r begins the prayers for the feast of Trinity Sunday (opening *Dominica trinitatis*) taking place between Pentecost and Corpus Christi.

[112] See Reilly for additional discussion about Pigouchet and Vostre's innovative employment of criblé borders.

page. Giunta used the woodcut *Nativity of the Virgin* to preface the June 24 feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist only to mark it appropriately to the September 8 feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in the 1508 edition. The only marked Marian feasts with full-page woodcuts are the Annunciation and the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The use of criblé borders independently results in a patchwork assembly of text and image, however; not a concern to a reader with extensive familiarity of the location of the liturgical readings.

A second unusual characteristic of this edition is Giunta's anomalous repetition of three full-page woodblocks: *Congregatio Casinensis with St. Benedict, Annunciation* and *Crucifixion*, all used twice throughout the text. In both his 1501 and 1508 *romanum* (and the 1501 *Officium*) repetition does not occur. This repetition further suggests an intended audience with enough textual expertise to locate the *canon missae* despite the inclusion of two Crucifixions placed within a few pages of one another. The first *Crucifixion* marks Maundy Thursday during Holy Week while the second marks the Canon of the Mass. The *Annunciation* woodblock first appears in the Temporal and then later on in the Sanctoral. The choice of opening the feast of Advent remains peculiar because the text, opening with Psalm 25, does not feature a scene from the life of King David. While indicating its non-mnemonic purpose such a choice emphasizes an audience possessing a comfortable familiarity with textual layout.

The Cassinese edition also features a woodblock that stands in marked contrast to the other nineteen. The composition of harsh lines and the lack of both architectural frames and classical elements suggest that the artist of the *Saint Giustina* woodblock (fig.

37) remains someone other than Benedetto Bordon.[113] Lacking Bordon's trademark cliffs and full trees, the sole figure and sparsely designed plants rest in the foreground. The other woodcuts contain a theatrical aspect, influenced by popular devotional iconography. By inserting a woodblock of mismatching quality, Giunta sacrificed the overall aesthetic uniformity of text and image, underscoring a disregard for presentation.

In his Romish missals, Giunta paid attention to an overall harmonious layout. The change from his 1501 to the 1508 *romanum*, from the additional imagery to facilitative textual tools, demonstrates his aim of attracting a broader audience, one not so familiar with the intricacies of liturgical services. Moreover, its publication in the octavo format indicates a readership that would travel outside of communal setting and into more private environs.

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[113] The patron saint of the Cassinese Congregation is Saint Giustina of Lombardy, whose feast day is celebrated on October seventh. She is often confused for Saint Justine of Damascus who was martyred with Saint Cyprian in 304 AD as described in the Golden Legend, whose feast day is September 26. While the martyrdom of Saint Giustina of Lombardy is unclear, she is the patron saint of churches in both Padua and Venice.

Conclusion

Colum Hourihane called attention to the problematic nature of classifying all items 'liturgical' that have been included in the ecclesiastical context over the centuries.[114] Decorative portals, gargoyles, and misericords are all elements that have been added to churches over time, yet are not liturgical in nature. Indeed, the liturgy survived before their existence. Because the 1508 *Missale romanum* fuses liturgical tradition with innovation, its reception warrants reevaluation.

Lucantonio Giunta's 1508 edition of the *Missale romanum* combines the portable, hand-held octavo format with the same devotionally-inspired and classicized woodblocks present in his 1501 *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis.* Close examination of the iconography of these twenty woodblocks images reveals a model for devotion, inspired by Franciscan books on individual spiritual contemplation and meditation. Moreover, the additional use of instructional tools to facilitate liturgical intricacies indicates a publisher wishing to appeal to a broader audience, one less familiar with the services. Mary Kay Duggan describes how late medieval liturgical books evolved from the large, scarce, and expensive items used at altars and on lecterns to the "hundreds of thousands of cheap portable objects that were designed to be read in choir stalls but could be carried elsewhere for perusal."[115] When removed from a communal liturgical setting the images of this text prompt a new reception on the part of the user.

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[114] Hourihane, 3-9.

[115] Duggan, "Reading," 71.

The interconnection between the user of Giunta's *romanum*, its cycle of imagery, and text, follows Wolfgang Iser's idea of the 'unsaid' in his discussion of reader participation.[116] This 'unsaid' occurs in the mind of the user therefore remains silent and private rather than public. This private devotion is not manifested on the printed page but rather results from the interaction between the reader and the image. Despite the liturgical (public) nature of the textual content of the Missal, the user's engagement with Giunta's images dictates its status as an object that cannot be classified as strictly liturgical art.

Through reconstruction of medieval worship, comparative analysis of the woodblocks in three of Giunta's other publications and to those in contemporary Venetian Missals, and examination of image/reader relations, Giunta's 1508 edition of the *Missale romanum* can be reclassified as an object neither wholly devotional nor liturgical. In answering John Lowden's plea, the reevaluation of a single object sheds light on the previously troublesome nature of the strict definitions of the 'liturgical' and 'devotional.' Giunta's innovative missal edition of 1508 thereby embodies Lowden's idea of the 'para-liturgical' object.

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[116] Iser, 293.

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Appendices A-H

Appendix A: Catalogue Abbreviations

Bohatta: Weale, Iacobus W. H. and H. Bohatta. *Bibliographica Liturgica: Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini*. London: Bernardum Quaritch, 1928.

Copinger: Copinger, W. A. *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum, 2 volumes*. London: 1895 and 1902.

Duggan: Duggan, Mary Kay. *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type.* Berkeley: University of California, 1992.

Essling: Essling, Prince d'. *Les missels imprimées à Venise de 1481 à 1600*. Paris: Rothschild, 1894-96.

Goff: Goff, Frederick R. *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books recorded in North America Collections.* New York: Millwood, 1973.

Hain: Hain, Ludwig. *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typus expressi, ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur, 2 volumes.* Milan: Görlich, 1948.

Mortimer: Mortimer, Ruth. *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II, Italian Sixteenth-Century Books, volume 1.* Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964.

Sander: Sander, Max. *Prices of Incunabula.* Mailand: U. Hoepli, 1930.

Appendix B: Codicological Analysis of *Missale romanum*, 1508

MISSALE romanum. 8°. Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, May 30, 1508. (Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, 264.025 C363.mi.)

Lucantonio Giunta's Florentine lily with flanking *L* and *A* in red on the bottom center of the title page. Woodcut of a lamb holding a cross in top center of page indicating this as a liturgical publication. 434 woodcuts. 20 are full page, 8 of which (120mm x 80mm) were used in his 1501 *romanum* edition and his 1499 *Graduale romanum*. The remaining 12 are slightly smaller (115mm x 80mm) so borders of a twisted cord pattern were added to the top and bottom of each woodcut. In his 1501 edition of the *romanum*, Giunta reused another woodcut, *Bathsheba Bathing*, to accompany the opening prayer. In this edition, he commissioned a new woodblock, *David in Prayer*, to accompany the opening Psalm.

The full page woodcuts mark text divisions with the facing page enclosed in criblé borders comprised of small figure blocks and decorative strips. The small figure blocks (30mm x 20mm) are placed on the left side. Fourteen of the bottom woodblocks in the borders are 25mm x 80mm while the remaining six are 24mm x 62mm. These six are each flanked by smaller woodcuts measuring 16mm x 16mm. The criblé borders feature a variety of Biblical scenes with substantial repetition. These woodblocks total 224, and measure 30mm x 20mm.

There are 60 historiated initial woodcuts (33mm x 32mm), 62 decorated initial woodcuts (16mm x 16mm), and eight smaller initials featuring the heads of various saints (15mm x 15mm). Gothic type in black, direction for service (rubrics) in red. There are two columns of text, each 122mm x 40mm, except 116v-118v, which has only one column of text measuring 116mm x 84mm. Signatures are consistent throughout (except during the first 16 pages) and located on the bottom right of the page.

Original sixteenth-century binding, brown morocco over boards (16cm x 10.5cm). Two strips of vellum with script used in the binding. Tooled with square border with four twisted knot motifs in middle. Repeated on back cover. Gauffred edges. The decoration of the binding strongly suggests the *Agnese Binder*, previously called *Gritti Master* (Bartolomeo di Giovanni da Fino) to whom is attributed the binding of the following Venetian ducal manuscripts: Harley MS 3403 (1516), Add. MA 20980 (1524), and Add. MS 20981(1526), as catalogued by Laura Nuvoloni in "Commissioni Dogali: Venetian Bookbindings in the British Library" in *For the Love of Binding: Studies in bookbinding history presented to Mirjam Foot*, ed. David Person (London, 2000). She lists the stamps used in the binding. The 'everlasting knot,' labeled stamp number 64 (p. 98), is the same one used on this edition, imprinted vertically four times.

Appendix B (Continued)

Foliation: First sixteen leaves not paginated. 1-21 (22 not numbered), 24-25 (26 misnumbered as 29), 27-57, (58 not numbered), 59-62, (63 not numbered), 64-114 (116 not numbered), 117-128, (129 misnumbered 121, leading to permanent misnumbering), 122-134 (should be 130-142), (misnumbered 133, should be incorrectly 135, or correctly 143), 136-195 (should be 144-203), (misnumbered 193, should be incorrectly 196, or correctly 204), 197-231 (should be 205-239), (misnumbered 222, should be incorrectly 232, or correctly 240), 233-255 (should be 241-263), (incorrect 265, correct 264, not numbered), 257-263 (should be 265-271), 2 leaves missing.

Collation: aa8, bb8, a8, b8, c8, d8, e8, f8, h8, i8, k8, l8, m8, n8, o8, p8, pq8, q8, r8, s8, t8, u8, r8, y8, z8, A8, B8, C8, D8, E8, F8, G8, H8, I8, K8-1.

Decoration: 21 full page woodcuts; 8 are 120mm x 80mm: *Virgin Adoring the Child with Symbols of the Passion*, *Presentation in the Temple, Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion, Pentecost, Annunciation, Visitation, Death of the Virgin.* Each of these woodcuts was used in Giunta's 1499 *Graduale romanum* and his 1501 *Missale Romanum*. The remaining 12 measure 115mm x 80mm: *Entry into Jerusalem, Resurrection, Ascension, Calling of Peter and Andrew, Ascension of the Virgin, Stigmatization of St. Francis, All Saints, Sts. Peter and Paul, Dead Christ* (each of these made their first appearance in the 1501 *Missale romanum*) *David with Lyre* (appeared for the time in this 1508 edition), *Adoration of the Shepherds,* and *Elevation of the Host*. Each of these 12 full-page woodblocks have strips of ornament at the top and bottom to compensate for their height difference in comparison with the original 8. These strips are of a twisted cord pattern.

Reference: Listed by Paolo Camerini, *Annali De Giunti*. (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1962) as number 126. Fourth Giuntine missal listed by Prince d'Essling, *Les missels imprimées à Venise de 1481 à 1600.* (Paris: Rothschild, 1894-96). Catalogue number 989 listed by W. Weale and H. Bohatta, *Bibliographica Liturgica: Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini*. (London: Bernardum Quaritch, 1928).

Appendix C: Text and Woodblocks in Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum*, 1501[117]

Time	Feast	Text	Woodblock
Calendar			
Temporal	Advent	*Te levavi anuman*	Bathsheba Bathing
	Christmas	*In nativitate domini*	Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion
	Circumcision	*In circumcisione domini*	Presentation in Temple
	Epiphany	*In epiphania domini*	Adoration of the Magi
	Palm Sunday	*Dominica in ramis palmarun*	Entry into Jerusalem
	Good Friday	*Te igitur clementissime pater*	Crucifixion
	Easter Day	*Dominica resurectionis*	Resurrection of Christ
	Ascension Day	*In ascensione domini*	Ascension of Christ
	Pentecost	*Dominica pentecostes*	Pentecost
Sanctoral			
November 30	St. Andrew	*S. Andreae apostolic*	Calling of Peter and Andrew
March 25	Annunciation	*Annuntiatio beatae mariae virginis*	Annunciation
July 22	St. Mary Magdalene	*S. Mariae Magdalenae*	Visitation
August 15, 2005	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	*Assumptio beatae mariae virginis*	Ascension of the Virgin
October 4	St. Francis	*In sancti francisci*	Stigmatization of St. Francis
November 1	All Saints	*Omnium sanctorum*	All Saints
Common of the Saints		*Commune sanctorum*	Sts. Peter and Paul
Requiem Mass		*Requiem eternam*	Death of the Virgin
			Dead Christ

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[117] Edition consulted: *Missale romanum,* 1501 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, Houghton Library, TYP525 0.1262)

Appendix D: Text and Woodblocks in Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale congregatio casinensis*[118]

Time	Feast	Text	Woodblock
			Congregatio Casinensis with St. Benedict
Calendar			
Temporal	Advent	*Te levavi anuman*	Annunciation
	Christmas	*In nativitate domini*	Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion
	Station at St. Mary Major	*Statio ad sanctam Mariam mairoum*	Annunciation to the Shepherds
	Epiphany	*In epiphania domini*	Adoration of the Magi
	Maundy Thursday	*Feria v in cena domini*	Crucifixion
	Good Friday	*Te igitur clementissime pater*	Crucifixion
	Easter Day	*Dominica resurectionis*	Resurrection of Christ
	Ascension Day	*In ascensione domini*	Ascension of Christ
	Pentecost	*Dominica pentecostes*	Pentecost
	Corpus Christi	*Corpus Christi*	Elevation of the Host
Sanctoral			
November 30	St. Andrew	*S. Andreae apostolic*	Calling of Peter and Andrew
March 21	St. Benedict	*Sancti benedicti abbatis*	*Congregatio Casinensis* with St. Benedict
March 25	Annunciation	*Annuntiatio beatae mariae virginis*	Annunciation
June 24	Nativity of St. John the Baptist	*Nativitatis s. joannis baptistae*	Nativity of the Virgin
August 15	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	*Assumptio beatae mariae virginis*	Ascension of the Virgin
October 7	St. Giustina	*Justine virginis*	Saint Giustina
November 1	All Saints	*Omnium sanctorum*	All Saints
Common of the Saints		*Commune sanctorum*	Sts. Peter and Paul
Requiem Mass		*Requiem eternam*	Death of the Virgin
			Dead Christ

Appendix E: Text and Woodblocks in Lucantonio Giunta's *Missale romanum,* 1508[119]

Time	Feast	Text	Woodblock
Calendar			
Temporal	Advent	*Te levavi anuman*	David with Lyre
	Christmas	*In nativitate domini*	Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion
	Station at St. Mary Major	*Statio ad sanctam Mariam mairoum*	Annunciation to the Shepherds
	Circumcision	*In circumcisione domini*	Presentation in Temple
	Epiphany	*In epiphania domini*	Adoration of the Magi
	Palm Sunday	*Dominica in ramis palmarun*	Entry into Jerusalem
	Good Friday	*Te igitur clementissime pater*	Crucifixion
	Easter Day	*Dominica resurectionis*	Resurrection of Christ
	Ascension Day	*In ascensione domini*	Ascension of Christ
	Pentecost	*Dominica pentecostes*	Pentecost
	Corpus Christi	*Corpus Christi*	Elevation of the Host
Sanctoral			
November 30	St. Andrew	*S. Andreae apostolic*	Calling of Peter and Andrew
March 25	Annunciation	*Annuntiatio beatae mariae virginis*	Annunciation
August 15	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	*Assumptio beatae mariae virginis*	Ascension of the Virgin
September 8	Nativity of the Virgin	*Nativitas beatae mariae virginis*	Nativity of the Virgin
October 4	St. Francis	*In sancti francisci*	Stigmatization of St. Francis
November 1	All Saints	*Omnium sanctorum*	All Saints
Common of the Saints		*Commune sanctorum*	Sts. Peter and Paul
Requiem Mass		*Requiem eternam*	Death of the Virgin
			Dead Christ

Appendix F: Text and Woodblocks in Lucantonio Giunta's *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, 1501[120]

Time	Text	Woodblock
Matins	v: *Domine labia mea aperies*	Annunciation*
Lauds	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Visitation*
Prime	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Nativity
Terce	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Annunciation to the Shepherds*
Sext	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Adoration of the Magi*
None	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Presentation in Temple*
Vespers	v: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*	Flight into Egypt
Compline	v: *Converte nos Deus salutaris noster*	Massacre of the Innocents
Mass of the Virgin	*Doulce dame de misericordie*	Virgin Adoring Child with Symbols of the Passion*
Seven Penitential Psalms	a: *Ne reminiscaris* p: *Domine ne in furore*	Bathsheba Bathing
Office of the Dead	a: *Placebo* p: *Dilexi quoniam*	Death of the Virgin*
Hours of the Cross	v: *Domine labia mea aperies*	Crucifixion*
Hours of the Holy Spirit	v: *Domine labia mea aperies*	Pentecost*

v = versicle, a = antiphon, p = Psalm

* Denotes same woodblock in *Missale Romanum*, 1508

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[120] Edition consulted: *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, 1501 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, Houghton Library WKR 15.2.10).

Appendix G: Missals published by Lucantonio Giunta, 1500-1510[121]

Type	Size	Date	Printer	References
Fratres Carmelitarum	2°	January 5, 1500		Essling 272
Fratres Praedicatores	8°	March 8, 1500		Essling 255
Romanum	8°	November 20, 1501		Essling 59, Camerini 63, Sander 4786
Romanum	4°	July 21, 1502		Essling 61, Camerini 69
Romanum	2°	December 19, 1502		Essling 62, Camerini 71
Cisterciensis	2°	October 16, 1503		Essling 239
Vallisumbrosae	2°	December 4, 1503		Essling 245
Romanum	8°	January 22, 1504		Essling 63, Camerini 92
Fratres Praedicatores	2°	June 30, 1504		Essling 256
Fratres Carmelitarum	8°	1504		Essling 273
Speciale	2°	August 5, 1504	Christofori Thum	Essling 217
Romanum	4°	January 9, 1506		Essling 66, Camerini 107
Fratres Praedicatores	4°	February 4, 1506		Essling 257, Camerini 109, Bohatta 1830
Casinensis	2°	April 18, 1506		Essling 240
Strigoniense	8°	November 16, 1507		Essling 224, Camerini 114, Bohatta 1503
Casinensis	8°	1507		Essling 241
Romanum	2°	March 30, 1508		Essling 69, Camerini 119, Bohatta 988
Aquilejense	2°	June 28, 1508	Joannis Oswaldi	Essling 1, Camerini 120, Bohatta 81
Romanum	8°	October 3, 1508		Essling 70, Camerini 126, Bohatta 989
Fratres Carmelitarum	8°	January 13, 1509		Essling 274
Romanum	4°	January 22, 1509		Essling 72
Carthusiensis	8°	April 5, 1509		Essling 238
Herbipolense	2°	1509	Georgi Moneri	Essling 9, Camerini 128, Bohatta 442
Romanum	2°	September 18, 1510		Essling 74, Camerini 141

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[121] Lucantonio Giunta continued to publish missals throughout his career; his last *romanum* was completed in June of 1535.

Date	Type	Publisher	Printer	Size	Reference
1498 February 26	*Strigoniense*	Johannes Emericus de Spira	Lucantonio Giunta	2°	221
1498 June 28	*Romanum*	Joannes Emericus de Spira	Lucantonio Giunta	2°	49
1498 October 15	*Romanum*	Joannes Emericus de Spira	Lucantonio Giunta	8°	50
1499 March 15	*Romanum*	Simone Bevilaqua	Paganino Paganini	2°	51
1499 May 29	*Romanum*	Giorgio Arrivabene		2°	53
1500 February 27	*Romanum*	Joannes Emericus de Spira	Lucantonio Giunta	4°	54
1500 March 6	*Fratres Praedicat.*	Joannes Emericus de Spira	Nickolaus von Frankfurt	8°	254
1500 April 14	*Bisuntinense*	Jacobus Malietus		8°	5
1500	*Romanum*	Simone Bevilaqua		4°	55
1501 June 1	*Romanum*	Antonius de Zanchis		4°	57
1501 October 27	*Romanum*	Petrus Liechtenstein & Joannes Herzog	Nikolaus von Franfurt	8°	58
1502 February 15	*Romanum*	Joannes Regacius de Monteferrato	Bernardino Stagnino	4°	60
1503 January 13	*Camaldulensis*	Antonius de Zanchis		2°	235
1503 July 20	*Strigoniense*		Urbani Kaim	4°	223
1504 July 20	*Romanum*	Simone Bevilaqua		8°	64
1505 May 17	*Romanum*	Antonius de Zanchus		2°	65
1506 July 30	*Romanum*	Bernardino Stagnino		8°	67
1506	*Romanum*	Antonius de Zanchis		2°	68
1507 November 8	*Pragense*	Petrus Liechtenstein	Wenceslai Kaplitzer	2°	16
1507 December 3	*Salisburgense*	Petrus Liechtenstein	Joannsi Reiman de Oeringaw	2°	213
1508 October 15	*Romanum*	Johann Hamman		8°	71
1509 January 15	*Urgellense*	Bernardino de Tridino	Calminu Ferreri	2°	233
1509 July 3	*Romanum*	Bernardino Stagnino		4°	

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[122] As listed by Victor Massena, Prince d' Essling in *Les missels imprimées à Venise de 1481 à 1600* (Paris: Rothschild, 1894-96).

Appendix I: Illustrations

Figure 1. *Te igitur* page, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 116r.

Figure 2. *Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 195r.
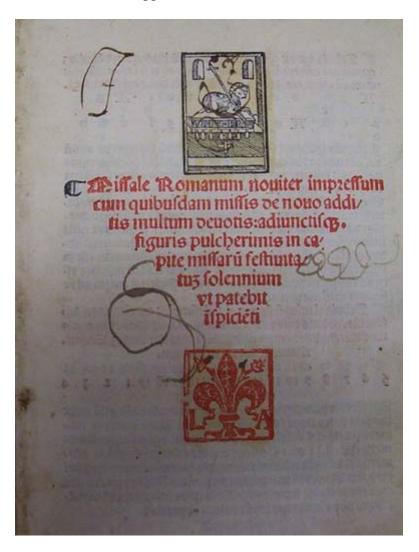
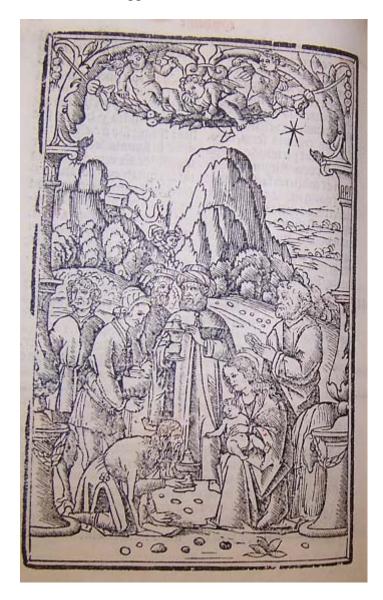Figure 3. *Title Page*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale Romanum*, (Venice, October, 1508).

Figure 4. *Adoration of the Magi*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 17v.
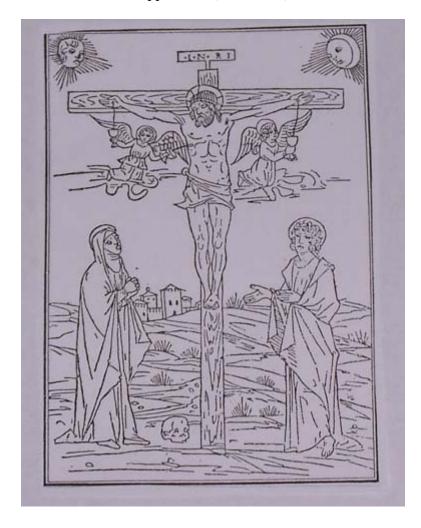
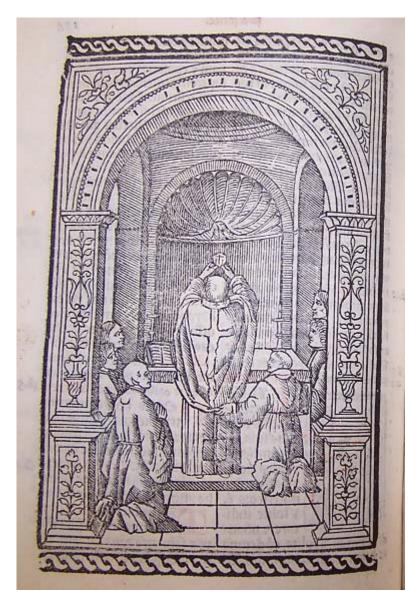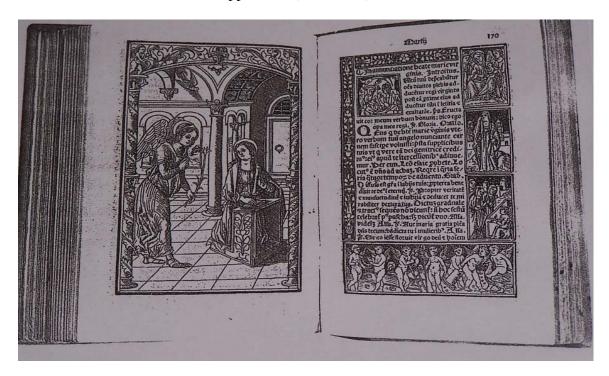Figure 5. *Crucifixion*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 118v.

Figure 6. *Crucifixion,* Phillipus de Pincis, *Missale romanum* (Venice, March 1495).

Figure 7. *Crucifixion*, Joanis Paep, *Missale quinque ecclesiarium* (Venice, April 1499).

Figure 8. *Entry into Jerusalem,* Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 66v.

Figure 9. *Virgin Adoring Child with the Symbols of the Passion,* Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 7v.

Figure 10. *The Calling of Peter and Andrew*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 156v.

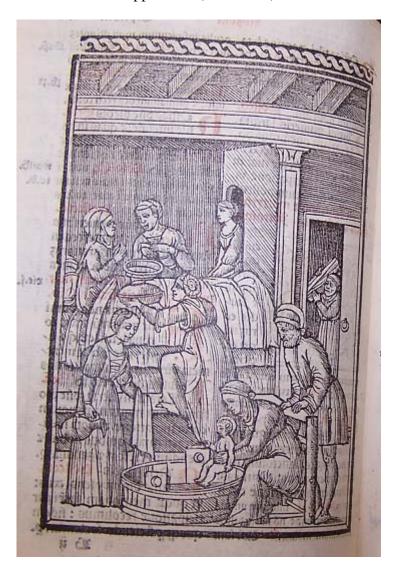Figure 11. *Ascension of the Virgin*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 189v.

Figure 12. *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 201v.

Figure 13. *All Saints*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 203v.

Figure 14. *Sts. Peter and Paul,* Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 207v.

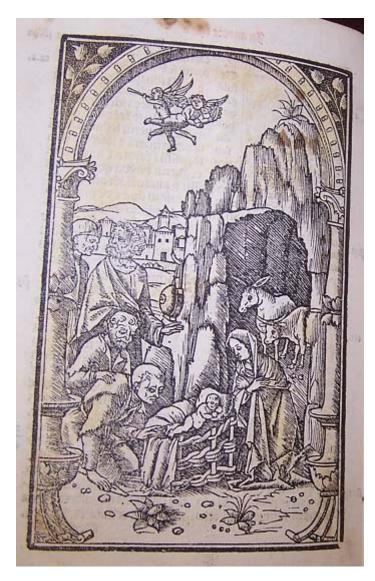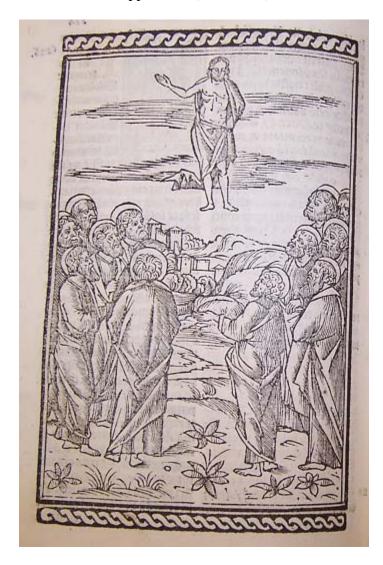Figure 15. *Elevation of the Host*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 137v.

Figure 16. *Annunciation* with facing criblé border page, *Missale romanum* (Venice, November 1501), fols. 169v.-170r.

Figure 17. *Annunciation* with facing criblé border page. *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fols. 168v.-169r.

Figure 18. *David with Lyre*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. bb8v.

Figure 19. *Nativity of the Virgin*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 195v.

Figure 20. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 9v.

Figure 21. *Ascension of Christ*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 124v.

Figure 22. *Pentecost*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 128v.

Figure 23. *Resurrected Christ* in historiated initial, Lucantonio Giunta, *Gradual romanum* (Venice, 1499), Vol. 1, fol. 155r.

Figure 24. *Resurrection of Christ*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale romanum* (Venice, October 1508), fol. 123v.

Figure 25. *St. Francis of Assisi*, Georgio Arrivabene, *Missale romanum* (Venice, May 1499).
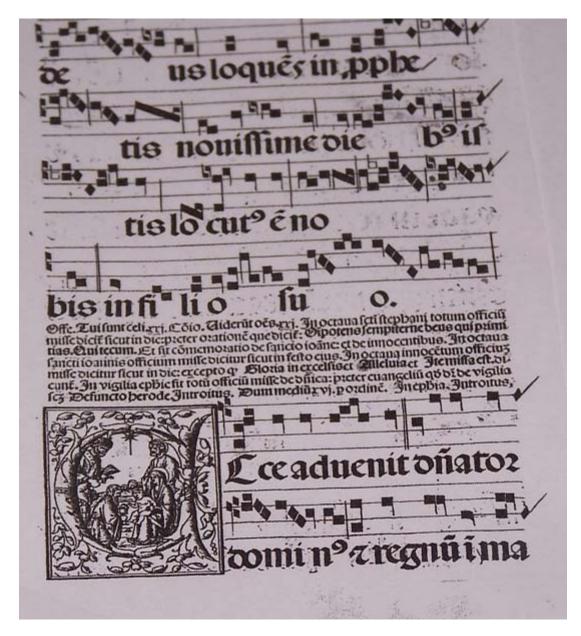
Figure 26. *Adoration of the Magi* in historiated initial, Lucantonio Giunta, *Graduale romanum* (Venice, 1499), Vol. 1, fol. 27v.

Figure 27. *Sts. Peter and Paul* in historiated initial, Lucantonio Giunta, *Graduale romanum* (Venice, 1499), Vol. 2, fol. 243r.

Figure 28. *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Andrea Mantegna, c. 1490.

Figure 29. *Presentation at the Temple* by Andrea Mantegna, c. 1460.

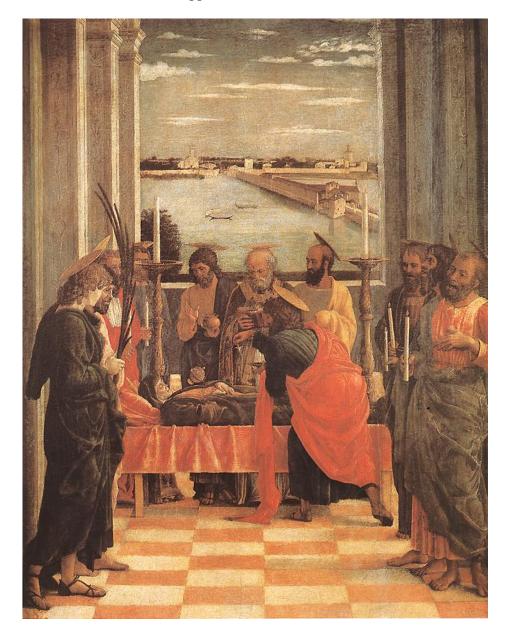Figure 30. *Presentation at the Temple* by Giovanni Bellini, 1460-64.

Figure 31. *Death of the Virgin* by Andre Mantegna, c. 1461.

Figure 32. *Nativity of the Virgin* historiated initial, Lucantonio Giunta, *Graduale romanum* (Venice, 1499), Vol. 2, fol. 252v.

Figure 33. *Nativity of the Virgin* miniature (attributed to Benedetto Bordon), Sa Nicolo dei Frari, *Antiphonarium* (Venice, c. 1500), fol. 5r.
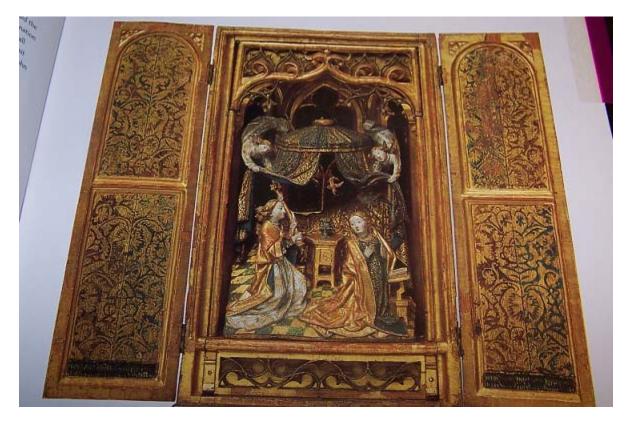
Figure 34. *The Annunciation* in anonymous retable, c. 1480-90.

Figure 35. *Congregatio Casinensis with Saint Benedict*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale congregatio casinensis* (Venice, 1507), fol. 1r.
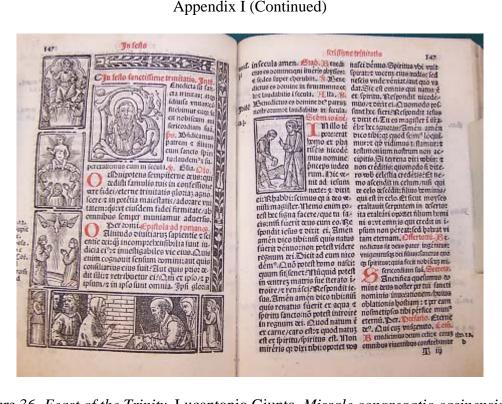
Figure 36. *Feast of the Trinity*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale congregatio casinensis* (Venice, 1507), fols. 147v.-147r.

Appendix I (Continued)

Figure 37. *Saint Giustina*, Lucantonio Giunta, *Missale congregatio casinensis* (Venice, 1507), fol. 218v.