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MERCY AND JUSTICE

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN FINNISH MEDIEVAL WALL-PAINTINGS

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Men's curiosity searches past and future
And clings to that dimension. But to
Apprehend the point of intersection of
The timeless with time, is an occupation
For the saint –

T. S. Eliot

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PREFACE

This study originated in a need to understand. When I was a young archaeologist engaged in field work in various parts of Southern Finland, I would often spend my evenings and weekends touring local sights. In most places, the main attraction was the local medieval church. These churches contain innumerable fascinating wall-paintings. Some of the themes and motifs were familiar from my classes in religion in high school, while others remained a mystery. No matter how long I stared at them, I could not understand what these pictures wanted to say, or why they had been included among the paintings on the church wall. This book attempts to give some answers to these questions that arose in summers past.

My research has benefited from invaluable assistance from many individuals and institutions. Professor Emeritus Lars Pettersson guided and instructed me in the early stages of my work, although his immediate reaction to my theme was: 'And I had hoped yet to pass on without having again to do with these eternal wall-paintings!' In later years, discussions with Professor Sixten Ringbom helped me see many points with greater clarity than before. Although he was not my academic teacher, he was always willing to generously share his extensive store of knowledge. It is sad to note that my words of thanks can no longer reach either of them.

My employer, Finland's National Board of Antiquities, has always encouraged researchers, myself included, for which I especially wish to thank the Board's former Director General Dr. Carl Jacob Gardberg. The National Board of Antiquities has also been a stimulating environment in many other respects; the main material has literally been at hand; and colleagues have provided expert assistance and much-needed criticism. Of particular importance have been the many discussions I have had with my 'medieval' colleagues, Tove Riska, Doctor of Theology h.c., and Markus Hiekkanen, Lic.Phil., and with Pirjo Uino, Lic.Phil. Marianne Roos, MA, was of great assistance in collecting the pictures and illustrations. Tua Zilliacus, Lic.Phil., of the Board's Library spared no efforts in acquiring for my use books from various parts of Europe that were not easily available in this country. Helena Taskinen, MA, and Päivi Kankkunen, BA, have sympathetically followed the progress of this study over many lunch hours and coffee-breaks. I am indebted to all of them.

Professor Henrik Lilius and Dr. Jan Svanberg reviewed the manuscript, for which I wish to express my warmest thanks. The English translation of the manuscript was carried out by Jüri Kokkonen, MA, to whom I am grateful for this excellent patience and flexibility throughout all the stages of the work.

I have also benefited from the kind assistance of many foreign research institutes. A grant from the FUSEEC organization is grafetully acknowledged for permitting research at Princeton University's Index of Christian Art. I also thank the personnel of the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg in Germany and Det arnamagnaeanske Institut in Denmark and Iceland. Stefán Karlsson, MA, was my cicerone in the wondrous world of medieval Icelandic manuscripts, for which my special thanks are due. I am also grateful to the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes of London University for the use of their libraries. The Bodleian Library in Oxford and in Paris the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Mazarine

provided opportunities to study their extensive collections of manuscripts. I am especially indebted to Dr. Patricia Stirnemann for her kind assistance in ordering copies of photographs from French libraries. Sir David Wilson made sure that my work at the British Museum and the British Library proceeded as smoothly as possible. I have enjoyed the friendship and warm hospitality of Siri Louekari in Copenhagen, and Marketta Pirinen and Anni Kauppi in London, whose homes were always open to me on my visits.

I have also received support from the Academy of Finland, whose advanced studies programme for researchers in working life made it possible for me to devote part of my time to my research. A grant from the Finnish-Icelandic Cultural Fund permitted studies of Icelandic manuscripts and the Letterstedtska Föreningen association financed part of the costs of translation. I am deeply indebted to these institutes and organizations.

The Finnish Antiquarian Society kindly allowed the publication of my study in its esteemed series. I also wish to thank my husband, Torsten Edgren, for his significant contribution as the editor of the Society's series.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, whose unfailing support has been of paramount importance. My sister helped me in the translation of medieval French texts, and I had many inspiring discussions with my brother on problems of folklore. With her boundless love, my mother undertook to look after her grandchildren whenever my research so required, and she has been an enthusiastic and entertaining companion on trips abroad. The main point, however, is that my husband and our sons have shown boundless patience and loyal confidence in a mother engrossed in her studies, even on days when everything could not but go wrong. It has been a privilege to share with them the moments of happiness experienced by all researchers when there is finally an inkling of seeing more clearly and understanding at least a little better the whys and wherefores of things.

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April 1993

Helena Edgren

INTRODUCTION

The cult of the Virgin Mary was a central and essential aspect of the Middle Ages. Devotion and love of the Virgin left their mark on all features of medieval culture, both spiritual and secular. Increasing numbers of churches, monasteries, religious orders, secular guilds, and even whole realms were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. She was ever-present: not only in the visual arts, music, poetry, literature, and contemporary architecture, but also in the chores and concerns of everyday life. She was appealed to for help in both childbirth and in rearing cattle – and there was boundless faith in her gracious assistance.

For both individuals and communities, the Virgin's ability to perform miracles was one of her most important qualities. This was not her prerogative alone; all the saints were capable of miracles, but as the Mother of God the Blessed Virgin was especially well suited to the purpose.

There is much evidence of faith in these expressions of heavenly grace. Stories and accounts of miracles were collected and compiled since the early twelfth century, spreading in the form of copies throughout Europe and even further afield. These themes came to be depicted and expressed in the visual arts.

This study investigates how this aspect of the Marian cult found expression in Finnish medieval art, viz. miracles of the Virgin Mary in wall-paintings of the period. The miracles discussed here are, in principle, events attributed to the Virgin Mary after her Assumption. The Finnish material also includes a work of sculpture, the Barbara Altar of Kalanti (presently in the National Museum of Finland), which bears a depiction of a miracle of the Virgin. This work will not be discussed in the present study, as it has already been published in detail in several languages, and foreign scholars thus have access to information on it (see Pylkkänen 1966 and cited literature). Moreover, the Barbara Altar does not have the same significance as an expression of the Finnish cult of the Virgin as wall-paintings in churches do. In the Barbara Altar, there is a scene from the Legend of Theophilus showing him on his knees before the Virgin (Fig. 1). Standing behind him is the devil holding a contract drawn up between them. This scene is part of the overall composition of the altar, intended as it was to praise the Virgin, and here the miracle theme does not have any significant role on its own. It must also be remembered that the altar was imported to Finland. It is assumed to be an early work by Master Francke of Hamburg and is dated to between 1410 and 1415 (Pylkkänen 1966). Unlike the wall-paintings, the miracle theme in the Barbara altar does not reflect or express the beliefs or spiritual needs of the local population. It is also considerably older than the paintings studied here, and I would claim it had no influence on their inception or manner of execution. As argued in the following chapters, the underlying reasons for commissioning large series of paintings showing Marian miracles must be sought elsewhere.

In addition to miracles of the Virgin, I also discuss another theme of intervention in Finnish wall-paintings: the role of the Virgin as *Mater misericordiae* (Madonna of Mercy), the intercessor for all mankind. Here, the basic idea of divine intervention is the same as in the paintings of miracles, the only difference being that in the *Mater misericordiae* depictions, a whole community, instead of an individual, is praying and the subject of

Fig. 1. Scene from the Legend of Theophilus. Detail of sculptures in the Kalanti Altar. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki.

prayer and supplication is not given. This study also treats certain paintings (*Banquet for Sinners*, *The Angelus*, and *The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer*) which appear to have been deliberately located near the paintings of miracles, and can be understood only as part of a larger whole consisting of these paintings. On the other hand, I do not discuss paintings with themes from the life of Mary, which are also found in Finnish churches, nor symbolic themes based on specific elements of Catholic dogma.

My aim is to interpret the content of these paintings within the tradition of iconography and iconology, and to place them in the broader context of contemporary cultural history. I also attempt to outline the picture they provide of intellectual and religious life in late-medieval Finland. This has required an extensive study of materials outside art history as such. Accordingly, the present book is in two main parts. The first three chapters form an introduction, surveying the background information and materials necessary for a study of the paintings themselves. The first chapter discusses the cult of the Virgin Mary, which must be known in order to deal with the subject in any further detail. Chapter II investigates the concept of miracle; for anyone brought up in a Lutheran environment, a miracle in the medieval sense of the word is so alien an idea that a detailed definition is necessary.

Discussed in Chapter III are miracles of the Virgin Mary in medieval literature. This material is also necessary for a study of paintings on the theme, which, as it is known, were created as illustrations of certain legends and stories familiar from literature.

The present study takes the Finnish material as its starting point. But to place the Finnish paintings in the broader context of European development, it is also necessary to review a large amount of foreign material and sources. Scandinavia naturally offers the closest parallels and points of comparison, but to understand the full scope and significance of this phenomenon, it has been necessary to extend the review to England and France: the core regions of Marian miracle legends. However, there is no overall work on this subject from the perspective of these areas, much less Europe as a whole, and the results presented in the following chapters have been compiled by myself, partly on the basis of my own research in these countries. The aim has been a framework permitting an outline of both the whole phenomenon and its individual components.

Owing to the nature of the material, this study cannot be strictly limited to any single period. The Finnish paintings are clearly from the close of the Middle Ages; the wall-paintings in the churches of Hattula and Lohja are dated to the early years of the sixteenth century. In Western Europe, the same and similar themes first appeared in the visual arts almost four centuries earlier. Also in literature, the miracles of the Virgin made their first appearance as larger entities around the beginning of the twelfth century, and even earlier as individual texts. In oral tradition, this theme dates as far back as the first centuries after the Birth of Christ. The cult of the Virgin Mary also takes us back to the very beginning of the common era, which means that the chronological framework considered here extends more or less from the beginning of the common era to the end of the Middle Ages.

Also covered is a broad geographical area: the territory of the Eastern Church (here meaning the eastern regions of the Mediterranean and Northern Africa, i.e. the territories of the East-Roman Empire with the exception of Italy and parts of Spain), Western Europe, and Scandinavia, including Iceland, and Finland. Developments naturally followed their own pace over such a wide area, which presents a number of problems in using the chronological term 'Middle Ages', essential as it is to this study. Its meaning greatly varies according to context. (The beginning of the Middle Ages has been dated, for example, to the Great Migrations, the division of the Roman Empire in A.D. 395, or the fall of the Western Empire in 476. The end of the period has been alternatively placed at the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the discovery of America in 1492, or the Reformation, which was carried out at different times in different regions. On the varied meanings of the term, see Litzén 1974). In Italy, the sixth century was already medieval, while in Finland it was still the prehistoric Migration Period, and in the last years of the Middle Ages in Finland Renaissance culture already flourished in Italy. Consequently, the term 'Middle Ages' cannot be used in any unequivocal sense, and it must always be seen in relation to the specific context discussed. For example, in connection with Central-European literature, I use the term in a different sense than that used when discussing the Finnish material. In Finland, the beginning of the Middle Ages is traditionally dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whereby the thirteenth century is early medieval, the fourteenth century is described as the High Middle Ages, and the following period is regarded as late medieval. In connection with continental and English material, I use the term Late Middle Ages for the period beginning roughly from the time of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

I. THE CULT OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Today, almost two thousand years after the events in which she played a crucial supporting role, the Virgin Mary, as the Mother of God, has an undeniable role in the cultural heritage of Western Christianity. Her status and position in both Catholicism and Protestantism, though different, are established and revered. But this was not always the case. During the first Christian millennium, the Virgin changed from an unobtrusive background figure into the Queen of Heaven, and a mediatrix with an important role in the act of redemption. In the High and Late Middle Ages, belief in her omnipotence and assistance marked all aspects of religious life. It is impossible to study or interpret the religious art of this period – including paintings of miracles of the Virgin – without referring to the development of her cult, for as pointed out by Jerome, an early Father of the Church, 'many will err if they do not know history'.[1]

Theologians make a distinction between the concepts of *Marienlehre* and *Marienverehrung*. Here, these terms will be treated as a single entity, for, as pointed out by Georg Söll in his *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, both themes are so closely connected that a separate discussion would obscure rather than clarify any understanding of the subject.[2] In connection with the Virgin Mary, I use the term 'cult' as defined in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*: 'the external recognition of her excellence and of the superior way she is joined to God'[3].

Much has been written on the position and role of the Virgin Mary in the Christian Church, and the results of studies appear to contradict each other depending on the discipline and denomination of the scholars concerned (cf. Hilda Graef who proceeds from the Catholic position and Michael P. Carroll who represents a sociological-psychoanalytical approach).[4] In the following, discussion is restricted to subjects and details which I feel are of special relevance to the subject at hand. My sources are studies mainly following traditional historical and theological methods; I have not made reference to works approaching the essence and nature of the Virgin Mary from a psychoanalytical perspective.[5]

A. Written sources

1. Mary in the Bible

Available knowledge of the Virgin Mary as a historical figure is extremely limited, and the only information on her with any claim to historical validity is in the New Testament. But the 'historical' nature of this information must be given the same credence as the New Testament as a historical source: its texts were not primarily intended as an objective record of historical facts.[6]

The earliest reference to Mary is in Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*, apparently written in A.D. 57–58, in which he underlines the reality of the human existence of Christ, saying that He was 'made of a woman' – indeed 'a very quiet entrance for the Virgin Mary'.[7]

In Paul's epistles Mary is mentioned only once, and no more than twice in the *Gospel According to St. Mark*, which is regarded as the oldest of the gospels[8]. In Mark 3:31–35 Jesus renounces his human mother and brothers, pointing to those around him and saying: 'Behold my mother and brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.' In Mark 6:3 the Jews doubt Christ's divinity asking: 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda and Simon?'

Mary is mentioned more often in Matthew and Luke, mostly in connection with the birth and infancy of Jesus. According to Marina Warner, 'Luke's infancy Gospel is the scriptural source for all the great mysteries of the Virgin; the only time she is the heart of the drama in the Bible is in Luke's beautiful verses. Luke tells the stories of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Purification (or Presentation of Christ in the Temple), and he describes the mysterious scene when Christ is lost and found among the doctors in the temple – the only occasion apart from the wedding feast at Cana when Christ and his mother speak to each other.'[9]

The *Gospel According to St. John* differs from Matthew and Luke in that it contains no account of the birth and childhood of Christ, nor of any events in the life of Mary. John's sole mention of the birth of the Messiah reads: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John 1:1); 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth' (John 1:14).

Mary, whom St. John calls 'the mother of Jesus' or 'woman', is not mentioned until the wedding feast at Cana. Here, she has a conversation with Jesus that is of extreme importance for Mariology and especially for belief in miracles. 'And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come. His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do *it*' (John 2:3–5) (Fig. 2). After this it is mentioned that Mary followed Jesus to Capernaum (John 2:12), but then she disappears from the scene, only to reappear at the moment of the Crucifixion: 'Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene' (John 19:25). Upon seeing his mother and his dearest disciple close by him, Jesus said: 'Woman, behold thy son!', and to John: 'Behold thy mother' (John 19:26–27), to which the Gospel adds: 'And from that hour that disciple took her unto his home '(John 19:27).

The last mention of Mary in the New Testament is in verse fourteen of chapter one of the *Acts of the Apostles*, where the disciples '..all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.'

The few New Testament texts specifically mentioning Mary describe her only as the medium of the divine scheme of redemption, and not as an independent figure. Thus, even all the available information can be combined to give only a very general image. The main piece of 'historical' data offered in the Gospels is that Mary and Joseph were betrothed at the time of the Annunciation (Matthew 1:18; Luke 1:27). Otherwise, she is simply located in various places, always in connection with her Son: at Nazareth for the conception (Luke 1:26); in the hill country of Judea for Elizabeth's recognition of her unique maternity (Luke 1:38); at Bethlehem for the child's birth (Luke 2:4,7; Matthew

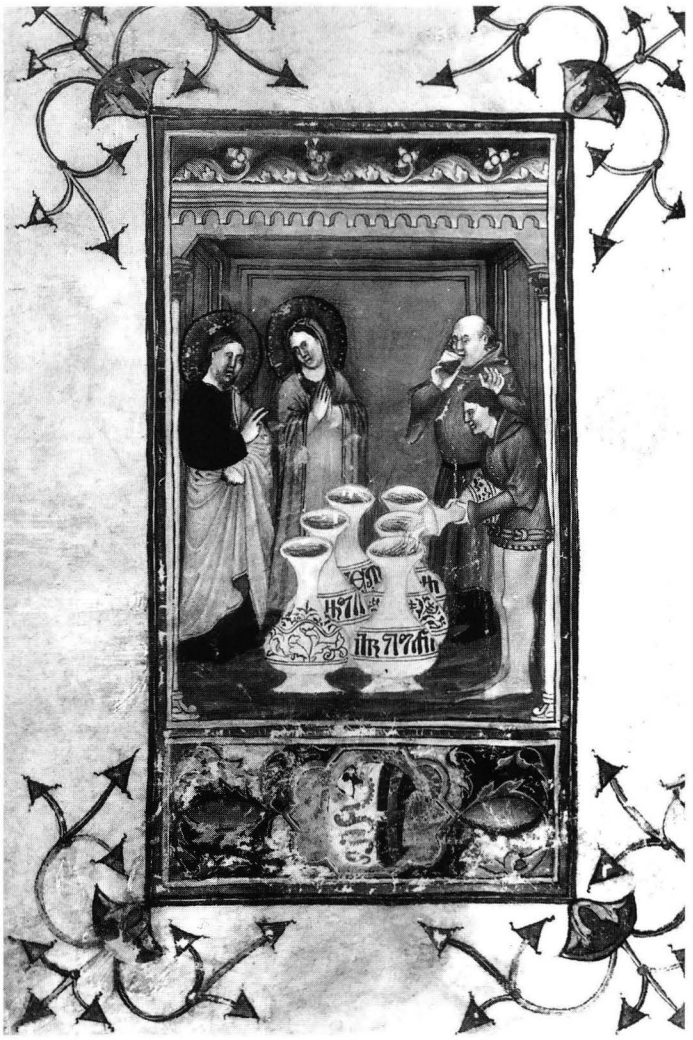

Fig. 2. The Wedding Feast at Cana, Stundenbuch der Bianca von Savoyen, *Cod. lat. 23215, fol. 126vo, Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Photograph, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.*

2:1); at Jerusalem for her own purification in the Temple and the offering of the Child to God (Luke 2:22); at Nazareth for the Child's rearing (Luke 2:51; Matthew 2:23); at Jerusalem for the discovery of Jesus speaking with the teachers in the Temple (Luke 2:42, 46); at Cana for a wedding (John 2:3–5); and finally at Jerusalem when Jesus was crucified.[10]

Although the above few passages in the New Testament are randomly scattered, scholars have seen evidence in them of how the image and concept of the Virgin Mary gradually developed and changed. They have also been regarded as a sign of growing interest in Mary, though always strictly connected with the changing concept of Christ.

Paul's epistles do not treat Jesus' parents or the way their son was born. The Apostle was only interested in Christ's messianity, and its essence and significance for the scheme of redemption. According to Otto Knoch, Paul's reference to a woman as the mother of the Son of God as man was meant only to demonstrate the total community of fate of the Son of God with the Jews – God's chosen people. Paul was not interested in 'how', but only in 'why'[11].

Knoch points out that also Matthew refrained from discussing the personality of Mary as the mother of Jesus, or her redemptional significance as such[12]. On the other hand, Matthew's writings already point to the interest of the early Christian Church (at least in Syria and Palestine, to whose congregations he wrote) in the conception, birth and infancy of Christ, and also in the mother of Jesus and her redemptional significance.

Zwar stehen die Aussagen von der wunderbaren Zeugung Jesu durch Gottes Geist im dienst der Christus – under der Heilsverkündigung, aber nach Gottes Willen gehören 'das Kind und seine Mutter' heilsgeschichtlich wesenhaft zusammen[13].

As mentioned above, St. Luke already described Mary as a person with an independent role, and not just a by-product of Christology. The Finnish theologian Heikki Räisänen writes of Luke's image of Mary in the following words (translated from the German):

> Mariology is only rarely linked directly with Christology. Luke described Mary as a distinct personality... creating a consistent and tellingly stylicized portrait of her.

Räisänen points out that Luke made Mary the prototype of all Christians, 'an exemplary hearer of the Word', 'the model and *Typus* of all believers'. Räisänen also mentions that the Mary of the *Gospel According to St. Luke* is above all a sign of great respect for the Mother of God, and he feels that even in Luke's day Mary must have been especially revered among Christians.[14]

2. Other Written Sources

From a very early stage, the New Testament's few references to the Virgin Mary have been complemented by other texts describing her life in more detail[15], and by oral tradition actively maintained at least by Eastern Christians (in Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria). One of the reasons for their inception must have been a natural curiosity about the immediate family of the main figure of Christianity[16], but these accounts and stories were also needed to explain the many contradictions still contained in Gospels, even in their final written form.[17] The difficulties of responding to non-Christian doubters and hecklers with the canonical Gospels appear to have been among the reasons for recording the oldest known legend of Mary, the so-called *Protoeuangelium Iacobi*[18].

The *Protoeuangelium Iacobi* takes its name from its assumed author, Jesus' brother and the first Bishop of Jerusalem, although this attribution is no longer accepted. The anonymous author or compiler may in fact have been a Jew in diaspora, possibly living in Egypt or Syria[19], or a Greek Jew[20]. The oldest surviving manuscript of the *Protoeuangelium Iacobi* is from the fourth century, but it has been referred to in earlier written sources. The oldest incontestable reference to it, or at least to a work of a similar tendency[21], is by Origen (ob. c. 253), but it has also been regarded as the possible, and by some scholars as the definite, source of a certain text by Clement of Alexandria (ob. 215)[22]. Some experts are even willing to date it as far back as the middle of the first century, the time when the latest parts of the New Testament were written[23].

This narrative was extremely influential in the West, and gave rise, directly or indirectly, to all other legendary treatments of the topic[24]. Surprisingly enough, the *Protoeuangelium* itself was not translated into Latin until the sixteenth century[25]. However, it was already combined in the eighth and ninth centuries with the Gnostic *Gospel According to Thomas* into two works in Latin on the life of the Virgin Mary: the *Gospel According to the Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Story of the Birth of Mary* [26]. The most important point in view of the visual arts of the Middle Ages is that the whole narrative of the *Protoeuangelium* is contained in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (The Golden Legend), one of the most popular and widely read books of the Middle Ages. It was also read widely in Finland as indicated by the large number of preserved fragments of this book (on the significance of the *Legenda aurea*, see p. 61).

The importance of the *Protoeuangelium Iacobi* for the cult of the Virgin Mary is not only in its narrative, but in the central role given to Mary's virginity. Her virginity *post partum* is explicitly affirmed, and her giving birth without pain, coupled with the insistence on her virginity *post partum*, made it possible to establish a belief in her virginity *in partu*[27]. The idea of complete virginity later became an essential part of Christian dogma concerning Mary, but also a moral ideal typifying medieval life as a whole.

B. The Development of the Cult of the Virgin Mary from Early Christian Times to the Late Middle Ages

The first centuries after the Birth of Christ saw the establishment of the norms of Christian dogma and the forms of piety. Surviving from this time are a few, but nevertheless clear, indications of the gradual evolution of a cult of the Virgin Mary. At that time, and even later, the formation and growth of the Marian cult essentially followed the development of Christology. The status of Mary changed inasmuch as it was necessary for defining the role of Christ. As a whole, the early development of the cult of the Virgin took place within the Eastern Church.

In the writings of the Fathers of the Church, references to the Virgin Mary began to appear in the second century. The first to mention Mary was Ignatius of Antioch (ob. c. 110), who, in his opposition to Gnosticism, explicitly underlined her position as the Mother of God[28]. Her increased significance for the scheme of redemption first appeared in a text by Justin the Martyr (ob. c. 165), in which Mary is compared to Eve[29]; this was probably suggested by Paul's parallel between Christ and Adam[30]. This metaphor was to be of great significance for the future image of the Virgin Mary. According to Söll, it marked the beginning of a visual or pictorial theology (*Bildtheologie*), in which the details of individual depictions were used more and more to underline the exceptional qualities of Mary in comparison with Eve, and to link her more closely with her son[31]. A further parallel, that of Mary and the Christian Church, was to be significant for the role and image of the Virgin. It was probably first used by Ireneus of Lyon (ob. 202), and it shed a completely new light on the universal significance of the Virgin[32].

According to Georg Söll, it is clear that already at this time Marian veneration became more important in private religious life than that of the martyrs, although the latter could rely on relics, cult sites, etc. Since its inception, the veneration of the Virgin was influenced by both rational and irrational, emotional factors, developing faster than established dogma, and partly outside its control. By the fourth century, aberrations of this veneration had already emerged in the Eastern Church, forcing its leaders to take a firm stand on them[33].

Also in liturgical texts, the name of Mary makes its first appearance in the second century; baptismal texts used the expression 'born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary'[34]. This was added to the Creed at the Second Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 381. This Creed became that of the Mass, thus giving the Virgin Mary a permanent place in the consciousness of Christians[35]. Growing devotion to Mary is also attested by

the title *Theotokos*, which many people at the time interpreted as 'Mother of God'. The earliest incontestable reference to this title is in the works of Alexander of Alexandria (ob. 382), who was a leading figure at the Council of Nicea. But it is also possible that Origen already used the term[36].

The ultimate reason why the role and character of Mary and her veneration as the Mother of God (*Theotokos* or not) were finally given official form is Christological and not Mariological: viz. a prolonged and acrimonious controversy surrounding the question of Christ's nature during the first five hundred years of Christianity[37]. As pointed out by Warner, Gnosticism was the main threat to orthodox Christianity in the second century. This mystery-cult version of Christianity claimed that the material universe was irredeemably corrupt, and consequently could not accept the idea of the Word becoming flesh. The Docetists, a Gnostic sect, regarded Jesus as a uniquely spiritual being without any human form of existence. In opposing this heresy, the early theologians had to underline the full humanity of Christ, which was best done by pointing out that he was born of a human mother, like all other people[38].

Approximately two centuries later, the Church had to contend with an opposite claim. Arianism, a Christological teaching that spread in the fourth century, regarded Jesus solely as an ordinary human creature, a child of God in the same sense that all Christians were. 'In order to confound this heresy, and yet avoid the equal fault of denying Christ's humanity, the birth of Christ from a woman by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and his consequent dual nature as man and God had to be satisfactorily defined'[39]. This was finally done at the Council of Ephesus held in June 431, where, amidst the jubilation of the populace, Mary was officially declared to be the *Theotokos*, the Mother of God.[40]

Exactly twenty years later, the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical council of the Christian Church, officially gave Mary the title of *Aeipartenos* ('ever virgin'), and her virginity both *in partu* and *post partum* was affirmed. In 649 the First Lateran Council finally made the perpetual virginity of Mary a dogma of the Church[41]. After these rulings, the cult of the Virgin Mary could develop freely, and her growing importance soon became evident in the art and liturgy of the Church. In the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, built by Pope Sixtus III (432–440) at the time of the Council of Ephesus, a figure of Christ set in a triumphal arch, receives the Three Magi with Mary seated in a place of honour at his side. In the mosaics of the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, built by Theodoric the King of the Ostrogoths (474–526), it is Mary, and not the Infant Jesus, who greets these visitors from afar.[42]

As pointed out above, the earliest liturgical developments to emphasize the role of Mary also took place in the Eastern Church. The oldest feasts in her honour – the *Memoria Mariae*, celebrating the return to God of the Virgin Mother, and the Annunciation – were already instituted in the fifth century. The feasts of the Nativity of Mary and the Presentation date back to the early sixth century. Around the year 600, the Eastern Church also began to celebrate the Dormition, the falling-asleep of the Mother of the Lord. It was monks fleeing the Muslim invasion of the Holy Land who introduced these feasts to the West. By the time of the papacy of the Greek-born Sergius at the latest (ob. 701), all four feasts (the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Dormition, and the Purification) were also being celebrated in Rome.[43] From the sixth century onwards, the Virgin Mary has also had a place in the Roman liturgy in the first prayer of remembrance before the consecration, which has been called 'the highest expression of the official Marian devotion of the Church'[44].

Hannelore Bühler has pointed out that the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon became especially important for the legends of the Virgin Mary. The ruling that Christ was at the same time truly God and truly man, also emphasized the significance of Mary as the Mother of God in the full sense of the term. While the Council of Ephesus still underlined Mary's role as the Bearer of God, the Council of Chalcedon specifically stressed her total and complete motherhood[45]. Underlining this veritable mother-and-child relationship inevitably led to a gradually increasing emphasis on the human aspect: the love between a mother and her child[46]. After the Council of Chalcedon, this concept of Mary as a loving mother gradually gained importance, and it has been of fundamental significance for the legends of Mary – including those of miracles performed by her[47].

In summary, the first seven centuries of the Christian era saw the cult of the Virgin Mary as characterized by Christocentrism and a reverent admiration of her holiness as the Mother of God[48]. Her miraculous virginity, as the sign of her supremacy, was an overriding theme in both patristic writings and the Apocrypha, as well as in the ritual of the Church[49]. Over the following centuries, other features emerged, which characterized Mary in a more tangible way: her position as Queen of Heaven, spiritual mother, and the omnipotent intercessor[50]. Her 'suppliant omnipotence' became the dominant object of attention[51].

The above discussion has mainly touched upon the development of Marian dogma in the Eastern Church. The following overview of developments from the ninth century to the end of the Middle Ages focuses on the West. According to Georg Söll, the eastern and western concepts of the Virgin Mary gradually began to develop in different directions around this time. In the East, Mary increasingly took on the aspect of 'a gilt icon set apart from everything that is worldly', while in the West Christians wished to regard her more tangibly as 'a helper familiar with the troubles of everyday life'[52]. In Western Europe, plays, writings and visual depictions of miracles of the Virgin emerged as gradual indications of this changed image.

In the Western Church the development of Marian dogma in the Middle Ages was mainly marked by a struggle against a form of heresy known as Adoptianism, and the theological debates over two articles of faith concerning the Virgin Mary: her corporal ascension into heaven and her immaculate conception. Adoptianism was opposed by Charlemagne's court theologian Alcuin (ob. 804), among others, and this process helped to clarify and enlarge the concept and image of the Virgin Mary. According to Söll, ideas concerning the value of Mary herself now found a more concrete form, and as an individual she was now described in greater detail than before[53]. The other two debates, which continued throughout the Middle Ages, kept the Virgin Mary constantly in people's minds in a very pronounced way, and all three had a distinct influence on the liturgy of the church and popular Marian devotion.

There is a great deal of evidence for the growth of Marian devotion in the later Middle Ages: numerous churches dedicated to the Virgin were established (the first already predating the Council of Ephesus), the number of Marian prayers and hymns increased, and it even became customary to devote Saturday to the Virgin, a practice already promoted by Alcuin (ob. 804).[54]

Nor was Marian devotion forgotten during the 'period of decadence' following the era known as the Carolingian renaissance[55]. New works of Mariological literature appeared even in the tenth century, sometimes described as *seculum pessimum* or *siècle de fer et de tenebres*, and older material was actively copied. Prayers and sermons dedicated to the

Virgin were written at Cluny, Reichenau, Winchester and other monasteries, which shows that the cult survived and grew in these institutions. In Henri Barré's words, there is thus no reason to speak of a period of stagnation or Marian apathy, as some scholars have done[56].

Surviving from the eleventh century – *le Grand siècle marial*[57] – is a considerable body of Marian literature: sermons, prayers (e.g. *Salve Regina*), and liturgical offices and masses. At this time, it became increasingly common for people to devote themselves personally to serving the Virgin Mary, as Pope John VII had already done in the early eighth century[58]. Likewise, from the eleventh century onwards growing numbers of religious orders began to declare themselves to be under the patronage of the Virgin. These included the Camaldolites, who were established around the year 1000, the Knights of St. John (c. 1050), the Carthusians (c. 1084), and especially the Cistercians (c. 1100). Also the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the influential orders of the Late Middle Ages, and even the Bridgettines of Scandinavia, chose the Virgin Mary as their patron.[59]

In the eleventh century many prominent members of the Church actively promoted Marian devotion: e.g. Fulbert de Chartres, Bernon of Reichenau, Odilon de Cluny, Petrus Damianus, Anselm of Lucca, and Gottschalk of Limburg[60]. The main spur to the development of Mariology, however, came from Anselm of Canterbury, who spent most of his life in England. Barré describes Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* as a turning point in the spiritual and dogmatic development of the Latin Middle Ages. Although his main theme was still the consciousness and fear of sin,[61] his writings emphasized in a new way the concept of *pietatis affectus*[62]. Anselm also gave special emphasis to the status of Mary as Queen of Heaven[63].

In the early twelfth century Marian devotion reached its zenith thus far in the sermons and writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who continued in the footsteps of Anselm of Canterbury. St. Bernard was one of history's most pious servants of Mary; 'of all the scholars of the Middle Ages, the one who most lyrically dreamed of the Virgin and most beautifully spoke of Her'[64]. Perdrizet writes of him in the following terms:

> *Celui qu'on a surnommé le dernier Père de l'Eglise,la grande merveille du XIIe siècle, le chevalier de Marie... son dévot chapelain, son cithariste, a contribué plus que nul autre théologien à fonder la doctrine catholique relative à Marie et plus spécialement, la doctrine relative à la méditation de Marie et à sa miséricorde*[65].

It is precisely faith in the mediation of the Virgin Mary and her mercy that is the underlying idea in art which depicts her miracles, and consequently the bases of this faith will be discussed in further detail in the following section.

C. Maria Mediatrix

The various concepts of the Virgin Mary as a mediator between man and God are largely based on a single article of faith that the undivided Christian Church established as dogma, viz. that Mary was the Mother of God (*Theotokos*; see p. 19), thus possessing a motherly influence on her Son. In the popular view, this influence was amplified by the idea that upon ascending to heaven Mary came into immediate contact with Christ, thus being able to intercede directly on behalf of sinners[66].

In the Late Middle Ages, growing importance was given to the idea of Mary's Compassion, her suffering together with Christ at Calvary, and thus to her role as an active participant in the very event of redemption[67].

Georg Söll has pointed to how little Early Christian and medieval theologians wrote about why people felt they could rely on the assistance of the Virgin Mary and the saints. According to Söll, a consciousness of solidarity among the members of the Church was so strong ever since the martyrs began to be venerated that there was no need to present further arguments in connection with the Virgin Mary. Of the medieval theologians, Thomas Aquinas briefly touched upon this point in writing of the mediating role of Christ. Aquinas's view was that it was completely possible that others than Jesus could mediate between man and God[68]. He also discusses whether the saints pray for people in heaven, stating (in English translation):

> They pray for us, who still lack the final consummation of beatitude. And their prayers are heard because of their former merits and because God hears them.[69]

As the Mother of God, Mary naturally had a special position among the saints, and most people had no doubt about the secret of her great influence: the love between a mother and her son. The Marian miracle legends contain innumerable references to how Jesus complies with His mother's wishes, like any obedient son. In Book Seven of the Revelations of St. Bridget, Jesus says to Mary: 'Blessed art Thou, Dearest Mother. Nothing can be denied of Thee. Thy will be done! May it pass as Thou hast requested'.[70].

Christian literature has expressed the belief in Mary's heavenly intercession in a variety of ways since time immemorial. In discussing the parallel between Eve and Mary, Ireneus (ob. 202) already described her as *advocata*[71]. The oldest surviving text directly appealing to 'the aid of the Mother of God' is most probably a Greek manuscript fragment from the fourth century. In German translation it reads:

> *Gottesbärerin, (höre) mein Flehen: dulde nicht, (dass) wir in Not (sind), sondern befreie uns von Gefahr. Du allein...*[72]

In one of his sermons, Basil of Seleucia (c. 468) called Mary a mediator between God and man, and the inscription *Sancta Maria aiuba nos!* appears in the ruins of many African basilicas from around the middle of the first millennium.[73]

There are also several references to the belief in the assistance of the Virgin Mary in the Spain of the Visigoths. Saint Leandre of Seville (584–600) exhorted virgins who had dedicated themselves to a monastic life to pray to Mary for her intercession between them and her divine Son. On the other hand, Isidore of Seville addressed his works to Christ *per interventum et meritum beatae et gloriosae semper virginis Mariae*[74].

The epithet Mediatrix as applied to Mary comes from the Eastern Church. The earliest definite indications of its use are in the writings of St. Andrew of Crete (ob. 740), St. Germanus of Constantinople (ob. 733), and St. Tarasius (ob. c. 807), and it is from their time on that the notion becomes a familiar one.[75]

St. Germanus wrote of Mary as Mediatrix in his sermons on the Assumption, stressing the power of her intercessory prayer and her role in the redemption of mankind more than any of the earlier Fathers of the Church.

> You are the mother of the real life. You are the leaven of the restoration of Adam. You are the liberation from the sin of Eve... there are no limits to your assistance.[76]

Germanus's texts also include the first formulations of the absolute power of Mary, which were later repeated in the famous sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux:

'...none are saved except through you Theotokos; none are saved from danger except through you Virgin and Mother; none are redeemed but through you, Mother of God.'

And even:

But as you have the influence of a mother with God, you can ask forgiveness for even the greatest sinner. For God cannot fail to hear you, for in all things He abides by you as his veritable Mother[77].

Germanus's sermon also contains what appears to be the first reference to Mary protecting mankind from the wrath of God[78], a concept that was manifested with special clarity in the late-medieval *Pestblätter*.

The title of Mediatrix was introduced from the East into the literature of the West around the ninth century through a translation by Paul the Deacon of Naples of the 'Life of Theophilus', in which the term appears[79]. In the West, however, it did not achieve common currency until the preaching activity of St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

The position of the Virgin Mary as a link between man and God was also evident in the Roman liturgy, in which the Service of the Assumption contained a request for her intercession: *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Intercede.*; or *Dei Genitrix, intercede pro nobis*[80]. Supplication to the Mother of God was also part of private devotion and prayers, as indicated in the following statement by Pope Gregory II (715–731) from the time of the great iconoclastic controversy:

Ac si quidem imago sit Domini, dicimus: Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei, sucurre et salva nos. Sin autem sanctae matris eius, dicimus: Sancta Dei Genitrix, Domini mater, intercede apud Filium tuum verum Deum nostrum, ut salvas faciat animas nostras.[81]

Under the Syrian Pope Sergius (687–701) a new kind of prayer, the Litanies of the Saints, was adopted in Rome. These included a brief, but all-encompassing, supplication to the Virgin Mary: *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*. This form of prayer soon became common in England, and from there it worked its way back to the Continent.[82]

According to Barré, it appears that even in the Carolingian period, supplication to the Virgin Mary for aid had become a common practice among all Christians. She was appealed to during the furious rampages of the Vikings, and even when there was a threat of invasion by the Hungarians[83].

The title of *Mater misericordiae* (Madonna of Mercy), emphasizing Mary's motherly qualities, first appeared in a prayer by Odo, Abbot of the Monastery of Cluny (ob. 942). According to Odo's biographer, the Virgin had used this term of herself:

Sur le point de mourir, un ancien larron, devenu moine à Cluny, fut favorisé d'une singulière vision. Une belle et noble dame lui apparut dans son sommeil, lui demandant si'l la reconnassait, et, comme il ne savait dire qui elle était, elle se nomma elle même gracieusement: Ego sum mater misericordiae.'

As observed by Barré, this title describes so well the gentle and unfailing compassion of the Mother of Our Saviour towards all us wretched people that it inevitably became her 'emblem'[84], and it spread through being added to the prayer *Salve Regina*[85].

The concept of the Virgin Mary as mediator was finally formulated in the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux. Owing to Bernard, the doctrine that 'there is no one to whom the gift of grace is given except through Mary' became widely accepted in the Middle Ages. His statement that 'God has willed that we should have nothing that did not pass through the hands of Mary' was quoted with relish in Marian literature over the following centuries[86] until it finally became a Mariological principle[87]. Bernard's famous sermon *De aqueductu* contained a detailed and thorough discussion of Mary as mediatrix, comparing her to an aqueduct leading divine grace to earth.

Bernardine of Siena, a fifteenth-century Franciscan friar and a fiery preacher, summarized the teaching of his age in these words:

> 'I do not hesitate to say that she (Mary) has received a certain jurisdiction over all graces... They are administered through her hands to whom she pleases, when she pleases, as she pleases, and as much as she pleases'[88].

According to Hilda Graef, Bernardine finally envisions Mary as the corredemptrix of mankind, equal even to God[89].

The reason why Christians have sought a gentle intercessor and advocate to mediate between them and God is expressed, for example, in the writings of Martin Luther. In Luther's view, the common, and mistaken, medieval concept of Christ solely as a condemning Lord of the Universe inspired fear and compelled people to seek the protection of Mary and the saints[90] (Fig. 3). St. Bernard describes this fear as follows:

> 'God has given us Christ as our advocate, but sinners may fear him, "for though he became man, he still remained God. Would you have an advocate for yourself before him? Seek refuge in Mary!" '[91]

Or, as Aelred of Rievaux (ob. 1167) writes in his sermon for the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin Mary:

> 'The mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ is wondrous! He is our judge, knowing we are wretched and not fit to be judged by Him. He is merciful and wishes to have pity on us, but can do no other than be fair in his judgement... May each one of us test himself to see how he will stand before the Lord. How have we lived in his eyes? We are human, He is God; we are servants, He is the Lord; we are created, He is the Creator. We have not prayed to God as we should, we have not obeyed Him as we should, nor have we loved our Maker as we should. Yea, my brothers, if we were to try ourselves, we would not be able to answer him one of a thousand, as written in Scripture (Job 9:3). What, then, shall we do? We cannot hide anything from Him. For, in the words of the Apostle, all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do (Hebrews 4:13). Let us bear our prayers to Him. Let us say to Him: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant" (Psalm 143:2). But offering our prayers alone will not carry us far. Let us pray for help to the person whose prayers He will never reject. Let us approach His bride, let us approach His mother, let us approach His first and foremost servant. All this is the Blessed Mary.'[92].

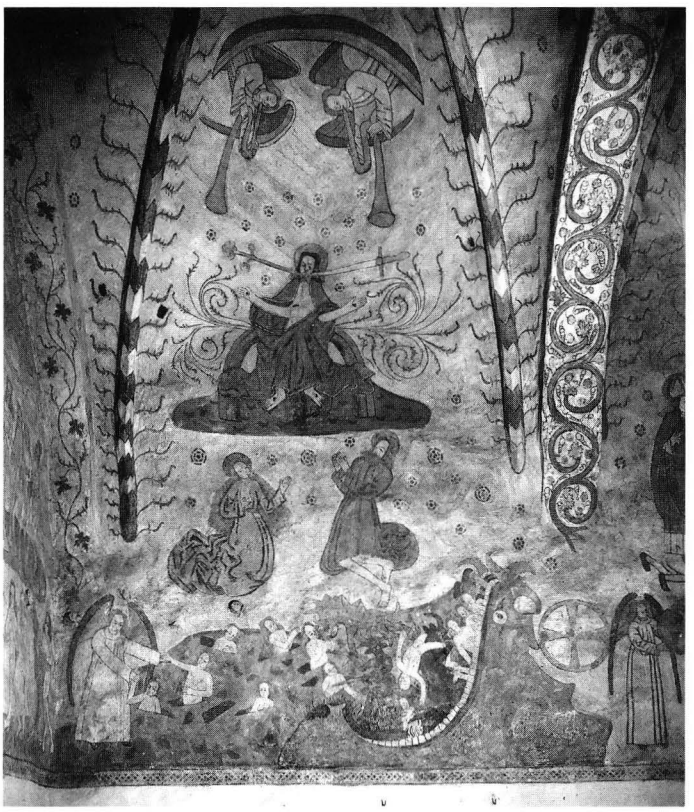

Fig. 3. The Last Judgement, painting on the east wall of the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

The idea of Christ as a severe judge, setting justice before mercy, is also evident in miracle legends expressing more popular beliefs. The Icelandic legends, for example, include a story of how the Cistercian monk called Vallterus, whose life had not been exemplary, dreamed three days before his death that he was judged by Christ. In his despair, Vallterus begged Christ for mercy, but to no avail, for He replied: 'Now is the time of judgement, not of mercy!' It was only when the Virgin Mary intervened and, baring her breast, prayed for mercy for the sinner, that Christ let her decide, to the benefit of the penitent[93].

D. The Cult of the Virgin Mary in England

In England, the cult of the Virgin Mary developed along much the same lines as in Western Europe. The English form of devotion, however, contains features and special emphases which can be seen as having significance for the interpretation of the local legends of Mary and the visual art depicting her miracles. Because the English material also provides an important point of comparison for the Finnish paintings, it is necessary to present a brief overview of the Marian cult in England.[94]

It is generally accepted that an exceptionally developed cult of the Virgin Mary already existed in pre-Conquest England[95]. The history of this cult can be divided into two periods, both of which were especially active and intensive. The first stage lasted from the end of the seventh century to the ninth century, mainly involving the regions of Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia, which were the centres of power at the time. At the end of the Anglo-Saxon era, the cult flourished once again, now in connection with the Benedictine reform movement and its centres in South England, particularly the monasteries at Winchester and Canterbury.[96]

According to Mary Clayton, the cult of the Virgin Mary appears to have been brought to England from Rome[97] by Augustinian missionaries. This is suggested by the dedications of early churches, which are in imitation of Roman ones, liturgical texts which came to England from Italy, Marian feasts, and also by the art of the church, which was modelled on Mediterranean images. As mentioned above (p. 19), the popes of Eastern birth (either Syrian or Greek) introduced into Rome an Oriental form of Marian devotion in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. The Anglo-Saxon Church had particularly close ties with Rome at this time[98], following the settlement of the dispute between the Hibernian and Roman forms of the faith in the favour of the latter[99].

The main feasts of the Marian cult – the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity – had already gained a foothold in England around the middle of the eighth century, although they were not yet firmly established[100]. By the end of the Anglo-Saxon era, they had spread and become common throughout the country. However, two other feasts were also celebrated in England: the Presentation in the Temple (21 November) and the Conception (8 December), which were not revered in the same way anywhere else in Western Europe. According to Bishop and Clayton, their adoption must be the result of the Eastern, Greek, influence on Anglo-Saxon devotion, which may have been transmitted by the many Greek monks active in South Italy. However, the Anglo-Saxons also had direct contacts with Constantinople, and a Greek monk is known to have been at the monastery of Malmesbury around the year 1030[101]. The Feasts of the Presentation and

the Conception were first introduced around 1030 in Winchester, where they were celebrated both at the Old and the New Minster[102], and from there they spread to Canterbury and Exeter. According to Clayton, the eagerness of the monks at Winchester to adopt these two new feasts is an important manifestation of a developed interest in the Virgin in the late Anglo-Saxon period[103].

The role of Winchester as the main centre of the Marian cult in Late Anglo-Saxon England also emerges clearly in other preserved material: liturgical texts, private prayer to Mary, and manuscript illumination.

Adding the Marian feasts to the calendar of the Anglo-Saxon Church naturally required new liturgical texts, fragments of which survive from as early as the period between the seventh and the ninth centuries, although the larger body of the material is from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some of them, such as the Saturday Office of Mary, appear to have been composed in England. Clayton maintains that Winchester also played a definite leading role in the development and dissemination of this type of Marian liturgical practice: 'It was here that new Marian devotions were eagerly appropriated and texts composed'[104].

As with the liturgical texts, Winchester appears to have been the only centre in Late Anglo-Saxon times where an innovative spirit also led to the production of other, new and progressive texts. These included texts solely for private devotion, whose composition and compilation into book form seems to have been one of the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon religious life at this time. Only three of these prayers have survived from the period between the seventh and the ninth centuries. They are followed by a larger number from later times, among which texts composed at Winchester clearly dominate[105].

In both the older and the later prayers, Mary is asked to mediate between man and God. The later prayers contain many pleas of intercession, especially at the hour of death. According to Clayton, the later prayers already express a sharp contrast between a stern God and the all-forgiving Virgin Mary through the requests that she avert the anger of God through her prayers[106]. In her view, the most interesting group of Marian prayers are, without doubt, texts collected in Winchester manuscripts of the eleventh century. The prayers composed there are more extensive, and more detailed in their requests, containing a much broader range of Marian epithets than those written elsewhere[107].

The same ardent Marian devotion is also evident in Late Anglo-Saxon art. In particular, illustrations to late-tenth and early-eleventh-century manuscripts demonstrate in many ways the progress of the cult of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England. Mary Clayton points out that these images entail a much greater focus on Mary than earlier ones:

> 'She is celebrated to a much greater degree in her own right than was the case in the earlier period: sometimes by appearing as an autonomous figure, at other times by changes in the traditional images which reveal a conscious desire to honour her. There are suggestions, too, of a more deliberate participation of the Virgin in the scheme of redemption. The sense of power implicit in that more active role is expressed in several images of the crowned Virgin or in the attribute of the sceptre.[108]

Clayton feels that the great focus on the role of Mary as Queen of Heaven not only followed from the liturgical and devotional significance of this idea, but also from the position of the queen in contemporary Anglo-Saxon England, and the growing significance of her role. In the medieval concept of a parallel between heavenly and earthly society, the positions of a heavenly and an earthly queen could well be compared to each other. Queens were of great importance for the progress of monastic reform in England, and their role in protecting the nunneries was laid down in the *Regularis concordia* itself.

Because queens were of increasing consequence in England, it was natural to invest Mary with the symbols of royalty. At the same time, it was possible to emphasize the position of secular rulers, for Mary's queenship also conferred a sacred aura on earthly kings and queens[109].

The Winchester manuscripts were especially marked by their devotion to the role of Mary as mediatrix between God and mankind. In two of the most important texts, which Clayton suggests were displayed to the public, Mary and St. Peter are described as intercessors for earthly rulers.[110]

There is no definitive answer as to why the Marian cult flourished in Late Anglo-Saxon England. Mary Clayton cites a number of features which may have influenced the situation. In its intensity, the cult as practised at Canterbury and Winchester appears to have been new to England, and does not find direct links with the main roots of the reform movement in Fleury and Ghent. Clayton points out that it is difficult to explain why it captured the imagination of the reformers to such a degree, unless it be that they wished to adopt as the patron of the new monasticism a figure known above all for her virginity, and to whom the first leaders of the movement, Dunstan and Aethelwold, already had a personal devotion. Furthermore:

> 'The cult of Mary was undoubtedly fostered by the power of eschatological thinking in Late Anglo-Saxon England: because of its dominance, intercessors were of vital importance, and devotion to the Virgin was certainly nurtured by the belief that she would be an effective intercessor on the Last Day'[111].

Clayton feels that, at least at the beginning of the monastic revival, the explanation cannot be found in any desire to amplify the position of English royalty through a parallel with the Queen of Heaven. According to her, the royal overtones of English monasticism did not become prominent until the 970s, by which time many monasteries were already dedicated to Mary. Nor do English religious texts stress the role of Mary as Queen of Heaven any more than usual at this time, although Anglo-Saxon art accentuated this aspect of the cult[112].

However, it appears that around the end of Anglo-Saxon times English royalty may have promoted the Marian cult more than Clayton assumes. As pointed out, for example by Georg Söll[113], the liturgical and other texts of the Church do not necessarily give the full picture of the religious trends and currents of their time. The above discussion on the Marian cult of the Early Church (p. 18) pointed to how popular piety often followed its own course, regardless of the official teaching of the church, and sometimes even anticipating it. Especially in studying these overtones of mental history, the visual arts may have equal, or even greater, potential as sources than written documents. Medieval royalty was not firmly entrenched in power, and their interest in Heavenly Rulers was not only characteristic of England. It appears that the same became clearly evident also in Norway and Sweden, though not until a few centuries later.

Further support for the above claim is suggested by a phenomenon, not mentioned by Clayton, but discussed by Edmund Waterton in his study on the position of the Marian cult in England. According to Waterton, England was the only country on earth known 'from time immemorial' as the Dower of the Blessed Mary, *Dos Mariae*. He points out that no documents are known that would explain when and under what circumstances 'England was consecrated to the glorious Mother of God and given her for her dower'. The first references to this are not from until the reign of Richard II (1399), but at that point it is referred to as being 'in common parlance'.[114]

According to Waterton, the English kings, who most probably stood behind the act of dedication, are known to have been ardent devotees of Mary from the time of the conversion. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), among others, is said to have used no other oath than *Per Sanctam Mariam*[115]. As mentioned above, earlier royalty, e.g. Edgar in the tenth century and Canute and Emma in the eleventh century placed themselves under the patronage of Maria Mediatrix. Even in the time of Henry VIII, the image of Mary with her Divine Son was on the crown of the kings of England[116]. It could thus be claimed that throughout the Middle Ages the kings of England literally placed themselves under the gaze of the Virgin Mary.

The English development of the Marian cult saw a gradual growth of devotion and an increased focus on Mary as mediatrix. As such, the situation largely corresponds to that of Western Europe. Assessing and comparing the strength and nature of spiritual trends in various regions, especially over a thousand years ago, is extremely problematic. However, Mary Clayton claims, on the above grounds and in my view convincingly, that Mary had a special position in English religious life. At the end of the first millennium the main sites of her cult were the monasteries of Winchester and Canterbury. St. Anselm, the leading Mariologist of his time, worked and lived at Canterbury in the eleventh century. Anselm of Canterbury was already known for his ardent devotion to the Mother of God upon coming to England[117]. It is difficult to evaluate how much Anselm's Marian devotion owed to the English context, and how much local devotion was influenced by him. I would point out, however, that according to present views it was in England, and apparently under the influence of Anselm, that the works describing miracles of the Virgin evolved. This new genre of religious literature was of paramount importance for the spreading and popularization of the Marian cult.

E. The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Finland

The Marian cult in England and Continental Europe can largely be studied from written sources. This, however, is not possible in Finland, where only a few texts directly referring to it have survived. Even the small body of known material dates from the very last decades of the Middle Ages, shedding light only on the last stages of a long development. We must therefore rely on other material and indirect conclusions in trying to study the role of the Virgin in the spiritual and religious life of medieval Finland.

This situation is open to a number of approaches. In the following, I attempt an outline partly with reference to archaeological data, and partly through material on early ecclesiastical organization, calendars of the saints, and sermon books that were used in Finland, the order of divine service at the Cathedral of Turku, the Marian cult as described in the *Missale Aboense*, and folklore sources. This section ends with a brief comment on the position of the Virgin Mary after the Reformation in Finland.

Finland was one of the last European countries to be converted to Christianity. The beginning of the missionary period is dated to c. 1150, when King Erik the Holy of Sweden and the English-born bishop Henry are assumed to have carried out the so-called First Crusade to Finland. At that time, however, Christianity was no longer new to Finland; trade and other contacts had already made the new faith familiar to Finns much earlier. In the eleventh century, Christian burials begin to appear alongside pagan graves

in cemeteries. It is now assumed that the population of the main part of the Åland Islands and the region of Kalanti in South-West Finland converted as a whole to Christianity around the year 1000.[118] However, the Church did not begin to establish its organization on the Finnish mainland until the end of the twelfth century, when this matter was actively taken up by the political and ecclesiastical rulers of Sweden. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Finland was no longer a missionary region, and had become a separate diocese, which meant that the Church could now follow a normal canonical order.[119]

Finland became Christianized at a time when Marian devotion had reached its first major flourishing in the central areas of Europe. The significance of Mary was evident everywhere; for example, all the religious orders participating in the conversion of the Baltic lands declared themselves to be under her patronage[120]. It is clear that also the early conversion of the Finns and the establishment of ecclesiastical organization were carried out in the name of the Virgin Mary.

There is some circumstantial evidence for this claim. First of all, Mary was the patron of the whole new diocese, and also of Finland Proper (Fi. *Varsinais-Suomi*: the core region of South-West Finland around Turku). The main church of the diocese, the Cathedral of Turku, was originally dedicated solely to the Virgin; the additional dedication to St. Henry, the local patron saint, was not declared until later. Both the official seal of the Province of Finland Proper and the oldest known seal of the Diocese of Turku carried an image of the Virgin; in the latter there is also a figure of a bishop in full regalia kneeling with staff in hand before Mary and the Infant Jesus, with six canons in prayer beneath them[121] (Fig. 4).

Mary also had a central role as the patron of other churches in Finland. In his studies published in the 1930s Juhani Rinne's mentions that during the process of ecclesiastical organization, the main church of a locality was always dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. This was the case, for example, with the Church of Saltvik in the Åland Islands. In local folklore, and according to Radloff, even in documents, this church was called a cathe-

Fig. 4. The oldest seal of the Diocesan Chapter of Turku, post *1296. From Hausen 1900. Diam. 5.5 cm.*

dral[122]. The main regional churches of Upper and Lower Satakunta at Karkku and Kokemäki were similarly dedicated. In later years, other scholars have concurred with Rinne[123].

Studies show that the Virgin Mary was one of the most popular patrons to whom churches were dedicated. According to Väinö Wallin, St. Olaf had nineteen churches in his name, followed by the Archangel Michael (18 churches), and the Virgin Mary (17 churches). However, we do not know the patrons of all the medieval churches of Finland, and the above figures cannot be regarded as totally reliable, nor their differences significant[124].

This information mainly reflects the attitudes of the church authorities, a leading stratum of society. We know, however, that knowledge of the Virgin Mary, at least in one form or another, also reached the common people in the early years of the Middle Ages. Inhumation graves in Karelia, which still followed a completely pagan rite of burial, contain objects that are related in various ways to the cult of the Virgin Mary. These include a pendant of silver plate with an image of *Maria orans*, the Virgin Mary in prayer, and a ring brooch with the inscription *AVEMARIA GT* (Figs. 5, 6). These artefacts represent both western and eastern types, and offer direct evidence of the spread of the new faith into Finland via the Catholic and the Orthodox churches[125] (Fig. 7).

The remaining available material mainly sheds light on the position of the Marian cult in late-medieval Finland. In *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands* Maliniemi mentions that the four oldest feasts of the Virgin (*Nativitas, Annunciatio, Assumptio,* and *Purificatio*) were definitely celebrated in Finland since the introduction of the Catholic faith. During the fifteenth century, four other Marian feasts were introduced (*Conceptio, Visitatio, Praesentatio,* and *Compassio*)[126]. The introduction of new feasts was not of course peculiar to Finland alone, but followed a general European trend. Maliniemi, however, points out that the Feast of the Presentation, which was given the value of *duplex* in Finland, was not

Fig. 5. Maria orans, *silver plate pendant from the late prehistoric cemetery of Kekomäki in Kaukola. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki. Diam. 5.9 cm.*

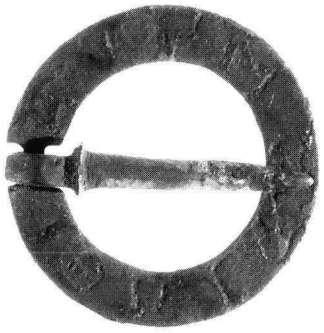

Fig. 6. Ring-brooch with the inscription AVE MARIA GT *from the late prehistoric cemetery of Kekomäki in Kaukola. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki. Diam. 2 cm.*

included in the calendars printed in Sweden, and he assumes that its introduction into the Finnish church indicates influence from Denmark (mainly Lund) or Germany[127]. Celebrating this feast may also be regarded as a sign of great devotion to Mary. All the listed feasts have the value of *duplex* or *totum duplex*[128].

The late-medieval order of service at the Cathedral of Turku clearly shows the heightened role of the Virgin Mary. According to Kauko Pirinen, sources do not tell when the Hours of the Virgin Mary became a regular part of the choir service, but they nevertheless belonged to the order of service by the 1480s at the latest. A number of other examples of the significance of the Marian cult also date back to the last years of the fifteenth century. In the Cathedral, the Altar of All Saints, established by Dean Magnus Särkilahti (later Bishop of Turku), was dedicated not only to all the saints but also to the Holy Trinity and the memory of Christ's Passion and Resurrection, and the Assumption and Compassion of the Virgin Mary. One of the two daily masses celebrated at this altar was dedicated to the Virgin, while the other varied according to the day of the week. The role of Mary, however, is also evident at the much broader level of the realm as a whole. A synodal statute issued under Bishop Konrad Bitz lays down four annual votive masses for the success and well-being of the Church and the realm. One of these, celebrated in the spring, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The statutes also ordered that in one year votive masses were to be celebrated in remembrance of the Five Wounds of Christ and the Compassion of the Virgin Mary[129].

Surviving fragments of Finnish medieval sermons also point to the special position of the Virgin. According to Jaakko Gummerus, the sermons speak little of Jesus or the importance of His work, but all the more of Mary and the saints. Gummerus claims that there are complete books containing nothing but sermons in praise of the Virgin Mary. It is particularly in these, but also in other sermons, that she is given an almost endless array of divine attributes, described in terms of all kinds of metaphors[130]. Unfortunately, Gummerus's article contains very little information on the actual works that can be identified in the collection of fragments.

Perhaps a better indication of the importance of Marian devotion is the *Missale Aboense*, Finland's first missal and incunabulum. It was printed in 1488 in Lübeck by Bartholomaeus Gotha, and it contains the scripture texts, prayers and hymns for the morning services of each day of the canonical year[131]. This book has an interesting history, being originally issued in two separate versions. One was the common Dominican missal, which could be used by all the convents of this order (the actual title of this version is *Missale secundum ordinem fratrum predicatorum*). The other version consisted of the same basic text with alterations required by its use as the missal of the Diocese of Turku. The version for

Finland had a separately printed page with a preface by Bishop Konrad Bitz; the calendar of the saints was also drawn up in view of the Finnish Church and its special features. The *proprium de tempore* section also contained masses in honour of Nordic saints[132].

Vilho Suomi has pointed out that the Dominican nature of the *Missale Aboense* is also expressed in its section dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The *proprium de sanctis* section thus lacks the Feast of the Conception, which was opposed by the Dominicans. On the other hand, the liturgical programmes for other Marian feasts in the *Missale Aboense* are considerably more diverse and extensive than those of other feasts and saint's days[133].

According to Suomi, the venerated position of the Virgin and her popularity most clearly emerge in the sequences of the missal. *Missale Aboense* contains two sections of sequences, the first of which follows the *proprium missarum*. This section of sequences has only one hymn referring to the Virgin. The first part is followed by the second section of sequences, beginning with the words *Incipiunt sequentiae de sanctis et beata virgine pro ecclesia Aboensi*, being thus an addition requested by the Finnish clergy who ordered the missal. This sequence contains several hymns for Marian feasts. Some of them are at the beginning of the section among songs and hymns dedicated to saints, but they are especially prominent at the end, where the last eleven sections consist solely of variation upon variation of hymns in praise of the Virgin. As pointed out by Suomi, the dominant number of Marian hymns in this section is a telling and most eloquent expression of the power of the cult, and the unique position of the Virgin Mary in both liturgy and religious thought in general. This section and the whole missal, dedicated as it was to the Virgin Mary, ends with the words: *Finiunt sequentiae pro laude gloriosissime virginis Marie*[134].

Suomi also points out that the above Marian sequences have a clear tendency: they are almost uniquely hymns of thanks and jubilation.

> 'Without any epic treatment of themes, they express abundant joy over the person of Mary, her virginity, and her role as intercessor. It is by this stage at the latest that we have concrete evidence of how the over-abundant and theologically interesting epithets of the Holy Virgin were partaken of by the Church and people of Finland'.

The suffering that was also part of Mary's life seems to have been completely forgotten[135].

The material of folklore studies provides much the same picture: the Virgin Mary was the most powerful and dominant figure in charms, incantations and spells. The charms and spells also shows that the image of the Virgin as expressed in the Latin hymns of the Church was adopted in the beliefs and concepts of ordinary people. In the Finnish sayings, Mary is called *Neitsyt Maria emonen* (*virgo mater Maria*), *armollinen* (*gratia plena*), and *piioista pyhistä valittu, emännistä erotettu* (literally 'chosen among blessed maidens, set apart from women', corresponding to 'Blessed art Thou among women'). According to Martti Haavio, Finnish folklore describes Mary as a sweet and gentle virgin-mother, a representative of all things good, who aids the fisherman, the hunter and the cowherd, and assists the sick, the wounded, and women in childbirth. She is also referred to as *kiputyttö* and *kipuvaimo* (maiden and woman of suffering – *mater dolorosa*), who seated in the middle of *Kipumäki* or *Vaivavuori* (hill or mount of suffering – the Finnish folklore version of Calvary), where she gathers the pains and tribulations of people in the folds of her garments and in her heart. Despite this, the overall tone of the sayings and incantations is as cheerful as the sequences of the *Missale Aboense*. Mary comes 'with hurried steps' like a 'sweet friend and gentle mother..to the aid of her supplicants'. 'The prayers in the Finnish charms speak of her boundless goodness and assistance'.[136]

In summary, it can be said that the Virgin Mary definitely had a special and unique role in the thoughts and prayers of medieval Finnish Christians. Christianity had come to Finland under her protection, and the further we proceed into the Middle Ages the more eloquent examples we find of the depth and significance of Marian devotion. Both Bishop Hemming of Turku and the common woman striving to control her immediate world with incantations and spells turned to the Virgin in their distress and sought her comfort.

It can therefore be understood why the special role and position of the Virgin Mary survived long after the Reformation. Statues of her were allowed to be kept in churches, and were not removed until they had decayed of old age[137]. The common people also preserved many customs dating back to Catholic times. It was not until the reign of King Gustav III and a reduction of church holidays enacted in the late eighteenth century that major changes finally came about[138].

In comparing the Marian cult in Finland with developments elsewhere in Europe, we observe certain parallels between Finland and England. In both countries, there was a special emphasis on the position and role of the Virgin Mary. In England, both church and secular leaders chose her as their patron, while in Finland she was chosen by the church, which itself largely represented both secular and spiritual power. This point must be kept in mind in proceeding to the paintings of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, the specific theme of this study.

Fig. 7. Cruciform pendant from Taskula, Maaria (present-day Turku). Interpreted as depicting the Virgin Mary. A figure of Christ on the reverse. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki. Hight 5.7 cm.

II. THE CONCEPT OF THE MIRACLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A. General Features of Miracle Beliefs

In the Middle Ages, miracle as a concept was neither unequivocal nor static. Theologians of different periods conceived of this idea in various ways, and views among contemporaries of different classes may also have differed[1]. I have not been able to ascertain the official view of the Catholic Church on this issue at different times, or whether such a view even existed, but the writings of individual theologians can be seen as reflecting contemporary ideas and concepts that could have been common. Consequently, the following overview is based on the ideas and concepts of a few central figures in medieval theology.

What the common people thought of miracles is a much more difficult question. In a sense, most of them still lived in prehistory; they left no documents written by themselves, and we have only second-hand knowledge of their ideas. But in order to understand the visual material of this study, designed and planned as it was by those versed in theology but mainly aimed at the common people, I shall attempt to outline the ways in which miracles were regarded by both the educated classes and the common people.

1. The Concept of the Miracle in the Writings of Medieval Theologians

Christianity came into a world where miracles and the supernatural belonged to everyday life, developing 'in an atmosphere heavy with magic and miracle'[2]. Among Christians, however, miracles achieved exceptional importance. The *Encyclopedia of Religion* describes Christianity as one of the few religions in which miracles are seen as constituents of the orthodox faith[3]. Judaism already had several 'miracle men', such as Moses, who was known in the Hellenistic world as a philosopher who performed miracles. Through the Old Testament, Christianity also adopted the idea that God acts powerfully in the physical world. It was thus only natural that also Jesus, as the Son of God, was able to perform miracles, cure the ill and afflicted, and banish evil spirits. The fame of Jesus as the supreme thaumaturge, the great miracle-worker and magician, was so prominent that he was even accused of practising black magic with the aid of Beelzebub. According to one rabbinical tradition, Christ was crucified because of his practice of sorcery and for leading the people of Israel along forbidden paths.[4]

The Christians of the Early Church used miracle legends to fortify the faith of their own co-religionists and also for external propaganda purposes in a world where such stories were commonly told of heroes of faith. For example, Origen (c. 184–254) states that 'without miracles and wonders' the apostles 'would not have persuaded those who heard new doctrines and new teachings to leave their traditional religion and to accept the apostles' teaching at the risk of their lives'[5].

After the death of Christ, the ability to work miracles passed on to His disciples. They were followed as possessors of this gift by a small group of exceptional individuals, first the martyrs and later other saints. It was not until the time of Calvin and Luther, the pioneers of the Reformation, that the age of miracles was declared to have ended; in the Catholic world miracles are still regarded as possible.[6]

The meaning of miracles for Christianity was discussed by several early theologians, including Justin the Martyr (ob. 163–167) and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–395)[7]. However, the first serious investigation of the nature of miracles was by Augustine.

Along with Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was the Christian theologian whose writings had the most profound effect on the concept of miracle and its content. All medieval theories of miracles are ultimately based on four books by Augustine: *De Genesi ad Litteram*, *De Trinitate*, *De Utilitate Credendi*, and *De Civitate Dei*[8].

According to Augustine, there was only one miracle, that of creation, which was followed by recreation through the resurrection of Christ. God had created the world from a void in six days, and this first creation already contained all the possibilities of the future. All creation was therefore both 'natural' and 'miraculous'. 'The events of every day, the birth of men, the growth of plants, rainfall' are all 'daily miracles', signs of the mysterious creative power of God at work in the universe. People were, however, so used to these 'daily miracles' that they had to be awakened to a greater veneration of God through less common signs of divine power. In Augustine's view, also these events fell within the bounds of the original creation. God had created *seminum semina*, *seminales rationes*, hidden in the nature and appearance of things, which at times caused 'miracles' that seemed to be contrary to nature, but were in fact inherent to it[9].

> 'The being that thus appears has already been wholly created in the texture, as it were, of the material elements, but only emerges when opportunity presents itself. For as mothers are pregnant with unborn offspring, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of unborn beings, which are not created in it except from that highest essence, where nothing is either born or dies, begins to be or ceases to be'[10].

The most common way to induce these 'hidden causes' to manifest themselves was through the prayers of the saints.

According to Benedicta Ward, Augustine assumed three levels of wonder: 'wonder provoked by the acts of God visible daily and discerned by wise men as signs of God's godness; wonder provoked by the ignorant, who did not understand the workings of nature and therefore could be amazed by what to the wise men was not unusual; and wonder provoked by genuine miracles, unusual manifestations of the power of God, not *contra naturam* but *praeter* or *supra naturam*'. Augustine's definition was thus quite broad, and it could include as 'miracles' phenomena that later theologians preferred to call *monstra* or *prodigia*[11].

As mentioned above, the concept of the miracle, though once defined, was not fixed, but evolved in pace with medieval society. Changes in the overall world view emerge, for instance, in Anselm of Canterbury's (1033–1109) *De Conceptu Virginali*, which discusses miracles among other topics. Although Anselm took as his starting point Augustine's tripartite division of miracles, he distinguished them from natural events and events caused by the will of men:

> 'So if we consider carefully everything that is now done, we see that they happen either by the will of God alone, or by nature according to the power God has given it, or by the will of a creature. Now,

> those things which are done neither by created nature nor by the will of the creature but by God alone, are miracles (*semper miranda sint*): so it seems that there are three ways in which things happen, that is, the miraculous, the natural and the voluntary (*mirabilis*, *naturalis*, *voluntarius*).'[12]

Anselm's conception of the fundamental cause of miracles is the same as Augustine's, but he differentiates the secondary causes. The works of men and the events of nature are now re-examined, although their ultimate connection with God is not denied. According to Ward, this shift from the sacramental view of the whole order of creation as miraculous, in which the power of God could be seen as a sign to men in all events, implied a new freedom to study natural phenomena, and also limited the range of occurrences that could be called miracles[13].

A similar view was adopted by many influential theologians after Anselm. Abelard of Bath wrote in his *Quaestiones Naturales*:

> 'I will detract nothing from God; for whatever is, is from Him, and by Him; and yet not even this is to be said vaguely and without due care, for we must listen to the very limits of human knowledge; only where this utterly breaks down should we refer things to God'.[14]

Ward points out that these new concepts also spread among the lower clergy. For example, Gerald of Wales, who was active in Ireland and an enthusiastic student of the island's flora and fauna (divine miracles *sensu* Augustine) refused to call the leaping of salmon in streams miracles, for 'salmon are moved by wonderful leaps which would be miraculous if this were not the nature of the fish. But this kind of fish makes such leaps because it is its nature to do so'. A genuine miracle, on the other hand, was St. Kevin making a willow bear apples, for this happened only because of Kevin's prayers to God[15].

Of Augustine's successors, Thomas Aquinas, 'the greatest of medieval theologians and the most formative single thinker on subsequent Catholicism'[16], had the greatest influence on the views of the Catholic Church concerning miracles (*Summa Theologiae*, *Summa contra Gentiles*). Thomas faithfully kept to Augustine's ideas as his starting point. Colin Brown points out that where Thomas differs from Augustine, he does so chiefly to express the same ideas in terms of the Aristotelian philosophy that provided the conceptual framework of his thinking[17].

But in one respect Thomas Aquinas represents a position different from Augustine. The New Catholic Encyclopaedia defines Thomas Aquinas's concept of miracle as follows:

> 'A miracle in the proper sense is beyond the power of all creatures, even incorporeal creatures, something of which only God could be a principal cause, though a creature might serve as an instrumental cause'[18].

Thomas thus makes a clear distinction between the primary and secondary causes of miracles. Where Augustine claims that God might have implanted certain powers within nature that only come to light when miracles occur, Thomas maintains that miracles are always in direct and immediate contact with God. Angels and saints may act as God's intermediaries, but miracles are ultimately dependent on God's will alone[19].

For Thomas Aquinas, the purpose of miracles was to make the power of God tangible, thus spreading and reinforcing the Christian faith. Although many miracles eased physical distress, this was not their ultimate purpose[20]. In this sense 'the miracles of the saints were simply the ordinary life of heaven made manifest in earthly affairs, chinks in the barriers between heaven and earth, a situation in which not to have miracles was a cause of surprise, terror, and dismay'[21].

2. Further Aspects of the Concept of the Miracle

In the words of Ronald C. Finucane, the 'illiterate masses... explained miracles as wonders performed by hallowed ghosts who flitted in and out of their graves, the tombs and shrines containing magical relics.'[22] Although this brings to mind legends of vampires, the fact remains that Thomas Aquinas's highly spiritual ideas concerning miracles may ultimately have remained the property of a small elite. As observed by André Vauchez, it was very difficult to put Thomas's ideas into practice. To deduce what was *supra*, *contra* or *praeter naturam* would first require a definition of the whole concept of *natura*, something quite beyond the scope of medieval philosophers and theologians[23]. In the practical, everyday life of the Church, it was thus necessary to rely on considerably more tangible and down-to-earth definitions that were more in tune with the expectations and wishes of the common people.

These people, the illiterate masses, not only included the poorest and most backward rural dwellers but also a great number of others: peasants, nobles, and even members of the clergy and religious communities[24]. Vauchez points out that even the views of popes and cardinals as expressed in canonization documents differed very little from the ideas of simple believers, although in other respects they tried to dampen undue enthusiasm for miracles[25]. Even the leading theologians of the time, such as Anselm of Canterbury, enthusiastically propagated miracle legends (see p. 49) and acquired relics for their own use[26].

Since illiterate people could not leave written documents for posterity, information on their views and beliefs must be sought elsewhere. The best sources for this are works of medieval miracle literature, for example, legends of the saints and collections of shrine miracles. There are also specially compiled 'miracle collections' outside these contexts, which have been used to a great deal in the study of medieval society and the history of mentalities[27]. Scholars have mainly focused on the period from eleventh to the thirteenth century, '*la période qui a vu les plus grand développements de cette forme de piété*'[28]. This has meant a correspondingly lesser interest in late-medieval collections of miracles.

As historical sources, miracle legends and accounts obviously present a number of problems. Many scholars have pointed to the connection between the event and the record of the event, and to the actual mentality reflected in the texts: that of the writers themselves or the people described in them. Rendtel and Sigal, among others, have seriously questioned the ability of the authors of these texts to treat miracles with any degree of veracity.

> *Au niveau des intentions, les hagiographes semblent avoir cherché à offrir un panorama, le plus complet possible des différents types de miracles réalisés. En pratique, leur redaction a été essentiellement conditionnée par le contexte dans lequel ils écrivaient*[29]

The form and content of miracles described in the hagiographies were naturally influenced by the genre's own tradition. We must also bear in mind the requirements that came to be placed on canonization documents from the thirteenth century onwards, when this process began to require papal approval[30]. At pilgrimage sites, propaganda aims influenced what was recorded[31]. We must also remember that the people mentioned in the documents represent only a fraction of those who sought personal contact with miracles in one way or another[32].

These considerations are particularly relevant to a more detailed study of specific features of medieval life, for example the illnesses for which pilgrims sought cures (the

worse the affliction, the greater the miracle). On the other hand, the sources provide a more reliable picture of general attitudes regarding miracles, the phenomena people accepted as miracles, and what they sought to achieve by supplication to heavenly forces. Shrine miracles are especially useful in this respect, for in these connections individual motives were investigated and recorded with special care.

According to Benedicta Ward, miracle collections of different periods have clearly different emphases, which follow directly from contemporary social conditions. Acts of power for protection and vengeance, which in earlier times were given the greatest importance, were later replaced by miracles of mercy and cures[33]. Regardless of the actual date of the events, miracles included in the collections clearly have one feature in common: a vivid emphasis on life in this world. The salvation of the soul bore little weight in most miracle legends[34]. The only exceptions were the Marian miracles, in which this aspect was of considerable importance (see p. 50).

In the miracle legends, no facet of everyday life was so insignificant that it could not call for supplication to the saints. Various studies, however, undeniably indicate that one's own health or that of someone close was a main concern; the overwhelmingly largest group of legends tells of cures for illnesses and physical afflictions[35]. Cures for animals were also prayed for; the Virgin of Rocamadour even healed oxen, monkeys and falcons[36].

But also people in good health turned to the saints for aid, mainly in matters closely linked with their own life and well-being, for example in trade[37], to acquire more food and drink, and to find lost objects. There is even the case of a man who prayed for a miracle to make him speak French as well as his native English[38]. The saints also protected people from danger, freed prisoners, and helped avenge wrongs[39].

For those who recorded miracles, the most difficult cases appear to have been incidents concerning truly small objects of insignificant value. According to Sigal, these cases in particular reveal the conflict between the popular, folkloristic, concepts of those who experienced the miracles and the views of intellectuals, represented by the clerics recording the stories or legends concerned[40]. Sometimes these scribes had a definite need to motivate the acceptance of a case as a miracle: the writer confesses that he is well aware of the trivial nature of what happened, but, in reply to those claiming that God does not interfere in minor concerns, he points out that God takes care of all his creatures and creations, even the smallest ones.[41]

One explanation for these 'minor' miracles has been the suggested sense of humour of the saints. It was claimed that the contradiction of harnessing immense heavenly forces to solve totally negligible matters was a source of mirth to the saints, thus demonstrating the less austere side of their nature. According to Ward, they 'continue the theme, found in the Lives of the Saints, of the virtue of hilaritas, by which the saints were shown to be men who could be amused and cheerful'[42]. These *joca sanctorum* represent the tradition of folly in the Church. They were not intended to place miracles under question, but rather to amuse listeners and to induce an amused and favourable attitude[43].

According to Bernard of Angers, it was a common custom, especially among peasant, to call minor miracles *les jeux* (e.g. *les jeux de sainte Foy*)[44], and they were preferred by the *rusticus intellectus*, which included non-literate people in general, members of the lower classes, and even learned people[45]. Not all scholars believed in these miracles, nor did they approve of legends being spread of them[46]. These miracles most clearly demonstrate the impossibility of distinguishing the concepts and views of the educated classes

from those of other sectors of society. Miracles have played an essential part in the world view of Christendom as a whole, and differences among them are more of degree than of principle. Their scale has been broad and like a spectrum; and for the individual, a miracle was always defined by his or her own world of experience.

It is generally known that in miracle legends popular beliefs invest the saints with much greater power than official Catholic theology does. In the minds of the unlearned, a saint was not only an intermediary of God, but also someone empowered to perform the miracles asked of him. Also the basic nature of the saints remained unclear to people; in some miracles the saints are purely spiritual beings, while in others they have such a degree of corporeality that they can strike down their enemies and kill them[47].

Popular and scholarly opinion converged in connection with relics, an essential feature of miracles. It was a common Christian belief that after death the power of a saint was transferred from the body to his or her relics, which emanated 'a kind of holy radioactivity' influencing everything around them and passing on some of their power to objects brought near them[48]. Relics of the saints were venerated by the second century at the latest, but the 'miracle boom' as such does not appear to have begun until Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in 313. Miraculous tokens of saintly power became common currency during the fifth century. The web had now expanded, binding European cities and Constantinople in mutual veneration and an exchange of miracle-working relics, encouraged by the leading clergy of the Mediterranean world[49]. It was not until the end of the Middle Ages, when the trade in relics took on increasingly brazen features, that heretic groups, such as the Lollards of England, and even the official church began to view relics with growing reservation[50].

3. The Verification of Miracles

Although medieval Christians had no reason to doubt the existence of miracles as such, they were not willing to accept any event or phenomenon as a miracle. Sulpicius Severus complained that many doubters did not believe in the miracles worked by Saint Martin. Gregory the Great tells of Greek monks who dug up bones in Roman cemeteries and sent them to Greece as relics, and many similar claims were made over the following centuries.[51] All this points to the fact that an uncritical belief in miracles was not as common as is often assumed[52].

Critical attitudes grew in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, and doubters now included not only members of the clergy and the nobility but also a growing number of common people[53]. These views were fostered by a number of factors[54], including an 'inflation' of relics. The Crusades brought to the West an increasing number of relics whose origins were uncertain and whose authenticity could not be verified. Many of these were in some way connected to Christ or the Virgin Mary, and even the common people found it hard to believe that drops of milk from Mary's breast could have survived for a thousand years.[55]

New pilgrimage sites were established during the Middle Ages, and they came into growing competition with each other. Consequently, it was in the interests of a monastery championing its own saint to disprove the miracles of a neighbouring community as falsifications or forgeries, thus making sure that the stream of pilgrims bringing revenue to one's own monastery did not dwindle.

Critical attitudes naturally led to a stricter control of miracle phenomena. From Biblical times, a miracle in the Christian sense had always required verifiability: events can be described, but miracles have to be witnessed and proved[56]. Christ already worked his miracles – the *semina* of all later miracles – 'in the presence of His disciples' (John 20:30–31), not as secret performances[57]. Verifiability became a subject of growing concern around the beginning of the second millennium[58]. Critical attitudes were represented, for example, by Guibert of Nogent (1053–1121), who in spite of his views also became known as a collector of miracles (see below p. 48). Criticism was by no means an end in itself; it was not intended to refute the whole system of miracle faith – only to separate truth from falsehood[59].

Miracles could be verified in various ways. For both individuals and communities, the main requirement was to witness them with one's own eyes: *sed nunc quae vidit, credidit*[60]. When one could not prove a miracle oneself, weight was given to the testimony of 'good and trustworthy men', which mainly meant persons in high clerical office.

Particularly systematic control was practised at pilgrimage sites, where miracles were recorded in detail. It was often attempted to prove their veracity as far as the medieval world view and available methods permitted.[61] When hagiographies were prepared, investigations even relied on the papal *forma interrogatorii* which was drawn up under Gregory IX (1227–1241).[62]

A growing critical spirit is also evident in the rulings of the ecclesiastical authorities, of which a few examples are given in the following. In 1215 the Lateran Council took a stand on forgeries of relics by ruling that all relics must be approved by a bishop, and by warning Christians of forgeries. In the Nordic countries in the early thirteenth century, Anders Sunesen, the Archbishop of Lund, prohibited forged relics to be borne in procession at the market place in Skanör[63]. In late-medieval England there were several cases in which higher clerical authorities forbade people to believe in miracles at certain sites, because they were not approved by the Church[64]. In addition, it gradually became more difficult to find official recognition for new saints once canonization became the prerogative of the pope. At least for part of Christendom, this had become the rule by the end of the twelfth century, or by the 1234 at the latest[65]. The requirement of papal approval also made the process of investigation longer and more expensive[66].

In the Nordic countries, the importance of control and verification is most clearly evident in the canonization acts of St. Bridget. In her lifetime, Bridget had been known for her exemplary ways and her ability to cure the ill, and when she died many in Italy and Scandinavia already regarded her as a saint. Furthermore, actual miracles of St. Bridget had begun to take place immediately after her death. The canonization process, however, took almost twenty years (from Bridget's death in 1373 to the year 1391). – According to Vauchez, this was an exceptionally short time in the Late Middle Ages[67]. During these years, several testimonies were gathered, and their veracity was investigated by a number of experts[68]. Despite this thoroughness, not everyone was convinced by the results. In Rome, the investigative commission heard a priest who claimed that Bridget's death was still so recent that there had not been enough time to study her life and writings in sufficient detail. Jean Gerson, a leading figure at the University of Paris, was also among the doubters[69].

The canonization acts of St. Bridget clearly demonstrate the importance of reliable witnesses of good character in the process. In this case, recorded witnesses included many privileged members of society[70], who naturally belonged to Bridget's circle and, owing to

their birth, were also more credible as witnesses[71]. A considerable number of these were women.[72]

The above course of development – a growing suspicion of falsehood with resulting stricter control – inevitably led to a more precise definition of the whole concept of miracle. Quite close to the present Catholic view was the definition (quoted below in French translation) which was proposed by Heinrich Suso (c. 1295–1366)[73], and which also appears in a fifteenth-century English archepiscopal register[74]:

> '*... qu'ils relèvent de Dieu et non de la magie, qu'il s'agisse de faits contraires à la nature, qu'ils ne procèdent pas de la recitation d'une formule mais des mérites du saint, enfin qu'ils servent à renforcer la foi des fidèles.*'[75]

B. Miracles in Finland

It is only natural that Finland, as part of Catholic Europe, also had her share of the miracle cult. However, it is not at all clear whether the views of ordinary Finns regarding miracles corresponded to concepts common among people in the core areas of the Catholic Church. Nor do we know to what extent belief in miracles dominated the world view of medieval Finns; or how attitudes regarding miracles possibly changed during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the whole issue is extremely difficult to study. With the exception of the Legend of St. Henry, Finnish medieval sources contain only a few references to miracles directly connected with individuals. The best-known Finnish case of a miracle is a collective event: in 1495, during the Russian siege of the Castle of Viipuri, the Cross of St. Andrew suddenly appeared in the sky, helping the Finnish forces gain victory over the Russians[76].

Since no primary sources are available, the question must be approached in other ways, partly with reference to the cult of the saints, which was essentially linked to miracles, and partly through folklore material.

The Swedish scholar Tore Nyberg has pointed out that 'miracles and answers to prayer are the essential features of the cult of a saint. The basic need of individuals and groups for the presence of God and His aid takes the leading role, just as in the historical works of Christ. All the rest, authorization and acceptance, are only a means towards the end of placing yet another of God's helpers at the disposition of the Christian congregation – to open yet another gate through which the grace of God can reach the poor, insecure and troubled world of men'[77]. Knowing thus that miracles are an essential part of the whole cult of the saints, we may assume that where this cult appeared, the cult of miracles was also present. With respect to Finland, this permits indirect conclusions concerning the miracle cult, i.e. via the cult of the saints.

There is very little information on the medieval cult of the saints in Finland. Available sources, however, reveal that all the external features of the cult – pilgrimage sites and routes, local saints, relics, and hagiological legends – were also known here, albeit to a lesser degree than in the core areas of the Catholic Church.

The most extensive Finnish miracle collection, and the first source ever to mention miracles in this country, is the Legend of Bishop St. Henry (*vita et miracula*; Fig. 8). Its precise age is not known, but it definitely existed by the year 1296, when *sanctus Henricus* is mentioned as the patron of the Cathedral of Turku along with the Virgin Mary. In true hagiographic style, the legend tells that miracles already accompanied the

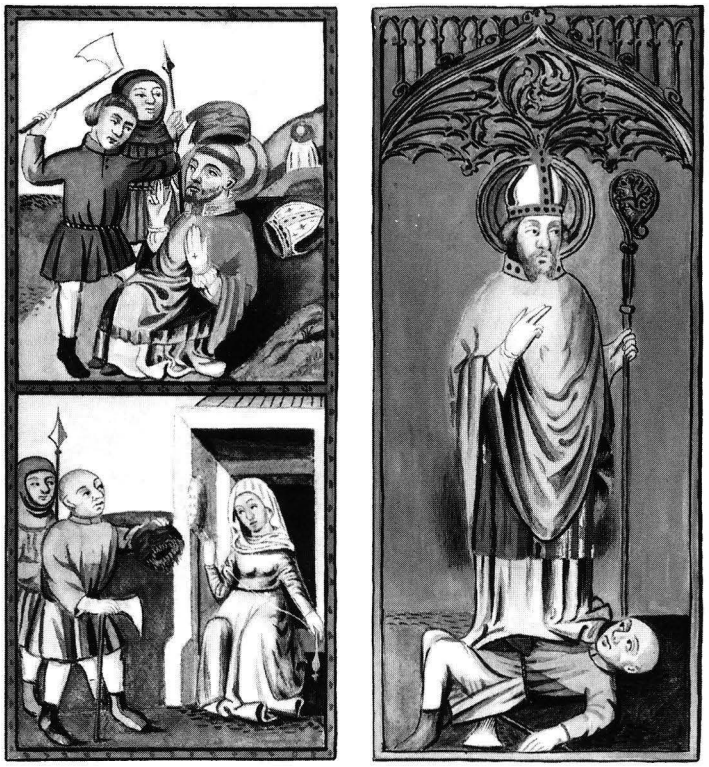

Fig. 8. Scenes from the Legend of St. Henry, Isokyrö altar. Copy of a coloured illustration by Elias Brenner c. 1671–1672. Third quarter of the fifteenth century. Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

burial of Henry[78]. However, the more detailed information is only on miracles that occurred after his death: the saint taking revenge on his murderer; proving with the miraculous preservation of his body (i.e. his finger) that he was above ordinary creatures[79]; rescuing the faithful from danger (shipwreck); healing the ill and raising two children from the dead; and even punishing those who did not believe in him[80].

There are only eleven miracles of St. Henry, and this small number does not permit any statistical conclusions. We observe, however, that here the range of miracle types directly corresponds to the results of Sigal and others in their studies of French miracle collections[81]. Thus, it appears that by the late thirteenth century, some fifty years after Finland changed from a missionary area into an indenpendent diocese, a separate work of hagiography was created here that completely conformed to contemporary requirements, forming an essential part of the cult of the saint in question.[82]

The next miracles experienced by Finns are mentioned almost a century later in connection with the preparations for St. Bridget's canonization. They are included in a document entitled *Acta et processus canonizationes s. Birgittae*, dated c. 1374–1375, when Swedish clerics had already begun to collect her miracles[83]. Two of the instances involve cures from illness and the third is a rescue from danger[84].

The third person mentioned in documents as having worked miracles is Bishop Hemming of Turku (ob. 1366) (Fig. 9), the second of Finland's medieval national saints[85] and a close acquaintance of St. Bridget. Information on Hemming's miracles is contained in a letter written in 1495 by Bishop Magnus Stjernkors of Turku, requesting permission to draw up a list of Hemming's miracles to promote his planned canonization. The letter informs that the miracles of Hemming already took place in 1416 (exactly 50 years after his death), and they were carefully recorded and registered at the Cathedral of Turku[86]. Unfortunately, this register has not survived, and there is no detailed information on the number or nature of these miracles.

Fig. 9. St. Hemming, detail of the door of the Urjala altar, late fifteenth century. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

As pointed out above, all references to miracles are from canonization documents, drawn up by high clerical officials in accordance with the requirements of this type of document. They show that the cult of the saints and miracles were already known and followed at least among the higher clergy at Turku in the late thirteenth century. Assuming that we give the details of the miracle legends at least some credence as historical sources (cf. above p. 37), they also show that this cult had, at least to some degree, spread among the common people. The laity acquired knowledge about the saints and their miracles mainly through sermons preached on their feast days. Also the Finnish material includes fragments and excerpts of medieval sermons, in which accounts of miracles experienced by the faithful were added to the lives of the saints[87].

The above canonization documents are the only medieval sources on the cult of the church in Finland that give the names and places of residence of both upper-class persons and commoners. The other available sources, mainly wills and documents of donations, refer only to members of the upper classes, who themselves were literate, or were able to employ literate persons, and their information cannot be generalized to describe the whole population. There is, however, more information on the common people in documents concerning individual parishes and churches, such as papal letters of indulgence, and communications relating to church buildings.

Written sources and documents, in fact, paint a surprisingly diverse and convincing

picture of the cult of the saints in medieval Finland. Many of the leading organizations of society operated directly under saintly patronage, hoping to receive heavenly assistance, miracles, in return for their services. Matters of state, on the other hand, were directly entrusted to the Virgin Mary and Saint Henry.[88]

The medieval town of Ulvila, which preceded the present town of Pori, is known to have had as early as 1347 a guild foundation dedicated to St. Gertrude. Turku had a Guild of St. Nicholas in 1355, a Guild of St. Anne (probably founded in 1438), a Guild of St. Gertrude (first mentioned 1439), and in 1449 a Fraternity of the Holy Magi. A Guild of St. Erasmus is also known to have existed in Turku in 1446, and the youngest guild was dedicated to St. Ursula. In the towns, the guilds also had women members. The Guild of St. Erasmus was specifically founded by lower-ranking urban and rural merchants, especially coastal shippers, in response to other, more aristocratic, societies. In the rural areas, ordinary farmers also belonged to guilds.[89] The guild system was thus active in spreading the cult of saints and miracles among broad sectors of the population.

The guilds, for their part, were responsible for decorating the altars of their patrons, but individuals also gave generous donations in different situations. Published in *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (Finnish Medieval Sources) is a large number of wills made by members of the upper classes, donating a variety of material to churches and their altars: money, personal ornaments and jewellery, articles of clothing, silver objects, horses etc.[90] These donations mainly appear to have been made in supplication for aid at the hour of death: 'for the grace and unburdening of the blessed soul of the donator'[91]. In one of the miracles of St. Henry, a Franciscan friar promises to hang a head made of wax before the body of the saint[92], which shows that even votive offerings of this kind were not uncommon.

The relic cult appears to have developed in Finland to the same extent as in Europe. Information on relics in Finnish churches is almost completely limited to objects kept at the Cathedral of Turku, but individual references indicate that the cult had achieved the same forms in other churches.

In the 1920s Juhani Rinne uncovered the remains of relics of at least thirty different saints in the Cathedral of Turku[93]. Most of these were found in the wooden shrine of St. Hemming. Because of its insignificant material value, the shrine had been spared by officials sent by King Gustav Vasa to confiscate church property at the time of the Reformation[94]. However, these objects most probably represent only a fraction of the relics originally stored at the Cathedral.

Some of these objects are known to have been kept in impressive reliquaries in which they could easily be displayed to the faithful. Paul Juusten's *Chronicon episcoporum finlandensium*, written in 1574–1575, mentions that Bishop Olaus Magnusson (ob. 1452) donated to the Corpus Christi and other altars of the Cathedral a number of reliquaries. He also had the head and arms of St. Henry plated with silver, that is, he donated Venetian reliquaries in the shape of these parts of the body[95]. The Altar of St. George had two containers for relics, and that of St. Lawrence had one of silver[96]. The Bridgettine Convent at Naantali had at least one silver reliquary in the shape of an arm, four small relic containers decorated with silver plate each containing an ostrich egg, two small reliquaries with silver fittings, and three caskets without fittings. Also the Church of Porvoo is known to have had among its possessions a head-shaped reliquary of St. Ursula[97]. The significance of these objects was emphasized at special relic feasts, which were celebrated at Turku Cathedral as *totum duplex*, implying the highest value (on the ninth of Septem-

ber). At these feasts, the various relics were presented to the congregation according to their order of significance[98].

The objects and practices mentioned above are evidence of the official cult of the church. The laity also regarded relics as valuable and wished to possess them. An individual example of this occurred in 1477 when Bishop Konrad Bitz bought two farm holdings in the village of Kurala in Kaarina as the property of the priests' altar to the Virgin Mary at the Cathedral. One of the sellers received as part of his payment a reliquary suspended from a silver chain[99].

There is also some Finnish data on pilgrimages, which were an essential part of the cult of saints and miracles. Popular pilgrimage sites were places related to the life of St. Henry, including the site where he was murdered and his church of burial. Also two of the medieval pilgrimage routes known in Finland were connected with his cult[100]. Other known pilgrimage sites were the Churches of Renko and Hattula in Häme (Tavastia), the latter even being mentioned in the will of Queen Margaret of Denmark[101]. Finns are known to have gone on pilgrimage abroad, for example to the Convent of Vadstena, where a Finnish-speaking confessor was required for them[102]. Finnish pilgrims also journeyed to Trondheim and Rome[103].

Further evidence of the spread of the cult of saints is the right of indulgence awarded by popes and bishops to various churches. The standard formula of these rights was to grant a certain amount of indulgences to all who visited different churches 'making promises' or 'for the purposes of pilgrimage, prayer or promise'. Promises of indulgence were intended to promote this activity and thus increase the revenue of churches, but at the same time they also indicate the existence of this kind of activity. Without doubt, this applied to all sectors of the population, and not only the upper classes.[104]

Various sources also point to the longevity of the saint cult in Finland once it had taken root. Archaeological finds show that votive offerings continued to be made until the late eighteenth century on an island in Lake Köyliö that was connected with the cult of St. Henry. The same is true of the Altar of St. Henry in the Cathedral of Turku. As late as 1682 a new statue of him was commissioned for the Cathedral, and his images were permitted to remain on display there until the nineteenth century.[105] It is almost touching to note the care shown by a citizen of Turku in rescuing some of the bones of St. Henry from Russian troops as late as the Great Wrath in the early eighteenth century. The Russians had learned that the saint's bones were kept in the sacristy of the Cathedral, and they intended to confiscate them for Tsar Peter the Great's collection of antiquities. The anonymous hero carefully rewrapped the bones in their shredded cloths and hid them in a cupboard in the sacristy, nailing it shut so tight that the cupboard had to be forced open when repairs were undertaken at the Cathedral in the early years of the twentieth century.[106]

The preceding information on the miracle cult and its sources concerns the so-called stone church region of Finland, i.e. the coastal region and inland areas, mainly in Häme, where stone churches were already built in the Middle Ages. Professor Kauko Pirinen has noted how important the distinction between this area and other settled regions was in the Middle Ages. In medieval Finland it was still possible for a considerable number of people to live out of earshot of church bells, without any opportunity to avail themselves of the services of the church. Bishop Lauri Suurpää (ordained bishop in 1500) wrote of the early-sixteenth-century inhabitants of Savo and Karelia in the following words:

'Owing to long journeys by land and water, they rarely come to church; some visit once in three or four years; some never. Thus, they remain without Christian teaching, living like Lapps and other heathens to the great peril of their souls. Rarely do they receive, even in their last hours, the sacraments of the Christian Church, especially in the autumn and spring when roads and lakes are unpassable. Their children often die unbaptized and as non-Christians'.

The same was also true of parts of Northern Ostrobothnia[107].

However, the adoption of Christian names and references to the saints in charms and incantations show that the church exerted an influence even in these remote areas. According to Pirinen, charms, such as the fishing incantation *Anna Antti ahvenia, Pekka pieniä kaloja* ('Antti [Andrew] give me perch, Pekka [Peter] let me have small fish'), indicates some knowledge of the Bible stories. Here, for example, it was remembered that these Apostles were originally fishermen[108].

Pirinen also points out that especially in folk charms and spells the new cult of the saints blended with the least friction with the old pagan beliefs. The Catholic Church did not approve of charms, as clearly shown in the statutes laid down by Bishop Konrad Bitz.[109] But it had to accept their continued use, now coupled with a Christian element of appeals and requests addressed to Christ, the Virgin Mary or the saints.[110]

Charms and incantations had the same underlying motive as supplication to the saints: safety in times of danger and material assistance. Accordingly, there was no great difference between a spell or curse meant to stay the primeval forces of nature and a humble invocation to Christ, the Virgin Mary or the saints. According to Pirinen, folklorists regard the benedictions and maledictions of the church as parallels to spells and incantations, if not their outright models. A further indication of the significance of the miracle cult in medieval Finland is the possibility that the church and the religious orders may even have sought to reinforce faith in miracles among the common people[111]. By identifying the old pagan spells with appeals to the saints, the church gave the cult of miracles a solid foundation from which it could grow. But it also ensured the survival of old beliefs, in some places until the beginning of the present century[112].

In summary, it can be said that different sources can present a highly varied picture of the content of the miracle cult in medieval Finland. The fact remains, however, that miracles played an important role in the lives of people. We know little of variations in beliefs at different times or among different classes, but we know with certainty that, in viewing the statues of the saints and wall-paintings in churches, medieval Christians in Finland had a general idea of what they proclaimed – miracles were a part of their everyday cult and spiritual life.

III. MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

A. General Features of Development

1. From Gregory of Tours to Anselm of Canterbury

The miracles of the Virgin Mary first appeared in Western literature in the late sixth century in *Gloria martyrum* by Gregory of Tours[1]. Gregory, however, was not the sole creator of this new genre of miracle literature; he only happens to be the first known Western scholar to give literary form to an oral tradition that already existed among Christians, thus making it available to later study. By the end of the sixth century, the miracles had undergone a long period of development and they remained popular long after Gregory's time to the end of the Middle Ages, and even later[2].

As seen in the legends compiled by Gregory, this genre of folklore came to Western Europe from the East Mediterranean region[3]. As such, it was yet another example of innovations of the Marian cult that originated in this area. The exact age of items of folklore is often impossible to determine, and we cannot say when or where the first miracle legends of the Virgin were told. As pointed out above in the section on the cult of the Virgin Mary, she became the *advocata* of sinners in the area of the Eastern Church perhaps as early as the third century, and at any rate had been invested with this attribute by the fifth century (see p. 22). By this time at the latest, conditions existed for the emergence of miracle legends.

The legends cited by Gregory contain features suggesting that miracles of the Virgin were no longer a novelty even in the West. Some of them are still set in the East Mediterranean region, but in two stories Gregory himself has the main role in experiencing the miracle. He not only repeated what he had heard from others, but also made himself an active part of the tradition.

By the following century, miracles of the Virgin had also made their way to England, where they are known from the writings of Adamnan of Iona[4]. If these miracles came from Rome together with other Mariological influences, which seems a natural course of events (see p. 25), they must already have been in common currency even there in the seventh century. This is suggested, for example, by Gregory the Great's (ob. 604) reference to a miracle legend, the story of a girl named Musa[5]. We may therefore assume that around the middle of the first millennium the miracles had become acceptable to the highest authorities of the church.

Legends of miracles performed by the Virgin Mary led a largely invisible existence long after their literary debut, surfacing in various connections over the following centuries. The Venerable Bede, for example, cited them in his writings in the eighth century[6]; Paschasius Robertus and Haito of Reichenau referred to them in the ninth century[7]; and Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote of them in the tenth century[8]. Of special significance for the diffusion of these miracles was, however, the incorporation of some

of them into the liturgy of the Catholic Church, whereby they achieved a kind of official position.

As noted by Émile Mâle, it was customary in the Middle Ages to read four or five of the miracles of the Virgin from the collection of Gregory of Tours at the Feast of the Assumption[9]; but miracles were also recounted at other Marian feasts[10]. The best-known of these miracles is the legend of Theophilus, translated from the Greek into Latin by Paul the Deacon of Naples in the ninth century[11]. In eleventh-century France this legend became part of the Office of Our Lady, and it was also incorporated in the Marian Office of Christchurch at Canterbury[12]. The prayer of Theophilus contained in the legend text has also been used separately as an expression of belief in the omnipotent assistance of the Virgin. It appears to have become especially popular in the eleventh century, when it was even added to a number of older manuscripts[13]. According to Barré, it was the legend of Theophilus that provided '*suggestifs modèles de prières au pecheur repentant*', introducing at the same time a new terminology[14]. This legend gives the Virgin the attribute *Mediatrix* for the first time in Latin literature[15].

2. Anselm of Canterbury and the First Independent Collections of Miracles of the Virgin Mary

In all the above-mentioned works of literature, the miracles of the Virgin Mary are in connection with other texts. It was not until the twelfth century that these legends began to be compiled as larger collections, published, and copied as independent works. There are two types of collections: those documenting the miracles of a pilgrimage site, and general collections which are neutral with respect to time and place. Both types appear in the literature around the same time, but in different countries.

The oldest local collections of miracles of the Virgin are from France. The first of these is connected with the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Laon. After the cathedral was destroyed in a fire in 1112 some of its clergy, bearing relics, went on a mission to raise funds, first in France and later in England. Among the relics were hairs from the head of the Virgin. A great number of miracles took place during the journeys, which were documented in detail. The first descriptions of them appeared in Guibert of Nogent's autobiography in 1115, and a more detailed account is given in a document drawn up by Herman, the cathedral's own canon.[16]

The miracles of the Cathedral of Mary at Soisson were also connected with a local catastrophe: an outbreak of ergotism (*ignis sacer*) in 1128 that especially afflicted the poor. Miraculous cures attributed to the Virgin occurred also in this region, and were recorded in 1143 by Hugh Farsit in an official document.[17]

Other early collections of miracles of the Virgin were compiled at Rocamadour, Chartres and at the Monastery of St.Pierre-sur-Dive. These, however, were not prompted by local catastrophes. The Rocamadour collection tells of miracles that had taken place in the church over the previous twenty years, being compiled in 1172 into a list running to three volumes. The miracles of St.Pierre-sur-Dive and the Cathedral of Chartres were related to the building of these churches. In 1445 the monk Haimo drew up a document on the events at St.Pierre-sur-Dive; and a document concerning the miracles at Chartres was written at the very end of the century.[18]

According to Benedicta Ward, the miracles of the Laon collection are of a type that is

almost completely similar to miracles attributed to the ordinary saints: insults to the Virgin Mary are avenged; suppliants for sanctuary are rescued; and the ill are healed[19]. The miracles of Rocamadour also follow this pattern[20], while naturally those from Soisson are mostly healings. Ward maintains, however, that these collections also contain features distinguishing them from the traditional shrine miracles. At Rocamadour, for example, there were no relics of the Virgin Mary, and it was felt that she herself had chosen the monastery as a place from which to distribute her favours to people. Furthermore, most of the miracles took place outside the church itself. For Ward, the early French collections of miracles of the Virgin are thus a kind of intermediary form between the traditional shrine miracles and the new collections of general interest.[21]

As pointed out by Richard W. Southern, the new collections, neutral with respect to time and place and constituting Marian literature proper, were compiled in England between the years 1100 and 1140[22]. Both Anselm of Canterbury and a younger Anselm, of Bury, played an important role in these events.

In 'The Making of the Middle Ages'[23], Southern paints a vivid picture of how men at the top of the clerical hierarchy already collected and exchanged Marian miracle legends before Anselm of Canterbury[24]. Anselm and his younger namesake thus followed an established practice by telling colleagues whom they met about miracles of which they had heard while abroad, and by recording new cases. The preservation of Anselm's itinerary has made it possible to present an exceptionally detailed account of his collection work, and on these grounds Southern defines him as the compiler of the first general collection.[25]

The discussions of Anselm of Canterbury (*Dicta Anselmi*) have survived in notes gathered by one of his companions. In time, these became available to Anselm of Bury, who used them, with slight modifications, in his own collection of miracles[26]. The younger Anselm's collection consists of legends which Mussafia already regarded as the earliest miracles of the Virgin Mary. Following Mussafia, it has been customary to treat these as two separate entities, known as HM and TS[27], although in fact they formed a single early collection.

By the year 1140, two other separate collections of miracles of the Virgin had been written in England. They were both influenced by the writings of St. Anselm and the collection of Anselm of Bury, and perhaps even inspired by the latter[28]. The older one, possibly dating from the 1120s, was written by Prior Dominic of Evesham[29]. It contains fourteen miracles, including 'The Element Series', the third of Mussafia's early series[30]. The third collection was compiled at the Monastery of Malmesbury by William of Malmesbury, and is considerably broader in content than the earlier ones[31].

According to Southern, only Anselm's collection later became popular as a separate work, while William's collection remained in local use, and that by Dominic spread only as a part of other collections. All three, however, enjoyed the greatest popularity when combined in a single collection. This was done by Master Alberic, Canon of St. Paul's in London, possibly between the years 1148 and 1162.[32] The collection was also translated into French, after which it could freely spread throughout Europe[33].

The new English collections clearly differed from earlier miracle literature in a number of respects. As pointed out above, many of their miracles no longer had any local focus. They were not intended to direct devotion to a specific location, but to a single person, the Virgin Mary, who was available to everyone everywhere[34]. Only in rare cases do these miracles tell of cures or other worldly affairs, although, as noted by William of Malmes-

bury, the Virgin Mary could answer any prayer for material help[35]. Her real concern, however, was spiritual, the care of souls[36].

Also new was the 'clientele' of these miracles. The Catholic Church taught that Christ was a severe and just judge of the world, who on the Day of Judgement would award salvation to the pious and send sinners to damnation. The Virgin Mary, on the other hand, was not a judge, but a mother, who against all moral law was prepared to save even the worst sinner if he only had loved Her in his lifetime and sought her help in his last hour. Accordingly, particularly great sinners and criminals figure along with the poor and helpless in the miracles: 'Through her the whole gay crew of wanton, loving, weak humanity finds its way to paradise'[37].

The emergence of a new cultural phenomenon such as Marian miracle literature inevitably raises the questions of its ultimate reasons: why it first appeared in a specific place and at a specific time; and why, for example, were the general collections compiled in England and at the beginning of the twelfth century?

Considering early-twelfth-century England in general, it appears that the prerequisites of creative activity were especially favourable there. After the difficult early years of the post-Conquest period, a combination of old traditions and new impulses led to a considerable amount of positive synergy invigorating several fields. Both Gothic architecture and the Marian legends were among the products of this age[38].

As pointed out by R.W. Southern, the new factors, however, should not be given too much weight[39]. In England, as on the Continent, the miracles of the Virgin had already been known for a long time. In the early twelfth century the popular piety expressed in them only seemed to be raised to a kind of new level, and accepted as part of literary culture.[40]

The cult of the Virgin and new feasts in her honour continued to be promoted in England even after the Norman Conquest, especially at monasteries with strong old English traditions[41] such as Winchester and Canterbury. In these monasteries, Mary had already had an exceptionally prominent position in Anglo-Saxon times (see above p. 26), giving the new enthusiasm a fertile base upon which to grow. In the person of Anselm of Canterbury, the monasteries found the support of the leading theologian of the day, an influential figure who even before coming to England was known for his pious devotion to the Virgin, and also here the result was a great amount of positive synergy.

The traditional Anglo-Saxon Marian devotion of the English monasteries and Anselm's personal devotion may well have had similar bases. According to Barbara C. Raw, 'Anselm's devotion to Mary is firmly linked to her position as mother of the Saviour. He begs her to intercede for him on the grounds that she brought into the world the one who would intercede for man. He calls on her as the human mother of God made man to help a human sinner'[42]. The same idea is also expressed in the writings of Aelfric (ob. c. 1006), who was trained at Winchester: '(people) should ask Mary to pray for them because Christ, who was the true God and true man and who allowed himself to become man through Mary, will grant her requests'. Aelfric places emphasis on 'Christ's human nature which came to him from Mary, on the connection between the incarnation and the redemption and on Mary's role as intercessor for man'[43]. This role of Mary was thus the solid common denominator of St. Anselm's concepts and Anglo-Saxon thought, and specifically the fundamental issue in the miracles of the Virgin. In view of this, it is by no means surprising that the miracles began to be compiled as separate collections particularly in English monasteries and in the circle close to St. Anselm.

The preceding sheds light on at least one aspect of the chain of events that led to the birth of Marian miracle literature and its rapid diffusion in England. I would claim, however, that this does not sufficiently answer the ultimate question: why did the need for an intercessor between mankind and God become an important issue around the year 1100? In the preceding sections I have suggested that this was because the Gentle Saviour had now become the Stern Judge of mankind, and was duly feared by people. We must also address a question that is essential to the later development of the Marian cult, viz. why this happened.

I would suggest that a key factor in this problem is a change in the concept of judgement and the new fear of death resulting from it.

According to Christian teaching, the ultimate fate of all people, salvation or damnation, is decided at the moment of the Last Judgement. Awaiting the Last Judgement and preparing for it have been – and still are – essential aspects of Christian life. In the Early Church, and at least unofficially for a long time afterwards, the second coming of Christ was assumed to be in the near future. But when years, decades and centuries passed and nothing happened, the Church had to face completely new problems. As there would obviously be an increasingly longer period between the death of an individual and the Last Judgement, it was necessary to address the problem of what happened to the souls of the dead in the meantime. Jacques le Goff has shown how the concept of purgatory gradually evolved to answer this question. Purgatory was a place where men (or rather their souls) who were neither completely good and thus eligible for Heaven, nor completely evil and bound for Hell, could purge themselves of their sins and thus maintain hope of salvation when the End of the World finally dawned.[44]

As this concept evolved, also the idea of the Final Judgement changed. The earlier, collective judgement was now matched by a new, individual judgement, which every individual had to face at his hour of death and whose results determined whether he would be given a new chance or sent straight to Hell[45]. This placed a completely new emphasis on dying, and the specific moment of death.

At first, judgement at the hour of death concerned the whole life of an individual: all the good and bad deeds of an earthly lifetime. These had been duly recorded, first by the angels, and from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards by devils[46], and men were tried in heaven just as they were tried in earthly feudal society[47]. At a later stage, the event of judgement came to centre more and more on the brief moment when the soul fled the body. If at that moment, one could give the right answer, trust in the grace of God, and not fall into despair, one had hope regardless of the magnitude of one's sins during life on earth[48].

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many works on the art of dying were published, demonstrating how terrifyingly crucial the hour of death was for contemporary Christians.[49] The same is also evident in the words of the firebrand preacher Savonarola:

> Man, the devil is playing chess with you, and will try in every way to trap you – check and mate; therefore be prepared, and think hard of this moment, for if you win at this moment, you will win everything else, but if you lose, all that you have done will be worth nothing[50].

The above sources, and also the large number of miracles of the Virgin, show how little weight people gave to their own chances to influence their judgement and how much importance they gave to the aid of the saints and, above all, the Virgin Mary.

The idea of a Last Judgement now further in the future shifted focus from the afterlife to life in this world, and consequently weakened the spirit of *contemptus mundi*. An

increased appreciation of worldly life made departing it more and more difficult, and accordingly death became more fearful[51]. Philippe Ariés claims that this was mainly a problem for men. But it is hard to understand how 'a lack of ambi-tion (!) and lower social status'[52] could have spared women from this aspect of emotional and spiritual distress.

Jacques Le Goff has shown that the concepts of purgatory and the judgement of the individual were symptoms of a much larger change in society, 'of which one key expression was the creation of ternary logical models through the introduction of an intermediate category'[53]. These new ideas also had a profound effect on people as individuals. Many scholars have shown that belief in purgatory was tied to the idea of individual responsibility and free will. Although original sin had made man guilty by nature, he will only be judged for those sins for which he is directly responsible[54]. An independent and responsible individual thus began to emerge from the anonymity of a large collective body. As pointed out by Gert Kaiser, the above events were *entscheidende bewusstseinsgeschichtliche Stationen bei der Herausbildung jenes Bildes von Individuum..., auf das die Neuzeit bis heute stolz ist, und auf dem unsere Vorstellungen von der Würde des Menschen ruhen*[55].

According to Le Goff, the concept of purgatory was finally formulated between 1150 and 1200, but the first signs of the process that led to it had already emerged much earlier[56]. One of these was a changed attitude towards the dead and their incorporation in the liturgy: remembrance of the dead (*memento*) gradually changed, especially from the ninth century, into pleas for intercession for them. These were not collectively read for all deceased persons, but individually and by name, which was a clear sign that death had now become a private, individual matter and that the dead were now imagined to require the assistance of the living and to be reached by it[57].

Around the same time, the importance of the individual was also emphasized by a shift from public confession to private, auricular, confession. This practice apparently came about in the Celtic church of Ireland and Wales in the sixth and seventh centuries, spreading around the ninth century to Continental Europe[58]. In the eleventh century, St. Anselm was a leading proponent of a new kind of individual introspection[59]. A further symptom of change closely connected to confession was a new attitude regarding sin and penance. In this connection, Anselm of Canterbury had a great influence on the theological distinction between willingly and unwillingly committed sins and their consequences[60].

As I am not a theologian, I cannot say whether the marked eschatological emphasis evident in art and other areas of culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England was of local origin, or perhaps influenced by the Celtic church. The fact remains, however, that the dominance of eschatological thinking could already be seen in England before St. Anselm[61]. As pointed out above, Anselm kept well abreast of new currents of thought: the increased importance of the individual and his personal responsibility at the hour of death. In this respect, English thought and Anselm's concepts may well have found common ground and reinforced each other.

3. Miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Late Middle Ages

Miracles of the Virgin became a truly popular genre of literature in the thirteenth century. Collections were compiled and written in all parts of Western Europe[62], and authors freely

combined legends borrowed from different sources. For their own credibility, and for the benefit of later scholars, they often mentioned in detail from whom the legends were cited[63]. In his *Index Miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae latine sunt conscripta* Albert Poncelet lists 1,783 miracle legends[64]. Some of these, however, are quite rare, and only a hundred or so form the nucleus of miracle literature that continually reappeared in various connections[65].

Miracles were garnered not only from other collections but also from other saints; what happened to one person could just as well have happened to another. For example, miracles were 'borrowed' for the Virgin Mary from Ss. Peter and James[66]. A religious order could also adopt miracles experienced by another order to stress its own special relationship with the Virgin Mary. Perhaps one of the best-known of these is a legend of a monk who could not find a single member of his own order in Heaven until the Virgin Mary opened her cloak and said that she had gathered all her dearest friends in its folds. The first to find shelter under Mary's cloak may have been the Cistercians, later followed by the Dominicans and other orders (see p. 93).

In some cases, the author of a collection himself made sure that his miracles received the largest possible audience. Between 1218 and 1227 Gautier de Coincy, Grand Prior of the Benedictine Monastery of St-Medard wrote an extensive collection entitled *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.[67] Highly aware of the importance of his task, he informed his readers that his aim was to create *une poésie religieuse dans un but vraiment moral à fin de combattre le goût de plus en plus effrené du public pour la littérature, efféminée et lascive, des fictions et des fabliaux*[68]. He took special care to disseminate his own works by sending copies of his collection to his secular and ecclesiastical friends[69].

Famous collections were also written by members of other religious orders: the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–124) and the Franciscan Alexander of Hales (ob. 1245), but most notably the Dominicans Étienne of Bourbon (ob. c. 1261), Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264), Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298) and later Jean Hérolt (ob. 1418)[70]. Of most importance for the Nordic countries was Jacobus de Voragine whose *Legenda aurea*, containing Marian miracle legends, was one of the most widely read books of the Middle Ages. 9 copies of it are even known from Finland (p. 61).

A secular person could also initiate a collection. Between 1260 and 1280 King Alfonso X (El Sabio) of Castile and Leon, directed the collection of over four hundred songs of miracles of the Virgin into a work known as *Cantigas de Santa Maria*[71]. – Alfonso was a cultured and learned man of considerable scope; in addition to the *Cantigas*, he left to posterity instructions for preparing yellow stain for stained-glass windows[72]. He is also known to have been interested in mechanical clocks, which were still a rarity in his day[73].

Both as separate collections and as part of other works, miracles of the Virgin remained a popular area of literature until the end of the Middle Ages. Some of these writings will be discussed in further detail in the following sections. Together, these works, both read and recounted in Latin and in the vernacular, and as manuscripts and printed books, 'came to occupy a central and formative position in the imagination of Europe'[74].

B. Miracles of the Virgin Mary in Medieval Nordic Literature

1. The Introduction of Miracles into Scandinavia

It is impossible to say precisely when or by what routes Marian miracle literature came to the Nordic countries.[75] However, present sources suggest that the miracles most probably began their diffusion into Scandinavia around the same time as in other parts of Europe, i.e. the turn of the eleventh century[76]. Because of internal conditions and developments, Iceland, Norway and Denmark may have preceded Sweden in this respect, not to speak of Finland. The diffusion of this novelty most probably relied to a great deal on the monastic orders: mainly the Benedictines and Augustinians in Iceland, Norway and Denmark, and the Cistercians in Sweden.

To my knowledge, the Swedish material does not include a single early manuscript of miracles of the Virgin that is clearly Cistercian in origin, but I would nevertheless assume that this order was significant in spreading them, especially in Sweden. This claim is based above all on the well-known role of the Cistercians in promoting the cult of Mary and the miracle legends closely related to it[77]. In my view, this is also supported by a group of early sculptures of the Virgin Mary, which are assumed to have been spread into the Nordic countries by the Cistercians. If, as assumed, these sculptures were modelled after some famous miracle-working image of the Madonna, legends of miracles of the Virgin must certainly have accompanied the copies to Scandinavia.[78]

The first Cistercian monasteries of Sweden, Denmark and Norway were founded in almost consecutive years: Alvastra in Sweden in 1143 (1144), Herrevad in Scania (Skåne) in 1144, and Lyse in Norway in 1146[79]. During the Catholic era, the Cistercians were the most widespread of all religious orders in Sweden. In the Middle Ages the number of its monasteries rose to thirteen. These included Gudsberga, the northernmost monastery in Sweden.[80] The order was especially prominent in the formation of the ecclesiastical culture of early-medieval Sweden. For example, Sweden's first archbishop, Stefan of Uppsala, was selected from among the Cistercians.[81] If the miracle legends came, as I assume, with the Cistercians, they would already have spread during the thirteenth century throughout the territory of what was then the Swedish realm.

Tryggve Lundén suggests that the Cistercians had only a minor role in educating the common people, as the monks mainly concentrated on their own services and physical labour[82]. However, the Cistercians, like the later Bridgettines, spread the Word of God to the inhabitants of their own localities, although they could not preach outside their communities like the mendicant orders[83]. It was namely possible to build special gate chapels at monasteries, where the monks could preach to laymen on Sundays and other feast days[84].

The situation in Norway was somewhat different. Here, Cistercians were able to rise to important administrative office, but the order itself never gained the same importance as in Sweden or Denmark[85]. In addition to the Cistercians, Norway had several Benedictine communities[86], but the main influence on the ecclesiastical and cultural life of the country in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries came from the Augustinians, and particularly the Victorines, who had originated among them.

The Monastery of St. Victor, the original seat of the Victorines, was founded in 1108 by Guillaume de Champeux, Arch-Deacon of Notre-Dame of Paris. Guillaume was one of the leading scholastics of the day, and a teacher at the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame.[87] Three early-medieval archbishops of Norway – Öystein (1160–88), Eirik (1189–1205) and Tore (1206–14) – and Bishop Tore of Hamar had contacts with this monastery. The three archbishops led the church of Norway for over half a century, this period being 'the most significant and exceptional' one for the Catholic Church in Norway[88]. Also Norwegian secular notables were able, via intermediaries, to benefit from the culture and learning taught at the monastery's school, which represented the highest level of education of its day[89].

According to Johnsen, there is evidence to show that Norwegians obtained literature via the Monastery of St. Victor[90]. Ole Widding, with reference to well-known manuscripts preserved at the Monastery, in turn assumes that the Marian legends already came to Norway by this route before the year 1200. The oldest known manuscripts containing miracles of the Virgin that were translated into a Nordic language are from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but Widding suggests that the first translations were already written in the preceding century[91]. The Victorines would thus have had an early and important role in propagating the miracle legends in Norway.

Widding also mentions that the oldest miracle legends to appear in a Nordic language[92] were mostly translations of relatively small collections anonymously compiled in the Anglo-Norman area in the twelfth century[93]. Contacts between this region and Norway were also mediated by the Cistercians, who had come to Norway from England. Also the Victorines had contacts with the British Isles; Richard of St. Victor, who directed the monastery's school at least in the 1150s and 1160s (possibly until 1172), was of Scottish birth[94], and it was under him that the future archbishops Eirik and Tore studied[95].

The dissemination of the miracle stories by monks is also described in some Marian legends. For example, Unger's *Mariu Saga* (Saga of Mary) contains the legend *Af salutationibus varrar fru* (On Salutations to Our Lady)[96]. The main character of this story is an unnamed Norwegian Cistercian brother, who visits another monastery of the order. There he reads a legend of the miraculous way mankind received knowledge of Mary's five greetings. Good intentions to the contrary, he forgets to write a verbatim copy of the legend (*at taka letrlikt transkriptum*). After returning to his own monastery at Lyse, however, he tells others of what he has read, and the abbot then asks him nevertheless to write down the legend, which he does, 'for the honour of the Virgin Mary and the salvation of all souls'[97].

In Norway, we thus have indications of both Victorines and Cistercians propagating Marian legends. The Cistercians never spread their activities to Iceland, but, as pointed out by Selma Jonsdottir, their influence was nevertheless felt there[98].

As in Norway, the Benedictines and Augustinians had the greatest influence in Iceland, having arrived there already in the twelfth century. Both orders extended their work as far as Greenland[99]. According to Gallén, the Augustinians, however, became Iceland's leading religious order. They, too, are known to have had contacts with the Monastery of St. Victor; among others, St. Torlak, the patron saint of the island, studied there. Both the Benedictine and the Augustinian monasteries of Iceland were the sites of significant literary activity[100].

In eleventh- and twelfth-century Iceland, however, education was not only the privilege of clerics. Unlike in other Nordic countries, the secular rulers and lords of Iceland

had often received an education, either in foreign institutions or in the schools that were established in Iceland at an early stage.[101] Here, the awareness of Catholic culture and a love of books spread among exceptionally large sectors of the population, also including women.[102]

The Cistercians had no permanent foothold in Finland, any more than other early religious orders had; and we do not know whether they even tried to establish one. Considering the conditions prevailing in Finland in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it seems most likely that a foothold was not even considered. In spite of the fact that in a part of the country (the *Vakkasuomi* region of Western Finland) Christianity had already been generally known and accepted since the eleventh century, the Catholic church had to face considerable difficulties in other areas even as late as the thirteenth century. The papal *Ex tuarum* bull from 1209 observes that Finland had had a bishop, but no one had been found to carry on his work. This was attributed to the opinion that whoever was chosen would not find himself in a position of honour, but would risk a martyr's death[103].

Even if conditions had been more peaceful, Finland apparently could not have provided the economic support necessary for establishing monasteries. There was most probably no upper class that could have ensured the Cistercians the landed property necessary for beginning their work. There is no evidence in Finland, for example, of the Germanic *Eigenkirche* system, which elsewhere was especially characteristic of the affluent landowning upper classes.

The Cistercians nevertheless engaged in some kind of activity in Finland. This is evidenced in a letter of January 1229 from Pope Gregory IX to the Bishop of Linköping, the Dean of Visby, and the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Gutnalia. The letter commissions these men to study the proposal of Finland's (English-born) Bishop Thomas for moving the seat of the diocese (from Nousiainen) to a more appropriate site (at Koroinen). They were also empowered to approve the relocation on behalf of the Pope, and to act as his representatives in providing support for the church in Finland[104]. Such decisions could not be made without thorough knowledge of local conditions. A further indication of Cistercian activity in Finland is the country's oldest surviving work of sculpture, the Madonna of Korppoo (Fig. 10), which is dated c. 1200 and belongs to the above-discussed group of early sculptures of the Virgin Mary[105]. The Cistercians are known to have been enthusiastic missionaries in the twelfth century in the areas south of the Baltic[106], and it would thus seem natural that they would have tried to operate in a similar manner also in Finland. Because of extremely limited sources, it is impossible to obtain a more detailed view of Cistercian activity in Finland.

2. Literature Preserved in the Nordic Countries

a. Norway/Iceland

There is no comprehensive account of the 'legends of the Virgin' (Unger's term for the miracle legends) that were known in the Nordic countries in the Middle Ages. Only part of the material, the legends in the vernacular in medieval Norwegian/Icelandic manuscripts, has been published more or less completely[107]. This considerable task was carried out by C.R. Unger between 1868 and 1871[108].

Fig. 10. The Korppoo Madonna, c. 1200. National Museum of Finland, Helsinki.

Unger classes the published material into two, or more precisely three, categories: an older, smaller collection *hvis Optegnelse maa vaere samtidig med selve Sagaens Bearbeidelse* (which may have been recorded at the same time as the saga itself was compiled); a younger and larger collection; and a third and latest collection containing a selection of legends of the second group[109]. Ole Widding proposes a slightly different grouping: '1. classical legends, which are the oldest group; 2. legends whose themes may be classical but in Latinized language and a post-classical style; 3. legends of the post-classical form, especially following the texts of later writers'. Widding's group 1 broadly corresponds to Unger's group I, while the other groups clearly differ from each other[110].

Unger's division of the material into an older and younger group is relative; he discusses absolute dates only in connection with individual manuscripts. Widding's groups also lack precise dates, but they have clearer chronological bases than those outlined by Unger.

The legends of Widding's group 1 are for the most part translations from relatively small, anonymous legend collections that came about in the Anglo-Norman area in the twelfth century, the time when miracle legends first began to be collected.[111] Group 2 contains legends of the so-called *Florissante* style, which was much used in late-thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century Europe[112]. The legends of group 3 are in turn mostly translations from large collections in Latin, which are of a later date than group 1 and were often compiled by a single person known by name[113]. The texts in each group are direct, and separate, translations of foreign originals, not adaptations of older translated material[114]. The Marian legends were thus translated again and again, each time a suitable original text became available.

Widding assumes that the Marian legends were first translated into Nordic languages as early as the late twelfth century[115]. The earliest surviving manuscripts, however, are from the following century, the oldest being from the beginning of the 1200s[116]. According to Widding, the manuscripts MarDx and MarE, belonging to the later groups, contain the largest collections of Marian legends ever written in any vernacular European language[117]. An often-quoted item of information in the register of MarE, mentions that the vernacular translation of this major collection was commissioned by King Haakon Magnusson of Norway (reigned 1299–1319), the husband of Queen Eufemia, famous for the so-called Eufemia songs. Unger does not seem to doubt this information[118]. This means that the Norwegian court of the early fourteenth century had considerable interest not only in secular literature but also in the Queen of Heaven.

According to both Unger and Widding, the large number of manuscripts and their legends clearly indicate the wide popularity of this genre of literature in medieval Norway and Iceland[119], and also 'the joy of the Icelanders in translating or collecting all with which they came into contact'[120].

b. Sweden

There is no overview of the miracles of the Virgin that were known in medieval Sweden, and information on them must be gathered from several different sources. The literature on the subject is quite extensive, and a comprehensive study of it was not possible in this connection. Nor do I know how many miracle legends are contained in still unpublished manuscripts. It is thus impossible to cover the whole material in the following overview; my aim is only to outline the general features of this genre of literature and its popularity in Sweden.

Owing to close contacts between the convents of Vadstena and Naantali, information on books and manuscripts originally kept at Vadstena is of special importance for Finland.

As elsewhere in Europe, miracles of the Virgin have been preserved in Sweden both as independent collections and as part of other works. One of the oldest and most significant of these is the so-called *Fornsvenska legendariet* (Old Swedish Legendary), a chronologically ordered collection of legends from the earliest days of Christianity to the mid-thirteenth century, appended with information on leading secular and ecclesiastical rulers[121].

The author of the *Fornsvenska legendariet* is not known. It was, however, dedicated to St. Dominic[122], which has led to assumptions that it was written by a Dominican in one of Sweden's medieval convents of this order. The content and cited sources suggest 1276 as

the earliest possible year of writing, and 1307 as the last possible date. Most of the subject matter is from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*; the historical sections are from Martinus Oppaviensis' *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, written in 1276[123].

The *Fornsvenska legendariet* begins with a section on the life of the Virgin Mary, consisting of the parts of the *Legenda aurea* dealing with the four Marian feasts of the Nativity, the Annunciation, Candlemas, and the Assumption. Added to these are seventeen legends of miracles of the Virgin[124].

According to Valter Jansson, the *Fornsvenska legendariet* was of central importance to religious literature in medieval Sweden. Among other works, the highly popular *Siaelinna thrøst* (Solace for the Soul), which was composed in the Late Middle Ages, received many influences in both content and style from the *Fornsvenska legendariet*[125].

A considerably greater number of miracles of the Virgin is contained in a work known as *Järteckensbok* (Book of Portents), written at Vadstena in 1385[126]. This is the only old Swedish miracle collection presently existing in the country, and according to Oloph Odenius, it is based on a Latin original, which belonged to one of Sweden's Franciscan convents, possibly at Linköping or Söderköping. At Vadstena, the subsequently lost original was rewritten according to the monastery's needs, omitting all obvious Franciscan elements[127]. Of the 192 miracles in the work, sixty-six concern the Virgin Mary, many of them related only briefly. In a large number of cases, the purpose of these stories was to underline the importance of a certain Marian antiphon, or some other form of prayer[128].

Also from Vadstena was the above-mentioned *Siaelinna thrøst*[129], whose subsequently lost original manuscript was possibly written there around the year 1420[130]. *Siaelinna thrøst* is a translation based on a fourteenth-century German work known as *(Der Grosse) Seelentrost*[131]. This book was composed from several different sources, chronicles and other historical works, oral tradition etc. Its unknown compiler may possibly have belonged to the Dominican order.[132]

The author of *Siaelinna thrøst*, who also remains unknown, not only copied the older German text, but made several additions, many of which are from older works at the Convent of Vadstena, e.g. the *Fornsvenska legendariet* and the *Järteckensbok*[133]. He also added his own texts, including a prayer to the Virgin Mary[134].

The Swedish *Siaelinna thrøst* also contains the Ten Commandments, explained with various Biblical stories and secular legends, including miracles. The miracles of the Virgin are in connection with the Third Commandment; most of them, ten exemplars, forming a separate section at the end of the chapter. According to Henning, all the miracle legends, except for one of a man who denied Christ but did not wish to reject the Virgin Mary, are from the *Seelentrost*. This legend was apparently copied by the translator from the *Järteckensbok*[135]. Both the prayer added by the author and the miracle itself underline Mary's great importance as the intercessor of mankind.

Only one complete manuscript of the *Siaelinna thrøst* (Cod. Holm. A 108) is known; it was probably written at the Convent of Vadstena between 1438 and 1442, and possibly as a direct copy of the original[136]. We do not known the identity of the copyist, but it has been assumed that he was a Finnish Swede and either active at Vadstena, or in some other close contact with the convent[137]. This work appears, however, to have been quite popular, as larger and smaller parts of it are found as copies in several Swedish and Danish manuscripts[138].

In addition to the above-mentioned works, the Convent of Vadstena had several other manuscripts of miracles of the Virgin. The *Copia exemplorum*[139] by Master Mathias, St.

Bridget's confessor, contained a chapter on Mary with 66 exempla that was exceptionally extensive in comparison with other sections of the book[140]. Two miracle collections were acquired for the convent from a large book fair held in connection with the Council of Constance (1414–1418)[141]. The convent's library also contained a manuscript written in Västmanland around the year 1462[142], citing as the source of several legends a work called *Mariale magnum*. (This book is mentioned by several authors, but so far remains unidentified.) The collection includes a number of Cistercian-related miracles which are otherwise known solely from a thirteenth-century English manuscript[143].

Also the Vadstena A 3 legendary (c. 1502) and the Linköping legendary contain a few miracles of the Virgin. All four miracles in the Vadstena collection are connected to the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, which, as a later canonical feast, was not included in the *Legenda aurea* or the *Fornsvenska legendariet*. The purpose of these miracles was to emphasize in a tangible way the importance of celebrating this feast[144]. The Linköping legendary, in turn, contains an extensive version of the miracle legend of a knight and a maid called Mary.[145]

A few miracles of the Virgin also appear in completely different contexts. Both the *Eufemiavisehandskrift* D4[146] and D3[147] manuscripts include Marian material such as miracles. Manuscript D4 contains a miracle legend apparently written in the Nordic countries, featuring a play on words based on the Nordic words (*sne* + *melk* = clemens)[148].

Even in the light of the above general overview it seems evident that miracles of the Virgin were as popular in Sweden as elsewhere in Europe. Manuscripts of miracles were both acquired from abroad and copied in Sweden: the oldest (such as the *Fornsvenska legendariet*) apparently as early as the thirteenth century and the latest at the very end of the Middle Ages. The collections contain legends of Cistercian, Franciscan and Dominican origin, and, as pointed out above, also legends from the Nordic countries.

A considerable number of the preserved manuscripts are from the Convent of Vadstena, where miracles of the Virgin appear to have been a subject of particular interest. This may partly be due to an error of perspective following from the preservation of an exceptionally large number of books in the library at Vadstena, but even this fortuitous development does not completely explain the situation. Although the Late Middle Ages as a whole saw the flourishing of the cult of Mary, the Virgin enjoyed a special position in the Bridgettine order. Bridget herself had nurtured an exceptionally warm and close spiritual relationship with the Virgin Mary, who aided and supported her throughout her life. In her visions, Bridget in turn felt herself to experience the joys and sorrows of Mary. Mary as an omnipotent helper of men and a forgiving mother is a guiding principle in Bridget's writings, and miracles were a natural part of this assistance[149].

Miracle collections were much used in the Bridgettine community, both within the convent as reading for the nuns, and in preaching to laity, an important duty of the Bridgettine brothers[150]. Similar work was of course carried out by other religious orders and the secular clergy[151], but unfortunately information on the literature in their possession is not as detailed[152].

3. Marian Miracle Literature in Finland

In studying the extent and use of literature on miracles of the Virgin in medieval Finland we are faced with a completely different selection of sources than in the other Nordic

countries. We have extremely scant information on medieval monastery libraries; the only preserved material mainly concerns the Bridgettine Convent in Naantali. We know nothing of the library treasures of Finland's Dominicans and Franciscans, and very little of the books that belonged to the Cathedral of Turku in the Middle Ages. In addition to information on books owned by a few individuals – a donation of books by Bishop Thomas of Turku to the Dominicans of Sigtuna before the year 1248, a donation by Bishop Hemming of Turku to the Cathedral c. 1354, and the will of Schoolmaster Henrik Tempiläinen (1355)[153] – most of our information on books and literature in medieval Finland is provided by the so-called fragment collection of the Helsinki University Library. This collection consists of pages and leaves found in the bound covers of ledgers used by the bailiffs of King Gustav Vasa. There are some 10,000 individual pages in the collection, in which parts of approximately 1,500 different works have been identified[154]. Unfortunately, this material remains – 150 years after the first attempts at studying it[155] – partly unorganized, and for the most part unpublished. A separate project would be required to research this material for any possible literature on miracles of the Virgin.

According to Odenius, almost all the important collections of miracles and exempla that were current in Europe were also known in Sweden[156]. Considering the fact that Finnish priests studied in the same foreign universities as their Scandinavian colleagues and that the main Nordic orders of the Late Middle Ages, the Dominicans, Franciscans and Bridgettines, extended their influence to Finland as part of their international networks, it is natural to assume that Finland, though a periphery, received its share of contemporary literature, including miracles of the Virgin. The surviving material, albeit modest, shows that this was the case.

The Helsinki University Library's fragment collection includes parts of at least two works containing miracles of the Virgin. Neither is a miracle collection as such; they are samples of the above-mentioned sources of exempla and miracle literature. One of these is the *Legenda aurea* by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine. According to Aarno Malin (Maliniemi), the fragments include nine codices which can be identified as parts of this work, and it is thus the most common non-liturgical work of hagiography in the collection[157]. The oldest discovered fragment is from the late thirteenth – early fourteenth centuries, while the latest specimens are from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries[158]. These works came to Finland from Italy, France and Germany, some possibly as copies made in the Nordic countries. According to Malin, notes written on the pages suggest that one of the manuscripts was used in the Turku region, one in Ostrobothnia, and one in South Häme (Tavastia)[159], all indicating that this work was known and used throughout the whole 'stone church' area of the country. That the *Legenda aurea* was known in Häme by the end of the Middle Ages at the latest is indicated by another source. Between 1554 and 1556, Johannes Paul Montigena, the former vicar of Hof near Vadstena, was imprisoned in Hämeenlinna Castle because of his pro-Catholic views. Montigena recalled that during his imprisonment similarly-minded priests of the nearby regions lent him eighteen Catholic sermon books in Latin, including the *Legenda aurea*[160].

The *Legenda aurea*, or more precisely *Legenda sanctorum per anni circuitum venientium*, also known as *Historia* (*sanctorum*) *longobardica*, is one of the most widely read books in the history of European literature. First issued in the late thirteenth century, this work is known in over a thousand preserved manuscripts and in more early printed versions than the Bible[161]; by 1500 it had appeared in over 70 Latin printings and in

several published versions in the vernacular[162]. It was also very popular in the other Nordic countries; in Sweden it is already mentioned in a donation by will in 1291; and in 1369 the Library of the Archbishop's Residence in Uppsala had as many as four copies of it.[163]

The fragment collection of Helsinki University also contains the remains of another work by Jacobus de Voragine, the sermon book *Mariale sive sermones de B. Maria Virgine*[164]. I do not know, however, if this book also contained miracle legends.

Speculum historiale by Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1194–c. 1264), which contains miracle legends of the Virgin, has also been identified in the Helsinki University Library collection. Fragments of this work have been preserved in three different manuscripts. One of these was used for at least a century in the Diocese of Troyes before being brought to Finland[165]. *Speculum naturale et morale*, by the same author, was also known in Finland[166].

The works of St. Bridget were naturally read in medieval Finland, and also those of her confessor Master Mathias. Of Bridget's revelations, part of *Liber* VI and a fragment of a register added to the end of the series have survived, indicating that the whole series had existed in Finland[167]. On the other hand, I do not know if the above-mentioned *Copia exemplorum* can be identified among the fragments.

The surviving works of medieval literature cannot give an adequate picture of how widely known the miracles of the Virgin were in Finland. Fortunately, literary sources can be complemented with folklore material. The collections of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society contain notes on at least one miracle of the Virgin of clearly medieval origin that has been passed on in oral tradition. It is the well-known story of the painter and the devil, briefly summarized as follows:

Working in a church, a painter once painted the images of the Virgin Mary and the devil. He portrayed the Virgin as beautiful as possible, and the devil as ugly as he could. The devil, who was offended by this, demanded that the painter make him look more beautiful. But the painter refused, whereupon the devil tore down the scaffolding. Starting to fall, the painter called out in horror to the Virgin Mary for help, and at that moment the picture of Mary that he had painted extended her hand and held on to the painter, until people in the church could help him down.

The legend of the painter and the devil was very popular in the Middle Ages. According to Oloph Odenius, it appears not only in the early Cistercian *Mariale magnum*, but also in at least ten other leading collections of exempla. These include the above-mentioned *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais and works by the following authors: Caesarius of Heisterbach (ob. c. 1244), Eudes of Cheriton (ob. 1247 at the latest), Steven of Bourbon (ob. 1261), Johannes of Garlandia (living 1245), Alfonso X of Spain (ob. 1248), Johannes Gobius Junior (living c. 1350), Johannes of Bromyard (ob. 1390), Jean Herolt (ob. 1468), Aegidius Aurifaber (ob. 1466), and Pelbartus Oswaldi de Themeswar (living 1496). It even appears to have been known in Ethiopia in the Middle Ages, and was later translated into Arabic.[168]

The oldest known version of the legend is contained in Cod. 903 of the Arsenal Library in Paris. This text is dated to the twelfth century, but the original may be older. Odenius claims that the miracle legend could first have been composed or told by Bishop Fulbertus of Paris (c. 950–1028), who was especially prominent in promoting the Marian cult in the Middle Ages. According to tradition, it is claimed that he was in Mary's special favour, because he was once cured of a severe illness by the Virgin's own milk[169].

From a very early stage, two versions of the miracle have existed, differing slightly in their details. In the old French texts, the main character is a painter-monk engaged in decorating the portal of a monastery church; in other versions a painter from outside the monastery, working inside the church[170]. In some variants, e.g. *Scala celi* written by Johannes Gobius in the fourteenth century, the miracle is staged before several witnesses[171]. In a few cases, the miracle merges with another one in which the devil goes on tempting the painter and leads him into difficulties by inducing him to steal the church silver, so that the Virgin Mary has to save him again[172].

Vincent of Beauvais, whose above-mentioned version of the legend was known in Finland, places the events in Flanders and divides the story into two parts. In the first scene, the devil appears to the painter in the night. He angrily reproaches the painter for painting him so ugly, and does not accept the painter's arguments and warns him against continuing, which only makes the painter more eager to try his best. The second scene follows a few days later:

> 'The painter was painting the Blessed Virgin (and Child) in the portico of a certain church, and gave to the subject as much glory and honour as his art could convey. Under the feet of the Virgin he drew the devil, in the darkest colours, and of the most vile appearance, and as was proper for the prince of shame and darkness. He prayed, and received inspiration to paint for the glory of Christ and His Mother and to the confession of the fiend. He set up his scaffold, placed boards across it, and set to work. He was painting the devil as a vile monster when behold a great wind shook his scaffolding and flung it to the ground and all his tools with it. Feeling everything giving way beneath him, in desperation he stretched out his heart and his hands to the image on the wall. Then, wonder to relate, as he raised his arms, the hand of the image descended, and grasped his hand and held him up. Then all those round about praised Christ and his Mother, and mocked and jeered at the devil for the failure of his trick'[173].

The oral tradition of Finnish folklore has preserved at least three versions of this miracle with slight variations in details. A legend recorded at Jalasjärvi in South Ostrobothnia relates:

> 'It's been said that there are many paintings in the Church of Virrat, and lots of pictures of the devil, too. And the devil was so angry at having so many of his pictures painted in the church that he went and pulled the painter down'[174].

The following version is known from Iisalmi in Northern Savo:

> 'A medieval painter was painting pictures of saints and devils in the 300-year-old Church of Iisalmi. The devil appeared to him just as he took his brush to paint a picture of the devil. The devil said to the painter: "Now don't picture me worse than I am, they sometimes even do me wrong when they paint the devil". And so the painter got the devil himself as the model for his painting'.[175]

The third variant, recorded at Viljakkala in Pirkanmaa, Häme, is as follows:

> 'Long ago, when the Church of Ruovesi was being built. A painter painted Bible scenes inside the church, and finally a picture of the devil outside the church door. The very first night after the picture had been painted, the devil came and rubbed it all off. The painter painted the picture again in the daytime, but the devil came back in the night and once again erased it. When the painter painted the devil for the third time, the devil came to him and said: "I know I'm pretty ugly, but you make me look even worse.' But the devil did not wipe out the painting this time.'[176]

Common to all these variants, and similar legends from Sweden, is the absence of the Virgin Mary (and thus the whole miracle) from the legend. In the Finnish versions, as also in Sweden, the devil is not angered by being portrayed uglier than Mary, but by being shown more hideous than necessary, and in too many pictures[177]. In other respects, the different versions have preserved various details of the original legend. The Jalasjärvi variant still mentions the devil dropping the painter from the scaffolding, while the two other stories retain part of the dialogue between the painter and the devil. The legend

recorded at Viljakkala even contains a detail from the oldest known medieval version: the location of the painting (the portal, i.e. outside the door). Viewed together, these variants give a fairly comprehensive picture of the original details, the only exception being the miracle theme, which was wiped out by the Reformation.[178]

In his studies of corresponding Swedish material, Oloph Odenius has observed that the tradition of the painter and the devil appears to be restricted to a relatively limited part of West Sweden[179]. The Finnish distribution suggests a clearly different situation: the three variants known to me represent, albeit in very small numbers, almost the whole country: East Finland, West Finland and Central/Southern Finland. If we were to attempt some kind of conclusion regarding the popularity of Marian miracle legends in early times, we could observe that at least this legend seems to have been known throughout the whole of medieval Finland.

The legend of the painter and the devil already appeared in the twelfth century as a sermon exemplum in a collection entitled *sermones de tempore*. It has the same function in a codex in the library of the Convent of Vadstena[180]. This collection of sermons dates from the end of the fifteenth century. It was written by Nicolaus Ragvaldi, who was ordained as a monk in holy orders at the convent in 1476, and serving as its general confessor between 1501 and 1506 and from 1511 to 1514, when he died. He most probably spent the main part of his life in his own convent. Ragvaldi appears to have made only one longer journey in his whole lifetime: in 1506–1508 to visit and carry out reforms at the Bridgettine Convent of Pirita in Estonia, where he was also confessor. According to Maliniemi, we can assume that on this journey Ragvaldi also visited the convent at Naantali, although this is not mentioned in documentary sources[181].

Nicolaus Ragvaldi was known not only as a Swedish author and translator of Latin works into Swedish but also as one of the most prolific sermon-writers of his day[182]. It is quite likely that his sermons were also known in Naantali, though it is not certain if he visited the convent there. This possibility is suggested by several facts. First of all, close contacts were maintained between Naantali and the mother convent mainly by monks visiting each other. These visits were sometimes very long. For example, Johannes Bernardi, the first prior of the Convent of Naantali, went back to Vadstena on his own leave in the summer of 1443, staying there throughout the following winter and not returning to Naantali until the April the following year[183]. While staying at Vadstena, the monks of Naantali could hear local preachers and study the literature in the convent library, which contained thousands of sermons alone[184]. Furthermore, the monks in holy orders sent from Vadstena to Naantali were also required to preach, and many of the friars who went to Finland were well-known preachers[185]. According to Maliniemi, it is possible that these visitors also rewrote their sermons in Latin for the library of the convent, where they were then available to all the brothers[186].

Sermon literature as such also spread from one convent or monastery to another. Vadstena especially tried to promote preaching by lending literature from its own ample stores to other convents[187]. According to Maliniemi, the Convent of Vadstena also lent sermon collections to nearby vicars[188]. There is also information that Naantali received works of literature from the mother convent. A letter from 1448 refers to books sent from Vadstena to Naantali, specifically mentioning a paper-written volume of sermons by brother Johannes Petri of Vadstena. The letter also mentions a collection of sermon exempla on parchment, which was only on loan at Naantali. According to Maliniemi, there were also other, similar cases[189]. In view of this background it seems more than

probable that the writings of the general confessor of the order's main convent, who was a well-known and recognized preacher, were also known in Naantali. The possibility is even greater when we take into account that a close relative of Nicolaus, Anna Nilsdotter who was ordained as a nun at Vadstena in 1495 was among those persons who moved to the Convent of Naantali in 1509, after 36 brothers and sisters had died of the plague there[190]. We must remember in this connection that Bridgettine nuns also copied manuscripts, and the sisters sent from Vadstena to Naantali were persons known as copyists and transcribers[191].

Preaching was of great overall importance for the Bridgettine convents. The order's regulations, *Regula Salvatoris*, stress that the duty of a monk in holy orders is to hold public sermons in the vernacular on Sundays and major feast days of the church. The charter of the Convent of Naantali[192] refers to the desire to establish a convent in Finland for the spiritual care of the common people, and the suitability of the Bridgettines for this purpose, as they are more concerned with preaching and confession than other orders[193]. According to Maliniemi, it is thus certain that the monastic community at Naantali also preached in the vernacular, although there are only a few references to this in the scant sources available[194]. We know of at least one case when a monk of the Naantali convent, the above-mentioned Johannes Bernardi, preached outside its walls, giving five sermons at the Cathedral of Turku at the invitation of the Diocese Chapter. Maliniemi suggests that these were most probably sermons in the vernacular delivered to the throng that gathered at the Cathedral for the Feast of St. Henry[195].

IV. MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN THE VISUAL ARTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A. The Finnish paintings

1. A Descriptive Review of the Material

Churches

The Church of Hattula

The old Church of Hattula is in many respects exceptional among Finland's medieval churches. In addition to the Cathedral and the long-since demolished Dominican Convent in Turku, it is the only medieval church in Finland that was built of brick. All the other medieval churches in the country are of greystone, or granite, brick being used only in certain details and in the vaults. The exact date of construction of the Church of Hattula is not known; estimates vary from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the 1420s[1]. Also the plan of the church differs from the normal configuration. Here, the basic elements of Finnish medieval churches – the nave and the choir, the porch adjoining the nave on the south side, and the sacristy on the north side – form a plan in the shape of a Latin cross. In most other churches, the porch is closer to the west end, and the sacristy is closer to the east end. Excavations carried out in 1987 in connection with the renovation of the porch showed that this plan was the original one, and was deliberately designed. The Church of Hattula was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and it is possible that the cross-shaped plan was linked with this cult. The church was a pilgrimage site of the cult, and as such it was known even outside Finland[2].

The interior of the Church of Hattula is divided into three naves of four vaults each. The paintings of the miracles of the Virgin are in vaults II and III of the south nave. In nave II the Marian motifs occupy all the cells or compartments of the vault surface, while in vault III there are two other themes in which Mary does not appear, but they seem to have been placed deliberately in connection with the Marian motifs.

The Church of Lohja

The Church of Lohja, Finland's third-largest greystone church, is considerably more spacious than its counterpart at Hattula. Its exact time of construction is also unknown, but the most recent estimate places it in the last quarter of the fifteenth century[3]. The outer configuration of the church corresponds to the above-described basic Finnish model. The interior is divided in the normal manner into three naves, each of which has five vaulted bays. Also at Lohja, the paintings of the miracles of the Virgin are in the vaults of the south nave, but are divided among more vaults than at Hattula, i.e. in vaults II, III, IV and V. As at Hattula, two paintings of a different theme are located in connection with the

paintings of miracles of the Virgin.

Owing to differences in the size and dimensions of the churches, the vault cells at Hattula and Lohja differ in shape. At Hattula, all vault sections are of almost equal size, and the cells are of evenly narrow and high shape. At Lohja, vault sections I, II and V are considerably longer than sections III and IV, whose total length is approximately the same as each of the first-mentioned sections measured alone. Because of this, the height-to-breadth ratio of the sections varies considerably. However, the vault cells in the Church of Lohja are all wider and lower than at Hattula, which had an inevitable effect on the execution of the painted motifs. The painter or painters at Lohja thus had to spread the various parts of the composition over a wider area than the painters at Hattula, or they had to choose from their models other depictions, better suited to the shape of the pictorial field. At least to some degree the often more compact composition and mood of the Hattula paintings may have been caused by necessity: the limitations of a narrow and high field.

The paintings

Presented in the following section are the various motifs of the paintings in the order in which they occur in the Church of Hattula. Mentioned first are the motifs of the Virgin found in both churches, followed by miracle paintings occurring only at Hattula. Listed third are miracles exclusive to Lohja; and fourth, other depictions placed in connection with the miracles in both churches. To help the reader orientate, the various paintings will be discussed mainly under the names with they are described in the literature, although some of these are given in quotation marks. The exact locations of the paintings in the churches are shown in Appendix 1.

a. Mater misericordiae

In both churches, the series of Mary paintings in the vaults of the south nave begin with a painting which does not directly belong to the miracle themes, but is nevertheless placed together with them. This is the so-called Madonna of Mercy (*Schutzmantelmadonna*), or *Mater misericordiae*. In addition to Hattula and Lohja, the same motif also appears in the churches of Kalanti, Parainen and Taivassalo.

At *Hattula* (Fig. 11), Mary is in the centre of the cell with her hair open and hands extended diagonally to the sides. She is wearing a long-sleeved gown that extends to the ground, with a folded front part. Around her waist is a belt with a buckle. In the medieval manner, the end of the belt hangs freely. The gown is decorated with a stencilled pattern creating the impression of an expensive brocade. A gown with the same stencilled pattern is also worn by the Virgin in four other paintings at Hattula (the Aquitanian Youth, the Painter and the Devil, the Coronation of Mary, and the Virgin Mary and People at Prayer). A gown with this decoration was thus deliberately used as a 'role costume' to help viewers identify her in different paintings. Mary also wears a full-length cloak on her shoulders and shoes on her feet.

Under the arms and cloak of the Virgin is a group of naked people, three on the (heraldic) left, and six on the right. These figures are depicted quite stereotypically and without any indication of gender. All have long hair and arms crossed over the breast.

Fig. 11. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

Fig. 12. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

The basic elements of the Madonna of Mercy at *Lohja* (Fig. 12) are the same as in the Hattula painting, but these depictions vary in their details. The Lohja painting clearly shows how the shape of the field (triangular at Hattula, but mainly rectangular at Lohja) extends the composition to the sides. Mary is depicted in the centre of a cell with arms extended from the shoulders into a gesture embracing the whole world, and her cloak opens into the background like a sail, sheltering a large number of naked, genderless people – eleven on the (heraldic) left and twelve on the right.

As at Hattula, Mary is dressed in a long gown with folds, which here is decorated with stars and not stencilled patterns. The distinctive feature of the Lohja Mary is a blue cloak, appearing in several paintings. The present colour of the paintings is so faded that it is impossible to say if the same blue was used in the garments of other figures, or if this traditional colour of Mary's cloak was reserved for her[4].

At both Lohja and Hattula, the naked figures are similarly depicted, with a sack-like body and the anatomical details of the stomach parts given in special crossing lines.

The Churches of Kalanti and Parainen

As at Hattula and Lohja, the *Mater misericordiae* paintings in the churches of Kalanti and Parainen are in the south nave, but in the first and not the second vault, and specifically in the east cell of the vault, i.e. directly facing the assembled congregation. These paintings, however, differ in composition from those at Hattula and Lohja. At Kalanti and Parainen, Mary in prayer for the sake of mankind is figured together with Christ who is portrayed as the Man of Sorrows, thus giving the depiction three stages: Mary addressing her requests to Christ, who carries them on to God the Father, who duly responds.

At *Kalanti* (Fig. 13) Mary is depicted in the lower left corner of the composition. Half-turned towards the viewer, she kneels before Christ, touching her bare breast with her left hand and lifting her cloak with her right hand. The lifted cloak reveals a large group of

Fig. 13. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Kalanti. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

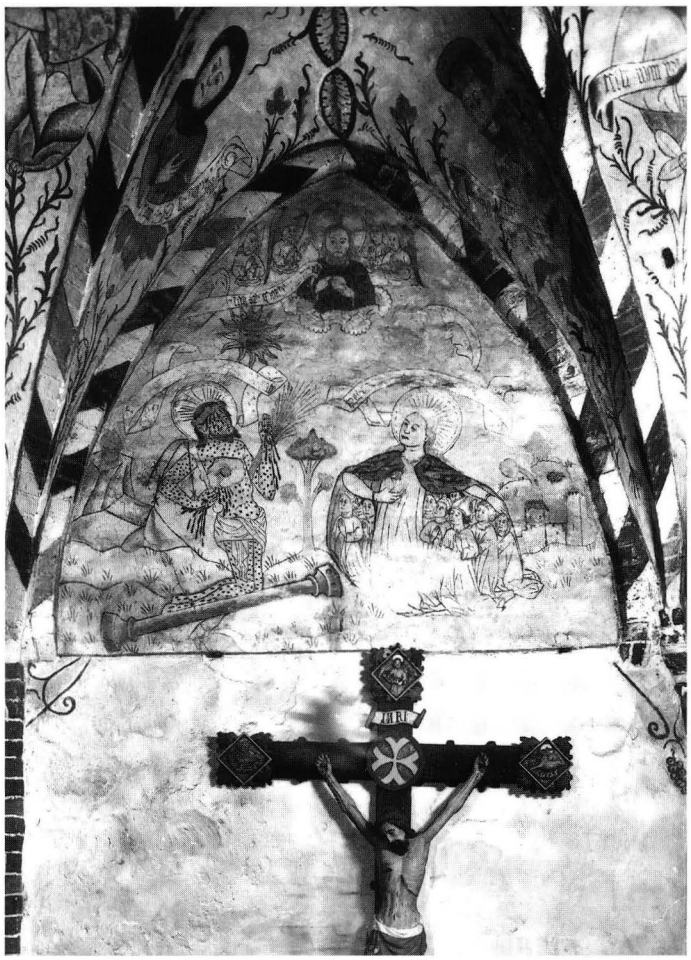

Fig. 14. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Parainen. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

kneeling human figures. In the right corner of the composition a bloodied figure of Christ kneels with a whip and a bunch of twigs in his hand. His finger points to a wound in his breast. Under Christ's knees is the column to which he was bound for whipping. The figures of Mary and Christ are placed on a ground with alluded tufts of grass and a small tree. In the upper corner of the composition is God, leaning with his arms on a cloud-like border. Long bands of text run between the figures: first from Mary to Christ, then from Christ to God, and finally from God back to Christ. Traces surviving in the painted bands, show that they actually contained written texts.

The painting in the Church of *Parainen* (Fig. 14) follows the same basic formula, but as a mirror-image. Here, Mary is on the right and Christ is on the left. The figure of Mary is also larger and more majestic than at Kalanti, and under both her arms are variously depicted human figures, including a bishop. Christ has the same attributes as in the Kalanti painting, but is even bloodier. Also the setting for Mary and Christ is shown in richer detail than at Kalanti. There is a clear attempt at creating an impression of depth: tufts of grass are shown both in front of figures and behind them, and angular hills rise in the background. In the upper part God is accompanied by four angels, and the sun and the moon are shown between Him and the lower part. In the Parainen painting the bands of text are even longer than at Kalanti, forming decorative garlands around each speaker but not leading directly from one figure to another. Clear lettering is still visible, especially in God's band of text.

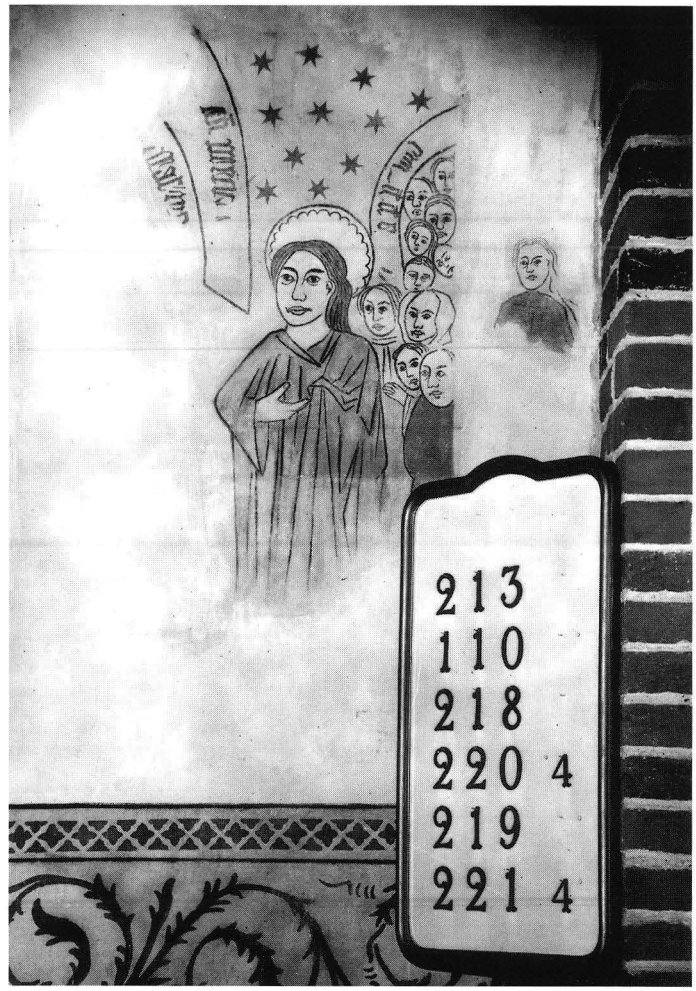

Fig. 15. Mater Misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Taivassalo. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

The Church of Taivassalo

The Church of Taivassalo also had a painting which apparently depicted the same theme (Fig. 15). At present, it is known only as a copy on the wall commissioned by the antiquarian Emil Nervander in 1890 when the church was under restoration. Visible in this painting in vault III of the north wall is the upper part of a figure of the Virgin Mary, dressed in a long gown with folds and touching her clothed breast with her right hand. Behind Mary – not under her cloak – is a group of people. On both sides of Mary's head are partly fragmentary bands of text, with traces of lettering. There is no information on other possible details of the painting.

b. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer

In the Church of *Hattula*, in the south cell of vault II of the south nave above the door to the porch is a large painting in which the central part is badly damaged (Fig. 16). In the upper section are five figures with nimbuses; the one in the middle larger than the others. The other four figures are turned towards the middle one. The central figure holds a book in its left hand and is dressed in a similar costume of a cloak and gown with folds (with a fragmentary stencil pattern visible in the bodice) as the Virgin Mary in the Madonna of Mercy painting. A comparison with the similar painting in the Church of Lohja also

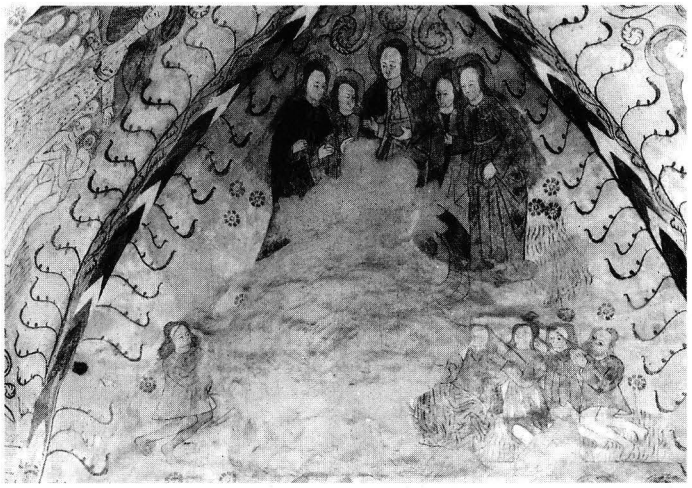

Fig. 16. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

permits the assumption that this figure is the Virgin. Nor is Mary holding a book an unusual phenomenon; it usually characterizes her as *Mater Sapientiae*, the Mother of Wisdom.[5] The Virgin is portrayed standing on what appears to be a circular ground (mostly destroyed) with a wide border. The figures standing next to Mary are characterized as virgins by their nimbuses and open hair and are placed on a lawn depicted with short vertical lines.

At the lower edge of the cell are two groups of kneeling human figures; most of the left group has been destroyed. The figures are turned, arms uplifted, towards the centre of the image. The group on the right included at least five figures, four of which have short smocks, and one is dressed in a full-length garment. Visible on the left is only one figure in a short gown. Of the figure originally in front of it, only a curved protrusion with a sharp tip can be seen; it may have been the tip of a sword or a scabbard. All the identifiable figures are possibly male; the beardless figures are young men, and a bearded figure is apparently an older man. In my opinion, a long gown in this connection cannot be automatically interpreted as women's clothing. A comparison with a similar painting in the Church of Lohja suggests the more likely possibility that this is a depiction of a man of higher social status[6]. The men are on a similar grassy ground as the virgins higher up. Painted across the male figures and partly covering their faces are short lines inclined to the left.

The corresponding painting in the Church of *Lohja* is in the south cell of vault III, partly continuing onto the wall beneath the vault (Fig. 17). Also here, the painting is above the door to the porch. The main figure is the Virgin Mary bearing the Infant Jesus in her arms, and as such is easily recognizable. Mary is standing on a circular ground with a wide border, of which there are also traces in the Hattula painting. Flanking the Virgin on the same ground are two female saints. Both are turned towards Mary with their hands held in a gesture of prayer.

Below the above figures are two groups of kneeling people. The figures in both groups face the centre of the composition, lifting their gaze and their hands towards the Virgin. In both groups, a male figure appearing to be a leader wears a long gown unlike the attire of the rest of the group. The group on the right includes a woman, while all the other figures are male. Between the groups are three naked human figures shown partly in the ground, who also raise their hands in a gesture of prayer (the hands of one are not visible).

Fig. 17. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 18. The Aquitanian Youth, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

c. The Aquitanian Youth

In the painting in the west cell of vault II in the south nave of the Church of *Hattula* the Virgin Mary is again shown in the same stencil-patterned gown, but now without a cloak (Fig. 18). Her arms are crossed over her breast and she is turned towards the centre of the picture. On the right is a kneeling male figure in a long gown with his arms upheld over the breast. In the centre, partly behind the above figures, is a stone or brickwork pedestal,

Fig. 19. The Aquitanian Youth, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

which appears to be covered by a light-coloured cloth with a fringe. Appearing to float above the pedestal (apparently signifying a seated position on it) is a small, barefooted figure in a long smock with a nimbus around his head – the Infant Jesus. He is shown turned towards Mary and raising his right hand towards her in a gesture almost touching the head of his mother.

In the Church of *Lohja*, this motif is in the east cell of vault III (Fig. 19). In the painting are the same figures as at Hattula (Mary, the kneeling man and the Infant Jesus), but the details are again slightly different. In the narrow cell at Hattula, the figures are in close, almost physical, contact, while in the wider composition at Lohja they are depicted individually and standing apart, giving the painting a completely different mood.

In the Lohja painting, Mary is standing at the left edge of the picture in a long, light-coloured gown, open at the breast. Her left hand is extended before her, and her right hand touches her bare breast. The kneeling male figure at the right is shown wearing a short smock and extending both arms before him. In the centre, as at Hattula, is a table-like pedestal, which is of richer form with a wide foundation and protruding upper parts. 'Sitting' on the edge of the pedestal is the small figure of the Infant Jesus turned towards his mother.

d. The Painter and the Devil

In the north cell of vault III in the Church of *Hattula* is a depiction of Mary in her familiar dress but without her cloak (Fig. 20). She faces the centre of the field with both arms extended in front of her. Before her is a male figure in a short smock with his legs in a strange straddled position; the right leg is bent the wrong way at the knee. In his right hand, extended towards Mary, is a tasselled stick, and the left hand holds on to Mary's left hand. Beneath the man is a jumbled composition of objects appearing to be thin, forked staffs. Behind the man, at the right edge of the field, is a winged devil with horns and a

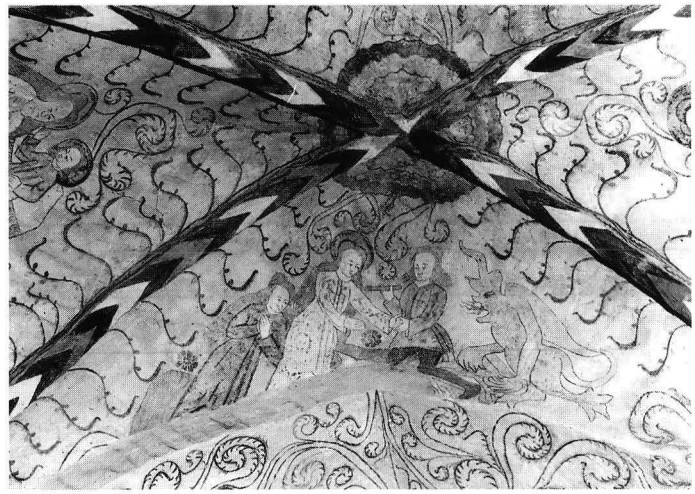

Fig. 20. The Painter and the Devil, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 21. The Painter and the Devil, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

long tail and small flame-like lines coming out of his mouth. At the left edge, behind the Virgin Mary, is a long-haired bareheaded woman without a nimbus. The woman is shown turned towards the centre with her arms crossed over her breast.

The corresponding painting in the Church of *Lohja* is in the east cell of vault IV (Fig. 21). As at Hattula, the Virgin Mary stands at the left, but here she has the Infant Jesus in her arms. On her right is a man in a short smock wearing a wide-brimmed hat. His right hand, extended towards Mary, holds an object resembling a stick. The man's knees are bent and his left hand holds on to the hem of Mary's cloak. Partly visible behind the man are three upright tree-trunks with thinner horizontal staffs tied to the sawn-off forks (there is a similarly depicted tree-trunk in the painting of Jesus riding into Jerusalem, also at Lohja). To the right of the man, at the edge of the composition, is the devil standing with legs apart and holding two plate-like objects in his hands. One of the objects is curved. In the air and on the ground around the devil and the man are more thin staffs and plate-like objects.

e. Mary and the English Priest

In the east cell of vault III in the Church of *Hattula* is a painting which does not have a direct parallel at Lohja (Fig. 22). The central figures are three women with nimbuses. The

Fig. 22. Mary and the English Priest, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

woman in the middle has a light-coloured undergarment and a dark cloak and wears a crown on her head. Although the Infant Jesus is missing from the painting, a comparison with the painting in the adjacent cell (showing Mary in similar dress with the Infant Jesus in her arms) shows that this, too, is the Virgin Mary. In front of Mary and the attendant women saints is a high bed of sturdy construction. On the bed is a naked man supported by pillows in an almost half-sitting position. His right arm is bent across his breast, and the left hand holds an open book raised towards the viewer. No text can be seen on the pages of the book – at least not any more.

f. The Virgin Mary and the Juggler

Another painting occurring solely in the Church of *Hattula* is in the south vault cell of the sacristy (Fig. 23). Here, too, the central figure is the same crowned Virgin Mary familiar from the paintings in vault III of the south nave, with the naked Infant Jesus in her arms. Jesus faces his mother, holding the hem of her cloak, which also Mary is grabbing with her right hand. Standing behind Mary are two women, one of whom has a nimbus, and both an undergarment and a cloak. The other figure wears only a long gown. At the right edge of the painting in front of Mary is a man in a short smock standing with his knees bent, one leg uplifted, and both arms extended before him. In the air in front of him are

Fig. 23. Mary and the Juggler, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 24. Mary and the Dying Monk, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

seven oval or round objects. The figures are shown standing on a ground indicated with short, horizontal lines.

g. Mary and the Dying Monk

In the west cell of vault IV of the south nave of the Church of *Lohja* is a painted scene which does not have a parallel at Hattula (Fig. 24). In the left part the Virgin Mary is again shown with the Infant Jesus in her arms. Lying before her, on a mattress-like striped bed is a man in the habit of a monk. His eyes are closed and his arms are extended. Standing at the head of the lying monk is the Devil with a cylindrical object in his raised right hand. The Virgin Mary holds in her left hand a long, thin staff, of which the other end extends between the monk and the Devil. Standing at the feet of the lying monk is another monk in a posture bent slightly forward and with his arms raised before him.

Fig. 25. Mary and the Drowning Boy, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

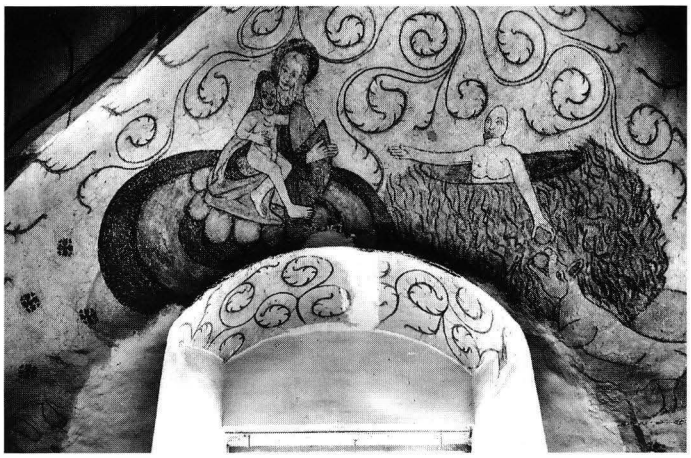

Fig. 26. The Miserly Priest in Purgatory, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

h. Mary and the Drowning Boy

Also the painting in the north cell of this vault is unique (Fig. 25). Here, too, the left part of the composition is occupied by Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms. In the centre, in front of Mary, is a naked child sitting on the ground and facing the Virgin with arms raised towards her. On the right, behind the child, is a kneeling woman wearing a long dress and the veil of a married woman. She is shown turned towards Mary with raised arms.

i. 'Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham'

In the south cell of vault V of the south nave at *Lohja* is yet another unique painting (Fig. 26), which must be discussed here, although its most recent publications interpret it as

Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham.[7] Also here, the left half of the composition consists of the Virgin Mary holding the naked Infant Jesus in her arms. There is no doubt about the identity of Mary in this painting. The figure cannot be Abraham, as suggested e.g. by Anna Nilsén[8]. In medieval art, Abraham, the Old Testament patriarch, is always depicted as an old man with a long beard emphasizing his dignified status. If this painting at Lohja were of a man, the beardless face would in any case make it necessary to interpret him as a young man[9]. The clothes, long shoulder-length hair, and the sensitive feminine features of this figure clearly show it to be a woman. In medieval art, a young, unmarried woman with a naked child in her arms is the Virgin Mary.

The Infant Jesus, extending his left hand under his mother's cloak in a gesture of great tenderness, is exceptionally large and does not have a nimbus, but this identification can nevertheless be regarded as certain. Depictions of the Infant Jesus without a nimbus were by no means rare in late-medieval art.[10] The Infant is shown in an almost identical position in the Church of Lohja in the painting of the Tiburtine Sibyll, or Mary and the Drowning Boy. The Virgin and the Infant are bounded by a wide border similar to one in a previously described painting, but within this feature is another border which appears to be formed of separate round designs. Only the upper part of Mary's body is visible.

The right half of the painting is occupied by a large vessel-like object, whose walls or sides are mared throughout with short meandering lines. Inside the vessel is the upper body of a naked man. His tongue hangs out, and he is extending his right hand towards Mary. The left hand hangs outside the vessel and holds a large yellow object. Reaching towards the hand is an animal-like creature with a similar object in its mouth.

j. 'The Bell of Judgement'

At both Hattula and Lohja there is a painting of the same motif in the west cell of vault III, which at first sight appears to have nothing to do with the miracles of the Virgin Mary, but is nevertheless located together with them. The *Hattula* painting is enframed by a large triangular trestle with a large church bell hanging from its top part (Fig. 27). The suspension construction is depicted quite realistically, as also the beam from which the bell is hung which is joined to a long rope with a noose[11]. At the left of the painting is a kneeling man in a long smock, drawing on the bell-rope with both hands. Under the trestle are four human figures, three of which are clearly naked (only the head of the fourth is visible). Two of the figures extend their arms forward. The figures are depicted in the same way as people rising from their graves in other paintings.

The details of the corresponding painting at *Lohja* differ somewhat from the above (Fig. 28). Here, the human figures are at the sides of the trestle and not under it; this may again have been dictated by the shape of the field in the cell. Also the bell-trestle is of different shape. It is supported by two trunks forked in the lower part and is covered by a small roof. Interestingly, Ms. Marja Terttu Knapas Lic. Phil., discovered in the 1980s in the attic above the vaults in the Church of Lohja a hewn trunk largely resembling the supports shown in the painting. In this trunk, the tapering upper part was clearly hewn into notched shape, and the lower part of the base was hewn level to help keep the trunk upright. According to Knapas, the lower part is so wide that it could not have fitted through the attic window, and it had to be installed there before the roof was built. She assumes that the trunk belonged to a bell support or trestle originally in the attic[12]. It thus

Fig. 27. The Angelus, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 28. The Angelus, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

appears that the Lohja painter had in mind a distinct model for his painting of the bell-trestle.

At Lohja, the bell is rung by a standing male figure in a short smock; kneeling on the right of the bell are three, apparently female, figures depicted as living. These, too, have raised arms and hands. Above them is a white dove.

Fig. 29. The Banquet for Sinners, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 30. The Banquet for Sinners, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

k. 'The Banquet for Sinners'

At both Hattula and Lohja in the north cell of vault III, next to the bell motif, is a painting traditionally described as 'The Banquet for Sinners' or the 'The Devil's Banquet'. In both paintings the focal point is a large table laid with a striped cloth. At *Hattula*, four figures are shown behind the table (Fig. 29). Three of these, in a group playing dice at the left end of the table, are young men, as shown by their fashionable costume (N.B. the narrow, buttoned sleeve of the middle figure) and beardless faces. The figure on the right holds something in his hand, possibly food. Seated alone at the right end of the table is a bearded man wearing headgear and a long smock or gown (the hem is visible under the table). In front of him is an open tankard and in his hand is possibly a piece of food. To the right of the table stand two men bowing towards it. One is holding an axe and possibly a sack, and the other holds a long knife. Behind the men is a third male figure, in a kneeling position. Behind the young men at the table is a large horned devil, with an object resembling a wooden plate in his left hand. The devil's right hand touches the head of the young man furthest on the left. At the left end of the table and partly in front of it, is another devil, a shapeless horned figure with a tail and an enormous stomach with a large black navel hanging down to the ground.

In the painting at *Lohja*, two male figures are seated at the table, of which at least one is a youth (Fig. 30). One is about to raise his drinking vessel to his lips, and the other

holds his vessel in his left hand, while grabbing the breast of a female devil between them. At the end of the table, seated on an ornate, almost altar-like, 'chair' is a third figure, whose long blond hair suggest it to be a woman. The woman is wearing a crown-like piece of headgear with points around the edge and is holding a drinking-vessel in her left hand. Her right hand holds the arm of the middle male figure. There are a few other tankards on the table and, as pointed out by Tove Riska, decorative loaves of bread of Central European type[13]. One of the tankards is overturned with the drink flowing straight into the mouth of a devil squatting in front of the table. The other devil in front of the table is also drinking, and both are holding round, light-coloured objects in their hands.

2. History of Research

a. Emil Nervander

The introduction of the Hattula paintings as subjects of study was of great significance for the beginning of professional antiquarian research in Finland. Their 'discovery' in 1870 and the desire to ensure their preservation provided the incentive for founding the Finnish Archaeological Society (the present-day Finnish Antiquarian Society), and via it for establishing organized antiquarian research and administration. In an article (*Al-secco krönika*) in the newspaper *Helsingfors Dagblad* (25. 8. 1886), Emil Nervander described the situation as follows:

> 'Several wall-paintings in ten different Finnish churches have now been studied and documented. If memory serves us right, a tentative beginning was initiated in 1870 by a number of students and graduates specifically at the old Church of Hattula, which has now proven to contain treasures far more valuable than we could ever expect sixteen years ago. Participating as draughtsman in this small expedition was Albert Edelfelt, still in high school at the time. His renowned name is thus also linked with the beginning of art-historical research in Finland. This expedition was closely linked with the foundation (on 12 May of the same year) of the Finnish Archaeological Society, which in the following year, 1871, launched its first art-historical expedition, whose leading draughtsman was now the art student Albert Edelfelt.'

The paintings in the Church of Lohja were first studied in 1885, and in 1886 extensive research was undertaken at both Hattula and Lohja under the direction of Nervander. In this connection also those paintings which at some stage had been whitewashed were now revealed. Full-scale tracing copies were also made. In 1889 the paintings in the Church of Lohja were restored by repainting them in stark colours. Nervander and his assistant, the ornament-painter K.K. Hellsten, were also prepared to restore the paintings at Hattula, but the state Archaeological Commission and its consulting body , consisting of E. Aspelin, J.J. Tikkanen, K.K. Meinander, and Nervander himself, did not approve the scheme[14].

Nervander, who was known as a prolific writer, drew up detailed accounts of work carried out under his direction at Hattula and Lohja. These reports contain the first attempts to interpret the studied paintings, including those of miracles of the Virgin Mary[15].

Prior to work at Hattula and Lohja, Nervander had already familiarized himself with paintings of the *Mater misericordiae* motif[16]. In his reports concerning the churches of Hattula and Lohja he explicitly and, without any reservations, described these paintings as 'Mary the Protectress of Mankind' (H), and 'Mary Protectress' (L)[17]. It was, however, more difficult to interpret the other paintings of Mary. Nervander – quite correctly – assumed that the paintings were connected with miracles of the Virgin, and he also made

a study of the same published sources that were used by later scholars[18]. He did not, however, proceed beyond a tentative analysis; when work ended at Hattula and Lohja, his study of the Marian motifs had to give way to other concerns.

In his report on the Church of Lohja, Nervander presented an interpretation of only one other painting of the Marian miracle theme in addition to the *Mater misericordiae* paintings. Writing of the painting of the Aquitanian youth, he observes: 'Christ is teaching in the temple (to a single listener). His mother approaches and bares her breast to Him as a sign of her motherly authority.' The corresponding painting at Hattula is commented upon in similar terms.

Of the other paintings in the Church of Lohja, Nervander only gives descriptive headings: 'The Devil's Banquet', 'Tolling the Bell', and 'The Saints, the Living and the Dead in Supplication to the Madonna'. Of the paintings in the fourth vault, Nervander observes that he was not able to trace the legends behind their motifs.

Nervander's comments on the paintings in the Church of Hattula are more daring. He suggests his own interpretations of several paintings, though stressing throughout that these are only hypotheses. Some of these interpretations have survived in later literature on the subject.

Of the painting called 'The Painter and the Devil' in the preceding text, Nervander writes: 'A miracle of the Madonna, which most probably refers back to the legend of 'the Jewish boy in the fire'. The various ways in which the details of painting can be interpreted is clearly showed by Nervander's description: '...the Madonna, as richly dressed as in the preceding painting, extends her hand to a kneeling youth, who holds a burning(?) piece of wood in his hand and, tormented by a devil, is on a pyre.'

Nervander describes the paintings in the west and north cells of the third vault with the same headings as those of the Lohja paintings: 'Tolling the Bell' and 'The Devil's Banquet'. On the other hand, he writes of the painting in the sacristy: 'I have not thus far come across any legend that would suit this painting better than the story of St. John Chrysostome, who as a boy had difficulties in learning, and continually prayed to the Madonna for her help so that "he could learn well". One day the Virgin appeared to him and asked him to kiss her, which the terrified youth finally did. At that moment, a golden ring appeared around his mouth, and he grew in wisdom so that people said that "golden words came out of his mouth". – This theme should suit well the painting in the room where the clergy gathered.'

Nervander returned to the Lohja paintings and also the Marian themes on one later occasion, in his 1896 guide to the church and its medieval paintings, published in connection with a broader description of the Parish of Lohja (*Lojo kyrka och dess medeltidsmålningar. Bidrag till Lojo sockenbeskrifning III*).[19] In this book, however, he repeats in almost all connections the points expressed in his 1886 report. The only new theory is the interpretation of the painting in the north cell of vault IV (Mary and the Drowning Boy): Jesus and John and their mothers[20]. Most of the other paintings are only given the rubric 'unknown legend'.

b. Other Early Studies

The paintings in the Church of Hattula were next discussed in a book published in 1912 as volume 5 of a series of guides to the sights of Finland. It was written by K.K. Meinander

and Juhani Rinne of the State Archaeological Commission. Some of Nervander's interpretations ('Christ Teaching in the Temple', and 'The Betrothment of St. Catherine') were repeated as such by Meinander, while others were rejected, apparently as too hypothetical[21].

In *Medeltida kyrkokonst i Finland* (Medieval Religious Art in Finland), published in 1921, Meinander's article on wall-paintings in Finnish churches is as briefly worded as the 1912 guide, and the Hattula paintings are only described as referring to 'the life and miracles of the Virgin Mary'[22]. L. Wennervirta's *Suomen keskiaikainen kirkkomaalaus* (Medieval Church Paintings in Finland)[23], which was for many years the basic work on medieval art of Finland, is just as brief on this subject.

After Nervander, paintings related to the miracles of the Virgin were not treated individually until 1949, when Olof af Hällström rewrote the guide to the Church of Hattula. This book lists each painting, but even af Hällström did not present any new results. Of Nervander's interpretations, only 'Jesus in the Temple at the Age of Twelve' remains; the other paintings are either given purely descriptive names or listed as 'unknown themes'[24].

c. Olga Alice Nygren

Olga Alice Nygren was the first scholar after Nervander to undertake a deeper study of the paintings at Hattula and Lohja. Her *Gudsmodersbilden i Finlands medeltidskonst* (The Mother of God in Finnish Medieval Art) from 1951 treats most of the Mary motifs known at the time in Finland, including the paintings in the churches of Lohja and Hattula. Nygren strove, more consistently than Nervander, to see the paintings as a whole and to explore their interrelationships in addition to analyses of individual works. But even her study does not treat the full depth and scope of the material. Her written descriptions contain details completely lacking from the paintings and she also omits facts that could have been of importance for interpreting the paintings. Nygren, however, was a significant pioneer in the study of the Marian paintings.

According to her, the interpretation of the paintings of the miracles of the Virgin must be based on the order of the paintings in the Church of Lohja. She claims that the themes were not linked as closely or logically in the Church of Hattula, whereby their connections are not as easily comprehended[25].

Nygren begins her study with vault III in the south nave at Lohja, which in her opinion contains a series didactic paintings, partly linked with Marian iconography. According to her, this series depicts 'the different ways people come to terms with the last hour'. In the painting in the north cell she sees a macabre feast, and in the west cell people at prayer are awaiting the moment of the Last Judgement. In her view, these paintings belong together, and their message is clear: a warning against excess and drunkenness, and an exhortation to be alert and pray, for 'ye know not the time or the hour'[26].

In Nygren's opinion, also the paintings in the east and south cells of vault III support her assumption that the whole ensemble of compositions was meant to remind viewers of their last hours. The painting in the east cell (the Aquitanian Youth), interpreted by Nervander and others following him as Jesus in the temple, is given a new interpretation as a theme of intervention, in which the Virgin Mary prays to Jesus to have mercy on a repentant sinner[27]. In the south cell, Nygren in turn sees a depiction of the Resurrection:

the dead awakened by the Bell of Judgement rise from their graves and pray on their knees to the Virgin for help[28]. Nygren, however, does not explain why some of the 'dead' are depicted contrary to normal iconographic practice in clothing and as living persons.

Concerning the paintings in vault four of the south nave at Lohja, Nygren suggests the following interpretations. The east cell depicts a legend theme, according to which the Virgin Mary freed a thief placed on the wheel, who in deep repentance asked her for her assistance. In her opinion, the pieces of wood are parts of the broken wheel, and the man is holding on to Mary's cloak because the Devil does not want to release him[29]. Nygren claims that the north cell also contains a Marian miracle motif, and not, as assumed by Nervander, the Infant Jesus and John the Baptist with their mothers. According to her, this painting is most probably based on a legend of parents who promised their child to the Devil. The Virgin Mary, drawn to compassion by the mother's fervent prayers saves the child. Nygren interprets the child's posture as a running movement, and assumes that the Devil of the legend is left to the viewer's own imagination[30].

The painting in the west cell depicting Mary standing next to the lying monk is in Nygren's opinion probably a depiction of the legend of Theophilus or the story of a young monk tormented by devils at the hour of death[31]. She finds yet another Theophilus motif at Hattula: 'The Blessed Virgin holding the Infant Jesus extends a scroll to a man whose gown is being held by the Devil'[32]. This is apparently the painting in the north cell of the second south vault (The Painter and the Devil), although Nygren's description does not suit it completely. The object described as a scroll is in the man's hand; Mary holds on to the other hand; and the Devil is grabbing objects beneath the man, and not his clothes. Nygren does not analyse other paintings in the Church of Hattula, ignoring, among other works, the unique composition on the sacristy wall.

Nygren's theories were repeated almost as such in Riitta Pylkkänen's guide to the Church of Lohja[33], which in turn has been used as a source by several others writing on the subject.

d. Kyllikki Männikkö

The first specialist study focusing solely on the Mary legends of Hattula and Lohja appeared in 1973, over a hundred years after the paintings at Hattula first became a subject of research. In her article *Jungfru Maria mirakel. Maria-legender i Hattula och Lojo* (Miracles of the Virgin Mary. Legends of Mary at Hattula and Lohja)[34], Kyllikki Männikkö presents her own interpretation of these paintings, with reference to legends of the Virgin Mary in literary form.

At the beginning of her article, Männikkö poses two questions, which she at least partly attempts to answer. The first is the old question of 'what kind of models the painters had', and the second is 'to what degree the painters correctly understood the themes that were to be depicted'[35]. The latter question is answered in the negative at the end of the article. Männikkö writes:

> 'With the possible exception of the Theophilus legend, the analysis of the paintings does not give any definite results. In fact, this is not completely surprising, if we assume that the painters had models which they themselves could not interpret with certainty'[36].

Such an assumption is both dangerous and misleading, and should by no means be the automatic starting point of analysis. We should rather proceed from the fact that the

painters who worked in the churches were professionals who knew what they were doing. If the paintings studied contain incomprehensible or seemingly illogical details, the fault most probably lies with the researcher and not the painter. As in all good detective stories, also in the paintings a sensible explanation that is logical in terms of the whole must be found before we can claim to have solved the riddle.

Männikkö also presents a few answers or at least suggested answers to her first question. In speaking of models (Sw. *förlagor*) she obviously does not mean identifying the actual model pictures, but implies the iconographic definition of the painted motifs.

Männikkö assumes that the Hattula painting in which Mary holds the hand of the man in front of her (The Painter and the Devil) depicts the legend of Theophilus, interpreting the object in the man's hand as a scroll, which is a central element of the legend[37]. She does not mention the staffs under the male figure.

Männikkö's analysis is less certain concerning the paintings of Mary and the English priest and Mary and the dying monk. Problems may partly arise from the fact that she did not proceed from the paintings as such, but more readily assumed that the painter had misunderstood what he was depicting. Männikkö links these paintings with scenes of several legends in which the Virgin Mary appears at the bed of a dying person to bring him back to life, or to give him an opportunity for repentance and penance. She does not accept the possibility that these paintings refer to the legend of Theophilus[38].

Nor was Männikkö able to find a satisfactory explanation for the painting at Lohja in which a man holds on to Mary's cloak (The Painter and the Devil). On sufficient grounds, she rejects Nygren's and Pylkkänen's theory that the painting is of Mary saving a criminal from the wheel. But she is not completely rid of the idea of the criminal, and assumes that instead of a thief the figure may depict some other criminal: 'The structure in the painting can be interpreted as an instrument of punishment whose function remained unclear to the painter. Accordingly, the man can in fact be regarded as a criminal and the presence of the devil can be explained as representing the man's crimes or that he was in the process of carrying away the man's soul'[39].

Männikkö also suggests new interpretations for the painting at Lohja in which a child and a woman are in supplication to Mary and Jesus. As the devil is lacking, Männikkö expresses doubts about Nygren's and Pylkkänen's theory that the theme is the salvation of a child promised to the devil. In Männikkö's opinion the painting is more probably based on one of the many legends in which the Virgin Mary rescues a child from danger[40].

Männikkö's main contribution to interpreting the paintings is at the end of her article, where she discusses the enigmatic painting on the wall of the sacristy at Hattula. Männikkö is to my knowledge the first researcher to link this painting with a legend known as *Del Tumbeor Nostre-Dame*. The legend tells of a juggler or tumbler who retreats from the world into a monastery. Männikkö describes the main parts of the story as follows: 'While the other friars praised Mary in different ways, the juggler could only perform his tricks for the Virgin. When he was caught doing so by the other brothers, who summoned the abbot, a miracle was witnessed: Mary appeared and wiped the sweat off the juggler's brow.' Männikkö goes on to observe: 'Although this legend does not appear to have had wide circulation, it nevertheless offers an appealing explanation for this painting in the sacristy. Might not the features here be the balls with which the simple juggler performed to show his devotion to Mary?'[41]. Männikkö's interpretation is thus based on the round objects in the painting, which she interprets as the juggler's balls.

e. Anna Nilsén

The most recent interpretations of the paintings of the Virgin Mary are by Anna Nilsén, who has treated this subject in a separate article[42] and in her doctoral dissertation from 1986[43]. Nilsén bases her interpretation partly on Männikkö's assumption and partly on the results of her own studies, and largely succeeds in convincingly demonstrating the miracle legends from which the painters took their themes. – Nilsén's results are discussed in further detail in the analysis of the paintings.

3. Analysis

a. Mater misericordiae

As observed above, the so-called *Mater misericordiae* paintings do not belong to the Mary themes that are actually based on legends. However, their underlying concepts are very close to them – both types of paintings rely on the same faith in the omnipotent aid of the Virgin Mary. A study of the history of the *Mater misericordiae* paintings will thus facilitate a better understanding of the whole phenomenon, both in Finland and elsewhere in Europe.

Firstly, we must point out that the term *Mater misericordiae* (Madonna of Mercy, *Schutzmantelmadonna*, *La Vierge de la Miséricorde*) was not used in the Middle Ages to describe this type of image. It is a *terminus tecnicus* adopted by later scholars. In medieval parlance, *Mater misericordiae* was only one of the many epithets given to Mary to describe her boundless compassion for mankind (see above p. 23).

The first extensive study of the distribution and connections of the *Mater misericordiae* painting type dates from 1908[44]. In this pioneering work, Paul Perdrizet suggests that the *Mater misericordiae* motif originated among the Cistercians, and was based on a vision experienced by an unknown Cistercian monk. This vision, known as *De monacho qui Ordinem Cisterciensem sub Mariae pallio vidit in regno caelorum*, is in chapter VII of Caesarius of Heisterbach's work *Dialogus miraculorum* (1220–1230). This chapter is completely dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The text reads as follows in English translation:

> 'A certain monk of our Order, who was a great devotee of Our Lady, a few years ago fell into an ecstasy and was taken to view the glories of heaven. Now there he saw the different ranks of the church triumphant, to wit, angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all of them divided into their particular Orders, i.e. canons, regulars, Premonstratensians, or Cluniacs, and being troubled about his own Order, he stood there and looked around and could find in that glory no single person of his Order, and therefore turning with a groan to the Blessed Mother of God, he said: "Oh! most Holy Lady, why is it that I see no one here of the Cistercian Order? Why are our servants, who served you so devotedly, shut out from sharing in so great happiness?". Whereupon, the queen of heaven, seeing him greatly troubled, replied: "Those of the Cistercian Order are so dear to me, and so beloved, that I cherish them in my bosom." And opening her cloak, with which she seemed to be clothed, and which was of marvellous amplitude, she showed him an innumerable multitude of monks, lay-brothers, and nuns. Then he, greatly exulting, and giving heartfelt thanks to her, returned to his body, and told his abbot what he had seen and heard. He indeed, at the following chapter, reported this to the other abbots, and bringing great joy to them all kindled them with still greater love for the Holy Mother of God.'[45]

It has been pointed out later that Perdrizet's assumption was not quite correct: the role of the Cistercians in creating the *Mater misericordiae* motif has been questioned, although at a later stage they greatly increased its popularity. The above-mentioned vision is not the first source in which the sheltering cloak of Mary is mentioned, but only a

variation on the theme, and the actual composition had not only textual models but also definite visual prototypes.[46]

Perdrizet was already aware that the cloak, as a symbol of protection in the vision related by Caesarius, was linked with special features of contemporary secular and ecclesiastical law: the rites of protection, legitimation, and adoption. According to Perdrizet, rulers and others in power in Caesarius's time followed the custom of wrapping their cloaks around those to whom they promised their protection. In certain regions, a bridegroom would take his bride under his cloak during the marriage ceremony as a sign of marital protection. The same custom was followed in rites of adoption and legitimation: a person legitimizing or adopting a child certified the matter by solemnly taking the child under his cloak[47].

Perdrizet assumed that this custom was of Celtic or Germanic origin[48]. It has later been shown that its roots are far deeper and wider. In the Middle East, the cloak was already known as a symbol of power and protection in Old Testament times, as mentioned in verse 9 of chapter 3 in the Book of Ruth, often cited by scholars: '...I am Ruth thine handmaid: spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid; for thou art a near kinsman.' Similar customs are also described in Greek and Early Islamic sources[49].

In Ancient Rome, which also provides a great deal of evidence of similar rites, *tutela* (protection) was above all the right of free men. Women usually did not have the right to *intercedere pro aliis*. The only exception was the right of a mother to do so for her children. According to Christa Belting-Ihm, it was this *tutela materna* of Roman law that laid the background for the concept of the Madonna of Mercy and defined its character[50].

As mentioned by Perdrizet, the cloak as a symbol of protection was also known among the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, apparently as the result of Roman influence[51]. This is evident in a number of sources, including the Life of St. Columba, where it is told how Oswald of Saxony had a vision on the eve of a battle, in which St. Columba, the Abbot of the Monastery of Iona, stood before him so large that his cloak covered the whole Saxon camp, and exhorted Oswald to be brave, promising to stand on his side in battle. This event is dated to the year 635[52]. Like Columba, also Ss. Michael and Benedict are known to have used the cloak of protection[53].

The Virgin Mary was also linked with the symbolism of the cloak considerably earlier than the Cistercian vision. Like many other features of the Marian cult, this belief also originated in the Eastern Church. Its early stages remain unknown, but already in the 5th century a cloak of the Virgin Mary was revered as a precious relic in the Church of the Blacherne in Constantinople[54], where many early legends were told of miracles performed by the Virgin with her cloak[55]. Knowledge of these miracles spread to the West as early as the middle of the millennium. The first miracles of the Virgin that were known in the West already included a legend in which Mary uses her shielding cloak to help people: the story of the Jewish boy whom Mary saves from a fiery oven[56]. The legend of how Mary saved Constantinople from its enemies by spreading her cloak to protect the city also found its way to the West at an early stage, being added to Marian lectionaries already in the tenth century[57]. The concept of the miraculous power of the Virgin's cloak was thus already known in the West long before the *Mater misericordiae* motif emerged.

From the twelfth century the cloak as a symbol of justice gained a new timely aspect, when a great interest in Roman law spread via Italy, and especially Bologna, to other parts of Western Europe, where Justinian law came into use. With it came the custom of legitimizing children born before marriage *per subsequens matrimonium*: when the par-

ents were married, the children were placed under a *pallium*, or the cloak of the mother (on rarer occasions the father), and were thus given their legal rights. Children legitimized in this way were known everywhere in Western Europe as *filii mantellati*'[58].

Around this time, also belief in the miraculous power of Mary's cloak received new affirmation. As a result of the Crusades, and especially the conquest and sack of Constantinople, a flood of various relics reached the West, including pieces of what was claimed to be the Virgin Mary's own cloak. According to Belting-Ihm, a relic that was believed to be the intact cloak of the Virgin Mary was greatly revered at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres from the eleventh century onwards. It was claimed that Charlemagne had received it as a gift at Constantinople, and that Charles the Bald had brought it from Aix-la-Chapelle to Chartres in 876. The Cathedral of Chartres underlined its role as a centre of Marian devotion in the West, and clearly competing with the Church of The Blacherne in Constantinople, appended to the ownership of the relic legends similar to those told at Constantinople. Accordingly, also at Chartres displaying the cloak to the enemy (i.e. the Normans in 911) from the town walls would have driven them into wild flight and brought an end to their siege[59]. According to Belting-Ihm, Constantinople provided not only relics and miracle legends of Mary's cloak but also definite pictures, which in turn influenced the formation of the Western *Mater misericordiae* motif.

Belting-Ihm also points out that the East Mediterranean region never produced a Madonna of Mercy motif similar to those that emerged in the Western Church or in Russia. She notes, however, that Constantinople did provide the model for both West European and Russian images of the Madonna of Mercy. This was the large depiction of *Maria orans* (*Theotokos vom schutzenden Mantel*) that, according to her, most probably adorned the dome of the Church of the The Blacherne in Constantinople. There is no direct information on the actual picture, but Belting-Ihm presents a reconstruction of it with reference to several other sources, both visual and literary. This depiction mainly followed the traditional *Maria orans* form, but the cloak relic kept at the church and the miracle legends connected with it gave the cloak behind Mary's raised arms a completely new significance[60].

Belting-Ihm points out that in Russia this image and the many so-called Blachernitissa icons made as copies of it led in the thirteenth century to the creation of the so-called Pokrovskaya icon for the Pokrov feast in honour of the protection of the Mother of God. The icon depicts the vision of St. Andrew the Fool in the Church of the Blacherne, emphasizing for the first time the distinct protective function of Mary's cloak: she holds it with both hands, opening it in a gesture of protection[61].

According to Belting-Ihm, a similar course of development took place in Italy when the Blachernitissa icons became known there. It is especially in Italy and among the Franciscan order that Belting-Ihm wishes to place the origins of the Western Madonna of Mercy motif.

As pointed out by Belting-Ihm, the *Maria orans* motif was already known in Italy before the new flood of eastern influences that surged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This new wave, disseminating especially from Monte Cassino, Venice and Sicily, and the numerous *Maria orans* images introduced by it re-established this motif in a new way[62]. There are many examples of the great veneration of *Maria orans* icons in Italy. According to Ravennan tradition, a miracle worked through an *orans* icon from Constantinople already led in the twelfth century to the founding of an order known as *Filii di Maria*[63].

Belting-Ihm claims it is possible to prove that the decisive step from the Eastern Blachernitissa icon to the Western Madonna of Mercy – i.e. raising the figures of praying people to the feet of Mary opening her cloak in protection – was taken by the Franciscans. From the year 1220 at the latest, the Franciscans had their own convent in Constantinople, where they had an especially good opportunity to study the cloak relic and the cult and visual imagery that had emerged around it. Some of the oldest known Madonna of Mercy paintings also appear to be linked with the Franciscans. These are a work by Duccio from before 1285 and two illustrations in Armenian manuscripts, dated c. 1270[64].

Belting-Ihm finds the main support for her theory of the decisive role of the Franciscans in the two Armenian illustrations, published by Sirarpie Der Nersessian in 1970. One is already without any doubt the Madonna of Mercy: Mary is standing in a frontal position opening her cloak with her right hand with human figures standing under the cloak seeking protection. Both the other above-mentioned depictions represent a kind of intermediary form in which the motif of the protective cloak was added to an older composition of Mary seated with the Infant Jesus in her lap[65]. Der Nersessian regards the Armenian illustrations as a definite result of Western influence, and with reference to various historical facts claims that these influences were passed on by the Franciscans[66].

Belting-Ihm summarizes her views on the subject as follows:

> *Vieles spricht dafür, dass es Franziskaner waren, die nach einigen tastended Versuchen mit anderen Formen des Marienbildes, in Kenntnis der "Blachernitissa" als Standardtypus der Schutzmantelträgerin die frontalsymmetrisch mit ausgebreiteten Armen Stehende etablierten... Die Schutzmantelmadonna is das abendländische Synonym der Blachernitissa aber nicht allein der Bedeutung nach, sie hat im Standardtypus auch die Gestaltform von ihr übernommen...Es bedurfte nur der im Westen damals neugewonnenen Freizügigkeit im Umgang mit Bildern, um aus der altehrwürdigen Maria Orans, die in der Blachernenkirche zur "Theotokos vom schutzenden Mantel" geworden war, die Schutzmantelmadonna zu entwickeln. Denn diese Freizügigkeit ermöglichte es, die Angaben und Anliegen der Visionen, verdichtet durch das ganze Gewicht der ...rechtsymbolischen praxis zu thematisieren, sie illustrativ in den Ikonentypus einzubringen und diesen zu verwandeln*[67].

Christa Belting-Ihm's studies have considerably expanded our concepts of the factors that led to the *Mater misercordiae* motif and their nature. But the question of its origin and development still remains to be completely solved. The motif quite obviously had other visual models than the Blachernitissa icon, and the role of the Franciscans cannot be regarded as clear as claimed by Belting-Ihm.

Concerning the extent and distribution of the symbolism of the cloak, Belting-Ihm herself observes that the oldest visual portrayals of the protective cloak are on Roman coins of the second century A.D. However, she treats these and later Roman coins with the same motif only as evidence of the existence of the concept also in Rome, and does not consider the possibility that the coins could have been direct visual models for creating the *Mater misericordiae* motif. However, Susan Solway, writing in 1985, shows that this most obviously was the case[68]:

> 'Along with a multitude of ancient objects, Greek and especially Roman coins constituted a significant part of the physical legacy of Classical antiquity bequeathed to the Middle Ages. Small, portable, virtually impervious to decay, mass-produced both for currency and for imperial propagandistic purposes, and hence widely distributed over the Roman Empire, a territory roughly coextensive with the medieval world, coins by their very nature were eminently suited to play a role in the transmission of the Classical tradition.'

Here, we are mainly dealing with Imperial coins, whose reverse bore the female personified virtues, *Pietas* and *Concordia*[69] (Fig. 31).

A deity wearing a protective cloak first appeared in Roman coins around the time of Trajan. This new motif is assumed to have been connected with a severe earthquake that

Fig. 31. Concordia, *aureus from A.D. 149. Illustration from Strack 1937. Not to scale.*

Fig. 32. Cistercian seal. Illustration from Solway 1985. Not to scale.

occurred in Antioch in mid-winter 114–115, from which Trajan claimed to have been saved with the help of Jupiter. To commemorate the event and to thank the god, Trajan had a coin struck with his own portrait on the obverse and a new type of motif on the reverse which was intended to visualize the protection accorded by Jupiter to him: Jupiter standing with a sceptre and thunderbolts in his hands and spreading his cloak behind the small figure of the emperor. The new motif became very popular and was later used by several other emperors[70].

In the second century, Roman coins also began to feature Pietas sheltering people under her cloak, soon followed by Concordia. According to Solway, Pietas with the small figures under her cloak became extremely popular and the motif appeared in all kinds of coins: gold (*aurei*), silver (*denarii*), and bronze (*sestertii*). By emphasizing the motherly feelings of the goddess towards the Romans, it could also be seen as stressing the affection of the Empress, the worldly parallel to the goddess, for her subjects. As observed by Solway, both types of affection could easily be transferred to the Virgin Mary, the mother of all Christians[71].

Solway's theory proceeded from Perdrizet's assumption that the *Mater misericordiae* images on the seals of the Cistercian monasteries (Fig. 32) were the earliest example of

this motif in the visual arts, and from the fact that Roman coins were generally used as models for medieval seals[72]. Through a comparison of Pietas and Concordia coins with Cistercian seals, Solway demonstrates a number of surprising similarities, down to the level of details, and is willing to assume that the Madonna of Mercy images were composed directly from these coins.

Solway also points out that the earliest known Cistercian seals[73] were round, as were the Roman coins, and oval seals did not appear until later. In both the seals and the Pietas and Concordia coins the main character (Mary or the goddesses) is shown as a large standing figure, almost twice the size of the adjacent humans. Both Mary and the goddesses are crowned and hold their cloaks open with both hands above the human figures. In both the seals and the coins, people are shown turned towards the central figure and extending one or both hands towards it in a gesture of prayer or supplication. A common feature is also the fact that the head of the central figure extends to the border, breaking through the inscription around the medal or the coin[74].

According to Solway, the Latin inscriptions of the coins also support her theory. Medieval people had no doubt in their minds that the terms Pietas and Concordia referred to the Virgin Mary, to whose essential virtues they belonged[75].

Solway sees the main difference between the coins and the seals in the fact that in coins there is only one figure on each side of the goddess, while the seals have several figures. She feels this could well be a medieval variant of a Roman original, or that this detail could have been derived from some other Roman Pietas or Concordia depiction with several small figures[76]. The first alternative seems definitely more probable. As discussed below (p. 93), *Mater misericordiae* increasingly took on the character of *mater omnium* in the Late Middle Ages. Her specific attribute was a large number of people gathered under her cloak.

Solway's arguments are so convincing that they should by no means be disregarded in discussing the origin of the *Mater misericordiae* motif. In fact, they display a much greater similarity with the actual Madonna of Mercy depictions than the Blachernitissa icons suggested by Belting-Ihm, which despite all their correspondence in content lack the decisive element: people. It seems that the question of where or possibly among which order this motif originated has not yet been solved.

I would claim that any answer to this question cannot be based on the datings of presently known depictions. As pointed out by Solway, the oldest known Cistercian seals are from the fourteenth century. This dating, however, is indirect, obtained via the documents to which they were affixed, and nothing contradicts the assumption that similar seals could have been used earlier[77], especially since the order is known to have already used the same motif in another connection before this time. The older example is the *Wettinger Stifterkelch*, also mentioned by Belting-Ihm, with an enamelled medallion in the knob which bears the *Mater misericordiae* motif. The chalice was made in Constance, and is dated c. 1280. Unlike in the seals, Mary is shown here with the Infant Jesus in her arms[78]. Both the earlier depictions, linked with the Franciscans, and this oldest known Cistercian *Mater misericordiae* image thus differ from the later, so-called standard type[79].

Thus, at the earliest stage to which we can trace this theme, we have a situation in which at least two different parties appear to have experimented with the new motif, which finally crystallized into the form in which it was generally used. We do not yet know where, or upon whose initiative, this happened. But we should also consider the possibility that a single and unique original never existed. In view of the above situation,

it is even possible that at first several parallel models existed, of which one or those remained that for some reason best corresponded to the needs and wishes of contemporaries.

From the fourteenth century onwards, the *Mater misericordiae* images rapidly spread, and innumerable examples are known from different parts of Europe by the last centuries of the Middle Ages. The most common version is a composition in which Mary stands frontally without the Infant and lifts both arms in a gesture of protection to the human figures sheltering under her cloak. In addition to this version, there are still images in which Mary stands with the Infant in her arms, as in Duccio's early painting (Fig. 33). Among others, Holbein painted the motif in this way in 1525[80]. At first members of different orders, both secular and religious, were featured under Mary's cloak. From the middle of the fourteenth century, the time of the first great plague of the Middle Ages, the so-called *mater omnium* motif became the most common type, with the whole of mankind seeking protection under Mary's cloak. In these depictions, as in the *danse macabre* theme, mankind is represented by stereotypically depicted members of the secular and religious hierarchy[81]. From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, individual families also placed themselves to an increasing degree under the folds of the cloak[82].

In addition to the Cistercians and Franciscans, other religious orders[83] adopted the motif[84], as well as various lay fraternities[85]. It was also included in depictions of the Last Judgement at a very early stage[86], and it appears in connection with scenes of the Crucifixion[87]. It was most common, however, on its own: as an altarpiece, devotional picture or votive image[88]. The Mater misericordiae motif became particularly popular during the great plague epidemics, when especially the members of mendicant orders preached with fervour on the subject.

However, the decisive step in the spread of the *Mater misericordiae* motif was its use in the illustrations to *Speculum humanae salvationis*.

Speculum humanae salvationis is a book that treats the fall of man and the scheme of redemption through a typological method: the events of world history are viewed in relation to the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary; these being seen as a prefiguration of things to come, i.e. they already contained knowledge of future events. The book exists in

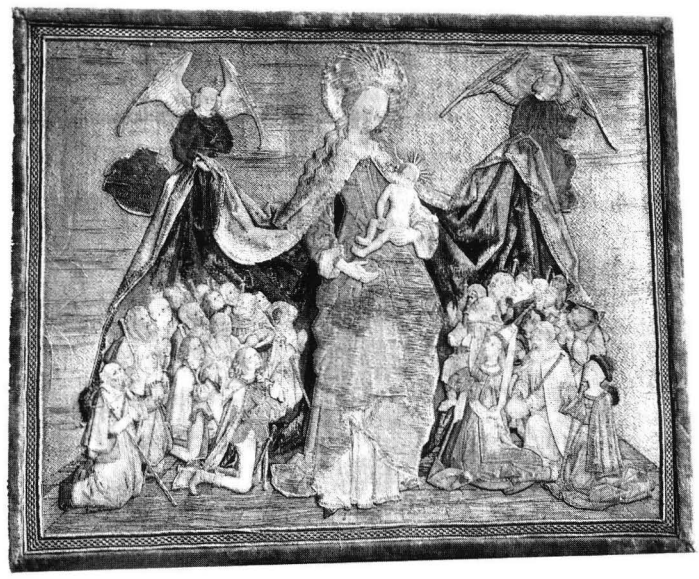

Fig. 33. An embroidered depiction of the Madonna of Mercy, Aachen, fifteenth century. Photograph, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

two versions: a shorter one of 34 sections, and a longer one of 42 or 45 chapters[89]. In the longer version, the first two chapters narrates events from the fall of the angels and the banishment from Paradise to Noah's Ark, the symbol of redemption. The following forty chapters are on the lives of Mary and Jesus. The last three chapters are the Hours of the Passion, Sorrows and Joys of Mary[90]. Each chapter has four parts, of which one relates a specific event in the scheme of redemption, while the other three are its prefigurations[91].

Speculum humanae salvationis was written, or compiled from older material, in the early fourteenth century – possibly in 1324, the date being mentioned in two of the oldest surviving manuscripts[92]. The author is not known, but is assumed to have been a Dominican[93]. It has also been suggested that it was compiled by the Franciscans[94], while Horst Appuhn links the shorter, and in his view more original, version with the Teutonic Order[95].

Speculum became extremely popular in the Middle Ages, especially in Northern Europe. More than 220 Latin manuscripts of it have survived to the present day, in addition to which there are 350 vernacular versions and early printed editions[96].

Speculum became famous particularly for its illustrations. In addition to the actual text, each chapter contains four illustrations relating to the four themes of its text. The first is thus dedicated to the event in question in the scheme of salvation, while the three other illustrations depict its prefigurations[97]. Of special significance for the Mary motifs are chapters XXXVII–XXXIX dealing with the role of the Virgin Mary in redemption. Chapter XXXVII describes the Virgin's intercession for mankind. This theme is illustrated e.g. by a depiction of Mary kneeling with her arms crossed over her breast and raising her eyes towards God in the upper part of the image. God holds three arrows in one hand and a band of text in the other[98]. Chapter XXXVIII tells how the Virgin Mary *defendit nos a Dei vindicta et ejus indignatione, a diaboli infestatione, et a mundi tentatione*[99]. In most versions, the first illustration to this chapter is the *Mater misericordiae*, Mary sheltering mankind under her cloak[100]. In chapter XXXIX both Christ and Mary intercede for sinners: in the first illustration Christ, showing his wounds, turns to God, and in the third illustration Mary stands before Christ on His throne and, baring her breast, asks for mercy for mankind[101].

The Finnish *Mater misericordiae* paintings fall directly into this European pictorial tradition. All five Madonnas – at Hattula, Lohja, Kalanti, Parainen and Taivassalo – are of the *mater omnium* type. The painting in the Church of Parainen is the best preserved of the early *Mater misericordiae* depictions in original condition. Here, the kneeling figures under Mary's cloak are characterized with light brush strokes as representatives of different classes. Foremost is a figure whose headdress identifies him as a bishop, and also the other figures are given individual features. There may also have been individual types in the painting at Taivassalo, but its present copy may not give a reliable picture of its original state. In the other paintings (at Kalanti, Hattula and Lohja) mankind is characterized more by quantity than specific qualities: the people shown under Mary's cloak are all stereotypic figures similar to each other, but as many as space permits are fitted into the picture.

Despite this fundamental similarity, the Finnish paintings can be divided into two groups: an older group of works by the school of Petrus Henrici, and a younger group consisting of the paintings in the churches of Hattula and Lohja. These groups differ both in composition and the emphasis of their content. On the older paintings, the composition can be clearly divided into three parts: Mary praying in one part of the lower area, Jesus

praying in the other part, and All-Powerful God the Father in the upper part. There are also several events simultaneously in progress in the painting, creating a strong inner tension: Mary addressing her prayers to Jesus, who passes them on to God, who finally lets mercy prevail over justice and informs those on earth of his decision. In these paintings, Mary is only one part of a chain of decisions. She is an important intercessor between mankind and God, but does not have the independent power to protect those who seek her help.

The situation is different in the paintings at Hattula and Lohja. Omitted from these are God, Jesus, and with them all doubt: Mary solely and timelessly dominates the field on her own. As assuredly as she saves supplicants in the sermons of Bernardine of Siena (see above p. 24), she carries out her mission of mercy in the paintings at Hattula and Lohja. In these depictions, as in Bernardine's sermons, Mary is truly more than *Mediatrix* – she is *Corredemptrix*. The *Mater misericordiae* paintings of Hattula and Lohja thus show again the strength of popular beliefs and concepts. The Catholic Church never accepted the idea of Mary as a redeemer of mankind who was equal to God, but it did not prevent her from being depicted on church walls as such.[102]

The compositions of both the older and the younger group may well have relied, directly or indirectly, on the illustrations to *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The model for the paintings at Lohja and Hattula may have been the Madonna of Mercy of chapter XXXVIII, but both also have convincing parallels in other images published by Perdrizet, which have nothing to do with *Speculum*[103]. A connection with this book appears to be more distinct in the older group. These depictions of intervention are most probably based on the illustrated motifs of chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX, which were now merged into a single image (Fig. 34). Here too, the painter most probably relied on a model picture, in which this transformation had already been carried out. Similar compositions are known from elsewhere. According to Cornell, one such is for example in the *Schwarzhäupterhaus* at Tallinn, attributed to Memling, the difference here being that the members of the order are shown kneeling around Mary and not under her cloak[104].

Fig. 34. Mary as intercessor for mankind, Miroir de la salvation humaine, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

A good idea of the possible content of the bands of text in paintings at Kalanti and Parainen is given by the following quotation by Cornell of a text in a stained glass painting (based on chapter XXXIX of *Speculum*) in the church of the Cistercian Monastery at Wetting (1590)[105]:

Maria: Son, von wegen der Brüsten min
Wellst diesem Sünder barmherzig sin.
Jesus: Vatter, erhor miner Mutter bitten
Durch die Wunden, die ich hab erlitten.
Gott: Son, wer da bittet um diner Mutter Namen
Den will ich nicht ewig verdammen.

Cornell lists both the Mater misericordiae motif and the above-described intervention motif among the themes especially favoured by the Dominicans in their preaching ('they were adapted into the agitation of the Dominican order')[106]. In his article, Cornell, however, does not, claim[107] that the existence of these themes is always definite proof of Dominican participation in creating the painting programme – the same motifs were used elsewhere, although less intensively.

Anna Nilsén, in turn, expresses considerable reservations about the role of the Dominicans in spreading the above visual concepts. As pointed out by her, the significance of Christ's wounds and Mary as intercessor for mankind appear in many other contexts, including Franciscan texts and the revelations of St. Bridget[108]. The revelations, however, show that Bridget herself linked the theme with the Dominicans; in speaking of Mary's protective cloak, she points out how Dominic had asked Mary to protect his brothers and she had replied with a gentle promise of her protection[109]. It is thus possible that Bridget had heard the Dominicans discuss this theme, although she could already have come to know it while staying at the Cistercian monastery of Alvastra.

However, both Cornell and Nilsén take a possibly one-sided view of this theme. It would again be important to distinguish the actual idea from the visual depictions in which it was given tangible form. It is certainly true, as Nilsén observes, that the actual ideas of the Virgin's *misericordia* and Jesus praying for mercy on behalf of people by baring his wounds were spread by many others than the Dominicans. However, it is equally true that the paintings at Kalanti, Parainen and Taivassalo are ultimately based on the illustrations to *Speculum humanae salvationis* either through the painter's use of a late version of *Speculum* in which this motif appears in this specific form[110], or by using some other model image, in turn based on *Speculum*.

The large number of preserved exemplars of *Speculum* clearly shows that in the Middle Ages this work was not limited to use by the Dominicans, which is only natural in view of the general pattern by which medieval literature was disseminated[111]. As copies of manuscripts spread outside Dominican circles, their illustrations became common currency, regardless of the fact that they were still of Dominican origin. There is thus no reason to deny the importance of *Speculum* itself as the 'father' of pictorial models[112], even if we must reject Dominican influence in individual cases. The model used by painters could well have been of Dominican origin, even if the painter, priest responsible for the scheme of paintings, or the donor were not Dominicans. Especially with regard to Finland, we must also remember the decisive role of the Dominicans in developing local religious life, and the possibility of their direct influence must always be considered in any study of the Finnish paintings.

A good indication of how deeply the idea of Mary's protective cloak was imbedded in the consciousness of the Finnish people in the Middle Ages is its occurrence in folklore as

far as the easternmost areas of sung runes. According to Väinö Kaukonen, the Virgin Mary is asked to give her cloak as protection to people or animals in many charms and spells. His examples include an excerpt from a marriage lament or dirge from Suistamo in Karelia which was sung on leaving for the bride's home:

> *Neitsyt Muarie, emoni,/Annas on vagane(n) vaippa),/Kanna kullan karvalline(n),/Jotta ma saisin rauhass' muata/Segä kansani katella,/Pereheni peitellä,/Jottei tarttuis noijan nuolit/Eigä tietäjän teräkset.*
> (Virgin Mary, mother of mine,/Give me your trusty cloak,/Bear to me your golden furs,/That I may rest in peace/And see my kin/Cover my family/To avert the arrows of witches/And the blades of seers).[113]

The cloak was also an instrument to stop bleeding and for shelter against war and enemies[114]. According to Kaukonen, the version of the Mary cloak runes in which the cloak is requested 'as cover and shelter for "people" (kin) and family' apparently represents the oldest stratum of Christian-inspired prayers in the charms, which already received lyric form in the Middle Ages. Kaukonen also considers it possible that it was the Dominicans, with their knowledge of the legend, who were influential in making this metaphor used by clerics part of popular knowledge[115].

b. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer

The large paintings in the churches of Hattula and Lohja featuring the Virgin Mary with praying people are also outside the context of miracle motifs. Like the *Mater misericordiae* paintings, they, however, belong to the large group of Marian paintings in these churches, and as such must be discussed in further detail.

Most researchers since Nervander's time have assumed that the large paintings above the porch door at both Hattula and Lohja depict the Virgin Mary and people praying to her[116]. Various interpretations have been suggested regarding the precise content of the paintings, the motive of supplication, and the actual situation of prayer. Nygren links the painting with the nearby 'Bell of Judgement' depiction, assuming that the former portrays the moment of the resurrection, when the dead rise from their graves and people kneel before Mary to seek protection[117]. Riitta Pylkkänen concurs with this view[118]. Åke Andrén, on the other hand, classes the Lohja painting among the few Nordic depictions of purgatory. According to him, the human figures in the lower part of this painting are a donor family, of whose children three have died. These three children are accordingly in purgatory, where they are praying to the Virgin Mary[119].

Anna Nilsén has discussed this subject in two different connections. She accepts Andrén's interpretation of the Lohja painting, although with the difference that in her most recent article she calls the praying group 'mortals' and not a 'donor family'[120]. Nilsén gave the painting the title 'Intercession for Souls', assuming like Andrén that it relates to the concept of purgatory and of aid to the souls there[121].

With respect to the Hattula painting, Nilsén is not as unequivocal. In her first treatment of the subject, she identifies the central figure with certain reservations as the Virgin Mary, and assumes that the oblique lines painted over the praying figures symbolize rays of grace emanating from the feet of the Virgin[122]. In a later connection, she is certain of Mary's identity, and also suggests that the depiction is of *Maria Sapientissima* (cf. the book in Mary's hand). The oblique lines are now interpreted as arrows, and Nilsén assumes that this may be a so-called plague depiction. Accordingly, this would be a intercessory motif, as at Lohja. In the Hattula painting, however, the human figures would be plague-stricken people, and not souls in purgatory[123]. With reference to Lars Petters-

son's studies, Nilsén assumes that this painting and others at Hattula showing saints connected with the plague were donated by Märta Bengtsdotter Ulv, and her spouse Åke Jöransson Tott, commandant of Hämeenlinna Castle, whose coats of arms are among the paintings. She also assumes that the paintings were related to Tott's recovery from the plague[124]. However, Nilsén still leaves the interpretation of this painting open.

Nilsén's assumption that the enigmatic lines in the Hattula painting are arrows signifying disease, finds support in the biographical details of the assumed donors. However, the disease was not the plague, and the painting cannot be called an actual plague depiction, although it resembles it in a certain sense. Lars Pettersson's article, cited also by Anna Nilsén, mentions that Åke Jöransson himself called his affliction '*the pocker*', which according to presently held views means syphilis[125]. At no stage is it called *pestilencia*, nor does any other available information support the assumption that it was the plague[126]. Åke Jöransson himself described his illness as *gantzke swarlege* (very trying) and as *thenne store och sware sywgdom* (this great and difficult disease), but still hoped to be cured with the aid of a good physician[127]. The illness is mentioned three times between 1508 and 1509, but after this it appears to have been brought under control, for Tott lived until 1520, ending his days on the executioner's block[128].

Nor is there any evidence to show that Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott, the former mistress of Hämeenlinna Castle, died of the plague, as assumed by Nilsén[129]. A letter written in Turku on the 18th of December 1507 informs of her death, mentioning only that *war herre haffuer kalleth then godhe frw, Ingeborgh, her aff thenne syndighe verlden, Gud hennes siäl nadhe* ('Our Lord has summoned the fair lady, Madam Ingeborgh, from this sinful world, God have mercy on her soul')[130]. The letter does not give the cause of death, which would certainly have been mentioned had it been a feared disease like the plague. Nor is there any reference to other deaths, which would have certainly been done had the plague been the cause. Bubonic plague is an extremely epidemic disease, affecting complete localities at the same time, and does not choose its victims at random. It was also an accurately diagnosed disease, and by the early sixteenth century also the Finns had learned to take certain quarantine measures against it, avoiding the diseased and plague-stricken areas[131]. It was also customary to bury the victims as soon as possible. According to tradition, Madam Ingeborg's body was, however, transported in an impressive cortege from Hämeenlinna all the way to Sweden[132]. In documents, 1507 in fact appears to be one of the few fortunate years when the plague did not strike Finland: around the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is mentioned for example in the years 1495, 1500, 1504, 1505 and 1508, but not in 1507[133].

The idea that epidemics were brought on by divine wrath and spread by invisible arrows flung into the air was already known before Christianity. Among other sources, the Iliad mentions how Apollo appeared at night in the camp of the Greeks and gave them the plague with his arrows[134]. Christians found confirmation for this belief in the Bible: the Second Book of Samuel relates how God, wishing to punish David, made him choose between three evils (hunger, war and pestilence) and then sent the plague upon the people of Israel[135]. Medieval authors mention that in 590, during the so-called Justinian plague in Rome, arrows were seen flying through the air, hitting people in the breast and thus causing their death. The arrow theme was also a reason why St. Sebastian came to be revered as a saint of the plague. According to his legend of martyrdom, Sebastian was tied before his death to a tree and shot at with arrows, which did not harm him, and this led people to believe that Sebastian could protect them against the arrows of pestilence[136].

Fig. 35. God Empowering Death to Visit Mankind with the Three Scourges of War, Hunger and Disease, Miroir de la salvation humaine, *Ms. Fr. 6275, fol. 1, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

Speculum humanae salvationis (Fig. 35) also played a significant role in visualizing and spreading belief in arrows as agents of disease. As mentioned above, the first miniature of chapter XXXVII in *Speculum* depicts Mary praying on her knees to God in heaven,

who is flexing his bow and threatening the world with his arrows (see p. 94). According to the text, this illustration is based on a vision of St. Dominic[137] in which he saw Christ threatening the world with three spears, aimed at the three great sins of *superbia*, *luxuria* and *avaritia*, and the Virgin Mary calming His fury by promising the world the aid of two of her skilled assistants, Dominic and Francis, in its fight against sin[138]. Later versions of *Speculum* also contain illustrations in which the visual motifs of chapters XXXXVII and XXXVIII are combined into a whole, and in which Mary, as *Mater omnium*, shields mankind with her cloak against the arrows of God[139] (Fig. 36). The same motif was also widely popular in other genres of art, e.g. the *Pestblätter*.

According to Perdrizet, most of the pictures of Mary protecting people from arrows shot or flung by God are known to be *ex voto* images, and he is even willing to regard all of them as votive images acquired for protection against the plague[140]. In most of the images, the arrows stop at Mary's cloak, leaving the people in its shelter unharmed; in other words, the depictions were obviously made for precautionary purposes. In some paintings, however, some of the human figures are struck by arrows, which has been interpreted as meaning that they were acquired when the epidemic already raged in the locality concerned. These wounded people thus signify those already afflicted. An example of this is a fifteenth-century fresco in the Italian town of Atella[141]. The kneeling, praying and wounded figures provide a good comparison with the praying figures in the Hattula painting, and we may thus assume, as suggested by Nilsén, that also at Hattula afflicted people are depicted. However, the disease is not the plague, but another affliction.

The arrows are a detail linking the Hattula painting with the so-called plague depictions, although in other respects it clearly differs from them: in the plague depictions the Virgin Mary is praying for God's mercy on those she protects, while in the Hattula painting people without shelter are praying to her. The model for this painting was apparently not a plague depiction, but another type of image known from earlier art, which was generally used in depicting the Virgin Mary and people venerating her or praying to her. Here, the hierarchical difference between the object of prayer and the supplicants is shown by placing the former at a higher level in the picture. A two-part composition of this kind appears, e.g. in the first seal of the Diocesan Chapter of Turku,

Fig. 36. Plague motif Maria est mediatrix inter Deum et hominem, Speculum humanae salvationis, *Ms. Nr. 1585, Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Illustration from Beissel 1909.*

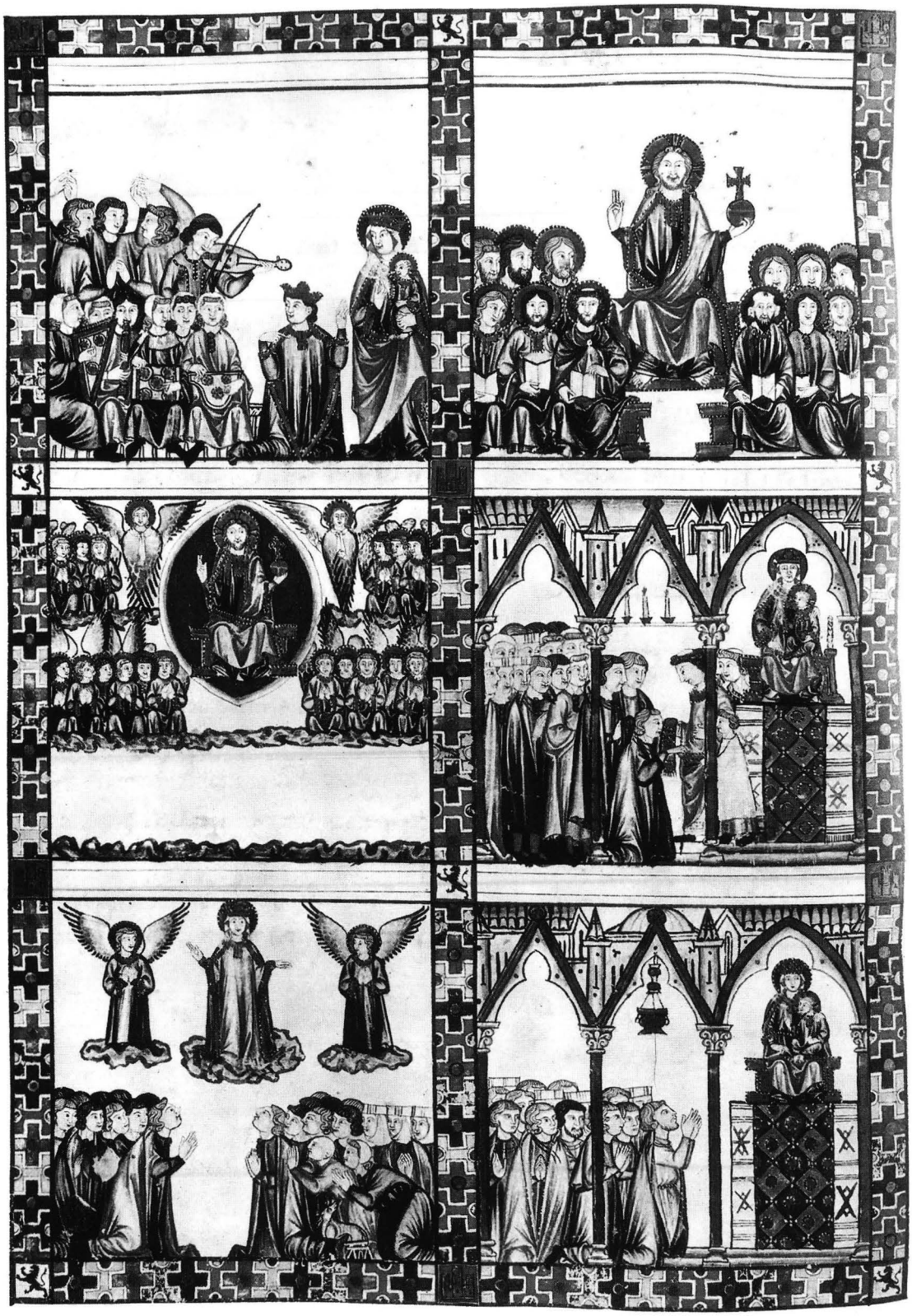

Fig. 37. Praise of the Virgin Mary, Cantigas de Santa Maria, *Ms. T.I.I., Cantiga CXX, Real Biblioteca, Escorial. Photograph, Patrimionio Nacional, Madrid.*

which was acquired after 1296 and in which six kneeling canons are turned towards Mary who is placed above them. It is also used in a Spanish *cantigas* manuscript of the latter thirteenth century (Fig. 37), in which it especially appears in connection with hymns in

honour of the Virgin Mary[142]. These are but a few examples, and the painter or painters at Hattula thus followed an established model in creating the composition.

In his article on the donors of the Hattula paintings, Lars Pettersson suggests that the paintings donated by Märta Bengtsdotter Ulv and Åke Jöransson Tott were possibly a votive gift intended to ensure the latter's cure[143]. In my opinion, the paintings at Hattula reveal several features supporting their assumed votive purpose. Like the plague depictions, the Hattula painting with human figures struck by arrows was most certainly a votive image, and, as discussed below, the votive concept emerges in a broader sense in the whole ensemble of paintings.

According to Perdrizet, depictions with plague themes showing the Virgin Mary as the protectress of mankind have a clear connection with the Franciscans. He claims that this idea probably originated in the sermons of repentance preached by St. Bernard of Siena in the plague years of the early fifteenth century.[144] The present material cannot tell whether this theme in the Church of Hattula is an indication of direct Franciscan influence on the painting programme or a sign of this order's more general cultural influence at the time when these paintings were made.

The Painting in the Church of Lohja

In the Lohja painting of the Virgin Mary and supplicants, the overall composition was definitely based on a similar image as at Hattula. These paintings, however, essentially differ in details, and accordingly in content, which may not be just a coincidence. Assuming, in agreement with Pettersson, that the execution of the Lohja paintings depended on Tönne Eriksson Tott (Fig. 38) in the same way that the Hattula paintings were linked to his cousin, Åke Jöransson Tott[145], the differences seem completely logical. Tönne Eriksson Tott, the main donor of the Lohja paintings, was to our knowledge a man in good health – at least not suffering from any fatal illness. Therefore, it was not necessary to portray the praying figures as afflicted, but as normal, healthy people.

At Hattula, the arrows are the key to the deeper message of the painting. A corresponding detail at Lohja are figures of the dead at prayer placed between the living. I would be prepared to accept Andrén's and Nilsén's interpretation that these figures symbolize souls in purgatory, and that the painting as a whole can be seen as a depiction of intercessory prayer for these souls. Also this detail may find a certain connection with the life of Tönne Eriksson.

All medieval people most certainly had those for whose souls in purgatory they prayed. For Tönne Eriksson the situation was especially acute: his first wife died in 1503, and although he remarried in 1512[146], the post-mortem fate of his first spouse most probably caused him much concern. According to the late-medieval concept of purgatory, each soul had to spend a shorter or longer period there. The duration of this period depended on the magnitude of sins committed in lifetime. The living, however, could shorten a soul's stay in purgatory by prayer and alms, and by commissioning masses for the dead. According to Le Goff, caring for the *suffrages* was above all the task of blood relatives and spouses, and the widow or widower had an especially central role[147]. The importance of this issue also in late-medieval Finland is evidenced by an example from Turku: the choir regulations of the Cathedral of Turku required that services be performed with the heart, and not only the mouth, and that the clergy of the Cathedral should bear in mind the great responsibility they had towards souls suffering in purgatory[148].

Fig. 38. Tönne Eriksson's coat-of-arms in the Church of Lohja, after a drawing by Elias Brenner. Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Caesarius of Heisterbach writes of a widow's responsibility and her means to influence the fate of her late spouse in the following words:

> 'A certain usurer of Liège died in our time and was forbidden burial in the cemetery by the bishop. But his wife went to the Apostolic See and begged for his burial there, and when the pope refused, she pleaded in this way for him: I have heard, lord, that man and wife are one and that the apostle says an unbeliever can be saved by a believing wife. Hence whatever shortcomings there may have been in my husband, I will most gladly make up for these and give satisfaction to God for his sins." And the cardinals pleading her cause, by the order of the lord pope, the man is restored to the cemetery. Hard by his grave she had a house made for herself, in which she shut herself up and by alms, prayer and fasting and by watching day and night strove to please God for his soul's sake. But when seven years were gone, he appeared to her in a black dress and thanked saying: "God reward thee, for I have been rescued from the pit of hell and from the greatest pains by thy efforts. But if for still another seven years thou wilt confer like benefits upon me, I shall be entirely freed." And when she had done so, again appearing to her in a white dress and with joyful face, he said: "Thanks to God and to thee that today I am delivered".[149]

To the medieval mind, the Virgin Mary was not only queen of heaven but also of hell (*Regina infernorum*). It was thus in her power to help and deliver souls suffering in hell and purgatory[150]. If Tönne Eriksson thus had wished to help his deceased wife, he could not have chosen better than to request the assistance of Mary. In any case, we can observe that this issue was timely when the programme of the Lohja paintings was being planned, for there is another painting in the church reflecting the same belief in purgatory and the power of the Virgin Mary to help those who suffer there (see p. 117).

The identity of the praying figures in the Lohja painting must remain open; we cannot tell if they depict the donor family, as Andrén suggests, or only symbolic supplicants as claimed by Nilsén. If we assume that the painting is a votive image, we also have grounds to regard it as an intended 'portrait'. As pointed out by Freedberg, the drive to ensure accuracy of representation was fundamental to votive images. The vast majority of them aim at visual precision and differentiation[151]. It is thus completely possible that the long-bearded, dignified man on the left is Tönne Eriksson himself, but this, of course, is not absolutely certain. The painting at Hattula is unfortunately so damaged that corresponding hypotheses are not possible.

c. The Virgin Mary and the Aquitanian Youth

The painting at Lohja interpreted by Nervander as Christ teaching in the temple and by Nygren as an intervention motif is discussed and identified by Anna Nilsén in her 1979 article on paintings of Marian miracles at Hattula and Lohja. Nilsén argues that the painting is based on the legend, known from several collections, of a rich (Aquitanian) young man who first squandered his fortune and then tried to regain it with the help of the Devil[152]. The legend appears in several sources, including *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais. This work in turn used the early *Mariale magnum* as its source[153], and it is thus possible that the story of the Aquitanian youth already belonged to this famous work, on which most miracle collections are based in various ways.

There are several versions of the legend, with differing details (e.g. the time and place of the events)[154]. Caesarius of Heisterbach relates the story as follows:

> 'Within the last five years there lived near Floreffe, a Premonstratensian monastery in the Diocese of Liège, a young noble, whose father died and left him much wealth, for he was a great and powerful Baron. The youth was knighted and, in his feverish search after popularity, very soon was brought down from great wealth to excessive poverty. For to win the applause of others, he gave himself up altogether to tourneys and pageants, spending vast sums of money on actors and buffoons. His annual revenues were not enough for these extravagances, and he was compelled to sell his father's estates. – Now there was living in the neighbourhood a knight, both rich and honourable, although a courtier; and it was to him that the youth disposed of his lands, freeholds and fiefs, selling some and mortgaging others. And when he had now reached the stage of having no more property either to sell or to pledge, he determined to leave the country, for he felt it would be more tolerable to beg among strangers than to endure the shame of poverty among his own kinsfolk and acquaintances. – Now he had as a steward an evil fellow, Christian by name but no Christian in life, for he was wholly given over to the service of the devil. This man, seeing his master depressed, and knowing full well the cause of his trouble, said to him, "Sir, would you like to be rich again?" and he answered, "Of course I would like to be rich, provided the riches came with God's blessing." "Have no fear for that", said the steward, "only come with me, and all will be well". Forthwith he went after that scoundrel, as Eve after the voice of the serpent, or a bird after the snare of the fowler, ready to fall quickly into the clutches of the devil. So that night he led him through a wood to a place of marsh and bog, where he began to hold converse with someone unseen. And the youth asked with whom he was speaking, and that vile steward answered: "Hush, take no notice of any I may speak with." Then he began to speak again, and when the youth repeated his question, he replied, "With the devil". At these words, overwhelming horror swept over him, for who could be unmoved at hearing such a reply in such a place and at such an hour! The steward went on speaking thus to the devil: "My lord, I have brought here this noble, my master, to gain your favour, entreating you majesty that by your aid he may be restored to his former wealth and honours." The devil replied: "If he will be my faithful and devoted servant, I will give him great riches and to these I will add such glory and honour as his forefathers never knew." Answered the steward, "Gladly will he be your faithful and dutiful slave for such a reward." And the devil went on: "To obtain these things from me, he must begin now by renouncing the Most High." And when the youth heard this and refused to do it, that man of perdition said to him, "Why should you be afraid to utter this one little word? Come, renounce." At last persuaded by the steward, the wretched youth denied his Creator with his lips, made the legal sign of repudiation with his hand, and did homage to the devil. – When this crime was accomplished, the devil added: "The business is still incomplete; he must also renounce the Mother of the Highest, for it is she who does us the greatest harm. Men are often rejected by the

justice of the Son, and yet restored to mercy by the absurd pitifulness of His Mother." Again the serpent hissed into the ear of the youth to obey his master in this also, and to deny the Mother as he had denied the Son. To this the other, though terribly frightened, and troubled beyond measure, replied: "That will I never do." "Why," said he, "you have done the greater thing, now do the less; for the Creator is greater than the creature." But he, "Never will I deny her, not even if I have to beg my bread from door to door for the rest of my life." And so with the transaction still incomplete, having gained no sort of reward, they returned, both laden with an awful weight of sin, the steward by persuading, the youth by consenting. – On their way back, they came to a church, which the bellringer had left only half closed. At once the youth leapt down from his horse , gave it to the steward, and said, "Wait here till I come back." And entering the dark church, for the dawn was not yet, he threw himself down before the altar, and began from the very bottom of his heart to call upon the Mother of Mercy. Now there was upon the altar an image of the Virgin Mother herself, holding the Infant Jesus in her arms. And behold by the merits of that most glorious Star of the Sea, the true Dayspring began to arise in the heart of our youth. So deep contrition did the Lord deign to give him, for the sake of his mother, whom he had refused to deny, that he "roared for the very disquietness of his heart", and in his grief filled the whole church with lamentable cries. – At the same hour, the aforesaid knight, who was in possession of all his property, led, as he believed, by the Divine will, passed by this church; and, seeing it open, entered, being quite alone; for he thought that the Divine Mysteries were being celebrated, because he heard voices from within. When he saw the youth who was well known to him, weeping before the altar, he supposed that he was bemoaning his misfortunes, and withdrew quietly behind a pillar, to see what might happen further. Now while the penitent did not dare to call upon or even name the Majesty which he had denied, but only in tearful accents to repeat the name of His most pitiful Mother, there came through the mouth of her image, in the hearing of both, the voice of that blessed and only advocate of Christian folk speaking thus to her Son: "My sweetest Son, have pity on this man." But the Child turned away his face, and made no answer to His Mother. And when again she besought Him, saying that the man had been led astray, He turned His back on His Mother and said: "This man has renounced me; what can I do for him?" Upon this, the image arose, laid her Son upon the altar, and prostrated herself upon her face before His feet, saying: "I beseech Thee, my Son, to pardon him this sin for my sake." Immediately the Child raised up His Mother and replied: "Never, my Mother, have I been able to refuse you anything; behold, for your sake, I forgive him all." Before this, He had forgiven the guilt for the sake of his contrition, and now, on His Mother's intercession, He forgave the penalty as well. ... – Now he arose and left the church, grieving still for his sin, but joyful in his forgiveness. The knight too came out after him unobserved, and asked him, as though he knew nothing of the matter, why his eyes were so wet and swollen; and he said it was due to the wind. Then said the other: "Sir, I know the reason for your sadness; now I have an only daughter, if you are willing to marry her, I will give you back all your lands as her dowry, and will further make you the heir to all my wealth." To this the youth made joyful response: "I shall indeed be happy if you will deign to do this." The knight went home and told everything to his wife; she gave her consent, and the marriage took place; and all his property was restored to the youth under the name of dowry. He is still alive, I think, and parents-in-law too, but after their death, all their wealth will pass to him."[155]

This legend is also in *Själens tröst* (Comfort for the Soul) written at the Convent of Vadstena, and in the *Järteckensbok* (Book of Portents), although in much simpler form. The many descriptive details have been omitted, and the dialogues and arguments have been shortened, and only the features essential to the plot are described in more detail. In the Swedish versions, the role of Mary is even more pronounced: her name is a magic word that makes the devil disappear immediately. A comparison of these texts illustrates the differences that existed in monastic literature in Central Europe and Sweden in the Middle Ages, and for this reason the version in *Själens tröst* is quoted here in full length.

With the exception of the climax of the story, the version in the *Järteckensbok* is almost similar to the legend in *Själens tröst*; in the former Mary only nods to the young man, and does not rise from the altar to beg for mercy for him. Nor is there any mention of the Infant Jesus; Mary's forgiveness alone is enough[156].

'A rich man of Aquitania bequeathed a great deal of riches, and at the hour of his death he left his son in the charge of a knight, who was to be his guardian. The boy grew up disregarding the knight's advice, and gradually lost his whole fortune, the knight purchasing most of it for himself. The boy was poor and very sad, and he asked a conjurer to advise him how to become rich. The conjurer replied, saying: 'Follow me, I will show you a good way'. And he took the man with him to a place where he could speak with the devil. And said this man wants to be your servant if you will make him rich. The devil replied: 'You must reject your Lord and Maker Christ and deny Him.' And this the man did. Then the devil said: 'Now you must also reject the Mother of God and deny Her.' The man replied: 'I will

never deny Mary the Mother of Mercy. The moment he mentioned Mary, the devil and his companions fled from him. And the young man went into a church and fell down on his knees before a statue of Our Lady, asking Her to pray for mercy for him because he had denied Her Son. At the same moment, his guardian was secretly praying in the church, and the knight saw Our Lady placing Her Son from her arms upon the altar and falling down on Her knees before Him saying: 'My beloved son, forgive this young man his sins for my sake. Our Lord replied:'My dearest mother, I cannot deny you anything, for your sake I forgive all his sins. The knight saw all this and greatly wondered. He called the youth to him, and asked of things and what he had done. The young man told him the truth of what he had said and done. Then the knight told him what he had seen and gave him his only daughter and returned all the youth's property to him. And from then on he was a great friend of God.'[157]

Both Caesarius's version of this story and that in *Själens tröst*, also known as *Quidam miles strenuus et fortis*[158] or *Miracle du Renieur*[159], interestingly differ from many other miracle legends. Where a mortal experiences a miracle, the plot usually proceeds from penance for sins and forgiveness to the character relinquishing worldly pleasures and spending the rest of his life in a monastery or dedicating himself to Mary[160]. The end of this legend, however, follows a 'princess and half the kingdom' model with a truly worldly happy end, even despite the fact that both Caesarius' work and *Själens tröst* were primarily meant to be read in monasteries. Apparently a clandestine yearning for romance lived on even in a cloistered environment, and had to be served by legends of this kind.

Comparing the paintings at Hattula and Lohja with the above texts we see that their details significantly differ from those in the *Järteckensbok* version (Mary only nodding to the sinners vs. descending from the altar and lifting the Infant Jesus to sit upon it), and the latter could thus not have been a direct model for the paintings. Nor are the paintings completely identical with the versions of the legend by Caesarius of Heisterbach or in *Själens tröst*. In the former, Mary prostrates herself on her face; in the latter she kneels before her Son; and in the paintings she is shown standing. As Anna Nilsén has observed, this difference, however, finds a natural explanation. The paintings at Hattula and Lohja combine in a single image two scenes of the legend: the youth's supplication to Mary, and Mary praying to Jesus. The artists, however, could not show Mary kneeling together with a sinner, and had to find other means to depict her intervention: the bared breast (Lohja), or hands joined together (Hattula)[161]. It is of course also possible that the Lohja painting is based on some other variant of the legend, containing the detail of the bared breast. This depiction of Mary appears e.g. in many French and Arabian miracle variants. In a fourteenth-century Ethiopian manuscript Mary even threatens Jesus: 'If Thou wilt not forgive him for my sake, I will slit open my breasts and rip up my body'[162].

It is also possible that the painter borrowed this detail from another image, and not from literature. In the Church of Lohja, the Virgin baring her breast also appears in the painting of the Last Judgement, in a manner that refers back to the illustrations in *Speculum humanae salvationis*. It is thus conceivable that the painter adopted this detail into his visual language either directly or indirectly from this book, using it to give special emphasis to the fervour of the Virgin's intercession.

The models for the paintings of Marian miracles are discussed in further detail in a following chapter (see p. 180).

d. The Painter and the Devil

The painting in the east cell of vault IV in the south nave of the Church of Lohja has previously been interpreted e.g. as the execution of a criminal on the wheel[163]or as a scene from the legend of Theophilus[164]. It was finally identified in 1974 in connection with an

iconographic congress held in Finland[165], and it could be observed that the painting was based on the legend of the painter and the devil (discussed above in connection with Marian literature, see p. 62). Anna Nilsén has demonstrated that also the painting in the north cell of vault II in the south nave at Hattula depicts this theme.

In her article on paintings of Marian miracles, Nilsén points to the fact that the Hattula and Lohja paintings display clear differences, and does not regard the execution of either as especially lucid[166]. However, compared with the actual legend, the Lohja painting does not contain any ambiguities. It contains all the essential details mentioned in the story: the Virgin Mary, here with the Infant in her arms; the painter with his brush in his hand, the devil whose vivid posture can easily be interpreted as a sign of agitation; and even the scaffolding and the planks being flung to the floor. Nothing of the painter's fright is shown in the painting; he appears to be sitting calmly on his scaffold unbothered by the raging devil – faith in the aid of Mary is a more dominant element here than fear of the devil.

In addition, there is no basis for confusing the scaffolding with the executioner's wheel, an idea proposed by earlier scholars and still persisting in Nilsén's text[167]. Only one of the planks or boards in the painting is curved, and the rest are practically straight. One curved plank does not yet make a wheel; it would be more probable that the enraged devil bent the plank when tearing down the scaffolding. That this structure is not an executioner's wheel is even more obvious when we compare this painting with an actual depiction of what is most probably a wheel in vault III in the north nave of the church. Shown here is a scene from the legend of St. Catherine, in which her execution on the wheel fails. In the painting, the wheel is in a horizontal position, affixed to a sturdy post; this construction bears no similarity to the structure behind the painter. On the contrary, the depiction of the scaffolding is logical and its details are distinct. The upright trunks with thinner, horizontal staffs tied to the forks with plaited rope (the twists of the rope are clearly visible), are shown very realistically, and this structure does not differ much from scaffolding used in churches as late as this century. Even the probably unintentional detail of the thin timber finds a comparison in later times; Emil Nervander, who also worked in the Church of Lohja, complained in a letter that the congregations provided the restoration crews with such frail timber that it was difficult to send a large assistant up on the scaffolding[168].

The Hattula painting is without doubt more simplified than its counterpart at Lohja. All that remains of the scaffolding is an indefinite pile under the feet of the painter. But even here, the figure of the painter holds an object essential to his identity: a brush. The painting closely follows the text of the legend and shows Mary herself extending her hand to save the painter. At Lohja, this event is depicted differently: the Virgin remains immobile, but the painter grabs her cloak, thus managing to avoid falling.

This painting also contains an important detail which is lacking from the one at Lohja and has not been commented on by earlier researchers. At the left of the painting is a kneeling woman whose arms are crossed over her breast as a sign of veneration. In my opinion, we have here a feature of essential importance to the whole miracle cult, being also mentioned in the actual legend concerned: the witness to the whole miracle. As pointed out above, witnessing miracles grew in importance in the Late Middle Ages because of criticism of the miracle cult and its misuses. In these situations eye-witnesses were given the most credence (see p. 40). The woman in the Hattula painting thus represents all those of whom Vincent of Beauvais wrote: 'Then all those round about

praised Christ and His Mother, and mocked and jeered at the devil for the failure of his trick'.

The depictions of the painter and devil legend at Hattula and Lohja clearly appear to be based on different pictorial models or variants of the legend that differ slightly in their details. The features and details of the Hattula painting completely correspond, for example, with the legend as told by Vincent of Beauvais, which was also known in Finland. I have not found a legend variant directly matching the Lohja painting, but I would not doubt the existence of such a story.

Like other non-Biblical paintings, the legend of the painter and the devil has a connection with everyday life. Medieval chronicles contain many references to accidents that befell artists working in churches[169], and this theme is also known from oral tradition in various parts of Europe. A fatal accident of this kind appears to be depicted also in a twelfth-century sculpture in the monastery church of Saint Gilles, in which a man lies crushed under a column[170]. Understandably, this theme was especially close to the artists themselves.

e. The Virgin Mary and the English Priest

The painting in the east cell of vault III of the south nave at Hattula depicts the Virgin Mary and two blessed virgins standing next to a man lying in bed. Anna Nilsén links this depiction with the Järteckensbok legend of an English priest[171]. In translation, the original text reads as follows:

> 'An English cleric, who had lived a foul life, began to hear the mass of Our Lady and carry out other services to her to stay away from sin. For the sake of His Mother's prayers, God granted him mercy to stay away from sin. But he did not go to confession. He saw a vision of God's terrifying judgement where the devil spoke to the judge, asking God to give him the soul of the priest, for he had served him since childhood and he brought forth a large letter in which the priest's sins were written. The priest was greatly horrified of being sent to eternal damnation, for he had not confessed and he called upon the Virgin Mary to help him. She immediately produced another, small text listing his good works and asked Her Son to judge on the grounds of these writings. Both texts were weighed on a scales, and the devil's text weighed more. Mary the Mother of Mercy placed on the scales the small good works the priest had done in her honour, and immediately the good works weighed more. Then Mary said to the priest: 'Your are redeemed of your sins, be careful not to sin any more and often read in honour of my Son this verse *Adiuua nos deus salutaris noster & c*, which means: 'Help us God our saviour and save us for thy honour's sake and be merciful towards our sins for thy holy name's sake. She gave the priest the text in which his sins were written and asked him to confess. The priest awoke, finding a letter in his hand listing all his sins; those which he had committed since the age of five and he confessed and immediately mended his ways.'[172]

According to Nilsén, the painting at Hattula illustrates the main event of the miracle: the moment when the man awakes, holding in his hand evidence that it was not just a dream he had experienced[173]. This interpretation seems highly convincing, with the exception of one minor source of uncertainty. In the *Järteckensbok*, the document with the list of sins is called *brefw* (letter), but in the painting the man is clearly holding a book. Nilsén herself uses the noncommittal Swedish term *skrift* (text or piece of writing), which may refer to both, but this does not remove the slight difference between the painting and the legend. It does not, however, disprove Nilsén's interpretation, but only shows that also this legend was known in several, slightly different, variants. For example, the *Legenda aurea* contains a legend closely resembling the *Järteckensbok* version: chapter 131, beginning with the heading: *Quidam claricus vanus et lubricus erat*. Also *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, written after 1467 by Jean Mielot for Charles the Bold contains a legend

telling 'how a worldly clerk, devoted to the Virgin, was carried in a vision before God for judgment; how, when he was about to be condemned, the Virgin obtained him a respite and bade him sin no more; and how he entered into religion and lived a holy life'[174].

f. The Virgin Mary and the Juggler

This painting in the sacristy at Hattula, which Kyllikki Männikkö interprets as a juggler performing for Mary,[175] is briefly commented on by Nilsén. In her view, Männikkö's suggestion might be correct, but she feels the figure's posture and clothing are not typical of a juggler[176].

But Männikkö's theory cannot be rejected on such light grounds. Comparing the Hattula painting with *Del Tumbeor del Nostre Dame*, a medieval text on this subject (English translation by P.H. Wicksteed in Appendix 2), we can see that the male figure in the painting is wearing precisely the costume in which the juggler of the text is described while he is honouring the Virgin Mary with his skills. The text reads: *Sa cape oste, si se despoille, Deles l'autel met sa despoille, Mais por sa char que ne soit nue Une cotele a retenue Qui mout estoit tenve et alise: Petit vaux mieux d'une chemise*. In other words, he takes off the habit given to him when he joined the Monastery of Clairvaux, and covers his nudity with a small smock, hardly larger than a shirt[177]. The man in the Hattula painting is dressed in this manner, and at least in this respect, we can see the painting completely corresponds to the text of the miracle.

In my opinion, the lack of a juggler's costume is not any way an essential detail; illustrations of miracles of the Virgin feature many jugglers whose clothing does not distinguish them from other figures. For example, in an illustration to song VIII of the *Cantigas* collection of King Alfonso X, a juggler is shown playing a violin-like instrument before an image of the Virgin (Fig. 39). In Cantigas no. CXCIV there is an illustration of a juggler playing for worldly dignitaries and riding on horseback, again in ordinary garb. Gautier de Coincy's miracle collection also contains a legend of a juggler playing in honour of the Virgin Mary. Perhaps the most famous copy of this work, an illustrated exemplar that originally belonged to the collections of the *Grand Seminaire* of Soissons[178] contains an illustration of a juggler who in his clothing does not differ in any way from the other figures (Fig. 40).

In testing Männikkö's theory, the posture and clothing of the male figure are, however, of secondary importance. Before attempting a deeper analysis of the details in the painting, we must ask if the situation depicted was at all possible in the Middle Ages. Männikkö claims that the depicted man is a juggler throwing balls into the air, which begs the question whether medieval jugglers performed with balls. Only when this is answered can we discuss whether the other details of the painting support this interpretation.

The medieval poem telling of the miracle does not mention the juggler's balls. Instead, it describes how he began to make leaps 'high and low'[179]. After this, he entertained the Virgin with various tricks, separately named in the text:

> *'Lors tume et saut et fait (par) feste Le tor de Mes entor la teste'*[180]. *'Apres li fait le tor francois Et puis le tor Chanpenois, Et puis li fait le tor d'Espaigne Et le tors c'on fait en Bretagne, Et puis le tor de Loheraine: De quantqu'il onques puet se paine. Apres li fait le tor romain, Et met devant sen front sa main Et bale trop mignotement, et regarde mout humblement L'ymage de la mere Deu'*.[181]

He went on jumping and moving his arms and feet in this way before falling down with exhaustion and losing consciousness.

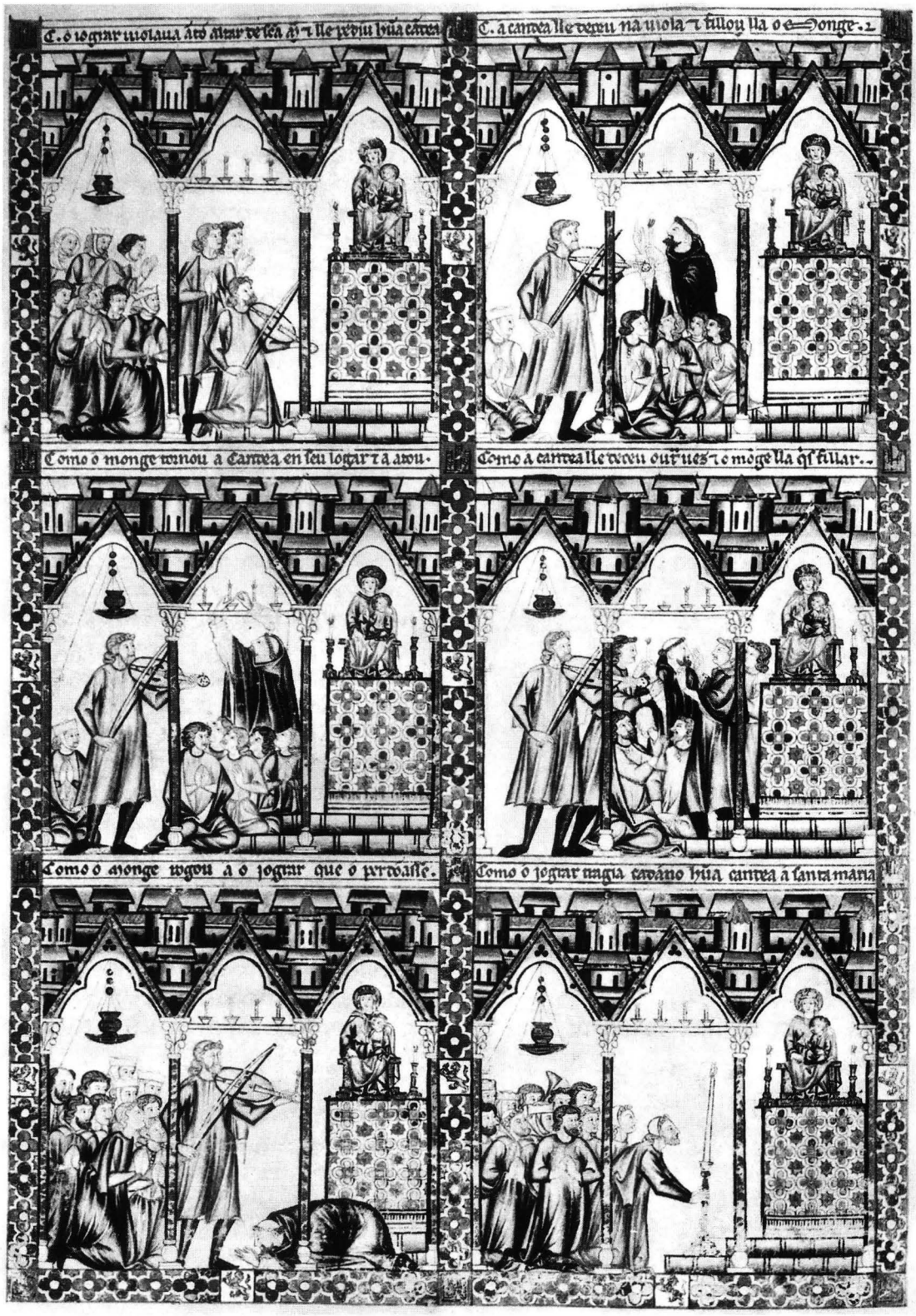

Fig. 39. The Juggler and the Candle, Cantigas de Santa Maria, Ms. T.I.I. Cantiga VIII, Real Biblioteca, Escorial. Photograph, Patrimionio Nacional, Madrid.

Unfortunately, the meaning of terms such as *tor d'Espaigne* or 'in the Breton manner' remains unclear, and I can only base my conclusions concerning the juggler's repertoire on the fact that the poem makes no mention of any objects used as aids. In fact, this would

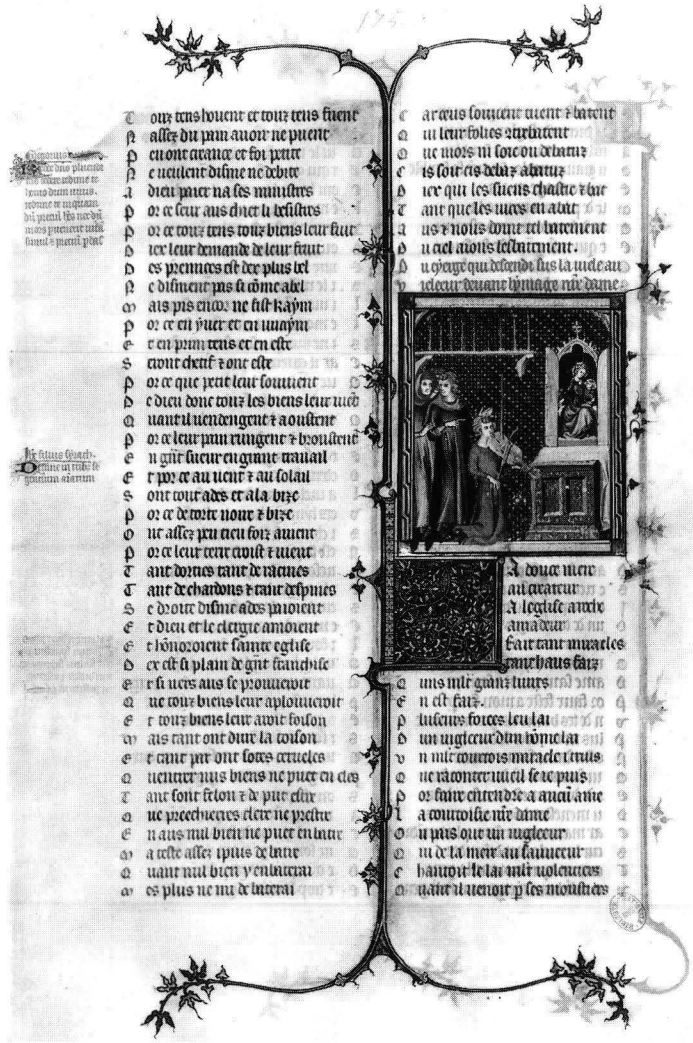

Fig. 40. The Juggler and the Candle, Miracles de Nostre Dame *by Gautier de Coincy. Ms. FR. Nouv. Acq. 24541, fol. 175 ro, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

have been quite difficult, since the poem also tells that upon entering the monastery the juggler gave away all his wordly goods, and certainly any juggling equipment he may have had.

The text of the poem therefore does not support Männikkö's interpretation, and we must resort to other sources to find out if medieval jugglers performed tricks with balls.

There is a great deal of source material – both written and visual – on jugglers and their craft[182]. An interesting written description of the diverse methods of performing artists is given e.g. in a document known as *Les grandes chroniques de Hainault*:

> *Sy avint aulcunes fois que jongleurs ou gouliars ou autres manieres de menestriers s'assemblement aux cours des bourgois, des princes, et les riches hommes; et sert chacun de son mestier au mieulx et au plus apertement qu'il peult pour avoir deniers, robes ou aultres joyaulx en chantant et comptant nouveaulx motz, a la loenge des riches hommes, tout ce qu'ilz pevent faindre, affin qu'ilz leur plaisent de mielx*[183].

Even more detailed descriptions of jugglers' tricks are given in the many illustrations of them that have been preserved in medieval manuscripts.

The most extensive published collection of pictorial material depicting jugglers is in Lilian M.C. Randall's 'Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts'[184], based on 226 manuscripts written at different times in various parts of Europe. Published in this work are illustrations of jugglers both playing instruments and performing various tricks with

knives, balanced swords, burning candles etc. But there are no jugglers performing with balls. That this skill was, however, known in the Middle Ages, is indicated by a number of illustrations in manuscripts in the British Library[185], among other sources.

The best description of the history of juggling tricks with balls is in Arthur Watson's article 'Jugglers' published in January 1907 in 'The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist'. According to Watson, these tricks were already popular entertainment in Ancient Egypt, where they were especially a girls' pastime. Girls juggling three balls are depicted, for example, in the Beni-Hassan funerary paintings on the east bank of the Nile[186]. Preserved vase paintings show that juggling with balls was popular also in Ancient Greece, especially among women[187]; there is even a coin showing Nike herself juggling three balls. Tricks with balls are also mentioned in Ulysses, where Nausicaa and her maidens play with balls. In Rome, juggling balls was popular in the baths, and even Julius Caesar and Marcus Aurelius are said to have taken part in this diversion.[188]

The first juggler known by name also lived in Ancient Rome. He was Ursus Togatus, whose funerary plaque was discovered in Rome in 1592[189]. According to Watson, Togatus was a *pilicrepus*, whose task was to make, weigh and maintain the balls that were used in the baths, and to teach others to use them. He was apparently also a professional juggler, who performed tricks with several balls at the same time. Ursus Togatus is also said to have been the first to use glass balls. This fragile material increased the effectiveness of the tricks, in the same way that plates of china are used in modern circuses.

Ursus Togatus maintained his skills into old age, and in Rome juggling with balls was recommended as a pastime for old men. Ball games and tricks were obviously not practised for entertainment alone, but also for physical fitness and suppleness[190].

As mentioned above, tricks with balls remained in the repertoire of jugglers in the Middle Ages and much later, up to the present day. A Swedish circus billboard from 1826 (Fig. 41) shows a man standing on the back of a galloping horse and performing a trick with balls that is highly similar to the Roman *trigon*[191]. Corresponding performances can still be seen in modern circuses.

One reason for the relatively few depictions of ball-juggling in medieval images (and in Randall's work) may in fact be its commonplace, or everyday, nature. Ball tricks did not contain the same element of suspense as balancing bladed weapons, which is often shown in the margins of manuscripts. On the other hand, the low cost and availability of balls, ensured their place in the repertoire of jugglers and tumblers throughout the millennia. Anyone could pick up stones of the right size and weight and begin to practise with them. According to medieval sources, jugglers performing these tricks belonged to the lowest cast of their profession for this very reason[192]. A wandering juggler could have found his way even to far-off Finland, entertaining and astounding people with his balls that stayed in the air. Finnish medieval sources, however, make no mention of performing itinerant artists.

The number of objects in the air in the Hattula painting (seven) also supports the suggestion that this is an actual depiction of a juggler. According to Watson, seven balls were often featured already in Ancient Roman images of jugglers. These seven balls are assumed to have had some connection with the seven known planets of the universe[193].

We can thus observe that available sources contain nothing that would directly contradict an interpretation of the painting in the Hattula sacristy as showing a juggler performing with balls. On the contrary, ball tricks had always been a standard part of the juggler's repertoire. It is therefore only natural that when the legend was presented as a wall-

Fig. 41. Swedish circus poster, 1826. Royal Library, Stockholm. Illustration from Hirn 1982.

painting with no explanatory texts, the juggler was characterized with these easily identifiable attributes.

As mentioned above, Nilsén doubts not only the man's costume but also his posture, which she does not regard as typical of a juggler. According to Männikkö, the man is shown kneeling[194]. A closer inspection of the painting shows, however, that only the juggler's right leg is bent horizontal at the knee; the left leg is not bent. A figure portrayed in this position can be imagined as either falling down on his knees or about to jump in the air. In the former case, the depiction would be of the moment when the juggler is finally exhausted and falls down unconscious. This would also explain why the balls in front of him are shown as an unordered group of objects – they appear to be falling out of his tired hands. Another possibility is that the painter wished to show the juggler in a leaping posture, to bring forth yet another feature essential to his performance. Accordingly, the juggler would be on the point of performing one of the leaps that the original poem describes as the basis of his performance.

There is yet another detail in the painting which has not been mentioned by earlier researchers, and which in my view supports Männikkö's identification: the hem of the cloak borne by the Infant Jesus and Mary in their hands. The medieval poem text mentions that the juggler continued his performances, at the same time speaking reverently to the Virgin, until he finally fell down unconscious. The monks and their abbot who came to the scene witnessed a great miracle: the Virgin Mary, accompanied by angels, descend-

ed from heaven and gently began to revive the poor juggler with a white cloth. The Hattula painting shows the climax of the legend, the very moment of the miracle: the juggler falling down on the right with Mary on the left preparing for her act of grace. The fact that in this painting Mary uses her cloak and not a cloth to revive the juggler, may be linked with the belief in the power of her cloak, of which the *Mater misericordiae* painting provides a further example.

It is also possible that the miracle was thus described in some other variant of the legend. For example, Anatole France's story of the juggler of the Virgin Mary, which is clearly based on the same medieval legend and closely follows its details, describes how the Blessed Virgin descended the altar steps and wiped the sweat off her juggler's brow with the hem of her cloak.[195]

In another miracle collection, the Virgin Mary, accompanied by Saint Anne and Mary Magdalene, dries the faces of monks working in a field with the flaps of their sleeves. Caesarius of Heisterbach mentions that he himself was so moved by this legend that he decided to renounce life in the world and join a Cistercian monastery[196]. This account also reveals the ultimate message of the Hattula painting: a labour of love, be it ever so insignificant in the eyes of men, is always worthy before God.

In the Hattula painting two female figures are shown behind Mary, although neither of them is directly mentioned in the poem. The first has a nimbus around her head, and can be assumed to represent the Virgin's heavenly companions. The poem does refer to angels, but in the Hattula painting Mary's companions are always blessed virgins. The role of the small female figure at the side is, however, more enigmatic. In my opinion, we have also here a witness, as in the painting of the Virgin Mary and the painter (see p. 107). If this is the case, the painting differs in this respect from the text of the poem, where the event was witnessed by Cistercian monks. I also feel it is noteworthy that in both paintings the 'witness' is a young woman, stereotypically depicted. It appears that in the Hattula paintings this figure was made into a symbol of people witnessing miracles. In the same way as the Virgin is always accompanied by blessed virgins, regardless of the text of the legend, the human figure witnessing the miracle is always a young woman: a virgin.

As also Anna Nilsén observes, jugglers and the clergy have a feature in common that might explain why this motif was in the sacristy, a place set apart from the other miracles of the Virgin Mary. 'Had it been placed in the nave, this motif would not have differed from the other miracle paintings in inspiring trust and devotion towards the Blessed Virgin. But in the sacristy it was aimed at the priests. Lillian Randall ... notes that St. Francis called the brothers of his order *joculatores dei* with reference to their art of preaching. Such a transferred meaning would make it meaningful to place the motif in a room which is otherwise reserved for allusions to priests as the successors of St. Peter, able to release and bind, and as the guardians of the gifts of mercy'[197].

Prior to Francis, the same metaphor was used by Bernard of Clairvaux, who compared priests to jugglers as follows:

> 'In the eyes of the worldly people we have the air of performing tours de force. All that they desire we flee, and what they flee we desire, like those jongleurs who, head down and feet up in an unhuman fashion, stand or walk on their hands and attract the eyes of everyone'[198].

However, this metaphor may have even deeper roots. The Roman rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (A.D. 35–96) already compared orators to jugglers: 'The orator (he says) needs to read in advance, and have in mind while speaking the words which are to follow; so the jugglers cast their balls into the air in such a way that the spectator might

suppose that they fell into the performer's hands again of their own accord, and that they dropped where they were bidden'[199]. This quotation is from Quintilianus's main work *Institutiones oratoriae*, containing a complete plan for educating an orator from early childhood to adult life. The work has had a great influence on later speakers and orators; Martin Luther, among others, is known to have held it in high regard[200].

The lives of Francis's poor brothers and the itinerant artists have other features in common than performing skills alone. One such link is the close relationship of both groups with the Virgin Mary. Jugglers, like 'all minstrels, and all who plied the "gaye science", were under the protection of Mary'[201]. In the French town of Arras, for example, a fraternity of jugglers, under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, was already active before the beginning of the thirteenth century. There were several similar societies and guilds throughout the Middle Ages[202]. In view of this, it is perfectly natural that the jugglers of medieval legends wished to devote their skills to entertaining the Virgin Mary.

The origin of *Del tumbeor Nostre-Dame* is not known, but its earliest known version may have been written in the twelfth century, probably in the region of Ile de France and possibly by a performing artist himself[203]. It is known from at least five manuscripts written in French[204]. The most complete version, which I use as my main source, is Bibl.Ars. 3516, published by Foerster. The sixth version, which to my knowledge has not been published, is in a manuscript known as British Library Additional 18351, an exemplar of *Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, written in Latin in the late fourteenth century. Also this work is of French origin, most probably compiled there in the late thirteenth century. Chapter XLIX, *Gaudium*, includes the legend of the juggler dancing for the Virgin Mary[205].

Liber exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti exists in several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, especially in French libraries, often together with a similar collection known as *Alphabetum Narrationum*[206]. I have so far not been able to ascertain whether this work was also known in Sweden and Finland. At least *Alphabetum Narrationum* was used here, for it is known to have belonged to Master Mathias's sources, and the convent of Vadstena bought an exemplar from Paris in the early fifteenth century[207]. It is thus possible that also *Liber exemplorum* and, via it, the legend of the juggler performing for Mary was also known in Finland, at least among the Bridgettines.

g. The Virgin Mary and the Dying Monk

Anna Nilsén has pointed out that the painting of the Virgin Mary and the devil standing by a reclining monk in the west cell of vault IV in the south nave of the Church of Lohja is the second of the two paintings in this church whose theme is depicted in *Själens tröst*[208]. The following legend is recounted in connection with the Third Commandment:

> 'There was a brother who willingly served and honoured Our Lady. He fell ill and when he was in his last hour the Devil came to him with strong temptations. The brother then began to falter and said: "Woe, I have lost all the good that I have done, for here comes the Devil." Then said the brother who was by him: "My dear brother, call upon the Virgin Mary and ask her to help you and read this verse: *Maria mater graciae, mater misericordiae tu nos ab hoste protege et hora mortis suscipe.*" In our tongue this means: Mary, mother of mercy, guard us from the Devil, and save us in our hour of death. When he had recited this verse Our Lady came and chased away the Devil and the sick brother again found hope and solace and all fear and misery fled him. Therefore you must always call upon the Virgin Mary in your need for she is a true and righteous helper.'[209]

The Lohja painting contains all the portrayable details that are mentioned in the legend: Mary, the dying monk, and the devil and another monk by his bed. The temptations, which are not described in detail in the text, are depicted as an overturned tankard which the devil holds above the monk: a reference to the sin of *gula* (see p. 131). The Virgin Mary, in turn, uses a stick to chase away the devil.

An apparition of the Virgin Mary at the death-bed of monk is, for natural reasons, one of the most popular legend themes. The miracles were originally written for members of monastic communities, whom the monastery walls could not protect against sin and the fear of death. Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* alone contains eleven miracles in which the Virgin Mary aids a dying person; in six of these the character involved is a monk or nun[210].

h. The Virgin Mary and the Drowning Boy

The painting in the north cell of the fourth south vault at Lohja is given a convincing interpretation by Anna Nilsén. It shows a woman and a child in supplication to the Virgin[211], and appears to be the *Järteckensbok* legend of the drowned child:

> 'An honest woman had a son whom she took to church every day and taught him to greet the Virgin Mary so devotedly that all who heard wondered at it. He drowned later, and those who heard of it said: "Woe, the servant of the Virgin Mary is dead." And they told his mother, who feared not but said: "I do not believe that the Virgin Mary let him die, and for two days she had people look for him. On the third day, when she still had not found him, she went to a statue of Our Lady and said: "O dear Lady, I have looked for my son for three days and have not found him. Therefore, I ask you in the name of your sorrows when you lost your son to let my find my son again. And immediately he was found and taken up from the water, and living and crying greatly he was taken to his mother. The mother asked him why he cried. He said he would rather be near the lady who held him in her arms in the water. And thereafter all praised Mary Mother of God.[212]

As observed by Nilsén, the child in the Lohja painting is clearly turned towards the Virgin and not towards his mother. Common to both the painting and the legend is also absence of the devil, although he could well be assumed to have caused the accident itself. The painting cannot be regarded as portraying any definite scene of the legend, but rather the desire of the child to return to the Virgin who had protected him.

I have not found in other collections a legend completely corresponding in its details to this miracle in the *Järteckensbok*. However, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, written in the late fifteenth century by Jean Mielot for Philip the Good or Charles the Bold of Burgundy contains a miracle whose main contents are the same as here. According to Warner, Mielot's miracle tells how 'some children playing on the sands were overtaken by the tide, and one only, who loved his "Ave Maria", was saved; and how he told his mother that the Virgin had wrapped him in her mantle and revealed to him who she was'[213]. The same miracle also appears in Arundel MS. 406, a Latin collection of the late thirteenth century. In Arundel MS. 506, f. 22, there is also a short version of this legend, in which the child himself recounts the events: '*Cum vidi aquam venientem, dixi 'Ave Maria' et quaedam pulchra domina sustulit me de terra donec aqua transisset et tunc deposuit me.*' The same miracle is also in cap. de B, ex. 6 of Herolt's *Promptuarium* where it is said to derive from the Cistercian *Mariale magnum*[214].

The *Järteckensbok* version and the above-mentioned texts, particularly Arundel MS. 506, contain such significant similarities (viz. the saved child differing from his playmates by his special love of the Ave Maria and his telling his mother that a (beautiful)

lady protected him in the water) that I cannot believe they came about independent of each other. I feel it is probable that the *Järteckensbok* version is ultimately based on the same legend of the *Mariale magnum* as the other texts. It is thus not a miracle of Nordic origin, but only a version of an older legend, to which new, interesting details were added in the course of time. Present information does not tell whether these additions came about when the *Järteckensbok* was written or possibly earlier.

i. Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham – The Miserly Priest in Purgatory

As already demonstrated in the preceding discussion of the material (see p. 78), the painting previously interpreted as 'Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham' does not depict this theme, but again the Virgin Mary. The details of the painting, the naked male figure and the animal-like creature show that this cannot be one of the events of the life of Mary mentioned in the Bible or in the Apocrypha, but most clearly one of the many miracles of the Virgin Mary.

Unger's *Mariu saga* contains a legend with the rubric *Af munk er sa klerk i pinum, er hann var leiddr* (Of a monk who saw a priest in purgatory)[215]. Its main contents are as follows:

> 'A monk had a vision of a good-hearted and intelligent priest who had died in his prime and now suffered in purgatory (*i einum pislarstad*). His pains were, however, few, and knowing that he would soon enter the joys of paradise, he suffered them with a cheerful heart. In his lifetime this priest had been known for his piety, and especially for his great love for the Mother of God. He had often prayed by the altar of Mary, and for the sake of Mary he had also given food to many poor people. Because of these good works Mary had expected him to ultimately enter heaven, and since his hour of death she had greatly alleviated his suffering. It appeared to the monk that the priest's only suffering was to sit outside unsheltered suffering in turn from the cold and the heat. Upon being asked why he was being punished, the priest replied that he sometimes suffered from a great thirst in the heat because he had not given the poor the amount of food that would have been fitting in view of his great wealth. And even though he seemed to sympathize with the suffering of the poor, he despised them in his heart, and upon gaining wealth, became more severe towards them than before, when he himself had owned less. The priest's sentence shows how much is required of those who have the blessing of the holy church. For as Our Lord said in Scripture, much is asked of him to whom much is given.'[216]

Comparing this text with the Lohja painting we observe a number of details. The first is the close contact between the Virgin Mary and the man suffering in purgatory. The overall tone of the legend is calm and trusting – despite being sent to purgatory the man has not lost his contact with the Virgin Mary, and can still enjoy her assistance. The painting, in turn, contains a distinct element of tension between the male figure on the right and the Virgin on the left: the man is turned towards Mary, and both his gaze and extended hand clearly show where he wishes to direct the viewers' eyes. The Virgin Mary, in turn, extends her hand to show that she has responded to the man's request.

A further point of interest is the way in which the man is punished in the legend: by cold, heat and thirst. The man in the Lohja painting is clearly suffering from great heat. The lines around him depict tongues of fire, and he can well be imagined to be sitting in a stiflingly hot cauldron heated over a fire.[217] The tongue of the suffering man hangs out like that of a thirsty dog, and there is no doubt that he has not had anything to drink for a long time. The only element of suffering lacking from the painting is cold, which would have been considerably more difficult to visualize.

The creature resembling a pig in the lower right corner of the painting also finds an explanation in the legend. The round, yellow objects in the man's left hand and in the animal's mouth clearly resemble coins, and in my opinion this part of the painting can be

interpreted as showing how the man, who in his lifetime was not generous enough to the poor, now suffers the punishment of having to feed his money to the devil. In this way, the viewer is told the reason for the punishment: the sin of avarice. The legend does not mention the devil, but it is clear that in purgatory devils were responsible for inflicting punishment. In the painting, however, the devil is placed so that his powerlessness before the Virgin Mary is apparent. The man's hands point like road signs from the devil towards the Virgin and the Infant, and the message is clear: even a sinner in purgatory need not fall into despair, for the assistance of the Virgin Mary is always near.

The miracle of Mary and the miserly priest and its painting show how medieval theological views were also reflected in contemporary popular culture. The belief that the Virgin Mary could also appear to those suffering in purgatory, is linked to the idea of Mary as the queen of heaven and also of hell, *Regina infernorum*. Until the Council of Trent it was an accepted belief that Mary could save souls from purgatory[218]. The form of punishment suffered by the priest in purgatory is clearly linked with centuries-old concepts of post-mortem purification. The following legend was already told in the ninth century concerning a place of suffering, which, however, was not yet called purgatory:

> Charles the Fat, the king of the Germans, had a vision in which he visited to afterlife, and saw there two springs of flowing water. One of them was boiling, but the other was calm and clear. In this place of suffering he also saw his father standing in a pool of boiling water, who said: 'Monseigneur Charles, have no fear, I know that thy soul will return to your body. God has permitted thee to come here in order to show thee the sins for which I and the others thou has seen are undergoing such torments. One day I must stand in this pool of boiling water, but the next day I am transported to the other, where the water is very cool'.[219]

The painting of Mary and the miserly priest is in the westernmost vault of the south nave, set apart from the other depictions of miracles of the Virgin. There appears to have been a special reason for this. According to Riitta Pylkkänen and Tove Riska, an altar of St. Martin was located in this vault in the Middle Ages[220]. The altar was specifically intended for gathering funds for the poor and afflicted[221]. The painting in question was especially well suited to this location, to remind viewers of the importance of charity – not only the priests but all who visited the church. It is to be noted that the male figure in the painting is not necessarily identifiable as a priest; he could equally well be Everyman, the symbol of all children of God.

The legend of Mary and the miserly priest does not appear to have been very common in the Middle Ages. In my own research, the only collection in which I have found it is Unger's *Mariu saga. Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach does contain a section telling of how a prior of the Monastery of Clairvaux was punished after his death, and how the prayers of a brother had greatly eased his suffering, and how he would be freed on the next feast day of the Virgin. The reason for punishment is the same as in Unger's miracle: '(my) excessive desire to increase the possessions of the monastery, under a show of virtue being deceived by the vice of avarice'[222]. In other respects, however, the legends differ in their details. In view of the transformations and borrowings of miracles it may be possible that Caesarius's legend formed the embryo of this miracle, being later adapted to non-monastic conditions with the Virgin Mary taking the leading role (on similar cases, see above p. 53). It can also be noted that exemplum no. 6 of the Egerton MS 1117 in the collections of the British Library has the heading 'Clerk freed from purgatory', and its theme may also be related to the miracle discussed here[223].

The legend of the Virgin Mary and the miserly priest which was published by Unger is one of several miracles belonging to a large collection whose translation was commis-

sioned by King Haakon of Norway in the early fourteenth century (see p. 58). In the material used by Unger, this collection appears in several more or less fragmentary copies, including manuscript E, no 1 qv in the Royal Library in Stockholm, which may have been written in the early fifteenth century[224]. The collection thus appears to have been quite popular at least in the Norwegian-Icelandic region, but unfortunately we know nothing of its currency elsewhere in Scandinavia. According to an oral communication by Margareta Andersson-Schmitt, the legend of Mary and the miserly priest is not included in the manuscript material deriving from the convent of Vadstena[225].

j. 'The Banquet for Sinners'

The paintings which scholars have called 'The Devil's Banquet' or 'The Macabre Feast' are possibly the only depictions in the churches of Lohja and Hattula that have not yet been analysed iconographically. Experts who have written on them have kept to a pre-iconographic level of discussion, focusing only on those details that have been available to them via their own experiences. However, the world view expressed in these paintings – and in medieval art in general – is so different from our own that an understanding of their contents must be attempted from the perspective of medieval thought, inasmuch as this is possible half a millennium later. Such a chronological distance, however, need not be a disadvantage alone; it is easier for us to outline major processes of development and change than for those who lived amidst them.

The closest to what I regard as the true meaning of the paintings is the heading 'Banquet for Sinners' which was given to them by Christina Cleve in the iconographic register of Finland's National Board of Antiquities. The paintings are in fact concerned with sins, symbolized by sinful people, and as argued in the following, specifically with the sins of *gula* and *acedia*. The purpose of the paintings was not, however, to warn against individual vices. Together with the surrounding paintings, among which they were deliberately placed, they remind the late-medieval viewer of something far more important, a matter of life, and particularly death: the hour of death, hope, and despair.

Before going on to an analysis of the paintings themselves we must review the origin and development of the Western concept of sin. The roots of the paintings discussed here are clearly found in West-European popular literature and beliefs of the Late Middle Ages, which in turn were closely associated with contemporary and earlier theological literature.

aa. The seven capital sins

In the world view of medieval man, sin was of essential importance. 'Medieval man was fascinated, as we are, by the Sins, but more than that, he believed in them. For most men in the later Middle Ages, the Sins were as real as the parish church itself'[226]. Some of the sins such as the carnal vice *gula* were included among the seven capital sins ever since they were first mentioned[227], and their significance remained practically unchanged. On the other hand, the meaning and content of *acedia* saw a clear shift of emphasis over the centuries, reflecting changes in society. Even the existence of *acedia* as a sin was not self-evident; it is completely lacking in certain competing lists of sins drawn up in the Middle

Ages. Despite this, it became in a number of ways one of the most significant sins in the Late Middle Ages, and has left its imprint on modern man; who of us (at least in childhood) has not been told that the devil finds work for idle hands.

'The beth so manye bokes and tretees of vyces and vertues and of dyvers doctrynes, that this schort lyfe schalle rathere have an ende of anye manne, thanne he maye owthere studye hem or rede hem'[228] My intention here is not total survey of the existing literature, and the following discussion is mainly based on Bloomfield's classic 'The Seven Deadly Sins', and concerning acedia, Wenzel's 'The Sin of Sloth. Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature'.

Certain terminological points must also be clarified. Catholic theology has always made a distinction between cardinal (chief or capital) sins and deadly (mortal) sins. An ordinary sin is 'habitual degradation, the state of being given up to evil conduct... a confirmed disposition to act evilly'[229]. Such a sin becomes capital if other sins frequently arise from it[230]. Deadly sins are those that inevitably lead to the eternal damnation of the soul, 'a word, deed, or desire in opposition to the eternal law of God'[231]. Both classifications have their own histories and origins. In practice, however, they have often been confused, especially in the Late Middle Ages.

The seven capital sins did not originally have anything to do with the seven capital virtues, often cited as their opposites. The incommensurability of these lists was often a problem for medieval writers. This point is not of essential importance to a study of Finnish medieval paintings. In the Finnish paintings personified virtues are lacking, while sins are depicted with gusto in many important series of paintings.

The mortal sins proper came to Christian tradition from Judaism, in which they were already known by the first century BC, if not earlier. They were usually based on the ten commandments, but were, however, never standardized. As examples of these sins, Bloomfield cites e.g. fornication, blasphemy and homicide[232].

The roots of the seven capital sins have in turn been found e.g. in an eschatological belief of an otherworld journey known as 'Soul Drama' or 'Soul Journey'[233]. This belief may be of Persian origin, but its development was influenced by many beliefs concerning the essence of evil that were current in the cultures of the Middle East and the eastern regions of the Mediterranean. The concept of the soul's journey was of great importance for Gnosticism and Hellenistic religion. It held that the soul had to pass through seven stations, each guarded by an evil god or demon, from which Bloomfield assumes the seven capital sins developed[234]. Also in the earliest Christian concepts, sins were tangible figures of devils or demons, and were sometimes portrayed as such even in the Late Middle Ages[235].

However, the seven capital sins were not mentioned in their familiar medieval form until the fourth century, when they emerged among the desert monks of Egypt in the writings of Evagrius of Pontus. Evagrius made the sins, of which he listed eight[236], a basic part of his moral teachings, and conceived of them as the basic sinful drives against which a monk had to fight[237]. Although Evagrius himself may not have invented this system of eight capital sins, he was nevertheless the first to enunciate the teaching clearly. His list contained the following sins: gula, luxuria, avaritia, tristitia, ira, acedia, vana gloria and superbia[238].

Evagrius's views spread to the Western church through Johannes Cassianus. This man who had become a monk in Bethlehem spent some twenty years in Egypt, where he made a thorough study of Evagrius's writings and work. Forced to flee persecution in Egypt, he

finally settled in southern Gaul where he founded several monasteries in the second decade of the 5th century. For these communities, Cassianus wrote several works on the spiritual life, in which he presented his concepts of the eight cardinal vices, based on the teachings of Evagrius. Cassianus's list of sins, known as *glaitavs* (an acronym of their first letters), reads as follows: gula, luxuria, avaritia, ira, tristitia, acedia (quod est anxietas sive taedium cordis), inanis or vana gloria, and superbia[239].

Cassianus continued the systematization begun by Evagrius by exploring the interrelationships of various sins and their links with human bodily functions, dividing them accordingly into *vitia carnalia* and *vitia spiritualia*. Cassianus also explicated what sins followed from each of the cardinal sins. According to him, acedia led to idleness, somnolence, rudeness, restlessness, wandering about, instability of mind and body, chattering and inquisitiveness[240] – qualities which still characterized acedia in the sermons of the Late Middle Ages.

Cassanius obviously felt that superbia was the chief sin of all, but he also underlined the significance of the monastic vices: gula, luxuria and acedia. In his view, patience was the best way to fight against sin: 'He who is patient cannot be perturbed by anger, consumed by accidie and sadness, distended by vainglory, nor will he suffer from the tumor of pride'[241].

About 150 years after Cassianus a new and slightly different series of chief vices, compiled by Gregory the Great, appeared in the Western church[242]. In *Moralia*, his symbolic exegesis of the Book of Job, Gregory speaks of the seven capital vices that spring from the root of pride. He did not include superbia, and thereby seven became the number of the actual capital sins. Gregory's work gained wide popularity even outside monastic communities, and through it sins became part of the general theological and devotional tradition[243].

Gregory's and Cassianus's lists of sins led a parallel existence in the Western tradition until the twelfth century, when Gregory's seven sins became established as the cardinal sins, but with acedia replacing tristitia[244]. The seven cardinal sins were thus superbia, ira, invidia, avaritia, acedia, gula, and luxuria[245]. However, variations in the names and numbers of the sins still appeared[246], and also later theologians, including Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor and particularly St. Thomas Aquinas wrote profoundly of the essence and influence of sins[247].

From theological works, the concept of sins gradually spread to the consciousness of the so-called common people. This was not, however, direct, but filtered through a different and more down-to-earth medium: penitential and confessional literature.

It is generally known that the early Christians already had some form of public and also private confession[248]. However, the development of this penitential practice was to great degree furthered by the Celtic church of Wales and Ireland[249], and it appears to have been in these areas that private penance, the confession of sins, evolved in the sixth and seventh centuries. This practice, which is still followed in the Catholic Church (and since recently again in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland), implied that confession could be repeated by an individual several times in his lifetime. From the Celtic regions the custom spread also to Continental Europe, and was already known at least in Gaul in the ninth century[250]. The penitential practice of the Celtic church was defined in the *libri poenitentiales*, which were guides written for priests, 'prescribing acts and seasons for penance for particular offences'[251]. From an early stage, these books began to include lists of sins, usually the eight listed by Cassianus. Their significance for private confession grew in

importance when several Church Councils of the ninth century laid down that priests hearing confession must know the chief vices and instruct their penitents in them[252].

According to Wenzel, the connection between sins and confession must have been 'the main impulse to the development of more and more detailed literary treatments of the individual vices'... 'for the priest hearing shrift needed a clear guide which enumerated the common moral faults of religious and laymen in an orderly, systematic fashion and which would help him determine the gravity of a particular sin and hence the measure of penance he was to impose'[253].

The decisive influence on the spread of penitential literature, and also the seven capital sins, was, however, the fourth Lateran Council, organized under Pope Innocentius III in 1215–1216[254]. This council first of all laid down that 'every Christian of either sex, after attaining the years of discretion, shall faithfully confess all his sins to his own priest at least once a year and shall endeavour... to fulfill the penance enjoined on him, reverently receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist, at least at Easter...'[255]. This gave private confession the highest possible support and laid down a certain minimum requirement for what was already an adopted practice[256]. Closely linked with this was Canon X, ordering priests to teach the laity the main articles of faith. As observed by many experts, these orders led to a veritable flood of pastoral literature[257]. Sermons, books written for confession and catechetical teaching, alphabetical handbooks and exempla collections all contained in one form or another descriptions of the seven cardinal sins. It was not long until the same 'facts' became current in secular literature, and also in the visual arts.

The above general course of development mainly concerned Central Europe. Our next task is to see whether this system of religious thought was of 'continuing and overwhelming practical importance'[258] also for medieval Finland. Like many other problems, a study of this issue is greatly hindered by the scarcity of written medieval sources in Finland. As they are lacking, we must mainly rely on analogy, i.e. conclusions must be made with reference to conditions which are known to have existed in areas important to Finland, particularly Sweden, but also Western Europe in general.

Even at the time of the Lateran Council, discussion arose concerning the problems that the new responsibilities might cause for the clergy: 'It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, (to say nothing of lack of learning, which must be absolutely condemned in them and is not to be tolerated in the future), are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses. Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men, powerful in word and work, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching...'[259]. These 'suitable men' were very often mendicant brothers – the Salvation Army of the Middle Ages[260]. Robert Grosseteste of England could already write in 1238 to Pope Gregory IX in praise of the friars 'who illuminated the whole country with the light of their preaching and learning'[261].

From the beginning, the sermons of the mendicants were aimed at exhorting people to amend. They had a very practical purpose: to teach people how to live a Christian life. The mendicants had different means to make people seek penance, one of them being meditation on the dangers of sin. St. Francis's second order already lays down that preachers must speak to the people about sins and virtues, the punishment due to sin and the rewards of virtue. To help simple and uneducated people understand their message, the mendicants' relied in their sermons on exempla, demonstrating in a tangible way the qualities of sins and sinful people[262].

The Dominicans and the Franciscans, both of which had played an active role in Central Europe, came to Finland at an early stage[263]. According to Gallén, the Dominicans may have taken an active part in the conversion of Finland before the founding of their convent, i.e. during the so-called missionary period. For this reason, they played an especially important role in the development of the church in Finland. Gallén points out that the Dominican Convent in Turku was the seat of Finland's first school of theology, whose influence was visible e.g. in the adoption of the Dominican rite by the Diocese of Finland around 1330. In the thirteenth century, the Dominicans may also have been temporarily responsible for the office of bishop, when the English-born Bishop Thomas was prevented from his duties by being involved in acts of physical violence[264].

There is no equally precise information on the coming of the Franciscans to Finland. The Convent of Viipuri is first mentioned in 1403, and the convents of Rauma and Kökar in 1449 and 1472 respectively[265]. It is, however, clear that this order had already worked in Finland much earlier. This is evidenced by numerous remains of chapels in the archipelago of the Gulf of Finland and elsewhere, which appear to have belonged to Franciscans responsible for the spiritual care of fishermen and travellers[266]. New archaeological field work at the site of the Convent of Kökar and its dating results also show that the institution already existed long before the end of the fifteenth century[267]. In Sweden, the Franciscans had already been active in the early thirteenth century[268].

In Central Europe the mendicant orders and the secular clergy did not always cooperate smoothly. But in Finland, as elsewhere in the Nordic countries, the situation was different. Here, sparse settlement and poor routes of communication posed especially great problems for spiritual care. In addition, hunting and fishing and other basic means of livelihood often took part of the population far beyond the reach of the parish clergy for long periods at a time. The mendicants played an important role in the spiritual care of these people, and their help was mostly received gratefully. Around the year 1320 the bishops of Sweden even asked the Pope to ease the Dominicans' strict fasting rules to correspond better to severe local conditions, for the order had proven to be extremely useful for the church. In view of Finland, it is known that the Dominicans of Turku were most familiar with the hide and fur levy imposed on the inhabitants of the forest regions of Häme, a clear indication of their close ties with settlers in these regions[269]. When travelling among these people the mendicants had a good opportunity to preach to the recently converted Finns about both sins and salvation.

The mendicant influence in Scandinavia was also evident in the preaching activities of ordinary parish priests. In the early stages, the school of the Dominican Convent in Turku played a significant role in training priests[270]. However, influences also spread indirectly, through literature produced by the mendicants, which, according to Strömberg, was widely known and read in Sweden[271]. As pointed out above, we do not know to what degree this type of literature was known in Finland (see p. 62). On the other hand, *moralia Gregorii super Iob*, which had a great influence on the medieval concept of sin, is mentioned among the books donated by Bishop Hemming of Turku to his own Cathedral around the year 1354[272]. According to Strömberg, the sermons of the mendicants also had a profound influence on the writings of St. Bridget, and the sermons and literary works of the brothers at Vadstena[273], which in turn greatly influenced late-medieval intellectual life also in Finland.

Despite the small amount of surviving sources it is certain that also Finns heard sermons on 'sins and vices'. According to Gummerus, the sermons in the fragment

collection of Helsinki University treat this theme to a considerable degree. In his view, the sermons often contain telling details, indicating a deep knowledge of human nature, and they also discuss the various manifestations of virtues and vices and also their order of importance[274]. Unfortunately, Gummerus does not inform his readers in which text fragments or sermons he found the sections on sins.

The importance of confession (during which the sins described in the sermons were admitted) also in Finland is evidenced by a document concerning the Franciscans of Viipuri. According to Kauko Pirinen, the copy books of the Franciscan Convent in Viipuri include a brief canonistic study of the relationship between the decretal on obligatory yearly confession (see p. 122) and the confessional privileges of the Franciscans. According to him, the study concludes that confession to privileged members of religious orders and absolution granted by them completely correspond to confession to one's own priest. Persons who taught or preached otherwise or forbade (contrary to the privileges awarded by the Pope) confession to brothers risked the charge of heresy. Pirinen points out that the actual situation in which the document was drawn up is not known, but the study was still timely during Bishop Magnus Särkilahti's time at the end of the Middle Ages[275]. This dispute was most probably involved with mainly economic interests, but it also reflects the importance of confession in relations between the clergy and their parishioners.

We thus have good reason to assume that the seven cardinal sins were among the concepts familiar also to Finnish Christians, although the available material cannot reveal the extent to which the teachings concerning sin influenced the everyday life of the common people.

bb. Acedia

Acedia, or the sin of sloth, appears to have been formulated among the desert fathers of Egypt. It has had many names over the years and its characteristics have varied considerably at different times. The first writer to give a full analysis of the temptation was Evagrius of Pontus[276].

Evagrius's writings include the following description of acedia:

> 'The demon of acedia, also called "noonday demon", is the most oppressive of all demons. He attacks the monk [as also the writer of an academic dissertation] about the fourth hour and besieges his soul until the eight hour. First he makes the sun appear sluggish and immobile, as if the day had fifty hours. Then he causes the monk continually to look at the windows and forces him to step out of his cell and to gaze at the sun to see how far it still is from the ninth hour, and to look around, here and there, whether any of his brethren is near. Moreover, the demon sends him hatred against the place, against life itself, and against the work of his hands, and makes him think he has lost the love among his brethren and that there is non to comfort him. If during those days anybody annoyed the monk, the demon would add this to increase the monk's hatred. He stirs the monk also to long for different places in which he can find easily what is necessary for his life and can carry on a much less toilsome and more expedient profession. It is not on account of the locality, the demon suggests, that one pleases God. He can be worshipped everywhere. To these thoughts the demon adds the memory of the monk's family and of his former way of life. He presents the length of his lifetime, holding before the monk's eyes all the hardships of his ascetic life. Thus the demon employs all his wiles so that the monk may leave his cell and flee from the racecourse"[277].

Also other references to acedia in Evagrius's writings characterize it as physical exhaustion and restlessness, caused by the monotony of one's life and near surroundings, or the protracted struggle with other temptations. According to him, acedia can be fought against by thinking of one's own death and heavenly rewards, but it is best resisted by physical labour[278].

Cassianus took acedia from Evagrius and introduced into Europe. The new environment also introduced changes in content. In the new context of a communal monastic environment acedia was not only boredom, but simply idleness (*otium* or *otiositas*)[279].

Until the beginning of the thirteenth century acedia was mainly a monastic vice. However, since Gregory the Great it had also been applied to the moral life of laymen, whereby it was given new features. A good idea of the gradual expansion of the concept of acedia is obtained by a comparison of Evagrius's text with a description written c. 842–847 by Hrabanus Maurus:

> 'The eighth and last poison (virus) of the eight principal vices is acedia. From it arises languor of the mind and a harmful sluggishness, which renders man useless to any good work and pushes him to destruction. Wherefore it is written: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul", which the devil, hostile to all good, engenders in man through the mentioned disease (morbus) of acedia; so that he injuriously causes man to be listless and exert himself the least in good works. For acedia is a plague which proves to be of much harm to those who serve God. The idle man grows dull in carnal desires, is cheerless in spiritual works, has no joy in the salvation of his soul, and does not become cheerful in helping his brother, but only craves and desires and performs everything in an idle fashion. Acedia corrupts the miserable mind which it inhabits with many misfortunes, which teach it many evil things. From it are born somnolence, laziness in good deeds, instability, roaming from place to place, lukewarmness in work, boredom, murmuring and vain talks. It is defeated by the soldier of Christ through reading, constancy in good deeds, the desire for the prize of future beatitude, confessing the temptation which is in the mind, stability of the place and one's resolution, and the practice of some craft and work of prayer, and the perseverance in vigils. May the servant of God never be found idle! For the devil has greater difficulty in finding a spot for temptation in the man whom he finds employed in some good work, than in him whom he encounters idle and practicing no good... Such then is the Christian who, when he arises in the morning from his bed of drunkenness, does not engage in any useful work, does not go to church to pray, does not hasten to hear the word of God, does not make an effort to give alms or visit the sick or to help those who suffer injustice: but rather goes hunting abroad, or stirs quarrels and fights at home, or devotes himself to the dice or to useless stories and jokes while his food is being prepared by hardworking servants.'[280]

Later in the Middle Ages, two types of acedia can be discerned: the acedia of the scholastic texts and a popular type continuing along the lines of Hrabanus Maurus. In the writings of the scholastics, especially Thomas Aquinas, acedia finally became a truly theological sin, whose special object is the bonum divinum, 'tristitia de bono divino'[281]. The popular concept of acedia, evident in both religious-didactic literatures (confessional instructions, catechetical handbooks, and handbooks for preachers) and moral plays and other secular literature, is 'sloth in God's service'[282]. According to Wenzel, this popular image also appears in two essentially different forms: catechetical handbooks and priests manuals usually list a number of 'species of the sin, such as idleness, pussillanimity, despair etc. Works of confessional instruction in turn itemize different faults to which acedia leads people. 'As a result, we encounter on the one hand an abstract, rational scheme of "branches" of acedia, and on the other a picture of the slothful man'[283]. Visual depictions of acedia were greatly influenced by the latter.

In the Late Middle Ages the popular idea of acedia evolved into something resembling the following:

The slothful person does not want to go to church on Sunday, but prefers to spend his time in a tavern playing chess or 'at the tables', or if he gets to church he carries out his religious duties but experiences no devotion – he may yet 'have his tongue in the church and his soul in the tavern'[284] – or even worse, his idle talk may prevent others from carrying out their duties properly[285]. 'Men and women synnyth in sleuthe when they ne kepyth nouzt come atte churche upon holy dayes, and when they ne attendeth nat to here bedys-byddynge, in hurynge of masse and matyns, and when they ne attendeth nat to here precynge and techynge. Also sleuthe maketh a man to make noyse and ianglenge in holy churche.'[286]

Sloth also makes people postpone shrift until the very hour of death, in vain trusting in long life or God's mercy, closely allied with its opposite, despair in God's mercy. Sloth also makes the penitent confess his sins incompletely and in fear of physical discomfort carry out his penance poorly or not do it at all. A person troubled by acedia may want to give alms, but upon thinking of the harshness of the world and fearing that he himself might remain without, decides not to give anything. – In this sense the painting of the priest in purgatory at Lohja can be regarded as also referring to acedia in addition to avaritia. – Along with works of bodily mercy a slothful person also neglects the works of spiritual mercy, such as prayers for the dead.[287]

Apart from purely spiritual concerns, acedia was also seen as influencing the ways in which people managed their worldly affairs; parents neglect to raise their children properly, nor do they teach them the elements of Christianity. The sin of sloth also came to include failure in professional and occupational responsibilities, a concept underlain by a new emphasis on work in the Late Middle Ages[288]. Acedia thus gradually became more and more all-inclusive. According to Wenzel, the discussion concerning acedia could finally lead to issues such as the permissibility of barbers to cut hair after sundown on Saturdays[289].

Acedia, which had formerly been a sin of the spirit, gradually became a sin of the flesh in the popular literature of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries[290]. As a result, the sermons and didactic writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries increasingly combined acedia with other sins of the flesh, gula and luxuria. The reason for this is evident e.g. in 'Summa justitiae' by John of Wales: 'After dealing with the four principal vices by which the inner man is corrupted, we now treat of the remaining three by which the outer man is deformed and disordered, viz., acedia, gluttony, and lust. For acedia seems partially to belong to the body. Chrysostom, in Hom. Imperf. 18, says there are chiefly three natural passions which are proper to the flesh; first, eating and drinking; second, a man's love for a woman; and third, sleep. From no passion does abstinence sanctify our body so much as from these three.'[291] Also in medieval morality plays, such as 'The Castle of Perseverance' (first quarter of the fourteenth century), which treat the connection of sins with the three enemies of mankind (the World, the Flesh, and the Devil), Sloth is cast together with Gluttony and Lechery as an assistant to Flesh[292]. In the play 'Mary Magdalene' a major role is given to Flesh, who is married to Lechery, and to his kern Gluttony and his friend Sloth; among other deeds, Lechery takes Mary Magdalene to a tavern, where the downfall of the woman begins[293].

cc. The seven capital sins in medieval visual art

Sins were a popular theme also in medieval art. They were often portrayed with various symbols, of which the most popular and influential was the struggle of sins and virtues, based on the Psychomachia of Prudentius. This scheme and its applications have also been discussed in greatest detail in research[294].

Less attention has been paid to another tradition: the practice of characterizing sins with scenes from everyday life, i.e. depictions of people who had fallen into certain vices and behaved accordingly. The reason for this may be that this scheme does not constitute a similar overall system as the Psychomachia, and that sins thus depicted are often part of other compositions, based for example on the Psychomachia, or in connection with 'Trees of Virtues and Vices', and are not shown as independent entities. This tradition that was

independent of the Psychomachia thrived, however, until the end of the Middle Ages, and even much later. It led to some of the most significant late-medieval and Early Renaissance paintings treating sins: Hieronymus Bosch's 'Table of Wisdom' and Quentin Metsys' 'Monumental Clock Dial'[295] – and also the paintings in the churches of Lohja and Hattula.

The roots and development of this pictorial tradition have not been investigated. As pointed out by Mâle, *scenes populaires* were already used in the early-thirteenth-century reliefs of sins in the cathedrals of Paris, Chartres and Amiens, in which 'contemporary human figures act out the consequences of the contrary condition of each Virtue', while the virtues are depicted according to the Psychomachia tradition as immobile, seated female figures, who are identified by a symbol, usually an animal, in a medallion[296].

Sins were, however, portrayed in a similar fashion much earlier. For example Cod. lat 2077 "De conflictu virtutum et vitiorum", fol. 163 at the Bibliothèque National in Paris portrays a number of different sins in a way that has nothing to do with the Psychomachia's theme of struggle. These include gula, shown eating in order to emphasize the sin's most common form[297]. In fol. 171vo of the same work gula is again depicted (Fig. 42), now in the midst of an eating scene, in the full manner of a genre picture: 'Gula' is seated at a table with a knife in one hand and a piece of food in the other. He looks in anticipation to

Fig. 42. 'Gula', Ms. Cod. lat. 2077, fol. 171, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

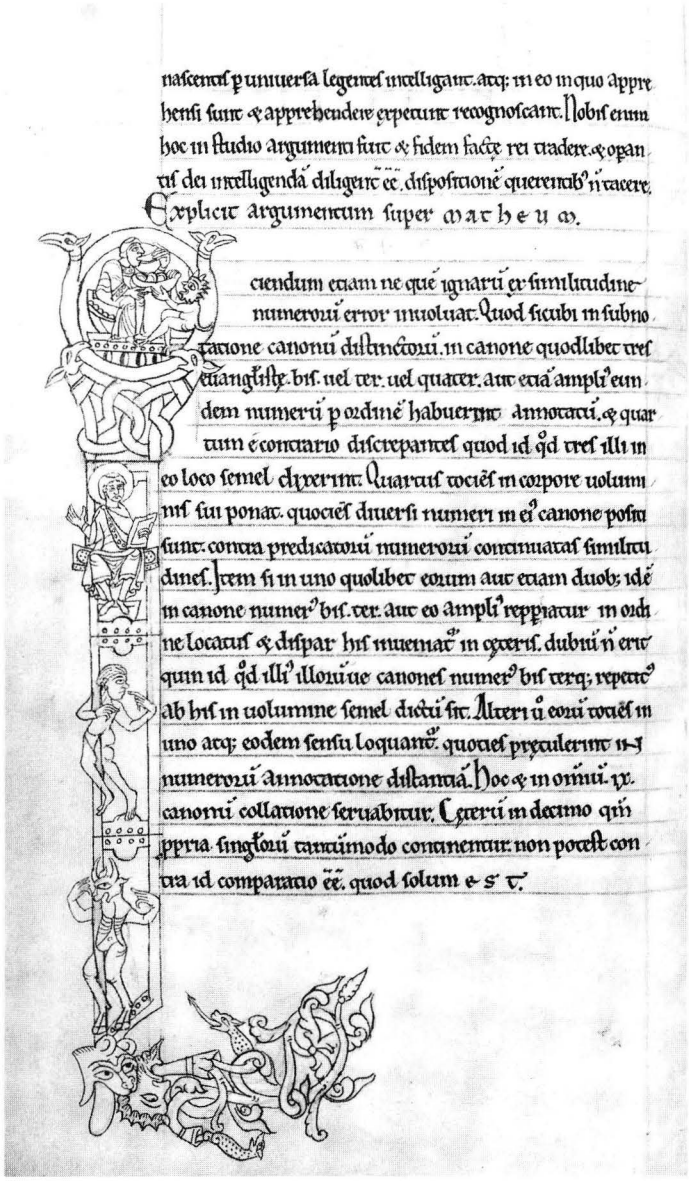

Fig. 43. 'Gula', Ms. Royal 1 B XI, fol. 6vo, British Library, London.

the right, from where a man approaches bearing a spit and a dish with fish on it. Before 'Gula' on the table is a drinking vessel and possibly bread, and seated on his left is another, naked figure (the devil?). This work was made in Moissac in the late eleventh century, but Katzenellenbogen assumes that its images go back to an original of the beginning of the century[298]. Katzenellenbogen also points out that genre pictures of an allegorical nature already occur in the Psychomachia, where they illustrate Avaritia's rule of terror[299], but Moissac was to my knowledge the first in which this system was explicitly used to illustrate all the sins. Gula, engaged in eating and drinking also appears, for example, in a twelfth-century Gospel Book now in the collections of the British Library[300] (Fig. 43), and we may thus assume that already at this time a certain tradition existed for depicting sins with human examples.

The best-known example of illustrating sins with symbols of this kind is *La Somme le Roy*, 'one of the most influential works for later medieval treatments of the Virtues and Vices'[301], compiled in 1279 for King Philip III, le Hardi (ob. 1285) by his Dominican confessor Frère Lorens[302]. Somme le Roy was widely known and read in the late thirteenth

century, and it was translated several times into Provencal, Flemish, Catalan, Spanish, and English[303]. It consists of items of the instructional programme familiar in the post-Lateran episcopal degrees and the literature they inspired, viz. moral treatises on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Seven deadly Sins, the Art of Living and Dying, the petitions of the Paternoster, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Gift virtues, and the Seven Cardinal and Theological Virtues[304].

La Somme le Roy has survived in some 79 manuscripts, some of which are illustrated. The original exemplar donated to the king is not among them, and we do not know if it was illuminated. At any rate, some twenty years after the original work appeared (by the year 1324) there already existed a fixed cycle of pictures, appearing (in more or less complete form) in all known illustrated copies of the work[305]. These include four illustrations of opposite virtues and vices: fig. 12, Prowess and Idleness; fig. 13, Mercy and Avarice; fig. 14, Chastity and Luxury; and fig. 15, Sobriety and Gluttony. Each of these pictures contains the personification of a virtue, an example of the contrasting vice, and also an example of each below[306].

Gula or gluttony is depicted in almost the same way in all surviving copies: in the upper part is a man seated at a table, vomiting from the effects of overeating or engaged in

Fig. 44. 'Gula', Somme le Roi, *Ms. 870, fol. 179, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.*

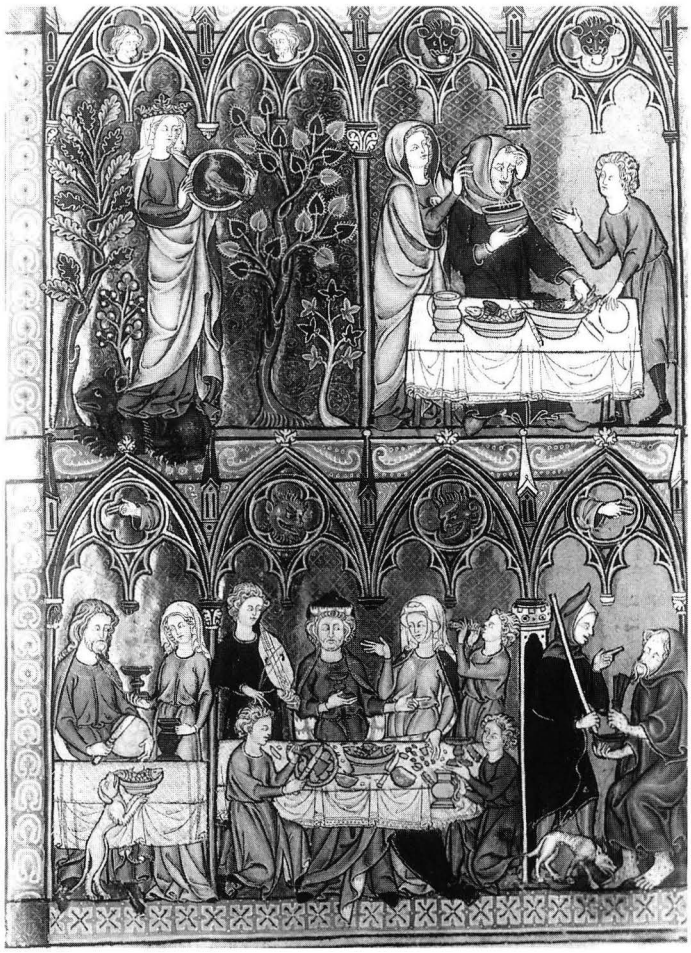

Fig. 45. 'Gula', Somme le Roi, *Ms. Add. 28162, fol. 10vo, British Library, London.*

Fig. 46. 'Gula', Somme le Roi, *Ms. Fr. 1134, fol. 34vo, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

eating and drinking; the lower part shows a scene from the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, Dives before a bountiful table and Lazarus as a poor beggar by the door, with dogs licking his wounds (Fig. 44). In some copies there are heads of devils or a blessing hand among the architectural ornament of the upper border (Fig. 45), clearly showing which scenes were pleasing to God[307]. Other copies include illustrations of the punishment received by the sinner: a rich man demonstratively pointing to his mouth while suffering in a cauldron heated by devils[308]. Sometimes only the drinking man is depicted (Fig. 46). Two exemplars at the Bibliothèque National even include instructions from the writer to the illustrator, clearly describing how *gloutonnie* should be depicted: *Cy douient estre des ymages de sobriete et de gloutonnie... un homme en seant a une table qui a nom glouton-nie et gete par la gueule*[309].

As demonstrated above, acedia was far more unstable in content than gula, and accordingly its visualization contains a greater number of variations. In the above-mentioned Moissac manuscript tristitia mainly corresponds to acedia. This allegorical figure is depicted in fol. 163ro mournfully supporting her chin with her hand, and in fol. 169ro sitting lazily with her hands in her lap[310]. In *Miroir de vie et de mort* (from 1276) in MS 2200 fol. 164 at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève Radix acidiae *se detourne de l'autel*[311]. In La Somme le Roy acedia is often depicted as a sorry male figure resting by his plough and letting his horses go their way[312] (Fig. 47). In Ms. 870 fol. 111vo (from 1295) of the Bibliothèque Mazarine the sin is called *peresce*, and it is contrasted with *labour* shown as a man sowing. In the early-fifteenth-century Ms. fr. 1134 fol. 18vo of the Bibliothèque

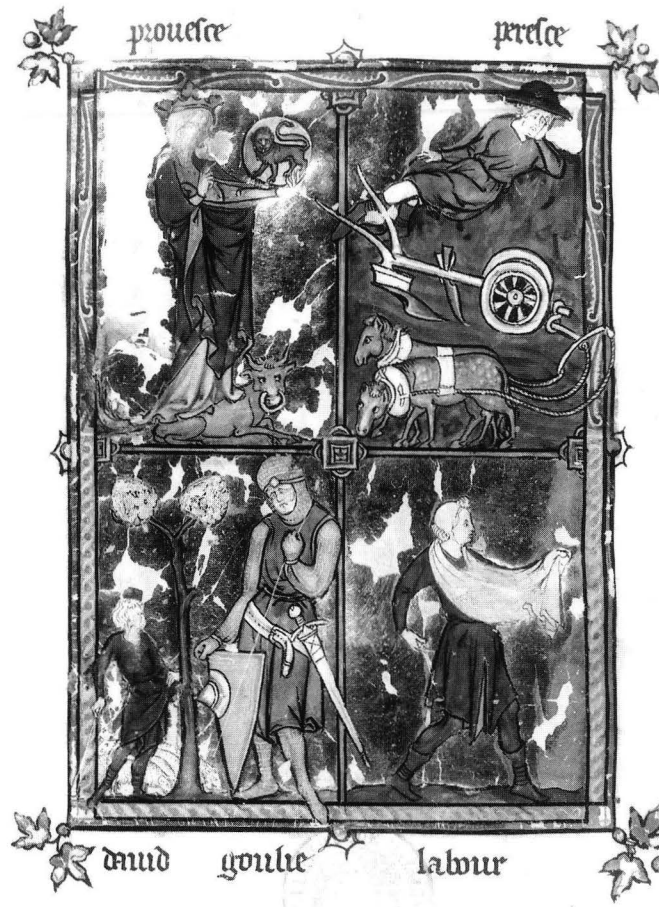

Fig. 47. 'Acedia' ('Peresce'), Somme le Roi, *Ms. 870, fol. 111vo, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.*

Fig. 48. 'Acedia', Somme le Roi, *Ms. Fr. 1134, fol. 18vo, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

National, acedia (*accide, cest paresce & annuy de bien faire...*) is shown as a tired and depressed-looking woman sitting with her eyes almost closed, her hands on her knees, and with a closed book under her left foot (Fig. 48).

In all the above copies of La Somme le Roy acedia is mainly depicted as laziness, and thus in the tradition already represented by Evagrius and Cassianus. In Bibl. Nat. Ms.fr. 409 (fol. 40ro), written and illustrated in the fourteenth century, acedia is given different form: a man seated at a table lets a dog take his food from him (Fig. 49). The man himself is seated with his eyes closed and his hands resting on the table surface; his tankard has fallen over and the drink is flowing onto the tablecloth. This picture also emphasizes how a person smitten with acedia is unable to take action, but the sinner himself is placed in a different setting than in the other illustrations: instead of engaging in productive labour he is among the pleasures of the body. This illustration clearly reflects the late-medieval change in the meaning of acedia: the shift towards gula and thus from a spiritual sin to one of the flesh. At the same time it displays a clear connection with the figure of Sloth in the tavern spread by late-medieval popular literature.

dd. The paintings at Lohja and Hattula

A comparison of the 'Banquet for Sinners' paintings in the churches of Hattula and Lohja clearly shows that they express the same theme.

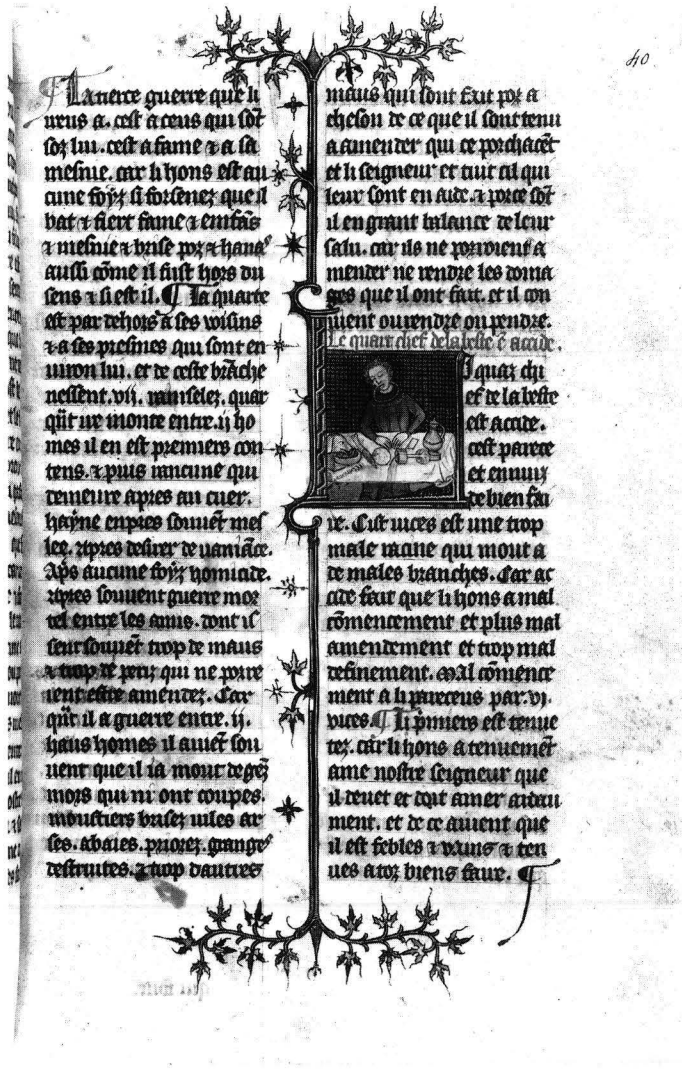

Fig. 49. 'Acedia', Somme le Roi, Ms. Fr. 409, fol. 40, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

We begin again at Hattula. – The combining element of this painting and its counterpart at Lohja is a long table laid with a cloth. It can now be easily interpreted as a table in a tavern, the focal point for most sinful acts. At the left end of the table, three young dandies, playing dice, clearly represent acedia. In medieval popular literature, dice was one of the favourite pastimes of Acedia. The demons eagerly following the game clearly indicate the nature of this activity. – The reprehensibility of this game and its possible consequences are related e.g. in Unger's *Mariu saga*, in which a young man *sat i tauernishusi med sinum kumpanum ok kastadi tenningum* (sat in a tavern with his companions and threw dice). When the game went poorly, he cursed God and blasphemed against the Virgin Mary, the queen of heaven, whereupon he immediately fell down dead[313].

Sitting at the right end of the table is a bearded man, holding a round loaf of bread and with a large tankard before him. He is portrayed as the Gula in La Somme le Roy, though less vividly. Armed men standing to the right of the table may depict other sins, to which carousing in taverns may lead people and mainly relating to the commandments 'Thou shalt not kill' and 'Thou shalt not steal'. The figure furthest at the right may be a victim pleading for mercy. The sins are depicted completely in accordance with their logical order in medieval thought. For example, Hugo of St. Victor observes that 'the soul who has lost her inner joy by tristitia or acedia turns to the external goods from which she expects comfort (avaritia) and thence descends to the pleasures of the flesh (gula and

luxuria)'[314]. English literature tells how 'most of all on feast days, also for the nights following, they go off to the taverns, and more often than not seek food such as salt beef or a salted herring to excite a thirst for drink. At length they get so intoxicated that they fall to ribaldries, obscenities and idle talk, and sometimes to brawls, by reason of which they fight amongst themselves, sometimes mutilating and killing each other. Such ill deeds, in truth, follow from drunkenness and gluttony'[315].

The Lohja painting clearly includes Luxuria, or Lechery. On the large table are again the attributes of Acedia and Gula, dice, food and drink, and even an overturned tankard similar to a symbol of Acedia's inaction in a copy of *La Somme le Roy*. But in addition, there is a female demon (Luxuria) sitting between the men and clearly leading them into temptation. Also the woman sitting at the right end of the table and enticingly taking the arm of the man next to her, can be interpreted as a symbol of Luxuria. The Lohja painting thus gives a clearer depiction of Acedia, Gula and Luxuria, the Sins of the Flesh, than its counterpart at Hattula.

Viewing the Lohja painting one can almost hear the words of the Dominican brother preaching about Sloth and Gluttony together in a tavern: '...soone aftir at the ale, bollyng and synginge, with many idil wordis, as lesinggis, backbitings and scornyngis, sclaundris, yvel castings with al the countenance of leccherie, chidingis and fiztingis, with many other synnes, makinge the holi daye a synful daye'[316].

The paintings at Hattula and Lohja are, however, in a restrained Finnish style, and come nowhere near the blatant realism of e.g. Piers the Ploughman (c. 1370–1390) by William Langland. The following excerpt (translated into modern English) tells of Glutton ending up in a tavern while on his way to confess his sins:

> 'Then there were scowls and roars of laughter and cries of "Pass round the cup!" And so they sat shouting and singing till time for vespers. By that time, Glutton had put down more than a gallon of ale, and his guts were beginning to rumble like a couple of greedy sows. Then, before you had time to say the Our Father, he had pissed a couple of quarts, and blown such a blast on the round horn of his rump, that all who heard it had to hold their noses, and wished to God he would plug it with a bunch of gorse!
>
> He could neither walk nor stand without his stick. And once he got going, he moved like a blind minstrel's bitch, or like a fowler laying his lines, sometimes sideways, sometimes backwards. And when he drew near to the door, his eyes grew glazed, and he stumbled on the threshold and fell flat on the ground. Then Clement the cobbler seized him round the middle to lift him up, and got him on his knees. But Glutton was a big fellow, and he took some lifting; and to make matters worse, he was sick in Clement's lap, and his vomit smelt so foul that the hungriest hound in Hertfordshire would never have lapped it up.
>
> At last, with endless trouble, his wife and daughter managed to carry him home and get him into bed. And after all this dissipation, he fell into a stupor, and slept throughout Saturday and Sunday. Then at sunset on Sunday he woke up, and as he wiped his bleary eyes, the first words he uttered were, "Who's had the tankard?" '[317]

In the 'Banquet for Sinners' painting at Hattula the demons are depicted with such grotesque formlessness that a modern viewer sees them as almost comic. In the Lohja painting, however, the demons are truly evil. I have not found any distinct models for the demons in either church in known works of art, but similar demons appear in contemporary art elsewhere in Europe. The grotesque, non-human appearance of the demons clearly represents the same style in which demons are depicted in the section of St. Anthony's temptations in the Isenheim altar[318]. The only exception is the demon standing between Gula and Acedia at Lohja; the demon's horn is clearly modelled after details in contemporary woodcuts[319].

In the Lohja painting, the demon on the right, catching in his mouth the strong drink flowing from the table, holds two round objects in his hands. These may be loaves of

bread, greedily grabbed from the table, but they may also be given a different interpretation. Gudbjörg Kristjansdottir, MA, claims to have found in the Icelandic material clear evidence that a demon juggling with balls was also known as a symbol of acedia[320]. Accordingly, the demon in the Lohja painting may be a less common metaphor of the sin of sloth.

ee. 'The Banquet for Sinners' and surrounding paintings

As pointed out above, the 'Banquet for Sinners' paintings at Hattula and Lohja can be interpreted at various levels. The first level is that of the modern-day viewer without the benefit of background knowledge, as expressed in the present name of the painting, an image of sinful people engaged in their vices. A second level is to interpret the paintings as allegories of specific sins: acedia and gula (and also luxuria at Lohja). There is also a third level, which shows why these paintings have their specific locations and illustrates their connection with the surrounding paintings of Mary.

The first suggestion that a deeper level of interpretation is possible is the picture on which at least the Lohja painting appears to be based. In my opinion, it is clear that the Lohja painter had a definite picture or pictures as his model. These images were linked to a theme which was especially prominent in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and was also treated by many famous artists in later connections, viz. the Prodigal Son.

In 'The Pilgrimage of Life'[321], Samuel C. Chew has published an illustration, which in my opinion gives a good idea of the model used by the painter at Lohja[322]. Chew calls the image 'The Prodigal Son: Banquet of Sins' (Fig. 50). Its contents are briefly as follows: seated behind a large table forming the centre of the picture is the Prodigal gambling and feasting with Flesh. At the other end of the table, Avarice hands a bag of gold to Self-Interest, and behind the boy False Reason is playing the bagpipes, Heresy stands with a scorpion on his head, and Vanity blows soap-bubbles. At the other end of the table, crowned Mundus sits on a throne-like chair. Above the sins is a seven-headed dragon, the Spirit of Error and Fanaticism[323].

This picture published by Chew is by the Dutch artist Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen, and is dated to 1535 or 1540[324]. It is thus somewhat younger than the painting at Lohja, and cannot be considered as a direct model. As observed by Kunzle, graphic art in sixteenth-century Northern Europe was full of prodigals, and the lack, at this stage, of a more precise model for the Lohja painting does not mean that such never existed but only that I have not had the opportunity to search for one. Already in 1495, around the time when Dürer made his famous copper-plate of the same theme, the Franciscan friar Johann Meder published a collection of fifty sermons on the parable, which were richly illustrated with woodcuts[325]. This work went through four printings in a short time, and the theme was also popular in other areas of the arts, e.g. in stained-glass paintings and tapestries[326]. Also among Meder's woodcuts there is an illustration of the Prodigal Son squandering his money by carousing[327]. In fact, graphic art knows mainly four scenes from the parable: the departure from the father's house, the revels with the harlots, the keeping of the swine, and the joyful return[328].

The feature that the Lohja painting and Cornelis Anthoniszoon's engraving mainly have in common is the crowned figure at the end of the table. The engraving provides an explanation for this detail of the painting, which would otherwise be difficult to understand: Mundus, as the Prince of the World, often wears a crown and is seated according to

Fig. 50. 'The Prodigal Son: Banquet of Sins', engraving by Cornelis Anthonisz. Teunissen, c. 1540. Illustration from Chew 1962.

his status. The model used by the Lohja painter, however, may have been considerably simpler than Cornelis's engraving, perhaps similar to the version in which the Prodigal is carousing in a tavern with his mistress Luxuria and his companion Comfort[329] and in which the number of figures is exactly the same as in the Lohja painting. The painter, however, did not blindly follow his model, but – as I assume – used it only for the overall composition. The details follow a different manner of depiction, more in tune with the rest of the theme, whereby bearded Mundus is now feminine Luxuria. It is of course also possible that the model was an illustration to which this change had already been made.

The spread of the parable of the Prodigal Son in late-medieval and Renaissance sermons, drama[330] and art finds a clear explanation: the story of a youth setting out into the world and returning in repentance was one of the most popular exempla against despair. Isidore of Seville, among others, used this parable in his 'Sentences' to prove that God's joy is greater at the conversion of a desperate sinner than at the perseverance of one never thus threatened[331]. Despair, in turn, was the greatest of the sins: the loss of hope of salvation[332]. By separating man from God, despair destroys belief and love, leading to unbelief, and finally to hatred of God[333]. It is thus the supreme blasphemy, resulting in eternal damnation. Both Gregory and Isidore describe desperation as a living hell – and a desperate person as one who carries his private hell around with him[334].

Despair is also the devil's own weapon, which he uses as a trap to discourage those whom he could not keep secure in sin. The devil himself is in eternal despair and jealously seeks to keep man from the bliss forever denied to himself[335].

Despair in turn is closely linked with acedia. La Somme le Roy points out, for example, that *acade fait que li hons a mal commencement et plus mal amendement et trop mal*

definement[336]. According to Thomas Aquinas, acedia and desperation have the following connection: '...since sloth is a sadness that casts down the spirit, in this way despair is born of sloth'[337]. The late-medieval play 'Mankind' (c. 1475) describes how the hero stands between Mercy and Mischief, the latter aided by the devil Titivillus. According to Wenzel, the very plot of the temptation scene intimates that the author of the play has used the vice of acedia as the hero's fault, through which he is turned away from God. As in theological discussions of acedia, tedium in doing good leads Mankind to delay of confession and eventually to wanhope, or despair, and – like Judas – he tries to hang himself. He is saved, but remains in the state of not hoping for God's mercy for himself because he deems his sins far greater than God's willingness to forgive, until Mercy finally succeeds in reviving his hope[338]. For the medieval mind, the greatest representative of mercy (*misericordia*) was the Virgin Mary.

Mary was also the person, whom theologians have presented, along with the patriarchs, saints and Jesus himself, as a model for overcoming the sin of acedia. For example, Conrad of Saxony writes: 'Against acedia Mary was most indefatigable through her zeal... And since Mary was not acediosa, she also was not idle, but kept not only her mind busy in holy meditations and her tongue in devout prayers, but also her hands in good works'[339].

Acedia, its consequence despair, and misericordia, the vanquisher of desperation, are thus the factors linking the Marian miracle paintings with the 'Banquet for Sinners'

Fig. 51. 'Temptacio diaboli de vana gloria', Ars moriendi, *Ms. Rés. D. 6320Bis, fol. Bivo, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

paintings at Hattula and Lohja. Together, they are intended to remind the viewer that regardless of how great one's distress, one must not lose hope, for grace can be achieved by even the worst criminal.

As observed above in connection with the changed concept of the Last Judgement (p. 51), human life has a moment when desperation is especially close, not only to the sinner but to everyone – the hour of death. This moment contains all the elements leading to depression: loneliness, introspection and inaction[340]. Among other writings, the *Ars moriendi* works, which were also known in Finland[341], remind the reader how effectively the devil can use this moment so decisive for the salvation of the soul to make the sinner give up hope (Fig. 51). And as already mentioned in many connections, the assistance of the Virgin Mary is essential in this final struggle between the forces of good and evil.

Accordingly, most of the miracle paintings at Hattula and Lohja treat the hour of death. Only the Aquitanian youth needs the Virgin's assistance in a different connection, after descending to the extremely grave sin of denying God, which leads to eternal damnation. He does not, however, fall into despair, but trusts in the aid of Mary and is saved. All the other paintings are concerned with death, one's own death or that of someone close, or they depict someone already dead. Despair would have irredeemably robbed them of the opportunity to look upon the face of God, even the devout child and the painter, who faced an unmerciful violent, and sudden death. However, hope and faith in Mary's assistance gave them the opportunity to repent and face God's judgement in the future with peace of mind.

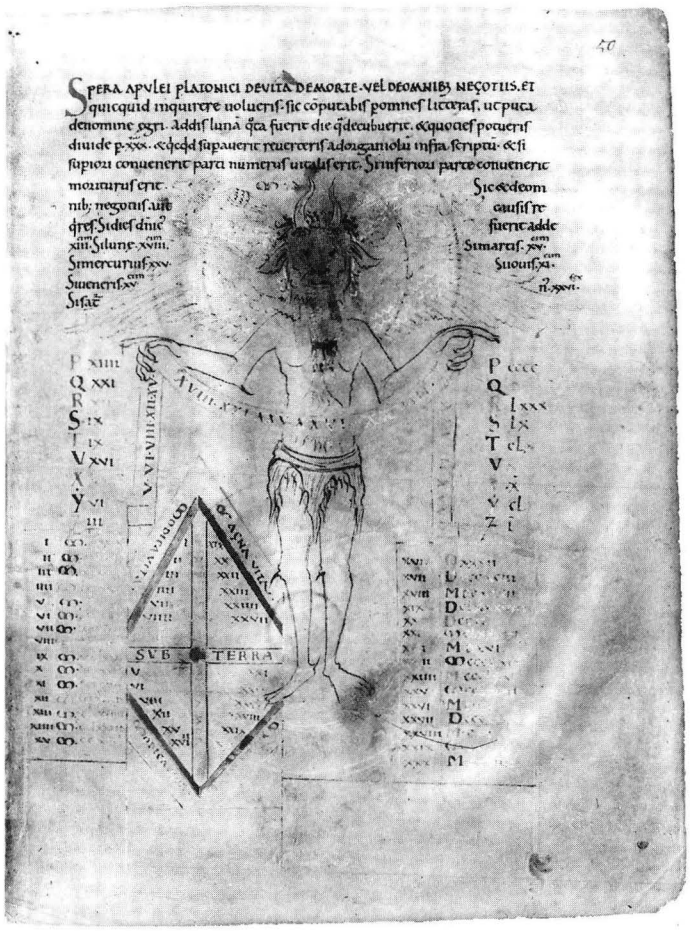

Fig. 52. 'Mors', Leofric missal, Ms. 579, fol. 50, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Medieval art contains many examples of how close a connection contemporaries saw between the devil and death (Fig. 52). In an English manuscript of the mid-fifteenth century[342] the Devil and Death are holding between them a naked human figure (the soul), Mary is on her knees praying to Jesus, while two saints (John and Peter?) stand in the background (Fig. 53). The devil says to the human figure that his soul is full of mortal sin and Death says that he has already waited many days to take him into his realm, but Mary asks Jesus to forgive the sinner his transgressions, to which Jesus replies: 'So as you bid, so shall it be'.

That the idea of a final, death-bed struggle was also deeply lodged in the minds of Finns is evidenced by items of collected oral tradition in the folk poetry archives of the Finnish Literature Society. In some of these, the details have remained clear, while in others they have been obscured as to be almost unidentifiable. In Savonlinna, East Finland, the following was recorded:

> 'The old folk say that people have seen how the good spirits waited at the head of a dying man, and the evil spirits at the foot. These good spirits were supposed to be white and have wings, but the evil spirits were creatures with horns and ugly faces, with hoofs for feet, and a tail, too'[343].

A tale from Kiuruvesi in Northern Savo recounts:

> 'Niku once went to Vanhala farm at Tihilänkangas. There in the bedroom back of the porch Peäkkös-Leena lay ill. Niku wanted to go and see her. He opened the door and the room was almost full of folk. At Leena's head were really ugly ones, but otherwise like people, and at her feet were

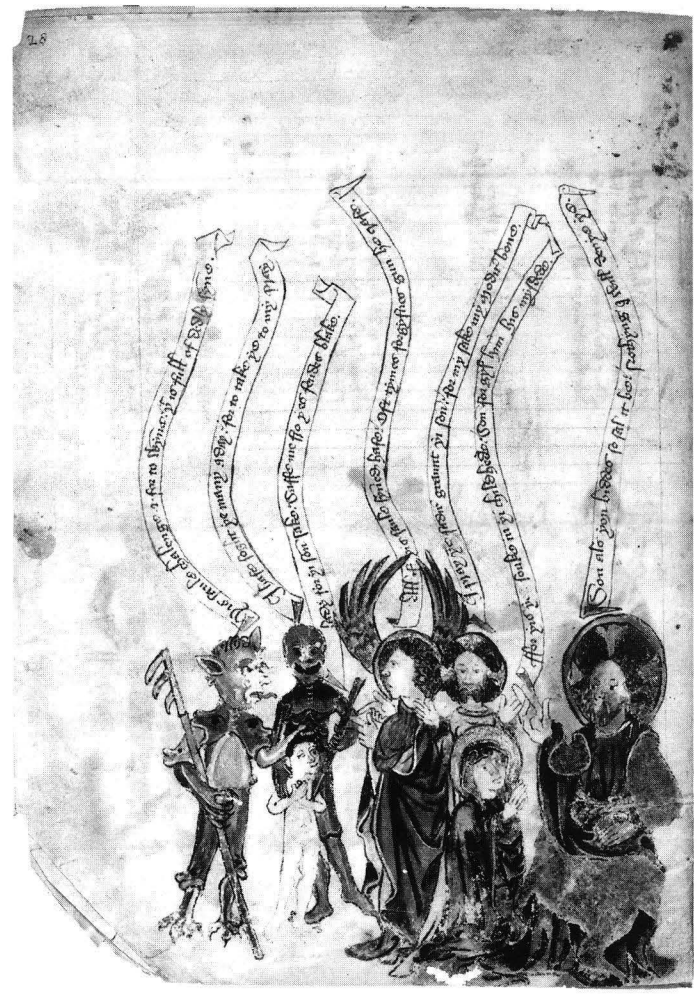

Fig. 53. Death and the Devil Claiming a Soul, Ms. Stowe 39.2, fol. 32vo, British Library.

handsome ones. Niku said they were the ones who had come to take her. And before long she died. That's who had come to get her. Wonder which ones took her. Niku had turned back at the door. They didn't believe him, though Niku was always serious when he spoke about it.'[344]

A tale from Pielavesi, also in Northern Savo, shows how far the tradition could become removed from its original form, while still preserving its identifiable features:

'At the Vuajanens over Iisalmi way a woman lay ill. She was already on her death-bed. Two spirits had fought between themselves over which would get her soul. These were a white and a black hare. The black tried hard to get near the dying woman, but the white one came up and hit it with its paw. Then the white one went to the woman and looked into her eyes. The black one went away, and the woman died. – It was the devil in the shape of the black hare[345].

ff. The writing devils

In addition to the above, yet another painting in the churches of Hattula and Lohja was intended to warn against the sin of acedia: the depiction of the writing devils. As pointed out by Wenzel and many others, it is well known that in medieval literature the proper function of Titivillus (or Tutivillus) was to watch out for idle talk in church[346]. Tutivillus makes his first appearance in exempla collections in Jacobus de Voragine's *Sermones vulgares*, and he also has an important role in the English morality plays, e.g. in 'Mankind'[347]. Although Tutivillus himself may not be mentioned by name in connection with acedia, the faults of jangling were, however, standard aspects of this sin[348].

As far as I know, none of the writers on this subject have noted that the tale of Tutivillus was not originally just a brief exemplum on the dangers of slothful behaviour, but a longer story of a different literary genre – a miracle of the Virgin Mary. Unger's *Mariu saga* contains three versions of a legend in which the Tutivillus episode is only the first part and introduction to broader events culminating in the Virgin's aid to people who had fallen into the sin of acedia. The first, and longest, of these variants is known as *Af Anselmo erchibyskupi* (On Archbishop Anselm)[349], giving Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as its main character (see p. 49). This version belongs to a collection in Unger's so-called older group of legends (*Den aeldre samling*), and its original appears to have been a collection in Latin with the same contents[350]. I do not know if the age and origin of this legend have been studied in further detail, but in any case it is older than the earliest exempla collections.

The contents of the legend are briefly as follows: Anselmus is a young subdeacon in the service of the Archbishop of Toletano. On a feast day when the archbishop himself is celebrating mass in the town's main church and the Scripture text has just been read, the subdeacon has a vision of the devil in the shape of a monkey sitting in a niche above the church door and busily writing. Anselmus also sees what the devil is recording: beneath him two women are avidly gossiping, and the devil marks down their words. Slightly later, Anselmus notices how the hide on which the devil is writing is full of text (*alksrifvat vtan ok innan ok i hvert horn*), and can contain no more. The women, however, go on gossiping, and wishing to include the rest, the devil tries to stretch the hide with sorry results, and falls down from his hiding place with such a commotion (*med sva miklum brest ok ogurligvm gny*) that Anselmus believes the whole church is falling apart. And because he is not himself at this moment, he forgets that he is participating in divine service and runs laughing out of the church as a juggler (*sem einn leikari*). It is only after the vision has faded that he realizes what he has done and is shocked. Downheartened by the disapproval of the archbishop and his companions he decides to seek help elsewhere,

and approaches the Virgin Mary with his troubles. After a moment Mary appears to him, consoling him with both her lovely countenance and friendly words. Mary also gives him the hide on which the devil had written his notes in the church. After thanking God and his mother, Anselmus takes the hide to the archbishop and tells him all that happened. The archbishop summons the women who gossiped in church. They first deny their behaviour, but when confronted with the hide and upon hearing its text read to them they confess their sins and thank God for His mercy. Anselmus again finds favour with the archbishop, who having seen how greatly he is valued by God and His Mother now regards Anselmus as an even better friend.

A similar legend was told of St. Brice, who saw the devil when St. Martin was celebrating mass, and also of St. Austin and Gregory the Great[351].

The reason why an originally long and complex story gradually became shorter may be its changing from a read text into an oral presentation. As long as miracles and other legends were the reading matter of monastic brothers, verbosity was no disadvantage. On the other hand, an exemplum in a sermon had to be brief and to the point, containing only the material essential to the teaching given as eloquently as possible[352].

The legend of Tutivillus is very common also in Finnish folklore[353]. It is yet another example of the longevity of medieval exempla in popular memory long after the Reformation. In paintings, it appears in the churches of Espoo, Sauvo and Siuntio in addition to Hattula and Lohja[354] (Figs. 54, 55). According to Söderberg, paintings of this theme in

Fig. 54. The Devil Writing, wall-painting in the Church of Sauvo. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

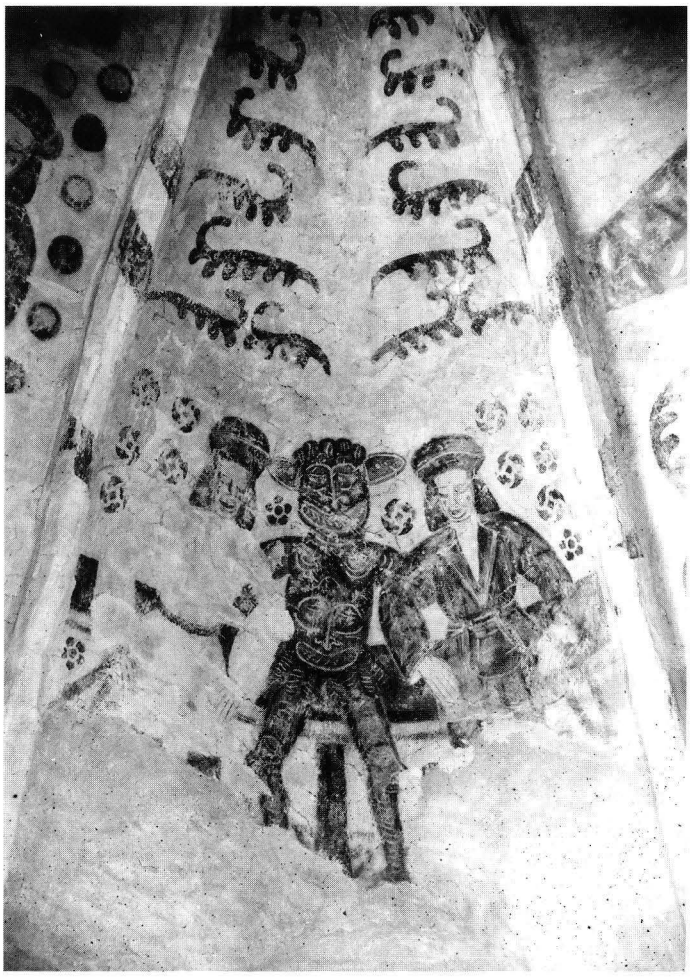

Fig. 55. Gossiping men and 'Tutivillus', wall-painting in the Church of Espoo. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Sweden and Denmark are in churches displaying the Bridgettine tradition of painting, and he points out that good parallels to them are also found in the writings of Bridget herself[355]. It is quite probable that also in Finland this was a theme that became part of the painting programme of churches through the sermons of the Bridgettine brothers.

k. 'The Bell of Judgement' – 'The Angelus'

The painting referred to as 'The Bell of Judgement' in the iconographic register of the National Board of Antiquities is interpreted by Anna Nilsén as depicting a bell tolled for the benefit of souls in purgatory, i.e. one of the themes which she interprets as intercessory motifs. Nilsén supports this theory with the fact that in the Hattula painting the dead themselves are rejoicing over the sound of the bells, and the Lohja painting is close to a painting in which intercessory prayer alleviates and shortens the suffering of souls in purgatory. Tolling bells for souls is known to have been important throughout the Nordic countries – it had to be done as soon as possible after death in order to speed intercessory prayer[356].

Nilsén's interpretation is not in itself implausible; on the contrary quite probable. It suffers, however, from being based solely on written sources and the known practices of divine service. Nilsén has not verified her results with medieval pictorial material.

In my opinion, an interpretation of the bell-tolling paintings at Hattula and Lohja should take into account two points. First of all, the location of the paintings in the churches, i.e. their relationship with other pictorial decoration. The locations of these paintings are so similar in both churches that it cannot be a coincidence: both are in the west cell of a vault with the 'Banquet for Sinners' on the north side, a painting of the Virgin Mary aiding sinners on the east side, and another Marian theme on the south side. The location of the church-bell paintings must have been dictated by an explicit plan, and we may thus assume that they have an essential connection with sins and above all the Virgin Mary. The church bells themselves offer another starting point – has this theme been used outside Finland in a way that might help in interpreting the Finnish paintings?

Church bells are not a common motif in medieval art, but in surveying this subject, I have observed that they do occur, particularly around the year 1500, a date closely linked with the paintings at Hattula and Lohja. These results are only tentative, as more examples of similar material can no doubt be found. Nevertheless, I believe that I have identified a motif group that earlier researchers have almost completely bypassed and which, in my view, is of great significance for an interpretation of the bell-tolling paintings at Hattula and Lohja.

Outside Finland the church bell motif seems to occur mainly in two different groups of material: church vestments and illustrations to books. Late-medieval church textiles include a specific group in which the church-bell motif was used in the pictorial decoration, viz. English vestments of the turn of the fifteenth century. The motif appears in fact to have been especially typical of English embroideries, and I have not come across it in similar material from any other country. The four examples that I have found are as follows:

St. John's College, Oxford

Altar frontal, made from a cope cut down, embroidered velvet, c. 1500. The centre is decorated with an embroidery of Christ on the cross. Standing at the foot of the cross are Mary and John. Radiating from the Crucifixion are six-winged seraphs and conventional flowers, but also four large church bells. Two of these are at the ends of the transverse member of the cross and two are below the Crucifixion. Below the two latter ones are still two bells.[357]

Fig. 56. Dalmatic, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London. T. 49-1924. (Fig. 56)

Dalmatic, embroidered red velvet, latter part of the 15th century. The dorsal part is decorated with pillar orpheys bearing figures of the Apostles and Prophets alternating with lily and seraph designs. At them hem are two large church bells, which, however, are not in their original context. The garment was made of an older textile, whose ornament included the church bell designs[358]. It may have been similar to the following:

Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. BMH t. 9336. (Fig. 57)

Cope, embroidered red velvet, c. 1500. The central motif is the Virgin Mary borne by angels and surrounded by rays, her hands are on her breast in a praying position. Below this motif are two church bells, and there are two other church bells in the lower hem. The remaining decoration consists of seraphs, fleurs-de-lys, flowers, and two-headed eagles. In the front hem is a pillar orphey with figures of the Apostles.[359]

Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne. (Fig. 58)

Cope, embroidered velvet, late 15th century, c. 1500. The central part is decorated with an embroidery of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus between two angels and surrounded by rays. Both above and below this motif are two church bells; the remaining ornament consists of seraphs, lilies and flowers. In an article in the Burlington Magazine, George Saville Seligman tells the following of the history of the cope: 'The history of the cope, told to me by Dr. Witte, is curious. During the French Revolution, the Father Superior of the Chartreuse emigrated to Dorsten in Westphalia, near Wensel. He died there, leaving the Church of Dorsten in acknowledgement of the hospitality he had received from the village, this cope and two eighteenth-century reliquaries. The Church used the cope for high festivals until 1910. Dr. Witte, who is a native of Dorsten, remembered the cope which he had seen as a child, and acquired it for the museum'[360].

Dr. Donald King, former head of the textile department at the Victoria and Albert Museum also points out that bells are one of the embroidered motifs used to adorn church vestments in England in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, although they are not among the most common ones. According to King, the bells can no doubt be seen as a symbol of the Christian Church, but he does not know of any more particular reason for their appearance[361].

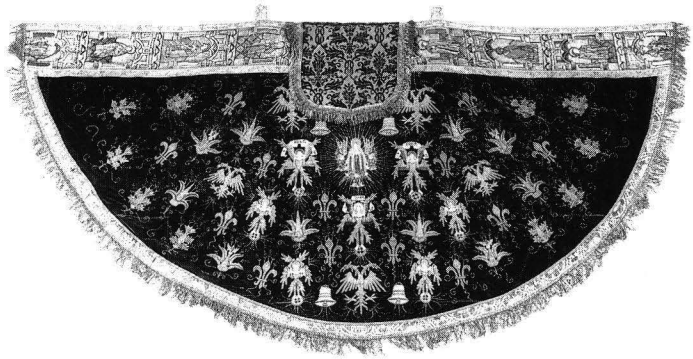

Fig. 57. Cope, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

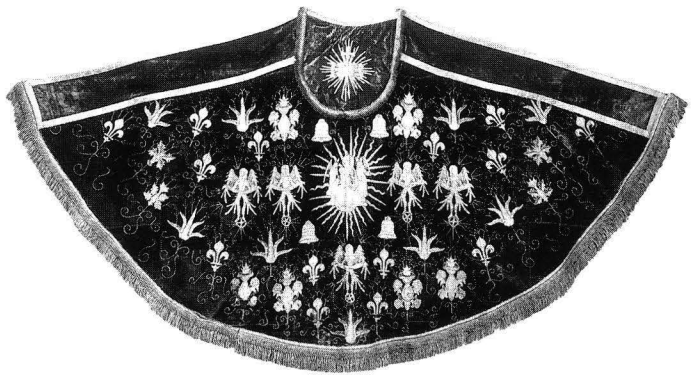

Fig. 58. Cope, Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne.

Fig. 59. The Virgin Mary as Sterbepatronin, *Thomas Wolff,* Hortulus animae, *Basel 1522. Illustration from Künstle 1928.*

Also in book illustrations the bell motif characterizes a certain group of works: the so-called *Sterbebüchlein*,' *deren es in allen Kirchengebieten des Abendlandes gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts viele gab*'[362]. The most famous of these is *Ars moriendi*, whose illustrations, however, do not include bells. On the other hand, for example *Hortulus animae*, published by Thomas Wolff in Basel in 1522, has on its last page the following woodcut: a male figure is kneeling at the left of the picture with hands upheld in prayer (perhaps the publisher himself); on the right is the Angel Gabriel; and in the middle is the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms (Fig. 59). Mary bends down towards the man, touching his shoulder with her hand, while the Infant Jesus strikes a small bell with a hammer. The bell is affixed to the top of a mechanical clock standing on a table[363].

A similar illustration appears in several other works[364]. The collections of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum includes a picture with largely the same contents, although here the supplicant is a Carthusian monk and the border is lined with the text: *Ave potentissima humillima virgo maria. Ave sapientissima et humillima virgo maria. Ave benignissima et humillima virgo maria gratia plena dominus tecum.*[365] (Fig. 60).

The key to the content of these illustrations is a book entitled *Betrachtung der stunden, und zyo yeder stund ein betrachtung des Tods*, printed in Pforzheim around the year 1500. In this work, the depicted figures slightly differ from those mentioned above: Death, instead of an angel, stands next to the bell. The bell and Death are clearly connected – Death has come to announce that the last hour of the supplicant is come. The Infant Jesus strikes the bell, because God lays down man's hour of death, but Mary (*die Sterbepatron-*

Fig. 60. The Virgin Mary as Sterbepatronin*, fifteenth-century woodcut, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London.*

Fig. 61. Bartholomeus Heisegger's funerary plaque, 1517, St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck.

in) is also there; and he who turns to her has nothing to fear. In all the above images Mary is thus the defender of men (*advocata nostra*), wielding her power at the hour of death[366].

This theme was used not only at the conceptual level, in books pointing out the importance of preparing for one's moment of death, but also in everyday, practical situations. The Marienkirche in Lübeck originally had a brass mortuary plaque bearing an engraved version of this theme (Fig. 61). In the lower part of the engraving is a corpse loosely wrapped in a shroud. Above the body in the left part is Mary, holding in her arms the Infant Jesus who is striking a bell with a hammer. On the right is a praying man, Bartholomäus Heisegger, who had commissioned the plaque, and behind him is his patron saint Bartholomew. The plaque was made in 1517, and was probably installed soon after this in the Heiseker Chapel of the Marienkirche, although Heisegger himself lived until 1537.[367]

A separate plaque beneath the engraving bears the following text, containing Bartholomäus Heisegger's supplication to the Virgin Mary and supplementing the engraving: *O MARIA EIN MIDDELRINE TWIS:KEN GODE VNDE DEM MINSKE MAKE DOCH DAT MIDDELE TWISKE DE RICHTE GODES V DE MINRE ARMER SELE AME.* In other words, Mary is asked to mediate between God and the donor's soul at the hour of judgement[368].

In my view, the same eschatological concept is reflected in the decoration of the above-mentioned vestments. Also in these the Virgin Mary and the bells have clear connection. The bell is a reminder of the hour of death and of judgement, while Mary symbolizes the mercy that overcomes God's sentence. Also the cope of St. John's College suggests this interpretation – the fact that Mary stood at the foot of the cross when Jesus died entitled her to act as redeemer together with her Son. Particularly in the Late Middle Ages, this idea of compassion was especially topical throughout Europe.

The above material thus confirms the suggestion that also at Hattula and Lohja the Virgin Mary was deliberately linked with the church-bell. The bell paintings were intended as part of the ensemble of Marian images, and, like the other wall-paintings discussed in previous sections, they emphasized the assistance of the Virgin at the hour of death. Tove Riska, Doctor of Theology h.c., has kindly suggested to this author that these paintings may also symbolize the Angelus, the actual custom of tolling bells by which the Virgin Mary was daily honoured. During the Angelus a prayer was read, which in the Late Middle Ages particularly included a request for assistance at the hour of death. The bell-tolling paintings thus operate at two levels, partly reminding the viewer of the importance of the everyday Angelus prayer, and partly emphasizing in a more general sense the aid of the Virgin to sinners.

The Angelus, or the custom of tolling bells in the morning and evening in honour of the Virgin, is an evident sign of the growth of the Marian cult in the Late Middle Ages. Its precise age and origin are not known, but it appears to have been widely known in Europe as early as at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Kneller assumes that the custom was initiated and spread by the Franciscans. According to Esser, its origins cannot be attributed to any individual or person, nor can we assume that the new forms of prayer appeared 'ready-made'; they were usually the result of a longer and more diffuse course of development.[369]

Esser also points out that the custom was so widespread by the middle of the fifteenth century that even on a ship bound for the Holy Land *der Kammerdiener des Schiffsherrn durch ein Pfeifchen von der Schiffsbrücke aus ein Zeichen gab, bei dem er in Namen*

seines Herrn all Fahrgästen eine Gute Nacht wünschte, und dann ein Bild Mutter Gottes mit dem Jesuskindlein auf den Armen zeigte, vor dem alle knieend drei Ave Maria beteten 'sicut fieri solet sero ad pulsum'. Dasselbe Bild wurde in gleicher Weise auch des Morgens gezeigt, und man betete vor ihm das Ave Maria.[370] It later became customary in Central Europe to toll the Ave bells three times a day, also at noon, but this practice never spread to the Swedish realm (or Finland). The first reliable mention of the Angelus bells in Finland is from Turku in the year 1412. Also the sexton's regulations for the Cathedral of Turku lay down that *wårfru loff* (Praise to Our Lady) be rung in the mornings and evenings[371].

Since its introduction, the Angelus specifically included the Ave Maria prayer, but the number of said prayers and the nature and number of other possibly included prayers have varied in different times and regions[372]. Common to all regulations concerning this prayer is that it was to be said on one's knees. For example, in 1324 the Bishop of Winchester ruled that every Christian in his diocese should in the evening, upon hearing three short peals of a church bell and, regardless of where he was, genuflect with deep respect and say three Ave Marias upon each peal of the bell[373]. The bell-tolling painting at Lohja shows people specifically in this kneeling position with their hands in a gesture of prayer.

In the Hattula painting, however, the people are depicted differently: they are not living men and women called to devotion by the bell, but the dead, who have risen from their graves to pray while the bell tolls. This painting is therefore not as clearly linked with the Angelus prayer and bells. On the other hand, there is no doubt that also at Hattula the bell motif has a connection with the Virgin Mary. The intention here may have been to emphasize the theme of death and the hour of death by including the dead, and thus remind those preparing for the Angelus prayer of their own mortality. The paintings may also have been intended to remind the viewers to pray for the dead, as suggested by Nilsén. In my view, it is more probable that the painting was intended to emphasize Mary's role as queen of Hell and Purgatory: when the Angelus bells tolled, also the souls in purgatory would rise to pray to Mary and ask for her help[374]. In the Middle Ages there was no insurmountable boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead, and it was felt that the sound of the bells also controlled the actions of the dead in many ways[375].

In England, as elsewhere, the evening Angelus was from an early stage combined with the so-called curfew or *couvre feu* bells announcing the time to put out fires for the night. It also marked the closing of the town gates and the ports, the time for clearing the streets, closing the taverns, and announcing that from this moment onwards all noise and games were forbidden. A ruling of this kind is also included, for example, in Magnus Eriksson's town law, which especially forbids the owners of taverns to sell beer or other beverages after the bell; similar rulings appeared in local ordinances long after the Middle Ages, for example in Turku in the 1630s[376].

In view of this broader significance of the Angelus bells, it is easy to understand why the paintings of the banquet for sinners and the tolling of the bell are deliberately next to each other at both Lohja and Hattula. This parallel was an effective reminder to the churchgoers that when they hear the Angelus they must cease their worldly, everyday, activities – especially drinking and gaming in taverns – and turn their minds to the more important concern of the salvation of the soul. The kneeling figure with his hands in a praying position in the right-hand corner of the Hattula painting may thus refer to the adjacent bell-tolling painting, and rather than a victim of murderers it might symbolize a person kneeling down in prayer upon hearing the bells, in spite of being in a tavern at the

time (cf. the above ruling by the Bishop of Winchester).

To eradicate any remaining doubt, we may quote a passage from an Italian catechism, which directly explains why the paintings of the Mary miracles, the tavern and the bell-tolling are all next to each other in the same vault, and also demonstrates their common denominator. This text on the Angelus did not appear until 1560, but there is good reason to assume that it reflects considerably older concepts[377].

In this text, quoted here in German translation, a teacher (*Meister*) and his pupil (*Schüler*) carry on a dialogue in the medieval manner in which the pupil asks and is duly answered by his teacher[378].

> *Schüler: "Warum wird des Abends das Ave Maria geläutet und gebetet?"*
> *Meister: Diese überaus fromme Sitte ist aus drei Gründen in der hl. Kirche eingeführt worden.*
> *Schüler: Was ist der erste Grund?*
> *Meister: Der erste ist: um die Gläubigen, die Gott fürchten und seine hl. Gebote aus ganzem Herzen halten müssen, zu mahnen, von der Arbeit abzulassen und sich von den weltlichen Geschäften nach dem Ave Maria zurückzuziehen, dann nämlich, wenn ein Festtag folgt, welcher immer mit dem Ave Maria des Vorabends beginnt, damit sie nachher den geistlichen Dingen, die ihre Seelen betreffen, obliegen können und durch ehrfurchtsvolle Heiligung des von Gott befohlenen Feiertages ihm gefallen mögen. An einem solchen Tage ist der Christ verpflichtet, an die Heiligung seiner selbst zu denken...*
> *Schüler: Was ist der zweite Grund?*
> *Meister: Der zweite ist: dass alle Gläubigen wie durch ein geheimnisvolles Zeichen daran erinnert werden, dass der Tag, an dem der Mensch seiner Beschäftigung und weltlichen Dingen nachgegangen, abgelaufen ist, und die Nacht beginnt, die zur Ruhe nachhause ruft: damit wir den von den Dingen des Körpers und der Welt so zerstreuten Geist innerlich sammeln zum Nachdenken über sich selbst und die Geschäfte des Heiles und zum Ausruhen in Gott. Indem der Mensch so nachdenkt über sein durch die dunkele Nacht vorgebildetes Ende, nämlich den Tod und das kommende Gericht Gottes, soll er sich selbst prüfen und seine Handlungen während jenes Tages: und wenn er seinen heiligsten Schöpfer und Vater beleidigt hätte, so soll er es nach Kräften bereuen und sich vornehmen, sich zu bessern und in der Beichte sich darüber anzuklagen.*
> *Schüler: Was ist der dritte Grund?*
> *Meister: Der dritte isst: wegen eines grossen Wunders, von dem man weisst, das an einem Abend sich mit Jemandem ereignete, der öffentlich hätte hingerichtet werden sollen, vielleicht unschuldiger Weise, und der durch Anrufung und Begrüssung der allerseligsten Gottesmutter unverzüglich in wunderbarer Weise befreit wurde. Das hat zur Befestigung dieser Andacht vieles beigetragen, noch viel mehr aber hat sie der Papst, der Stellvertreter Christi, befestigt dadurch, dass er einen sehr grossen Ablass für sie verlieh, der einen Jeden bestimmen sollte, sie an jedem Tage, wenn es läutet, auf die Erde niederkniet, mit grosser Sammlung und Ehrfurcht zu verrichten.*[379]

Also in Finland, the Ave Maria prayer belonged to the catechetical material which the clergy had to teach to the people in the vernacular[380]. In its original, shorter form, this prayer consisted of two parts: the Archangel Gabriel's salutation to Mary (Luke 1:28): 'Hail (Mary) full of grace, the Lord is with Thee, blessed art Thou amongst women'; and the words of Elisabeth (Luke 1:42): 'Blessed is the fruit of thy womb (Jesus)'. Because the form consisting of the two salutations was considered merely a greeting, the need gradually arose to add an element of petition, and already by the early fifteenth century it had come to include various 'pray for us' -type requests. Bernadine of Siena preached a sermon in 1427 which contained the words: *Ave Maria Jesus, Sancta Maria, mater Dei, Ora pro nobis*. The present form ('Holy Mary Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death') was first introduced into the canonical hours of the Breviary by the Mercedarians in 1514, the Camaldolense in 1515, and the Franciscans in 1525, and was finally fixed in the reformed Breviary of Pius V in 1568[381]. It was only after this stage that the Angelus prayer achieved its presently known form.

Also the Ave Maria prayer shows how the Catholic Church thus had to make official a practice which had already been known for long in popular piety. Mary as *Sterbepatronin* in the visual arts and the addition of *ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc et in hora mortis nostrae* to the Ave Maria prayer must accordingly be seen as parallel phenomena charac-

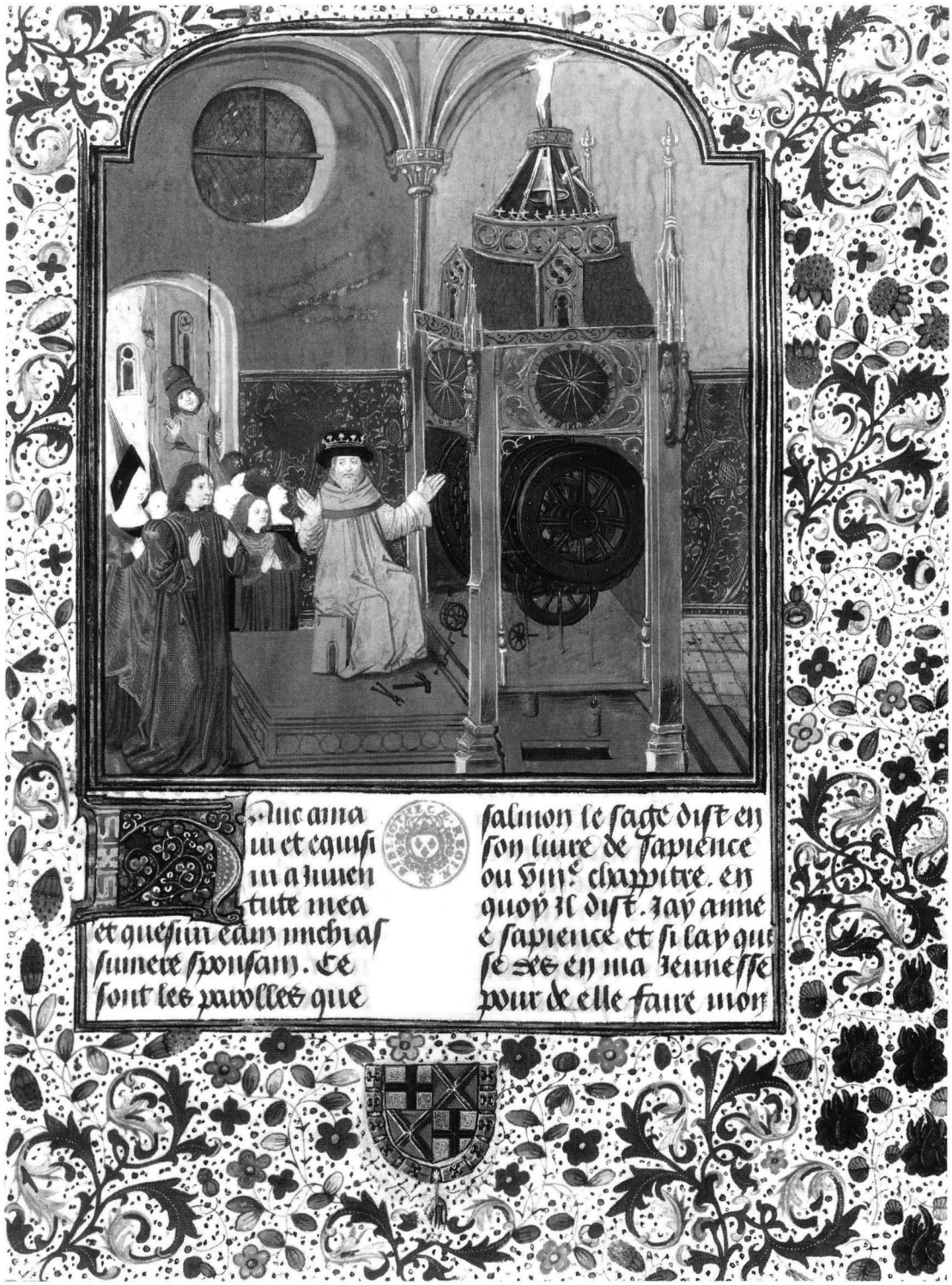

Fig. 62. Clock with a symbol of Christ and a chiming bell, Heinrich Suso, Horologium Sapientiae*, Ms. Fr. 455, fol. 9, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

terizing the spiritual climate of the turn of the fifteenth century. It is possible, and even probable, that it was customary also in Finland at the time of the Hattula and Lohja paintings to add a petition to the Virgin to the Ave Maria prayer. It is difficult to verify this in the literature, for the written texts usually mentions only the first words of the prayer, not its whole content, and thus it is difficult to judge, for example in the Vadstena material, the exact form in which the Ave Maria prayer was said there[382].

aa. Clocks and bells – time as an eschatological symbol

The above-mentioned images of the Virgin Mary as *Sterbepatronin* show how the clock, a mechanical device originally developed for a practical purpose, and with it, time became an eschatological symbol, *memento mori*. Nor was their symbolic use limited to these images. In literature and art both the term 'clock' and the image of a clock were given a more general symbolic meaning. For example, *Büchlein der ewigen weisheit*, written by the Dominican Henricus Suso in 1327–34, appeared in Latin translation as *Horologium aeternae sapientiae*[383]. Around the middle of the fifteenth century, a version of this book was issued with an illustration in which *Sapientia* (*la Sagesse*) dictates to the writer of *Horologium* while standing next to a large clock and touching its wheel with her hand[384]. In another version a figure of the crucified Christ is placed above a chiming churchbell surmounting a mechanical clock (Fig. 62).

At the Church of Raunds in Northamptonshire, England, an actual working clock was used for symbolic purposes. Here, on the west wall of the nave, over an arch which opens to the tower, are the remains of a painted clock dial (Fig. 63). It is borne by two painted figures of angels, behind which a man and his wife, the donors of the clock, are kneeling (Fig. 64). Under the clock is a Latin inscription for the souls of the donors, John and Sarah Catlin.[385]

In the Church of Raunds, as at Lohja and Hattula, the clock is linked with the theme of sin and another *memento mori* motif (Fig. 65). On the north wall, immediately next to the

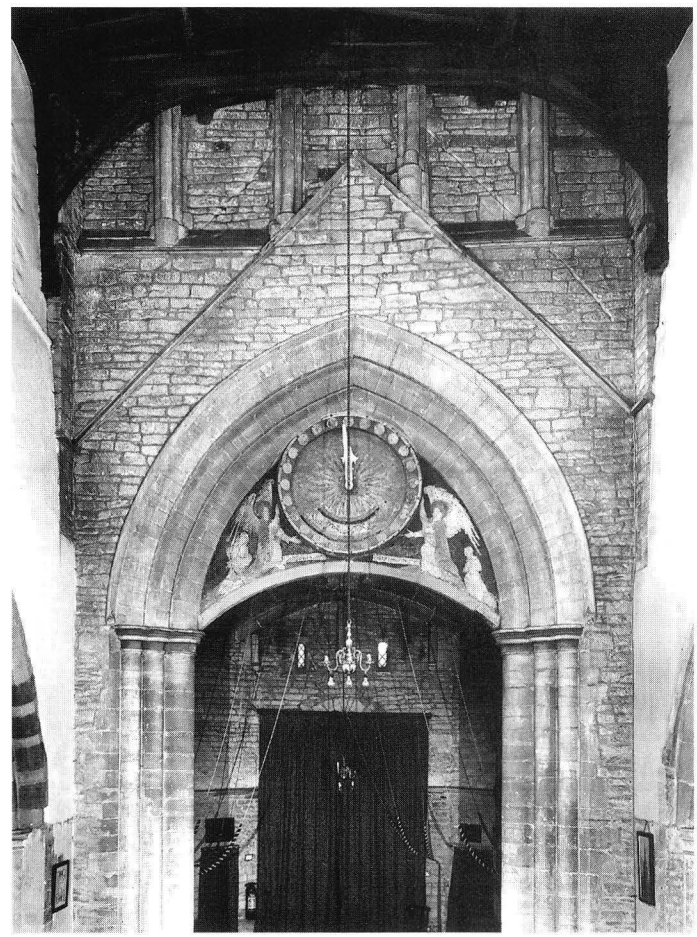

Fig. 63. Mechanical clock on the west wall of the nave of Raunds Church, Northamptonshire, England. Photograph, The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London.

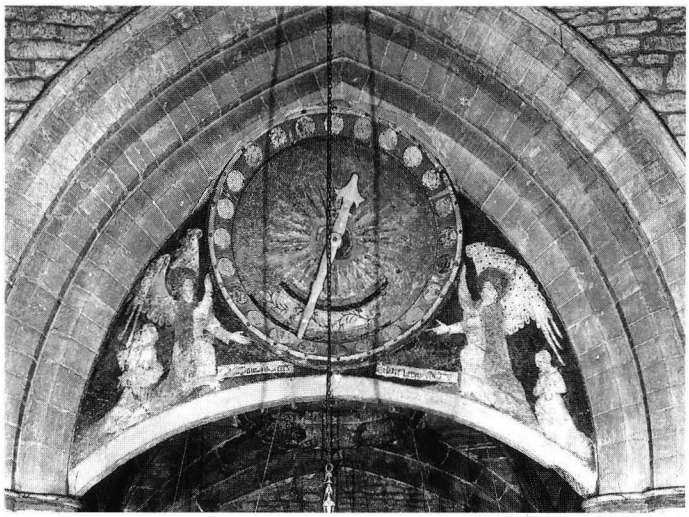

Fig. 64. Detail of Fig. 57.

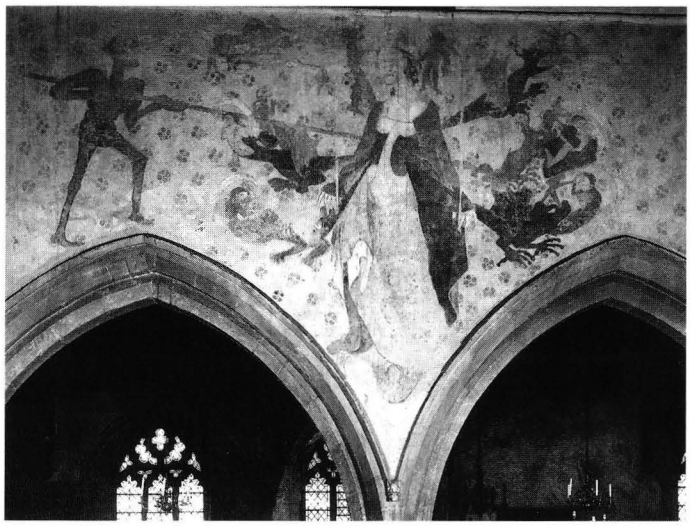

Fig. 65. 'Pride' and 'Death', painting on the north wall of the nave of Raunds Church. Photograph, The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London.

clock are a large painting of the 'seven deadly sins' (Pride depicted as a female figure from which the other sins emanate) and a painting of the three living and the three dead.[386] The paintings were clearly intended to remind their viewers of the dangers of sin and of the instability of all worldly things, with the moral that all ends in death[387].

The mechanical clock and its predecessor, the hour-glass, were from an early stage also symbols of *Temperantia*, a virtue highly valued in the Late Middle Ages. The oldest known depiction of a hour-glass is in a painting of Temperance[388], and also some of the first illustrations of clocks are shown in the hands of Temperance[389]. However, the hour-glass and the clock were also the symbols of Time and his partner, Death.

To understand the reasons for this we must briefly survey the history of clocks and their use. In early-medieval Europe there were two communities for which the precise measuring of time was important: the monasteries and the towns[390]. In the first millennium, measuring and controlling time was mainly the prerogative of monastic communities. Outside the monasteries people living from farming followed the natural rhythm of sunrise and sunset. Inside the monastery walls, however, life was regulated by other factors, mainly the services of the Hours, and the need to lay down the precise time of the

prayers led to the gradual development of increasingly accurate devices for measuring time, from the early water-clocks and hour-glasses to the later mechanical clocks. However, also the new mechanical clocks measured the canonical hours (*horae canonicae*), which were not the equally long 1/24 divisions of the day, but whose length followed the time differences between the services of the hours, in turn dictated by the seasons. Initially, these hours also dominated the concept of time outside the monastic communities[391].

Modern hours of equal duration were not adopted in the monasteries but in the towns. The development of urban communities in the first centuries of the second millennium made it necessary to measure time differently than before. Urban artisans and craftsmen no longer supported themselves with farm work, but were in the service of others, i.e. they sold their own time, which made its accurate measurement an essential feature of everyday life. Both employers and employees had to know the length of the working day, the exact time of beginning and ending work, and thus time and its measurement gradually entered the service of secular society[392].

According to Le Goff, the first sign of the new, urban requirements for measuring time was moving the monasteries' None Hour from around two p.m. to noon. This change, which occurred between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, has been attributed to decadence in monastic life, in which the long wait for mealtime and rest during a day which began before dawn gave rise to increasing impatience. Le Goff suggests a different explanation: 'None was the hour when the urban worker, under the jurisdiction of the clerical time rung by the church bells, took his pause. In this connection, one can imagine a more likely form of pressure for change in the hour of None, which led to an important subdivision of labor time: the half-day'[393].

Experts seem to agree that mechanical clocks first came into use in the church[394]; Landes especially stresses the role of the Cistercians in developing modern techniques of measuring time[395]. According to present views, the invention of the verge escapement with foliot, making mechanical clocks feasible, occurred in the second half of the thirteenth century[396], and during the fourteenth century mechanical clocks rapidly spread throughout Europe. A clock made of iron was installed in the Church of St. Eustorgio in Milan as early as 1309, and the Cathedral of Beauvais probably had a clock with a bell before the year 1324[397]. Many of these early devices were public clocks, installed for the benefit of all townspeople. For example, in 1335 the Church of St. Gothard in Milan had 'a wonderful clock, with a very large clapper which strikes a bell twenty-four times according to the twenty-four hours of the day and night and thus at the first hour of the night gives one sound, at the second two strokes... and so distinguishes one hour from another which is of greatest use to men of every degree'[398]. Also the so-called *Werkglocken*, which were built by workers themselves in the towns for announcing the beginning and end of the working day of different occupations and were originally ordinary hand-rung bells, were gradually mechanized[399].

The oldest clocks in both the monasteries and the towns gave the time by chiming and not on a dial. According to Boorstin, a time-measuring device was originally not regarded as a clock unless it rang a bell[400]. The clock dial is said to have been invented by Jacopo de' Dondi of Chioggia, Italy, in 1344, but it took a long time until the clock hands replaced sound as the main medium of information[401]. At the end of the Middle Ages the sound of the bell was still the sign that symbolized time and its inevitable passing for ordinary people.

Mechanical clocks of great cost soon became the pride of towns and a subject of rivalry, a veritable symbol of the affluence of communities, but also a means of exerting power that was quickly taken over by higher authorities. Since daily time-keeping was not standardized to begin at a certain hour, regulation of clocks became an effective symbol of government. For example, King Charles V of France ordered in 1370 that all the bells of Paris be regulated by the clock at the Palais-Royal. The new time thus became the time of the state, instead of the time of the church[402].

The church, however, was not slow to adopt the new status object and to raise time and timepieces from secular use again into the service of the scheme of redemption. The Roman Catholic Church responded to the challenges of secular society by developing a new 'theology of time'. Wasting time – idleness or acedia – became a major sin, 'a spiritual scandal'[403]. St. Bernard is claimed to have said: 'Nothing is more precious than time.' As discussed above (cf. acedia), this theme was later taken up by other preachers. The Late Middle Ages thus saw the development of 'a whole spirituality of the calculated use of time'; 'a calculating morality and miserly piety' claiming that 'the idler who wasted his time and does not measure it was like an animal and not worthy of being considered a man'[404]. The so-called Lutheran work ethic clearly existed long before Luther. For the church, worldly time was, however, of secondary importance – worldly time well spent was only preparation for eternal time, life after death[405].

This complex chain of events, here described in simplified form, led late-medieval man into a situation in which his life was governed by two sets of time, worldly time, limited and full of everyday concerns, and eternal time represented by the church. The moment when these two times intersected was the moment of death, the instant when worldly time ceased and eternal time began, and what could be a better symbol of this moment than an hour-glass in which the sand is running out, or a clock striking for the last time.

In early sixteenth-century Finland the only time-keepers known by the people were church bells; the earliest information on mechanical timepieces in Finland is from around 1550, when a device called *säjarverk* is mentioned in connection with the Cathedral of Turku and the Olavinlinna Castle[406]. The dominant role of church bells as indicators of time is clearly shown by the Finnish terminology for clocks. In the Finnish language, the word *kello* is used for both a clock and a church bell. Unlike in many other countries, we have never had the need to distinguish these concepts by name[407]. In late-medieval Finland the tangible manifestation of time was simply a church bell, and in my opinion it is completely possible that also the designer of the church-bell paintings at Lohja and Hattula had the same idea in mind as the creators of the images taken as the starting point of this overview, viz. time as an eschatological symbol.

There are sufficient grounds for assuming that allegorical and eschatological concepts relating to time were also known in late-medieval Sweden and Finland. In fact, the most interesting example that I have found of combining everyday and eschatological time is from the Nordic countries. In the Church of Nibe in Denmark is a clock (Fig. 66) which is described by Hans Stiesdal as follows: 'A chiming clock installed on a late-medieval figure, a Throne of Grace. The figure of Christ is lacking, but instead God the Father holds in his right hand a bell and in his left hand a hammer that strikes the bell. The hand is linked to a striking mechanism on the other side of the wall'[408]. In view of the above background, I am certain that the figure was not selected at random, but the 'Lord of Time' was deliberately chosen to strike the bell[409].

The Nordic countries closely followed contemporary religious literature, and through

Fig. 66. Mechanical clock made of a 'Throne of Grace' sculpture, Church of Nibe, Denmark. Photograph, Hans Stiesdal, Denmark.

sermons the newest ideas were propagated to broad sectors of the population. Also the tangible aspects of the new developments, i.e. mechanical clocks, were already known here in the Middle Ages[410]. Several mechanical clocks were already in operation in Sweden (including Scania) before the year 1500. The most famous of these is the *Horologium mirabile* in the Cathedral of Lund, which was constructed in the late fourteenth century[411]. The *Diarium* of the Convent of Vadstena also contains several references to time-pieces, often mentioning clocks in the convent. One such clock was made by a certain Andreas Jacobi, who was a monk at the convent from 1414 to 1438. In 1507 the German-born Petrus Astronomus, another monk of the convent, constructed the famous astronomical clock of the Cathedral of Uppsala[412]. The members of the Bridgettine Order thus had ample opportunity to become acquainted with clocks both in practice and as symbolic objects. – Unfortunately, we do not know how time was kept at the Bridgettine Convent of Naantali.

B. Miracles of the Virgin Mary in other Parts of Europe

1. Scandinavia

No paintings or statues of miracles of the Virgin Mary are known from Denmark. These have been preserved, however, in other Nordic countries, especially in Norway, and as individual specimens also in Sweden and Iceland.

The Swedish medieval pictorial material contains two miracles of the Virgin Mary. Both are wall-paintings, depicting the same theme. The older painting was originally at Björsäter in East Götaland. Over the years a considerable number of boards have been salvaged from the present church in the locality, containing part of the pictorial decoration of the previous church in the same location. These include a board (no. 93) showing part of a painting depicting the painter and the devil (Fig. 67). According to Lindblom, the fragment depicts a man in a cowl standing on a ladder and holding a vessel (paint jar) in his left hand. Beneath this figure is an animal-like devil with a snout and two horns who is grabbing the ladder[413]. There is no longer any trace of the Virgin Mary, who was originally above the figure of the painter.

The exact original position of this board is not known, and therefore we cannot ascertain the location of the miracle painting in the old church. According to Andreas Lindblom, who discovered and published the paintings, it is unlikely that it was in the nave, where the pictorial decoration is dominated by series of paintings of the legends of Thomas à Becket and the Holy Cross. There is more reason to assume that it was in the choir, which was most probably dedicated to the Virgin Mary[414].

According to Lindblom, the general style of the paintings (with influences of a manner of painting that emerged in England around the year 1300), details of dress and other accoutrements, and local tradition claiming them to be as old as the Black Death place them in the second quarter of the fourteenth century[415]. Maria Ullén, in a recent study of the architectural details of the church and its history of construction, arrives at similar results[416].

The other Swedish painting of a Marian miracle belongs to the painted decoration of the Church of Biskopskulla in Uppland (Fig. 68). This church, dating back to the third quarter of the fifteenth century[417], is considerably younger than Björsäter. The painting in question is on the south wall of the porch next to the door leading outside, and according to Odenius, it most probably accompanied another depiction of a Marian theme. Above the painting of the painter and the devil, in the location which in this theme usually contains only an image of Mary, is a depiction of souls being weighed, in which the Virgin Mary intercedes by pushing down the cup containing good works[418]. It was this painting that the painter of the legend would thus have been executing, and in doing so aggravating the devil to drop him from the scaffolding.

The lower part of the painting, i.e. the depiction of the painter himself, consists of a ladder resting against a horizontal line separating the images from one another. The cowled painter, wearing a brown costume, is standing on the ladder. He is holding one hand raised, below which is a paint jar turned upside down. To the right of the painter are traces of the figure of the devil grabbing his shoulder[419]. The Biskopskulla painting thus consists of elements highly similar to its counterpart at Björsäter.

As mentioned above, a considerably larger number of Marian miracle images are known from Norway. These have survived in five objects, four of which are antemensals,

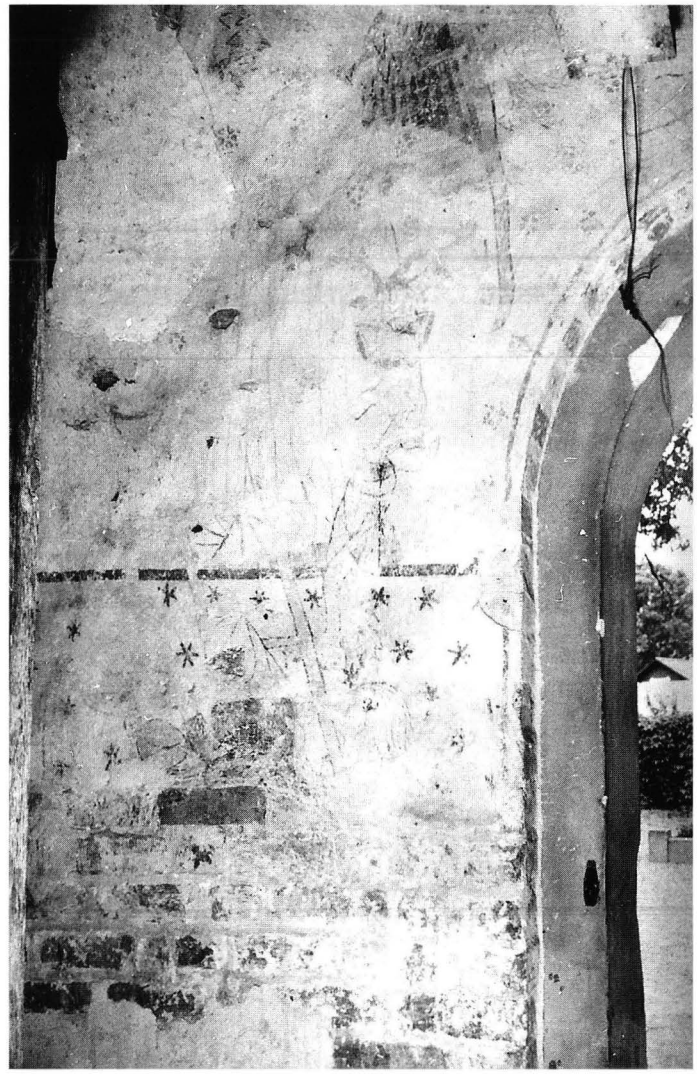

Fig. 68. The Painter and the Devil, wall-painting in the Church of Biskopskulla, Sweden. Photograph, Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, Stockholm.

Fig. 67. The Painter and the Devil, painting on a board originally in the Church of Björsäter, Sweden. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm. Photograph, Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, Stockholm.

altar ornaments, typical of medieval Norwegian art[420], the fifth being a portable altar of bone, which has belonged to King Christian I of Denmark, among others. These objects contain images of a total of eight different miracle legends (as well as a number of fragments of images apparently linked with them that so far have not been identified)[421].

The antemensals are from the churches of Dale, Hamre, Vanylven and Årdal. The three first-mentioned ones (Dale II, Hamre, and Vanylven) resemble each other in composition: the surface is divided into a central image with four images on each side. In all three also the central image is largely the same: a crowned and seated figure of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus standing on her knee[422]. The antemensal from Vanylven was, however, originally designed to have a different image: an engraved sketch under the present painting shows that the artist had first designed as the central image the *Maria lactans*

motif[423]. The Årdal II antemensal has as its central image Christ on the Cross, with John standing on the left and Mary on the right with a sword in her breast[424].

Only one of the auxiliary paintings in the Årdal II antemensal (Fig. 69) shows a miracle of the Virgin Mary: the legend of the Jewish boy being saved from a burning oven. This painting is matched on the opposite side of the central image by a painting of Jesus saving people from the flames of the realm of the dead. As pointed out by Anne Wichström, there could not be a clearer depiction of the position of the Virgin Mary; a parallel of these themes makes Mary more than a figure passing on the grace of God: she is now *corredemptrix*, equal to Christ[425].

In the Dale II antemensal the paintings at the sides depict scenes from two miracle legends: a man who sold his wife to the devil, and the Turk's head (Fig. 70). The first-mentioned, consisting of the four images on the left tells of a man who squandered his fortune on luxury and vices and then made a pact with the devil, whereby he regained his fortune by selling his wife to him. On the given day, the man rode with his wife into the woods to meet the devil. Their route, however, passed by a church, where the wife paused to pray before an altar of the Virgin. Mary, who took pity upon the woman, made her fall asleep, and took her place without the husband noticing what happened. The devil imme-

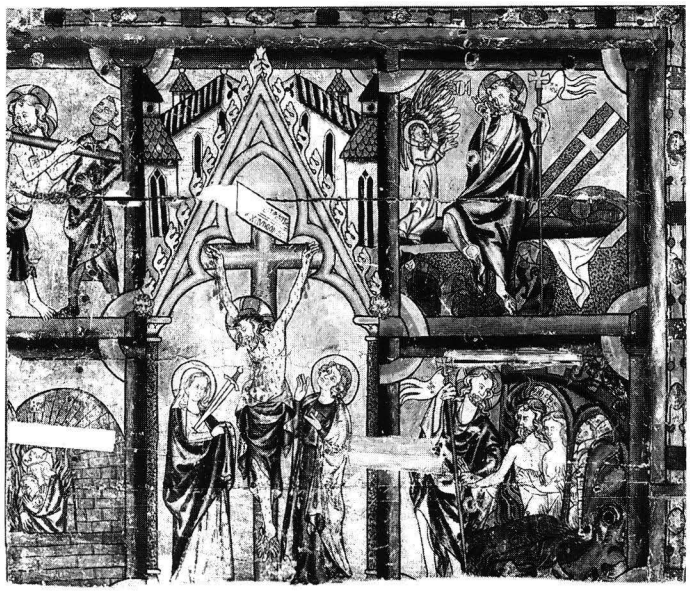

Fig 69. Mary and the Jewish Boy (below, left), antemensal from Årdal Church, Norway, Historisk museum, University of Bergen.

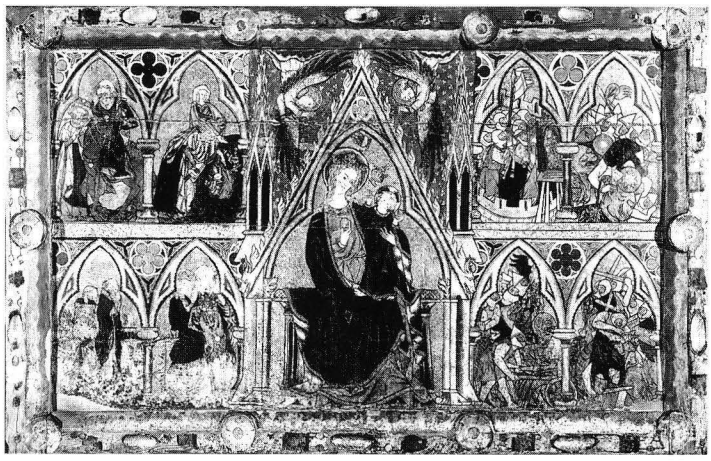

Fig. 70. Miracles of the Virgin Mary, antemensal from Dale Church, Norway, Historisk Museum, University of Bergen.

diately realized what had been done, and he could not but admit his defeat. The man repented his acts, and lived piously with his wife for the rest of his life[426].

The second miracle (the four images on the right) tells of a knight who fell in love with a Turkish princess, but could not have her. When the princess died, the knight descended into her grave to be with her, closing the tomb behind him. After a while, a voice was heard from the grave saying: 'He who looks upon me will die; he who follows me will be victorious.' The Turks then opened the tomb, finding there a monstrous head. They placed it on a staff, bearing it with them into battle against Christians, who were all struck dead upon seeing it. The Crusaders finally barricaded themselves in Constantinople and, upon the advice of a priest piously devoted to the Virgin Mary, placed an image of Mary on the town wall. Upon seeing this image, the terrifying head was destroyed with great shouting, and the Christians won the day[427].

The painted surface of the Hamre antemensal (Fig. 71) is badly damaged, but the images at the sides can be regarded as depicting scenes from the infancy of Jesus. These include the Annunciation, the Visitation, the birth of Christ, possibly the angels appearing to the shepherds, the Magi, and the Circumcision. In the lower left corner of the antemensal is a painting which Anne Anker links with the legend of the Virgin Mary and the sinful abbess. According to the legend, an abbess in a convent was seduced by a servant and became pregnant. When the time of childbirth approached, the nuns informed the bishop, who decided to come and investigate. Distressed, the abbess turned to the Virgin Mary, prayed before her altar, and finally fell into a sleep. Then Mary arrived with two angels, told them to help the child out of the womb, and take him to a pious hermit, who would care for him. When the bishop came, the abbess was declared innocent, but she confessed everything to him. The bishop forgave the abbess and later took in the child himself, who in time became his successor[428].

The paintings on the antemensal from Vanylven (Fig. 72) are also in an extremely poor state of preservation. Discernible in the upper left part, however, is a scene from the Dormition of Mary, and among the other paintings are at least three clearly recognizable Marian miracles[429]. The most fragmentary image, in the lower part to the right of the central painting, shows Mary and the Jewish boy. The depiction above it contains two scenes from the miracle of the monk Gerhard. In the first episode, the monk Gerhard of Cluny celebrates mass in a church dedicated to the Virgin, seeing the host turn into a small child. Standing next to the child is Mary, tending him in motherly way. An angel

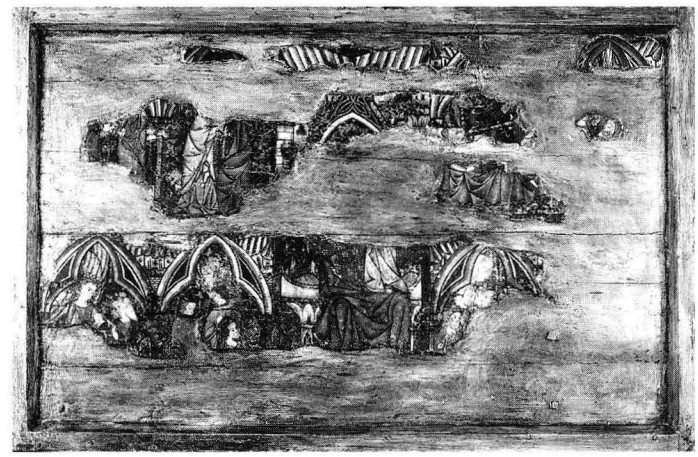

Fig. 71. Antemensal from Hamre Church, Norway, Historisk Museum, University of Bergen.

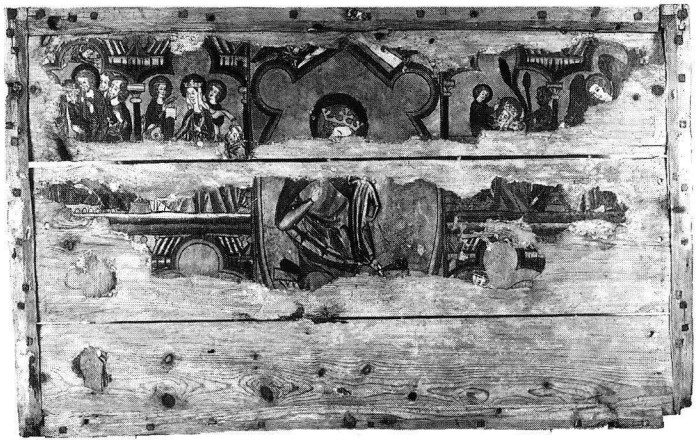

Fig. 72. Miracles of the Virgin Mary, antemensal from Vanylven Church, Norway, Historisk Museum, University of Bergen.

tells Gerhard that the child is Jesus. In the second episode Gerhard, now dead, comes to the assistance of another monk of Cluny, who is being tormented by a devil in the shape of a negro. Both episodes are combined in the painting: in the left part Mary is tending the Infant, and on the right the black devil is tormenting the monk. Next to these is possibly part of the figure of Gerhard himself[430].

In the upper left-hand corner, next to the depiction of the Dormition, is a third Marian miracle: the legend of the monk Reginald. Reginald had once been (*a dogum Frederici keisara secundi*),[431] a dean of Orleans and *magister decretorum* of Paris, but in later life he wished to join the Dominicans. However, he fell gravely ill, and felt the approach of death. St. Dominic, who saw this in a vision, prayed fervently to the Virgin Mary on Reginald's behalf, and Mary came to his death bed, anointed him with holy oil, promised he would recover, and gave him a new suit of clothes. Reginald recovered, joined the Dominican order, and became a successful preacher of the word of God[432]. The painting on the antemensal shows Reginald lying in bed, Mary anointing his body, and two virgins also mentioned in the legend, one of whom is carrying the new suit of clothes. At the lower right-hand corner is St. Dominic kneeling in prayer.

The dating of the Norwegian antemensals is not a simple task. They contain no clearly datable 'signatures' in themselves, and the only way to define their age with any precision is a comparison of stylistic features. The available literature, at least, does not mention any datings of them that are based on scientific methods.

As mentioned above, the antemensals of Dale, Hamre and Vanylven are stylistically classed as a single group, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, i.e. c. 1300–1330. The Årdal altar is regarded as somewhat younger, c. 1320–1350[433]. Nordhagen suggests a later date, *post* 1339[434], for the Vanylven antemensal because of its original design for the uncommon *Maria lactans* theme. At least three of the antemensals appear to have been made in Bergen[435].

Also the so-called portable altar of King Christian I is from the same period, i.e. the early fourteenth century. The altar itself consists of two parts, one of which is decorated with depictions of the legend of St. Olaf and the Norwegian saint Sunniva, among other features; the other part bears engravings of the life of the Virgin Mary and her miracles. Both halves of the diptych are of engraved bone, and were probably made in Norway. The side with the St. Olaf motifs appears, however, to be somewhat older than its counterpart; Mackeprang dates the former to c. 1300, and the latter a generation later, to c. 1325[436].

The first six scenes in the part with the Marian motifs depict the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Magi, the Circumcision, the Assumption of Mary, and her coronation. The three lowermost images may portray Marian miracles, although the first of these has not been identified. The second scene depicts the legend of the priest who in his agony bit off his tongue and lip, and was healed by Mary letting the milk of her breast flow into his mouth. This miracle is included e.g. in Unger's collection, as well as the following one, the legend of Mary letting St. Bernard drink from her breast to thank him for his beautiful praise of her[437].

Previously, no pictorial depictions of Marian miracles were known from Iceland. In the summer of 1991, I conducted research at *Det arnamagnaeanske institut* in Reykjavik, in which connection it was observed that one such depiction exists, albeit a highly uncommon one (Fig. 73). Manuscript AM 240 fol. of the institute's collections contains a small drawing of a man with two knives. He is cutting his genitals with one, while pushing the other into his breast. The Virgin Mary is nowhere in the drawing. It is however a Marian miracle, for as kindly pointed out to me by Stefán Karlsson, MA, the text page in question tells of a monk called Giraldus who was enticed by the devil to mutilate and kill himself, but was finally rescued by the Virgin Mary. As a young man, Giraldus was once on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. All went well until the devil appeared to him in the guise of St. James and made him believe that he had to end his days, prior to which he had to cut of his genitals, with which he had sinned before setting out on his journey. Giraldus did so, and he was carried to the door of a church to await burial. To the horror of those assembled he soon revived and told that when he had died, devils had started to take him to purgatory. St. James, however, had come to his aid and tried to make the devils release him, but to no avail. After proceeding for some time, they arrived at a place where the Virgin Mary was holding trial, surrounded by a number of other people. James then stepped before Mary and told her how the devils had tricked the pilgrim. Mary made Giraldus come back to life, and his scars were proof that what he had told was true[438]. This manuscript, and its illustration, also date back to the middle of the fourteenth century[439].

The Scandinavian material discussed here forms a chronologically distinct group: with the exception of the Biskopskulla painting all the depictions of Marian miracles are from the first half of the fourteenth century, and more probably from the end of this period than

Fig. 73. Giraldus the Pilgrim, Ms. AM 240 fol., Det arnamagnaeanske Institut, Copenhagen.

from its beginning. At this stage, a new type of image, already current on the Continent, was thus introduced into the Nordic countries. Even the small Icelandic drawing may be regarded as an expression of this new current. However, miracles of the Virgin Mary as pictorial themes never gained popularity in Iceland. Although in Icelandic literature Marian legends were highly popular, and manuscript illumination was common and of a high standard[440], poor Giraldus has remained an individual *curiosum*.

It would be highly interesting to know what factors influenced the adoption of the new motif. Because of the nature of available sources, however, only a few suggestions can be offered. As pointed out by several researchers, it appears at any rate that the Dominicans were involved in this process.

Andreas Lindblom already pointed to the distinct Dominican emphasis of the miracles in the Vanylven antemensal[441], and Nordhagen has later shown that also the *Maria lactans* motif, originally intended as the central image, was popular among the Dominicans[442]. Lindblom feels that it is more than likely that the painter of the Reginald legend, glorifying the Dominicans in the Vanylven antemensal, was in direct contact with this order. According to him, the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the probable date of this antemensal, was a time when the Dominican Convent of Bergen was fighting for its existence. In this situation, the Dominicans would have tried to strengthen their position e.g. by underlining their order's character of a divine institution, and the Vanylven paintings could thus be regarded as part of this defence. Lindblom also points out that the precision of detail in the Reginald legend suggests that its painter himself belonged to a religious order, and was most probably a Dominican.[443]

Lindblom's theory has been approached, as it should be, with caution[444]. According to Gallén, the difficulties to which Lindblom refers began much earlier, in the late thirteenth century, and they culminated already in the 1310s[445]. If the Vanylven antemensal is closer to the middle of the fourteenth century, it would seem far-fetched to link its decoration with these events. There are also less dramatic, and perhaps more likely, explanations. For example, the Dominican Convent of Bergen may have acquired for its own use an antemensal decorated with *Maria lactans* and miracle motifs, which later became the model for similar objects. The very fact that a Dominican convent was a centre of influences is enough to explain the presence of themes advertising this order in the pictorial decoration.

The Dominicans nevertheless were definitely involved in spreading interest in the Marian legends in other ways. Most scholars of Norwegian miracles of the Virgin have referred to a large miracle collection whose translation was commissioned by King Haakon V Magnusson (1299–1319)[446] as evidence of interest in Marian legends in early-fourteenth-century Norway. Prior to this, the royal house of Norway had enjoyed close relations with the Dominicans. Haakon's father, Magnus Haakonsson, who was a well-known patron of the Franciscans, also remembered all the Dominican convents of the country in his will and was instrumental in having his friend the Dominican Narve installed as Bishop of Bergen in 1278. Haakon himself had at least one Dominican active in literary pursuits in his close circle. The king's personal books of devotion, his missal and his breviary were written by the Dominican brother Hiallm, whom Haakon is known to have remembered in his will[447]. Considering the zeal of the Dominican brothers as compilers of Marian miracle collections, it is by no means impossible that Dominicans close to the king were involved also in compiling and translating his large collection of miracles.

The interest of Norwegian royalty in miracles of the Virgin Mary no doubt led to the broader popularization of these texts, as attested by several copies of the King Haakon's collection (see above, p. 119). Nor was this influence limited to Norway, it is also probable that royal interest may have promoted the spread of miracles in corresponding circles in Sweden.

It is generally known that King Haakon's spouse Eufemia, who was also mother-in-law of Magnus Eriksson, the next King of Norway, commissioned in the early fourteenth century a translation of the so-called Eufemia Songs (*Eufemiavisor*) as a gift for her future son-in-law. Through these texts, the new Continental epic poetry was introduced into Sweden.[448] The last of these works was apparently translated in 1312, the year when Magnus Eriksson and Princess Ingeborg of Norway finally married[449]. In my opinion, it is very likely that, like the Eufemia Songs, and perhaps together with them, also the new major collection of Marian miracles, or part of it, made its way from the court of Norway to the library of the royal house of Sweden. The two oldest presently known Eufemia manuscripts contain, in addition to their main content, a few miracles of the Virgin Mary[450]. These manuscripts are considerably younger than the originals (D 4 is from 1420–1445 and D 3 is from 1476), but if we assume that they reflect the structure of the originals, they are a clear indication of one route by which the Marian miracle literature spread. Even if we disregard these manuscripts, we must observe that the early fourteenth century was in all ways a suitable time for intellectual stimuli to be introduced from the Norwegian court into Sweden. Magnus Eriksson was from 1319 to 1355 king of both Norway and Sweden[451], and at this time contacts between the courts must have been more active than normally. Also at this time, in the first half of the fourteenth century, miracles of the Virgin Mary made their first appearance in Norwegian and Swedish art.

It is clear that the popularization of miracles did not result solely from royal activity in either country. The spread of this new cultural phenomenon was a considerably more complex process. However, especially in Sweden interest among the leading sectors of society may have been significant for the spreading of miracles. According to Marian Ullén, an influential local magnate was probably responsible for modernizing the Church of Björsätra and decorating it with paintings. Ullén suggests for this role the knight Bo Bosson (Natt och Dag), who was Privy Councillor, *drotz*, and *lagman* of East Götaland[452]. A person of this standing was no doubt well abreast of new currents (from Norway) at the top level of the realm, which may explain the depiction of the painter and the devil among the paintings at the Church of Björsäter (although I would prefer to assume that the motif itself was chosen by the master-painter himself who worked in the church). In view of the dating of the Marian miracle motifs, it must be noted that they do not yet occur in the Church of Södra Råda, which was decorated with paintings in 1323, although these paintings were in other respects *l'expression la plus belle et la plus riche de cette nouvelle direction de la pensée* (veneration of the Virgin Mary),'*ista sunt scripta de beata Virgine Maria*'[453].

In summary, we can observe that the broadly simultaneous appearance of Marian miracle motifs in both Norwegian and Swedish art in the early fourteenth century must be seen as an interconnected whole and as a sign of the arrival of a new cultural trend in Scandinavia at that time. The spreading of this innovation also to Sweden in addition to Norway may be assumed to have had connections with interest in this theme among the leading circles of the realm. However, this possibility must still be regarded only as a hypothesis.

2. France and England

A broader perspective for the Finnish and Scandinavian paintings of miracles of the Virgin as part of the Western cultural heritage requires a brief survey of their distribution outside the Nordic countries. The aim of the following section is to present an overview of the role of Marian miracles in the art of the rest of Europe. As it has been impossible to study the whole West European material, I shall confine my discussion to France and England as two examples. These results are of course not binding for the whole sphere of European culture, but I believe that even a limited body of material of this kind will reveal trends that may outline more general developments.

I must also point out that the following is not an exhaustive survey of the French and English material, but only a preliminary sketch, since the subject has not been previously approached from this perspective.

a. Monumental Art

aa. France

There is hardly an area of medieval art on which Emile Mâle has not pronounced his opinion. He is also the scholar who to my knowledge was the first to investigate the miracles of the Virgin Mary in West European monumental art, particularly in France.

In his *L'art religieux de XIIe siècle* (1953) Mâle describes how the emphasis of monumental art, as in literature and the liturgy, gradually shifted more and more from Christ to the Virgin Mary. In the twelfth century, church portals, which were usually dedicated to Christ, began to appear in which the main character was the Virgin Mary[454]. At first, this happened by depicting motifs from the life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ, the Adoration being especially popular[455], but gradually also by portraying the Virgin alone with her Son. The first instance of this appears to have been at Chartres, where in 1145 a figure of Mary with the Infant Jesus in her lap was sculpted in the tympanon of the famous cathedral[456].

Around the same time, in the early twelfth century, monumental art also began to carry motifs depicting miracles of the Virgin, in which for the first time Mary appears as an independent character, without her Son[457]. According to Mâle, the oldest known example of this is a bas-relief of the legend of Theophilus in the west wall of the Cathedral of Souillac[458] (Fig. 74). This relief, dating back to c. 1110–1120, is at present in a clearly secondary location, but it appears to have originally been intended for a more prominent place, as part of the sculptures above the door[459].

After Souillac, however, almost a hundred years seem to have passed before the miracle motifs began to spread. To my knowledge, there are no other depictions of this kind datable to the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth century they surprisingly appear in large series[460] in many French churches. Stained-glass versions are known from the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres (c. 1205–1215), the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Laon (c. 1215), the Cathedral of Le Mans (c. 1235, 1250, 1275), the Church of Auxerre (c. 1235–1240), the cathedrals of Saint-Pierre du Troyes and Saint-Pierre de Beauvais (c. 1245), the Church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault (c. 1250), the Church of Clermont Ferrand (c. 1275–1280), and also at Angers, Dreux, and Gercy (thirteenth cent.). As sculptures they appear in the centre sculpture in the tympanum of the North Transept of Notre-Dame de

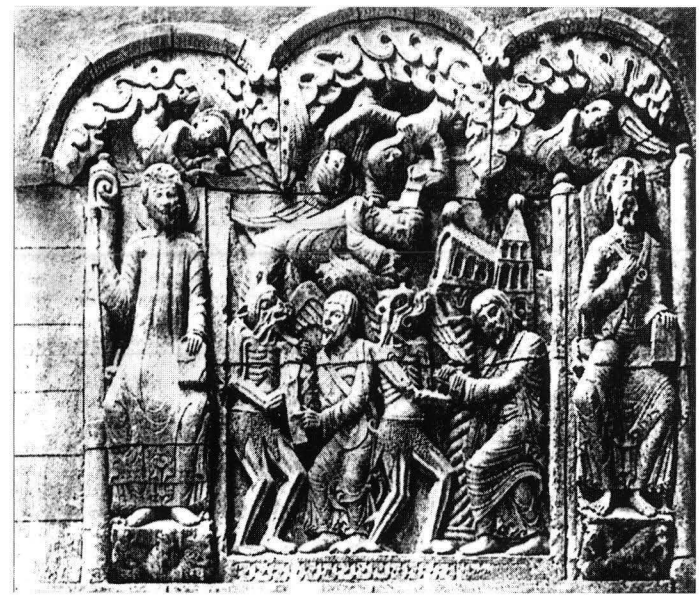

Fig. 74. The Theophilus Story, Cathedral of Souillac, central panel of the tympanum. Illustration from Fryer 1935.

Paris, which is dated to 1250–1260. In the early fourteenth century the miracle theme also appeared in reliefs of the outer wall of this church, and in a medallion in the west wall of the Cathedral of Saint John Baptist in Lyon[461]. There are apparently stained glass windows of Theophilus also in the Church of St. Jean de Luz in the Pyrenees and in the Church of Tours[462], but I have not been able to check their datings.

These works were followed by a long interval, and miracle motifs did not reappear in churches until the sixteenth century. At this stage they occur at least in the stained glass paintings of the churches of Montangon, Le Grand-Andely, Baumont-le-Roger, and St. Nizier in Troyes, all dated to the 1530s and '40s[463]. I do not known of any depictions of Marian miracles in the monumental art of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but it is of course possible that my survey was incomplete. Considering the damage suffered by medieval works of art even in France, it is highly probable that such works existed, but they were at any rate considerably rarer than in the thirteenth century and later, immediately before the middle of the sixteenth century.

Mâle notes: *C'est un fait remarquable, ...que dans nos cathédrales, à l'exception de celle du Mans, on ne trouve représenté qu'un seul miracle de la Vierge, toujours le même: le miracle de Théophile*[464]. The numerous collections of miracles of the Virgin thus would not have had the influence on visual art that we could easily assume – *A Chartres, à Laon, à Soissons, il y'a nulle trace, ni dans les sculptures, ni dans la peinture sur verre, des miracles de ces Vierges célèbres*[465].

According to Mâle, the Theophilus legend was greatly popular, because it had been used since the eleventh century in liturgical texts, i.e. as part of divine service[466]. He claims that also the miracle depictions at Le Mans derived from liturgical texts. In the Middle Ages it was customary in the service of the Assumption to read selected miracles of the Virgin Mary from *De gloria Martyrum* by Gregory of Tours. These miracles, and a few others also appearing in liturgical texts, are depicted in the Church of Le Mans[467].

In Mâle's opinion, French monumental art thus depicted only the miracles of the liturgical texts[468]. The situation, however, was not so simple. Preserved in the stained glass paintings of the Cathedral of Chartres are several other miracles of the Virgin Mary, in addition to the legend of Theophilus[469], and there seem to have been even more of them.

Mâle himself mentions that documentary sources refer to at least one painting of this kind that was previously in the cathedral: a depiction of a traveller returning from the Crusade who was saved from shipwreck by the Virgin Mary[470]. Nor were all the miracles of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Le Mans from liturgical texts. The stained glass paintings of this cathedral include a scene from the legend of the painter and the devil, whose origin is completely different[471]. There is also an example at Le Mans of how local legends were used in the visual arts[472]. Apparently the legend of Theophilus also in the Cathedral of Tours was among many other depictions of Marian miracles[473]. I have not been able to check this point in other churches and cathedrals, but the above three examples suffice to show that motifs from other written sources than liturgical texts alone were used in the painted and sculpted decoration of churches, although the legend of Theophilus appears to have been the most popular miracle.

On the other hand, the stained glass paintings of the later group (1530s–1540s) depict only the legend of Theophilus, for which Mâle and Fryer suggest a definite reason: the Theophilus play, which was popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, began to be performed again in the sixteenth century, and was apparently a stimulus for the reappearance of this theme in monumental art[474]. According to Mâle, both the Montangon and Le Grand-Andely paintings contain details which are best explained as loans from plays seen by the artist[475].

In the light of recent research it appears that the early Theophilus depictions had a broader function than as a part of the Marian cult. This diverse use may partly explain their large number. According to Michael W. Cothren, the legends of Theophilus in the stained glass paintings were originally didactic series of images aimed at the upper class. The emphasis of the legend did not shift from Theophilus to the Virgin Mary until later, when it became one of the many stories intended to praise the Virgin Mary[476].

Cothren writes of this subject as follows:

> 'In the early thirteenth century the increasing popularity of the legend of Theophilus as a subject for the monumental decoration of churches appears to have led to the development of a distinctive narrative cycle for use in stained glass windows. Comparison with the cycles used in contemporary manuscripts shows that the window recension was constructed with a particular didactic emphasis. To this end, certain scenes that seem to have no parallels in written versions of the legend and that were staged in the guise of contemporary social custom and ritual were interpolated into the glass recension.' 'This was in no sense an attempt to educate an unlettered multitude. The full significance of the windows seems to have been directed at the small group of wealthy and powerful men who, like Theophilus or Robert de Lisle, wielded temporal, secular authority. The story, after all, concerns the sort of sin whose commission was a privilege of this class alone, and the windows... used its symbolic rituals to convey a focused message about hypocrisy and the misuse of power.'[477]

According to Cothren, the Theophilus legend as a pictorial sermon for didactic purposes seems to have remained a very brief phenomenon, being mainly restricted to the first half of the thirteenth century[478].

bb. England

The English situation presents a more varied picture. I have found in English monumental art eleven examples of Marian miracles used as part of a pictorial programme, including stained glass paintings, works of sculpture and wall-paintings. – Unfortunately only a fraction of English medieval art has survived to the present day, and the presently known material may also in this case be only a small sample of what was originally in the churches.

To my knowledge, the oldest English example of a miracle of the Virgin Mary in visual art is in Lincoln Cathedral. Among the stained glass paintings presently in the east window of the north choir aisle are scenes from two well-known miracle legends: the legend of Theophilus (Fig. 107) and 'The Jew of Bourges'. The former is in four half-medallions and of the latter the climax is presented, viz. the moment when the boy is found alive in a burning oven[479]. These paintings are dated to the early thirteenth century, according to Lafond to c. 1235, and to c. 1220 according to Marks[480].

Also Canterbury Cathedral originally had a panel of the Repentance of Theophilus. This painting was in the tenth window in the choir of the cathedral together with a medallion of the Penitence of Solomon, and other works. Fryer dates the painting to the mid-thirteenth century[481]. As at Lincoln, there was also at Canterbury a stained glass painting of the Jew of Bourges[482]. The legend of Theophilus was also depicted in the Church of St. Denys, Walmgate in York, in two apparently late-thirteenth-century stained glass medallions[483]. According to M.R. James, there were also depictions of Marian miracles in York Minster, but I have not been able to obtain further information on them[484].

Written sources also mention paintings of miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmunds. Lists published by James mention a window dedicated to the Virgin Mary with four scenes of the legend of Theophilus and depiction of Mary healing the sick priest with her own milk. Apparently the same window also contained a stained glass painting of rescue of the Jewish boy. There were also two wall-paintings in this church; one was of Mary rescuing a monk from drowning and the other was again the Jewish boy in the burning oven. James assumes that at least the stained glass painting was in the new Chapel of the Virgin Mary. Its foundation stone was laid on 1 July 1275 (sic!), which is thus the *terminus post quem* of the paintings there[485].

Early-fourteenth-century miracles of the Virgin are known in both works of sculpture and wall-paintings. Beverley Minster has a marble altar screen (reredos) from c. 1340[486], with a depiction of the Theophilus legend on its east side[487].

Lady Chapel in Ely Cathedral contains one of the largest known series of miracles of the Virgin, either sculpted or painted, with a total of over 100 scenes telling the story of the Virgin. Among these are miracle legends known from various collections, including a profusely depicted legend of Theophilus and legends of monks and nuns rescued by the Virgin from difficult predicaments. Sculptures of miracles originally decorating the niches surrounding the chapel were irrevocably destroyed in the Reformation, and it is no longer possible to identify all the depictions. Despite efforts, James was not able to say whether these miracles were from a single collection, or whether they were gathered from several sources[488]. The Lady Chapel was commenced in 1321 under the direction of John of Wisbech, one of the monks, and it was finished in 1349[489].

On the wall of the south nave of the parish church of Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, are a few paintings of Marian miracles, which pose problems for identification. According to Caiger-Smith, the paintings include depictions of the legend of Theophilus[490]. Tristram, in turn, claims that the paintings are of two different miracles, one being the Jew of Bourges and the other the legend of a young man who had dedicated himself to the Virgin Mary, was forced by his relatives to marry, but ran away to return to the Virgin Mary[491]. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to verify this in the church itself.

The sculptures of miracles of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Norwich most probably date back to around the middle of the fifteenth century. In the Cathedral's Bauchun chapel

the bosses of the roof are decorated with scenes from a miracle legend known as 'The Empress'. It is believed that the vaulted roof containing the bosses was made at the expense of William Sekyngton (Seguinton), an official of the diocese, who died in 1460[492].

The most impressive examples of miracles of the Virgin in monumental art are, however, from the end of the Middle Ages. Around the turn of the fifteenth century England saw the creation of the largest series of miracles of the Virgin Mary known in European monumental art: the wall-paintings of Eton and Winchester. In terms of both content and chronology, they provide the best parallels to the series of Marian paintings at Hattula and Lohja, and they will be discussed in detail in the following section.

The wall-paintings of Eton College Chapel (Fig. 75) were discovered in 1923, and Borenius and Tristram declared them at the time to be the most significant discovery in the whole field of English medieval painting[493]. Some of the paintings are in a very good state of preservation. They are on the south and north walls of the west end of the chapel choir opposite each other in two rows above one another with eight separate images in each row. There are thus 32 separate painted fields with scenes from a total of 22 different miracle legends. Between the fields and along the borders are depictions of various saints.

According to James, the motifs of the paintings are as follows:

> Upper row, south wall (from east to west): 1. The Assumption of the Virgin, 2. The Burial of the Virgin Mary, with a Jew holding on to the casket with his hands, 3. The Legend of Theophilus, 4. St. John of Damascus, 5. The Columns Raised, 6. Betrothal to the Image, 7. St. Bonnet's Mass, 8. The Jew of Bourges.
>
> The whole lower row on this wall is dedicated to the legend of The Empress, also found in Norwich Cathedral. Depicted here are the following scenes: 1. The Emperor Departs. His Brother Imprisoned, 2. The Empress Accused and Condemned, 3. The Rescue of the Empress, 4. The Murder of the Child: the Empress Banished, 5. The Empress on the Island: her Vision, 6. The Knight's Brother Healed, 7. The Emperor's Brother Healed, 8. The Empress takes the Veil.
>
> On the north wall, the upper row consists of: 1. The Thief Ebbo, 2. The Blaspheming Dicer, 3. The Pious Painter (the painter and the devil), 4. Uncertain scene with a knight, 5. The Sick Clerk, 6. The Rose with Ave Maria, 7. The Devil as Steward, 8. The Vision of St. Angelo.
>
> Lower row: 1. The Miracle of Mont St. Michel, 2. The Wounded Image, 3. The Knight Sells his Wife to the Devil (I) (Fig. 76), 4. The Knight's Wife Delivered by the Virgin (II), 5. The Jewess Delivered, 6. The Miracle of the Candle, 7. The Image as Hostage, 8. The Woman Unconfessed[494].

In the lower border of each field there was originally a text giving the source of the theme in question. Although not all the texts are legible any more, James points out that the sources were clearly *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais and *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine[495].

Fig. 75. Eton College Chapel, general view. Photograph, The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London.

Fig. 76. The Knight Who Sold His Wife to the Devil, wall-painting in Eton College Chapel. Photograph, The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London.

The paintings are known to have been commissioned by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and a former Provost of the College. Information in the College archives permits a fairly accurate dating (1479–87), and these sources also refer to the painters themselves, mentioning e.g. 'the Priest, the master of the painters', and Gilbert and William Baker who seem to have been involved in the work in some way. According to James, also the paintings themselves reveal the hands of two different artists[496].

The paintings are in oil and so-called grisaille technique, i.e. mainly with black and white paints. Red, green and yellow were used in some places for effect. Tristram notes that the painter's aim was to reproduce the effect of carved reliefs[497]. According to him, the similarity between the Eton paintings and contemporaneous Burgundian and Flemish work, both of painters and miniaturists, is manifest. However, the artists who worked in the church were English, and foreign influences were mainly obtained from illustrated books and other works of art[498].

Lady Chapel in Winchester Cathedral contains a grisaille series of Marian miracles closely resembling the paintings in Eton College (Fig. 108). The paintings at Winchester are slightly younger, from the early sixteenth century, being commissioned by Thomas Silkestede, Prior at Winchester from 1498 to 1524. According to James and Tristram, they were undoubtedly inspired by the work at Eton, but were not direct copies[499].

According to James, the paintings at Winchester are of smaller dimensions, inferior in execution, and far less well preserved. At present, they are covered by protective panels painted to give an impression of the nature of the originals. The general plan of the paintings is the same as at Eton. Here too, they are on two facing walls in a lower and an upper row. On the north wall are ten scenes, five in each row, and on the south wall are twelve scenes, six in each row.

According to a sign placed in the church, the paintings depict the following scenes:

North Wall, Top Row L-R:

1. The hand of St John of Damascus is chopped off but restored by the Virgin Mary, 2. A cleric, who, although a devout worshipper of the Virgin Mary, had led a Wayward life and was buried in unconsecrated ground is pitied by Mary and reburied inside the churchyard. As if thanks a flower springs from his mouth, 3. (Over the door, the Annunciation), 4. A robber-knight is rescued from a demon, disguised as one of his servants, because he had always said his prayers to the Virgin Mary, 5. The Virgin Mary heals a sick priest, 6. A scene with a knight very faint and impossible accurately to identify.

Lower Row L-R.

7. A thief called Ebbo is caught and hanged but saved by the Virgin Mary because he had always said his prayers to her, 8. A pious artist was painting the Devil with an ugly face. The Devil, out of spite, knocked down his scaffolding but the artist is saved by the Virgin Mary, 9. St Basil pleads with the Roman Emperor Julian to spare the City of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 10. Julian refuses so the Virgin Mary raises to life a knight called Mercury and arms him for battle, 11. Mercury searches for Julian and kills him.

South Wall

Top Row L-R:

1. A young man slips a ring over the finger of a statue of the Virgin Mary for safekeeping but cannot take it off. He is therefore effectively betrothed to the Virgin Mary and leaves his friends to become a monk, 2. (A portrait of Thomas Silkestede), 3. A young Jewish boy in Bourges, 4. A woman receives back his son who had been kidnapped and restores the statue of the Child Jesus which she had taken as a hostage, 5. The Virgin Mary explains to the builder of a church how to construct a capstan so that boys can lift heavy columns, 6. A monk, loose in life, but devoted to the Virgin Mary falls off a bridge at night and drowns. Demons claim his soul but Mary saves it, 7. The Virgin Mary saves men from a shipwreck.

Lower Row L-R:

8. The Virgin Mary protects and rewards an ignorant priest who could sing only one Mass but which was in honour of Her, 9. St Gregory carries the portrait by St Luce of the Virgin Mary in procession during a plague and sees St Michael on the top of Hadrian's Mausoleum, sheating his sword. The Mausoleum was known ever after as Monte S. Angelo, 10. The Virgin Mary helps a woman who is taken ill on a pilgrimage to Mont S. Michel, 11. The Virgin Mary brings life to a woman who died before making her confession, 12. Two men are seized by Devils and killed for throwing stones at a statue of the Virgin Mary. 13. Christ himself, attended by Saints and Angels, celebrates Mass for a devout Lady on an occasion when a priest was unable to do so.

The Winchester paintings also carry identifying texts, which, according to James, are in most cases identical with the texts in the Eton paintings[500].

Large series of paintings as at Eton and Winchester are so surprising in English late-medieval art that a special reason for their emergence can be assumed. None of the available studies on these paintings mention any specific reason, but other sources confirm that such a cause did exist: the paintings of miracles of the Virgin in College Chapel at Eton appear to have had a clear connection with the history of the school, and especially its difficulties during the Wars of the Roses.

Sir H.C. Maxwell Lyte, the historian of Eton College, points out that 'an attempt to trace the history of Eton College from its foundation takes us back to a period of depression in every branch of literature and learning in England'. The Black Death had led to a severe shortage of learned men; during the 50 years preceding the founding of Eton a great number of schools had to be closed, because of the *scarstee of maistres of gramar*[501]. To improve the situation, a school was established in Winchester upon the initiative of William of Wykeham to train students for Oxford, and this example was soon followed by other institutes of learning[502].

Apparently upon the initiative of Cambridge scholars, King Henry VI decided to do for Cambridge what William of Wykeham had done for Oxford, and established a school, modelled after Winchester, at Eton near his own favourite residence. In 1440 the royal

Charter of Foundation laid down that the school was to provide tuition for 25 boys without means, and the following year the pope gave his approval for the scheme[503].

The Virgin Mary was chosen as the patron of the new school (Winchester had as its patrons both Mary and St. Nicholas)[504].

While Eton was being built, Henry VI, who based his educational scheme on that of William of Wykeham, visited Winchester to personally study the work of his model. Here, he was able to persuade the Oxford-trained William of Waynflete, who was master of Winchester College (and the later donor of Eton's Marian miracle paintings), to organize Eton according to the model he had followed at Winchester.[505]

According to Lyte, 'the kindly interest with which the members of Winchester College had from the first viewed the foundation of a rival institution at Eton was not impaired by any kind of jealousy', and Waynflete's new position only strengthened ties between the schools[506]. Thus, from the very early stages, Eton and Winchester have had the closest contacts.

Around the time of the school's official opening in 1443, it had grown considerably, with pupils now numbering 70, and the future looked bright[507]. Things, however, turned out different. During the War of the Roses, which began in the mid-fifteenth century, Eton College was on the losing side, and had to suffer the severe consequences of its close links with the House of Lancaster. Although representatives of the school were at first able to acquire a written promise of protection from the Duke of York, Eton gradually suffered from increasingly worse acts of oppression, until its whole existence was finally threatened. According to Lyte, the envy of King Edward, of the House of York, towards his predecessor, Henry of Lancaster, gradually grew to such proportions that he resolved to discredit everything that could resound to the fame of his rival. For example, he conceived the idea of entirely suppressing the school which Henry VI had founded, and of annexing it to St. George's at Windsor[508]. It was mainly because of two Williams, William Westbury, the provost of the school, and William Waynflete, consecrated as Bishop of Winchester in 1447, that this did not happen.

These indefatigable men ensured that Eton College gradually regained its former property and could return to its normal work, and by 1469 conditions had greatly improved. The king had now given up his plan to combine the schools, and the masters were again paid, though only half of their former salaries, and some of the furnishings removed from the school were recovered[509]. The building of the Collegiate Church appears to have begun in the same year, at the cost of Bishop Waynflete and under his supervision[510]. Also many of the school's other buildings, whose construction had been halted after King Henry's reign, were completed with funding from Waynflete.

The Eton audit rolls of 1476 show that the new church was almost finished at this stage. In the same year, the Archbishop of Canterbury finally pronounced judgement in favour of Eton, requiring the Chapter of Windsor to abstain from any sort of molestation, 'under pain of the greater excommunication'. In 1479 Pope Sixtus IV renewed some of the indulgences that had been granted to Eton by his predecessors[511]. Coincidence or not, from this year onwards the audit rolls also mention 'candles given to the painters working in the college'[512].

When work on the college recommenced, Bishop Waynflete was already in his seventies. Eton College, whose success had been his long-abiding concern, had survived many difficulties. The school found new supporters, even among members of the royal family, and it again appeared to have good prospects for the future. What better way to thank the

school's patron, the Virgin Mary, to whom the bishop must have often turned in his need, than to order a large mural frieze telling of the miraculous way in which she helped those who applied to her for protection?

According to Lyte, the stalls which had been erected at Waynflete's expense in the choir were quite low, and not surmounted by canopies. Accordingly, there remained a great deal of free wall space between them and the choir windows[513]. In my opinion, it is quite likely that this was the result of planning and not just a coincidence. It seems natural to assume that Waynflete, who had been responsible for the architecture, had from the very beginning left the choir walls free for painted decorations. These were executed, possibly also on Waynflete's instructions and perhaps according to his own composition, with the best and most costly contemporary technique, and Waynflete was even able to see the whole work completed in his lifetime[514].

In view of the close relations between Winchester and Eton, it is by no means surprising that Winchester wished to have similar paintings. Prior Silkestede must have been tempted by the idea of decorating Lady Chapel in the manner in which another famous son of Winchester had crowned his own lifework.

As shown above, Marian miracles in English monumental art do not form chronological groups as distinct as their French counterparts. However, most of the English material is from the same 100-year period as in France, from the early thirteenth to the early fourteenth century (eight out of eleven known cases). Like its French counterparts, also the English material contains a distinct later group, including as a separate entity the paintings at Eton and Winchester. There is also an isolated English example of miracle motifs from the period between these groups, i.e. the early fifteenth century. However, these sculptures in the Bauchun Chapel at Norwich are in a sense atypical examples of miracle motifs. Their story of an empress emerging victorious from recurrent adventures imperilling her chastity is full of excitement and dramatic detail, and it was adopted at an early stage from miracle collections into other genres of literature, appearing, for example, in altered form in Chaucer's (c. 1340–1400) 'Canterbury Tales'. According to James, the depictions in the Bauchun Chapel, however, follow the version written by Vincent of Beauvais[515].

b. Manuscript illustrations

The occurrence of a motif in manuscript illumination is even harder to survey than in monumental art. The material itself is naturally much broader, and manuscripts are scattered in various collections, both public and private. Nor have all collections been properly catalogued, and even those that have been catalogued and published do not always meet the requirements of art-historical scholarship[516].

For the above reasons, my studies of Marian miracles in manuscript illustrations mainly refer to the English material, and only sporadically to manuscripts from other contexts. With the exception of late-medieval material (here *post* 1385), the English manuscripts have been published in an exemplary manner[517], and they form an entity that is easy to use, reliably describing illustrations in a certain area and period.

Late-medieval, i.e. fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century manuscripts, seem to have raised the least amount of interest among scholars, and studying miracles of the Virgin possibly depicted in them has posed the greatest number of problems. In other respects,

the reservations concerning my discussion of monumental art also apply to the manuscripts: the following is not an exhaustive investigation – such could not have been possible for a researcher working in Finland – but only an initial review of the material.

The oldest English manuscript mentioned in the 'Survey' with a miracle of the Virgin among its illustrations, is MS 330 of the Fitzwilliam Museum: single leaves from a psalter, dated c. 1230–1240[518]. Depicted here is the legend of Theophilus in eight scenes arranged around a wheel of fortune, i.e. combined with a motif symbolizing the vagaries of worldly fortune[519]. From this time onwards, miracles of the Virgin appear with relative regularity until the end of the fourteenth century. These illustrations are found in some of England's most famous manuscripts, e.g. the Queen Mary and Luttrell Psalters[520].

It is only in the first manuscript, Fitzwilliam MS 330, that the legend of Theophilus is depicted alone; in all the others this theme appears together with other miracles, or then completely different events are depicted. In the thirteenth-century manuscripts different miracle legends occur individually or in small groups, while the fourteenth-century manuscripts depict a large number of different miracles[521]. In the thirteenth-century manuscripts miracles are in framed miniatures (BL Royal MS I.D.I), historiated initials (BL Add. 4999), medallions (Fitzwilliam MS 330), or as full-page illustrations (Lambeth Apocalypse; Pierpoint Morgan MS M. 756). In the fourteenth century they also appear as marginal illustrations (e.g. the Taymouth Hours or the Luttrell Psalter).

As mentioned above, the late-medieval material is considerably more difficult to study. However, it appears that at this time, Marian miracle motifs were no longer as common in manuscript illustrations as before. Even when they appear, they are in different contexts than in earlier centuries. For example, the fifteenth-century 'Hours' of the Conway Library's photographic collections (Courtauld Institute) do not contain illustrations with Marian miracle motifs. These are all found in fourteenth-century literature. The fifteenth-century Hours are dominated by different Marian motifs, e.g. the Apocalyptic Madonna and *Mater misericordiae*, and, either in connection with them or in some other context, depictions of the owner (male or female) of the book in question.[522]

It is most probable that miracles of the Virgin did not completely disappear from the illustrations to psalters and Hours; for example in France they reappeared in the early-sixteenth-century Hours[523]. However, it is more typical of the fifteenth century that miracle motifs appear as independent works of illustrated miracle collections.

Illustrated collections of miracles of the Virgin already existed before the fifteenth century; at least Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* appeared in illustrated copies not long after the original was written, i.e. already in the thirteenth century. In most of these, however, the illustration is restricted to a single scene in a historiated initial at the beginning of the text of each miracle, and narrative cycles are quite rare[524]. Known from the fourteenth century are a few exemplars of Gautier's book with skilfully executed narrative miniatures, for example the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of the *Grande Seminaire* of Soissons[525], containing 55 miracle legends and 77 miniatures. This exemplar, which was illustrated by Jean Pucelle, appears to have been made originally for a member of the royal family, possibly Jeanne, wife of Philippe de Valois. The owners greatly valued the book, as evidenced by the fact that King Jean had it with him at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, where it was stolen by the English. King Charles V (1337–1380) later bought it back from the English[526]. Even in the fifteenth century, similar miracle collections in which the illustrations form an integral part, appear to have been popular among the upper classes, who could afford expensive books.

The best-known and most representative example of such books is *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, collected by Jean Mielot, secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy[527]. This work, known e.g. through Douce MS 374 in the Bodleian Library, contains 74 miracles in French prose, and 70 miniatures connected with them. Almost all the miracles are thus separately illustrated. According to Warner, a single miniature frequently represents more than one episode in the miracle which it illustrates, sometimes in separate compartments, but more often within the compass of one and the same scene. Warner also points out that Douce MS 374 was probably made for Charles the Bold, the son and successor of Philip the Good, and can thus be dated *post* 1467, when he became Duke. According to Warner, MS 9199 in the Bibliothèque National in Paris (Fig. 77) is a direct replica of the Douce manuscript, which in turn appears to have been a copy of MS 9198, also in Paris, which was written in the Hague in 1456 and whose frontispiece bears a picture of Philip the Good[528]. There were thus several more or less similar copies of this work.

All three manuscripts are of Flemish origin, and their miniatures are executed in grisaille technique.

The available material suggests that in fifteenth-century illustrations the emphasis of miracles of the Virgin shifted from devotional literature to collector's pieces. The devotion of Charles the Bold to the Virgin is well known[529], but it is not certain whether his collection of Marian miracles was primarily intended for daily private devotion.

There are no doubt many reasons why miracles became rare or disappeared completely from the illustrations to Books of Hours. One explanation is suggested by Lilian M.C. Randall in 'Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts'. According to her, the custom

Fig. 77. The Painter and the Devil, Vie et miracles de nôtre Dame, *Ms. Fr. 9199, fol. 95vo, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

of placing illustrations in the margins of manuscript leaves was quite short-lived, flourishing mainly between 1250 and 1350. 'Like any other artistic vogue, marginal illumination passed from its apogee, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, through a gradual subsiding of interest in this medium as a vehicle of expression. Retained as an integral part of Late-Gothic luxury illumination, its novelty had worn off and its main force spent by the middle of the fourteenth century'[530]. Marginal illustrations depict the most important fourteenth-century series of miracles of the Virgin (e.g. the Queen Mary Psalter), and when this medium went out of use, opportunities for presenting large narrative series in manuscript illustrations also decreased.

An equally important reason for the disappearance of Marian miracles from devotional books can be found in the changed needs of the reading public. Especially in the Netherlands, where a large number of the significant books of the Late Middle Ages were produced, a new religious trend emerged in the fifteenth century, stressing the importance of individual piety and personal religious experience, with the *Devotio moderna* as its best-known example. As personal religious life found new forms, also books for private devotion, particularly the Books of Hours, took on a new imagery. In addition to the above-mentioned Apocalyptical Madonnas[531] and *Mater misericordiae* motifs, there emerged an increasing number of miniatures in which the owner of the book is shown practising devotion, meditating, or even experiencing a vision[532]. Devotion is thus no longer depicted indirectly, for example through miracle legends and their character types, but directly and individually. – Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century the illustrations to Flemish Hours of the Virgin contained only the scenes from the life of Mary that had belonged to them since their inception, beginning with the Annunciation; having lost their function (and become outmoded) the miracles that appeared in this connection in the fourteenth century have now disappeared.

C. The Finnish Paintings of Miracles of the Virgin in the Context of the European Tradition

Finally, in reviewing the theme of Marian miracles as a whole including Finland and Scandinavia, we observe the following. Images of miracles of the Virgin first appeared in West European art in the early twelfth century, initially as part of monumental art, and from the early thirteenth century also in manuscript illustrations. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the 'golden age' of miracles; in monumental art their popularity appears to have begun to wane already around the middle of the fourteenth century, but not until the end of the century in the art of miniature. In view of developments elsewhere, the introduction of Marian miracles into Norwegian and Swedish art in the early fourteenth century, or by the middle of the century at the latest, is a completely logical, albeit somewhat late, development. It is equally understandable that when wall-paintings became common in Sweden from the mid-fifteenth century onwards and in Finland a few decades later, the paintings (with one exception) include no miracles of the Virgin Mary. Finland and Sweden tried to keep abreast of European trends as much as possible, and in the late fifteenth century churches in Western and Central Europe were not decorated with depictions of Mary miracles. The early sixteenth century may have been a time of re-

newed interest in miracles, but this alone does not explain why large friezes of paintings appeared in certain churches, be they in England or in Finland. The explanation to this must be sought elsewhere.

We have already outlined the reasons behind the English situation: the paintings at Eton were most probably Bishop Waynflete's votive gift to the Virgin, and linked with his struggle for preserving Eton College. A votive concept may also underlie the paintings at Hattula, and the creation of the English and Finnish series of miracle paintings can thus be regarded as parallel, though independent, phenomena.

Lars Pettersson's thorough studies leave no doubt that Åke Jöransson Tott and his second wife, Märta Bengtsdotter Ulv were the main donors of the painted decoration in the Church of Hattula. Pettersson has also pointed to the votive concept of the paintings, suggesting that the decoration donated by Märta Bengtsdotter and Åke Jöransson may have been a votive gift intended to ensure Åke Jöransson's recovery from illness. Pettersson bases his argument mainly on the fact that the coats-of-arms of both spouses were placed in connection with the images of Sebastian, the saint of the plague, and John the Baptist, here shown as a penitent and hermit[533]. The paintings of the Virgin Mary discussed above clearly support the suggestion that the painted decoration had a votive purpose.

However, the concept of a votive gift must be specified. The idea itself – supplication for the aid of a saint by offering a gift – always entails two stages: the votive promise itself and fulfilling that promise, which is done if the saint in question carries out his or her side of the bargain. Accordingly, also the Mary paintings at Hattula can be assumed to have been executed in thanks of a recovery that had already happened, and not to ensure healing in the future. The votive promise itself, i.e. decorating the church with paintings, must have been given during the illness, most probably around 1508–1509.[534]

In the Hattula paintings as a whole the votive concept is even more broadly present than assumed by Pettersson. As mentioned previously, the painting at Hattula depicting people struck by arrows is most probably a votive painting in the manner of the plague depictions, such as the *Mater misericordiae* paintings which are known from other parts of Europe (see p. 100). There is good reason to extend this description also to the miracle paintings and the Angelus motif. The miracle paintings contain the most concrete depictions of what the praying figures painted on the walls are asking of the Virgin: aid at the hour of death. Just as the Virgin Mary could help the sinners in the paintings, she could also help the sinful donor of the paintings – Åke Jöransson's correspondence clearly shows that he regarded his illness as God's punishment and as the wages of sin. The Angelus painting also contains distinct features of a votive image just as the Angelus prayer was meant to direct supplication for aid to the Virgin Mary. All in all, the pictorial programme at Hattula – including the paintings of the miracles of Christ – emphasizes the ability of the holy to help people in distress, and, in Nilsén's words, it can be described as a programme of consolation and hope[535]. Considering the emphasized position of the Virgin Mary also in other parts of the church (e.g. the Coronation of Mary in the east cell of the second vault of the central nave), there appear to be good grounds to assume that the painted decoration as a whole was a votive gift to Mary, and that Hattula was in this sense a votive church.

As pointed out by both Pirinen and Pettersson, the concept of votive was in many ways a topical idea in Finland around the turn of the fifteenth century. The Church of Hollola, built in the late years of the century, was a votive church, in whose funding Åke Jörans-

son's uncle Erik Axelsson, among others, participated[536]. Also war against the Russians at the end of the century led to a similar promise. In addition to sending in November 1495 the flag of Erik the Holy, which had been kept in Uppsala Cathedral, along with troops 'for the protection and consolation of those setting out for Finland and to strike fear in the hearts of the enemy' it was also decided to promote the interests of the realm with a votive gift. In a letter dated 6 January 1496, Magnus Särkilahti informs the archbishop that he had participated in a long discussion concerning the erection of a new, albeit wooden, church, but with no definite results so far[537]. This was most probably a new church in the sparsely settled areas of Savo or Karelia. This scheme, however, was not realized at the time[538]. Among others, Åke Jöransson and Tönne Eriksson were opposed to the idea – an attitude for which the archbishop saw fit to admonish them: 'They, and those of that far region, should not anger Our Lord. If war should come from Russia in the east, or from the west, they will be in most need of the Lord's protection.'[539] Where matters of state and the crown's money were concerned, Åke Jöransson was thus unwilling to rely on a votive gift. But when his own life was at stake, things may have appeared in a different light. When the enemy attacked, a warlord could always depend on his troops, but when a grave illness threatened he had no other means but to turn to the aid of the heavenly host.

An interpretation of the Mary paintings at Hattula as votive images also helps explain why the coats-of-arms of the donors, Åke Jöransson and Märta Bengtsdotter, were placed in the church contrary to heraldic custom, viz. with the male coat-of-arms on the left and the woman's device on the right (Fig. 78). Lars Pettersson, who has identified these designs which were painted on the west side of the central twin pillars of the church, assumes that their exceptional configuration may have been due to the Märta Bengtsdotter's higher social status[540]. As an alternative explanation he suggests that, unless a pure error occurred, the coats-of-arms were placed according to where their holders sat in church, men in the south part and women in the north part[541].

If, however, the Mary paintings came about as a votive gift from Åke Jöransson, the location of the coats-of-arms is completely logical: just as the donor portraits themselves (of donors kneeling in prayer) were placed near the image of the saint concerned[542], the heraldic device symbolizing Åke Jöransson's person (Fig. 79) was deliberately placed as close as possible to the Virgin Mary. In the tangible medieval way of thinking physical proximity ensured that help could actually be obtained if necessary. The whole relic cult

Fig. 78. Interior of Hattula Church. On the left (heraldic right) is the coat-of-arms of the Ulv family, and on the right is the coat-of-arms of the Tott family. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

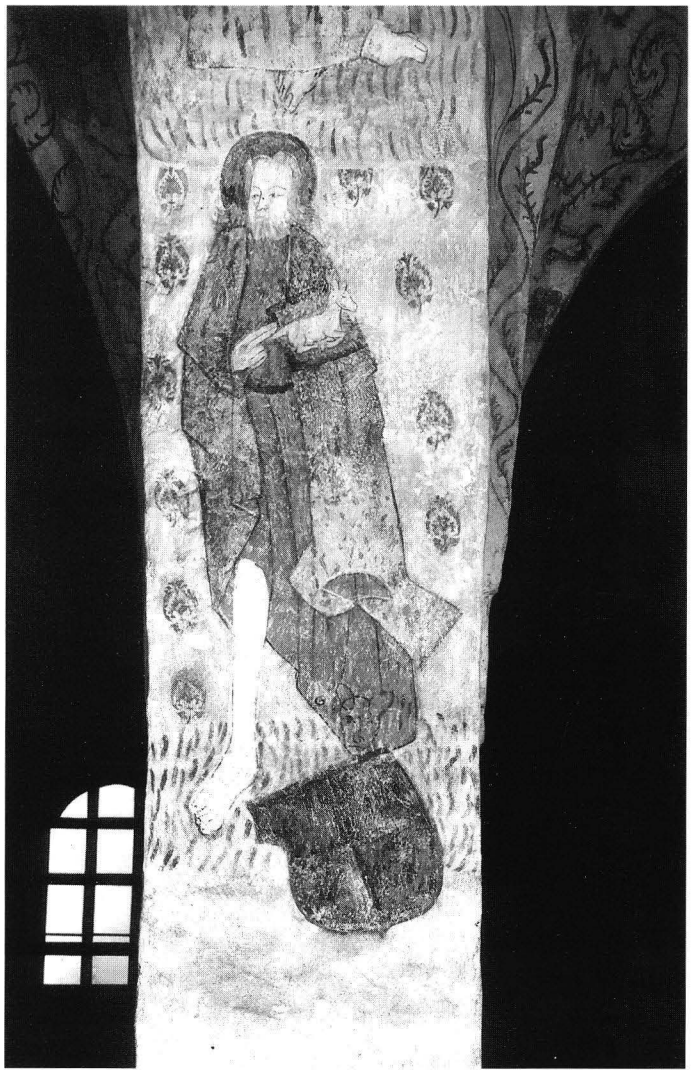

Fig. 79. Coat-of-arms of the Tott family, painting on the west face of the south pillar in the central pair of pillars in Hattula Church. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

was in fact based on this idea, but it is also expressed, for example, in the desire to be buried in as holy a place as possible, preferably in the Cathedral of Turku[543]. By having his heraldic image painted near the Virgin Mary, Åke Jöransson thus wished not only to have himself identified as the donor but also to ensure that his supplication was heard. Although painting one's coat-of-arms in a visible place must also be seen as emphasizing one's social status and as part of an established custom, this act most probably also had a strong religious motive[544].

The miracles of the Virgin Mary outline the following picture of the origin of the painted decoration at Hattula and Lohja and its underlying factors: the initiative for this most impressive series of late-medieval paintings in Finland was taken by Åke Jöransson Tott. The Hattula paintings originated as a votive gift: as thanks to the Virgin Mary for Tott's recovery from a serious illness. The paintings at Lohja came about through the activity of another powerful member of the Tott family, and the need for social prestige may have played an important role in their inception. We may thus suggest a definite reason for the paintings of miracles of the Virgin at Hattula, and by extension also at Lohja. This was not only 'faith in Mary's power to work miracles in a poor region with a relatively young Christian church'[545], but the great spiritual distress of a specific historical individual.

The Hattula and Lohja paintings stress more clearly than those at Eton and Winchester the link between sin and salvation: on one side are sin, the Devil and death drawing man towards damnation, while on the other side is the Virgin Mary ensuring the possibility of salvation[546]. Wilhelm Fraenger has described Hieronymus Bosch's 'Table of Wisdom', referred to above in connection with sins, as *Gemaltes Pönitenzial*[547], and the same concept clearly underlies the paintings in the churches of Hattula and Lohja.

A comparison with this painting by Bosch helps us understand the function of the Hattula and Lohja paintings, i.e. the relationship of the images and their viewers. As pointed out in several connections above, the paintings of Marian miracles are to a great degree narrative – all have a clear connection with some narrative presentation and they can thus be described as sermons in illustrated form. The same partly applies to the 'Banquet for Sinners' painting. However, the Angelus and the painting of praying people do not have such connections. They can more readily be seen as contemplative paintings, images meant to lead people to personal contemplation and meditation. As a whole, the paintings thus intended, through various exempla, to make their viewer reflect on their own lives and prepare themselves as well as possible for their last hour.

This contemplative tendency would also explain why at Hattula the 'Banquet for Sinners', the Angelus, and the miracle paintings are accompanied in the same vault by a depiction of the betrothal of St. Catherine (Fig. 106).[548] The legend of Catherine of Alexandria tells how as a young girl she asked an old hermit what she had to do to see Christ and Mary. The hermit gave her a picture of the Virgin and told her to contemplate it while asking Mary to show her Son to her. On the first night Catherine saw only Mary, but after more contemplation she finally saw Christ turn his radiant face towards her. Catherine was thus a model of a contemplative person[549], showing the way to penance as a counterbalance to all the sinners depicted in the paintings.

Placing the large depictions of Mary and people at prayer above the door between the nave and the porch also appears to have been dictated by their function. This large composition would remind those leaving the church of the best way to fare among the temptations of the world outside: by praying to the Virgin Mary for help.

In closing, we return to the features that the English and Finnish paintings have in common. As observed above, the paintings that must be regarded as primary in both countries – at Eton and Hattula respectively – are votive works, and as such parallel phenomena. However, they find an even more evident connection in the Virgin as the recipient of the votive gift. It may only be pure coincidence that both Bishop Waynflete and Åke Jöransson Tott turned to the Virgin Mary in their hour of need, but I do not think this is probable. One reason may be the general emphasis on Marian devotion in the Late Middle Ages, but I would claim that there are even deeper causes.

As we have seen, the Virgin Mary had from the beginning a particularly central role in both England and Finland; in both countries the whole realm was placed under her patronage. In England, Winchester had a special role in this respect. It had already been one of the centres of the Marian cult in Anglo-Saxon times, and this tradition continued after the Norman Conquest. In view of this, it is only natural that Bishop Waynflete, who had grown up in the spiritual climate of Winchester, turned to the Virgin in his hour of need.

The Virgin Mary had a special position also in the minds of medieval Finns. Folklore material indicates that Bishop Henry, the local patron saint, never gained the same broad popularity as Mary. Nor was this achieved by other saints, not even St. Olaf, whose

considerable popularity is attested by e.g. dedications of churches. The Virgin Mary was, and remained, the special helper of the Finns, and the paintings at Hattula and Lohja can be seen as an expression of this close relationship. The ultimate reason why, of all countries in Europe, England and Finland had large series of paintings of miracles of the Virgin can be found in their exceptionally strong Marian cult.

D. Model images

A much-discussed question concerning the miracle paintings at Hattula and Lohja is their relationship with possible model images. Were existing models used in their composition, or did the painters themselves create the depictions?

This issue is of interest in two ways. First of all, it is of clear significance for the painted decoration of the churches of Hattula and Lohja. Secondly, the question of how independently medieval painters created new motifs, i.e. without models, is important in principle.

Anna Nilsén and Tove Riska, the two scholars who have discussed this problem[550], are willing to assume that no model images ever existed. Riska writes:

> 'So far, no models for these compositions have been found anywhere. Since the legends appeared in Swedish translation, we can suppose that the painters working at Lohja and Hattula created the compositions themselves. Their masters would thus have been commissioned by a donor or priest to illustrate these specific legends'[551].

Anna Nilsén argues along the same lines:

> 'Two of the miracles in question are found at both Hattula and Lohja, but these depictions do not correspond to each other in design despite their being the work of the same team of painters. This, and the lack of similar depictions elsewhere, suggest that the miracle paintings were directly inspired by the legend without any pictorial model'[552].

Nilsén's and Riska's articles suggest a highly interesting scenario of the origin of the miracle paintings: the master-painter of the crew reads a new story, or most probably hears it read, visualizes it in his mind, and composes the painting on the church wall from this internal vision, and perhaps according to the wishes of the client. Moving on to work in the next church, he develops this 'vision' further into a version now different from the first one. This scenario is interesting and appealing, even romantic, but unfortunately it is quite improbable in view of present knowledge of the processes by which medieval works of art were created.

A thorough discussion of this issue cannot be attempted here, but a few basic facts must be outlined. First of all, we should bear in mind the great degree to which medieval artists relied on models. The same pictorial motifs continually occur in the art of the period; they are varied and transformed, but they always retain clear connections with earlier depictions. Had this not been the case, all iconographic research would be impossible. A few surviving model books – Villard de Honnecourt's famous book and the Icelandic *Tegnebog*[553] – show how artists accumulated a kind of pictorial capital which they could use when necessary. This was not always direct copying; the more skilled an artist, the better he would be able to adapt a motif to the requirements at hand.

The most common models of Biblical themes and motifs have been known for many years. Tove Riska writes:

'It is customary to refer to the so-called blockbooks, which before and around the middle of the 15th century preceded actual type-set books. These included various versions of the so-called *Biblia Pauperum*, a religious-didactical work intended to help preachers in composing their sermons... Another devotional book, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, treats human redemption in broader perspective, beginning with the Creation and ending in the Last Judgement. At the end of the 15th century, more and more devotional books appeared with woodcut illustrations, including pictures of the life of the Virgin Mary, and also several collections of legends of the saints, enriching the store of images available to the painters'[554].

Of the actual work of the painters Riska observes:

'Models for individual motifs have been demonstrated time and again, or more precisely the fact that a motif followed a largely similar design in several churches. The existence of model books, illustrated devotional works and leaves of woodcuts, followed by copperplate engravings, is the only plausible explanation for this phenomenon. It was through the journeys of itinerant painters that impulses and influences of style were spread; they were not individualists like today's painters, but artisans organized in guild-like groups with a master and obviously some kind of division of labour... It was taken for granted that one should use what one had learned on one's journeys when decorating a church, and in this connection sketches or printed leaves of models served one well. This is especially evident in the case of Lohja church, where the crew of painters that had worked a few years earlier at Hattula used many of the same models which may have been acquired in apprenticeship in Sweden or further afield'[555].

In the same way, by relying on models, the artists at Hattula and Lohja would have composed their paintings of miracles of the Virgin. It is not probable that painters working in Finland could have created their images completely independent of a pictorial tradition of this theme that was generally known in Europe. The suggestion becomes even more implausible when we consider the close links that existed elsewhere in Europe, e.g. in England, between monumental art and miniatures. This was already evident in MS 330 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the oldest English work containing miracles of the Virgin, in which the illustrations to the legend of Theophilus is placed in medallions and semicircles analogous to work in contemporary stained glass windows, e.g in Canterbury and Lincoln[556]. – There is also another English example of the bidirectionality of influences: according to a note in the Conway Library, the Psalter of Peterborough repeats frescoes that were in the local church[557].

Correspondingly, the paintings at Eton and Winchester have their roots in contemporary book illustrations. This is suggested both by their technique, grisaille, and by the inscriptions beneath each depiction, directly referring to certain collections of miracles. Close parallels to these paintings are to be found e.g. in the previously mentioned copy of Jean Mielot for Charles the Bold, in which the miracle legends are from the same collections as the English paintings. A corresponding work was most probably used in designing their composition. Bishop Waynflete, who was also Lord Chancellor and apparently a very wealthy man[558], may well have owned a status work of this kind, whose pictures the painters could have used as models.

Although I have not found any direct, unequivocal models for the miracle paintings at Hattula and Lohja, they nevertheless contain so many similarities with pictures of corresponding themes from other contexts, that there must be some 'missing link' between them. The lack of any clearly demonstrable pictorial model is not exceptional in the Finnish material. Tove Riska writes:

'On the Continent, makers of wood-cuts used each others' compositions, adding to them, simplifying them, or directly copying them. Therefore it is almost impossible to specify from among the hundreds of printed pictures from Lübeck, Nurenberg, Leipzig, Erfurt, Augsburg or Ulm the one that was the actual model for a certain wall-painting in a Finnish church'[559].

Links between the Finnish paintings and the Continental material can be reviewed, for example, with the miracle of the painter and the devil, which is depicted at Hattula and Lohja and to which Anna Nilsén also refers. As pointed out above, two versions of the legend have existed since a very early stage (see p. 63), as also three variants of its illustrations. In the first variant, the painter is shown standing at the head of a high, narrow ladder, which the devil draws out from under him. This depiction is represented, for example, by a stained glass painting in the choir window of the Cathedral of Le Mans (Fig. 80), where it is excellently suited to the high, narrow field. It also appears in an illustration in fol.:n 211ro of the Queen Mary Psalter (Fig. 81), which is approximately a hundred years younger. Another, clearly different, manner of depicting this miracle is, for example, in the work of Mielot, in which the painter sits on a scaffold painting the outer wall of the church. The third variant appears in the *Cantigas* collection of Alfonso X[560]. Here, the painter is working on the picture of the Virgin high up in a triangular vault cell of a church (Fig. 82). He is sitting on an authentic-looking scaffold made of thin beams or boards. The devil tears this structure down into a jumbled pile, leaving the painter hanging with his knees bent and the Virgin holding him in place from above, and to the great surprise of all present, the painter calmly continues painting.

In addition to the above-mentioned examples, the first variant also appears in the two paintings of this theme that are known from Sweden. Although neither one is as well preserved as the Finnish paintings, they clearly contain the ladder familiar from the Le

Fig. 80. The Painter and the Devil, stained-glass painting in the Cathedral of Le Mans, after Hucher 1864.

Fig. 81. The Painter and the Devil, 'Queen Mary Psalter', Ms. Royal 2 B VII, fol. 211, British Library, London.

Mans painting. On the other hand, the paintings at Hattula and Lohja clearly have the same roots as the version in the *Cantigas* collection. Especially the Lohja painting and the illustration in *Cantigas* display clear similarities: behind the painter at Lohja is a scaffold like the one in *Cantigas*, and the posture of the painter clearly resembles that in the Spanish counterpart. Of course, these pictures cannot be identical; the Lohja painting places in a single space the episodes for which *Cantigas* reserves six different fields. Considering the almost 300-year age difference of these depictions, their similarities are in my opinion so significant that the model for the Lohja painting must be assumed to be based on a design employing the same elements as the illustration in *Cantigas*. – The slight differences of the Hattula and Lohja paintings could thus be mainly attributed to the minor discrepancies of their models, or to the different form of the pictorial field in the churches necessitating a slightly different execution, rather than to the complete lack of any models.

The painting at Lohja depicting the Virgin Mary and the drowning child also has parallels in the Continental material. For example, fol. 87b of Charles the Bold's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* contains an illustration to this miracle legend, which, with minor modifications, could have been a model for the painting at Lohja (Fig. 83). This miniature shows the child saved from drowning sitting on the ground with her mother bending down to lift her up. In the miracle collection, with its narrative text, it was not necessary to place Mary herself in the composition, as the message of the picture could already be comprehended. But in a completely separate depiction, as at Lohja, Mary's presence was essential, and the painter had to add her, with the resulting changes to the composition. A model of this kind could easily be transformed to correspond to the details described in the Swedish legend.

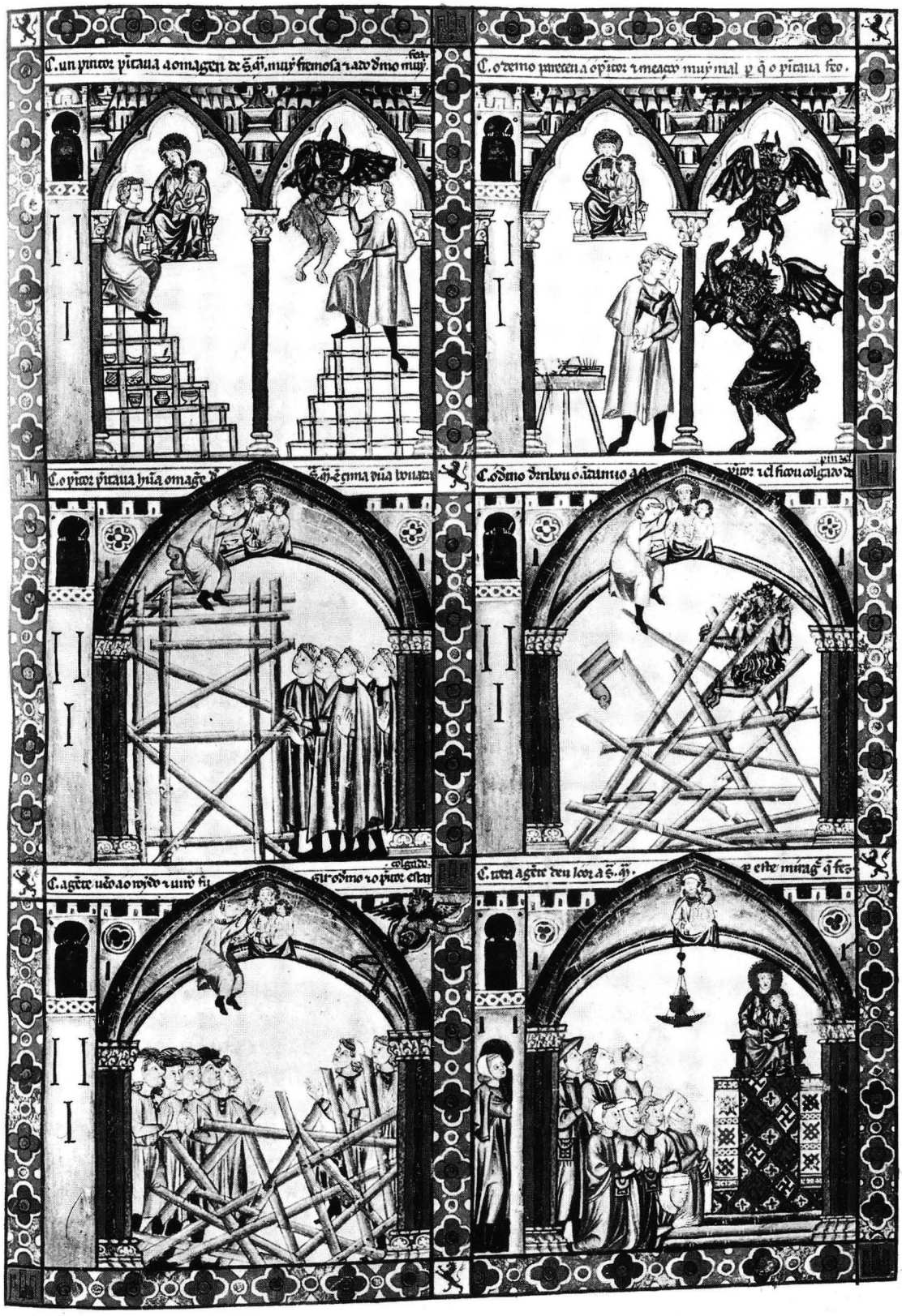

Fig. 82. The Painter and the Devil, Cantigas de Santa Maria, *Ms. T.1.I., Cantiga LXXIV, Real Biblioteca, Escorial. Photograph, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.*

The painting of the Virgin and the juggler in the sacristy at Hattula seems to be one of the more rarely depicted miracle themes. In monumental art, the Church of Hattula is the only place in Western Europe where this motif appears. A sculpture in the console of the

Fig. 83. Mary and the Drowning Boy, Jean Mielot, 'Miracles of the Virgin Mary', Ms. Douce 374, fol. 87vo, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

second north pillar from the east in the nave in Exeter Cathedral (Fig. 109) is described e.g. in the cathedral's guide book as depicting this theme, but this information is incorrect. The Exeter sculpture portrays two performing jugglers; the lower figure plays a violin-like instrument and the upper one is standing on his head with his legs in the air. This scene has no connection with the legend depicted in the Hattula painting, which mentions only one juggler – who was the sole representative of his trade in his monastery. The jugglers at Exeter were placed opposite a sculpture of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus on the other side of the nave, and it is clear that these works are in some way related. The depiction need not, however, be a scene from any narrative work, although jugglers do appear in several other miracles of the Virgin[561]. In my opinion, it is more likely that the jugglers in this case are simply venerating the Virgin as their patron (N.B. In the miracles there is always only one juggler).

Manuscript illustrations, however, contain a parallel to the juggler painting at Hattula. Manuscript 3516 in the Arsenal library in Paris is illustrated, and although most of the miniatures have been cut out over the centuries, there is an illustration to the miracle discussed here in the lower part of fol. 127[562] (Fig. 84). It shows the same scene as in the Hattula painting, although in a slightly different manner. The juggler in the Arsenal manuscript appears to be on the point of performing a leap. The Virgin Mary is shown seated on an altar with the Infant Jesus in her lap, raising her arm towards a angel descending from heaven with a white cloth in his hands. In the miniature, Mary is still preparing for her task, while at Hattula she has already descended and mercifully approaches the exhausted juggler. Therefore, the Arsenal miniature could not have been a direct model for the painting at Hattula. However, its existence shows that also this legend was illustrated, and just as its written versions slightly differ, its visual depictions may have existed in different variants.

The paintings at Hattula also contain a special detail to which I have already referred and which in my opinion also shows that the painters had different books of models at their disposal. This feature is the figure of a young woman, appearing in two of the paintings as a witness to the miracles (The Painter and the Devil and The Virgin Mary and the Juggler). In my opinion, the reason why the witness, an essential figure in the miracle

Fig. 84. Mary and the Juggler, Ms. Fr. 283, fol. 132, Bibliothèque Arsenal, Paris.

legends, is specifically shown as a young woman can be found in the illustrated devotional books cited by Tove Riska. A young woman has a similar role in *The Song of Songs*, one of the fifteenth century's most mystical books, whose main character, Sulamit, was regarded in the late-medieval world as representing the Virgin Mary. In 'Religious Art in France, The Middle Ages', Emile Mâle reproduces two illustrations from this book, one of which shows a young woman reverently facing the Virgin, the main figure of the scene. The other illustration contains four young women in the same posture[563]. In my view, the idea of using a similar detail in other paintings of the Virgin may well derive, directly or indirectly, from this book.

We have already referred to the possible model images for 'The Banquet for Sinners', the large depictions of Mary and people at prayer, and for the *Mater misericordiae* paintings (p. 135, 100, 95). The only paintings relating to miracles of the Virgin for which I have so far not found any clear pictorial parallels are the church bell paintings at Hattula and Lohja, and the question of these must remain open. Accordingly, we must even consider the possibility that the artist or artists – perhaps on instructions from the clients – independently applied the church bell motif, which was familiar from other contexts, adding to it details more clearly related to the practice of prayer. In my opinion, it is, however, more likely that also these paintings had some kind of pictorial model, from which the artists created their compositions.

V. THE PAINTINGS AND FINNISH MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

In 1896 Emil Nervander published an article (*Till hvilken tid höra kalkmålningarna i Raumo, Hattula och Lojo kyrkor?*) on the age of the paintings in the churches of Rauma, Hattula and Lohja. In this connection, he identified the heraldic device of Bishop Arvid Kurki in these churches[1]. Since then, the paintings at Hattula and Lohja have been dated to Kurki's term of office from 1510 to 1522. Later scholars have attempted a more precise dating. Lars Pettersson is prepared to place the Hattula paintings between 1513 and 1516. The main donors, Åke Tott and Märta Bengtsdotter Ulv were married in 1513, and since their coats-of-arms are in an alliance configuration in the church, it is natural to assume that the paintings were not executed until after the marriage. The year 1516 marked the end of a relatively peaceful period in the realm, and a major project such as the paintings may have been more difficult to carry out in more unsettled times[2].

Riitta Pylkkänen dates the Lohja paintings to the period from 1514 to 1522. In addition to a painting of St. Henry, the altar wall at Lohja also bears the image of another bishop, holding a mitre and staff (Fig. 85). Pylkkänen identifies this as Hemming, Finland's second local saint after Henry. Since Hemming's enshrinement, the first important formality of the canonization process, did not take place until 1514, the paintings are most probably of later date. Prior to this, a painting of him would not have been given a place as prominent as that of Henry, Finland's old patron saint. Accordingly, the paintings at Hattula would have been made before the enshrinement. Here, the picture of Hemming is in the westernmost window niche of the south wall – a considerably more unassuming

Fig. 85. St. Hemming – St. Dionysios, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

location. Combining different results, we should thus limit their execution to the years 1513 and 1514[3].

However, as pointed out by Nygren, Pettersson, and most recently by Riska, the identification still remains uncertain. The depicted figure could just as well be St. Denis, or Dionysius, of Paris, whose attribute is also a mitre carried in the hand, though often with part of the martyr's head attached to it[4]. The painting at Lohja is so fragmentary that we cannot be sure of all its details. Possible evidence of this figure being Dionysius is the fact that the cult of this saint appears to have thrived in the Diocese of Turku around the end of the fifteenth century, possibly because of its higher clergy's Parisian contacts. According to Maliniemi, the feast of Dionysius was raised from the value of simplex to duplex in the last decades of the fifteenth century[5]. On the other hand, Riska presents a plausible argument for identifying the figure as Hemming: by paralleling Ss. Henry and Hemming and Arvid Kurki, who was Bishop of Turku at the time, it could be shown that Kurki was the direct and legal successor to both saints, who had also been bishops in Turku[6].

The age of the paintings is closely linked with the identity of their team or group of painters, the question being whether the Hattula and Lohja paintings were made by the same group or not. Pettersson presents a good summary of this problem in his article on the donors of the Hattula paintings. Leaving the nationality of the painters aside, we may summarize the results of this discussion as follows. Of the early researchers, only Olga Alice Nygren explicitly claimed that the paintings at Lohja and Hattula were the work of two different groups. In her opinion, the paintings are similar because the painters belonged to the same school[7]. Nervander, Wennervirta and Nordman do not express their views so unequivocally, but they do not seem to support the suggestion that the same group worked in both churches[8].

On the other hand, Riitta Pylkkänen and Tove Riska claim that both churches were decorated by the same group of painters[9]. Lars Pettersson concurs with Pylkkänen and Riska; though not mentioning this point directly, he refers to 'the painter group at Hattula and Lohja'[10]. In my opinion, there is little doubt that the same crew was involved; the similarities of the paintings clearly outweigh any of their minor differences.

Wennervirta and Nygren, who attribute the Hattula and Lohja paintings to different artists, suggest that they were completed around the same time[11], while Pylkkänen and Riska claim that the Hattula paintings are older. Pylkkänen bases her opinion on the above criteria concerning Saint Hemming, while Riska does not offer any grounds for her claim[12]. In my opinion, miracle motifs can prove that this was in fact the case.

The process that led to the series of Mary miracle paintings can be summarized as follows. In early-sixteenth-century religious art, miracles of the Virgin were not common in Finland, nor anywhere else. In both England and Finland, where these paintings occur, they must have had a special reason to be included in a pictorial programme. As pointed out in the preceding section, such a reason can be demonstrated at Eton, as also at Hattula. In both cases, the donor of the painting series was a man who felt that he was in a great personal debt to the Virgin Mary, consequently thanking her for her aid with a votive gift and thus ensuring her assistance in the future. Such a reason did not exist at Lohja. Including the miracles of the Virgin in the pictorial programme must therefore have taken place at Hattula, in turn proving that these paintings are older than those at Lohja.

The actual difference in the age of these paintings cannot be ascertained with the available material. However, we can assume that Tönne Eriksson (of Lohja) was familiar

with the plans to decorate the Church of Hattula even before work began, and he may well have decided already then to acquire similar paintings for the main church of his own locality, which had recently been completed. There may even have been a joint plan for both churches on the part of the Tott family. In this case, the painters may have moved on to Lohja as soon as climatic conditions permitted, most probably in the following summer. I would claim that the year 1513 was significant for both churches. It is quite possible that Åke Jöransson and Märta Bengtsdotter decided to carry out their votive promise when they married, to thank for the bridegroom's recovery and the ensured success of their marital life. In the same year, Tönne Eriksson moved from Raseborg Castle, near Lohja, to become the commandant of Viipuri Castle, which was possibly the last stage when the promise of donating the funds for the paintings was made[13]. How soon work begun after this cannot be resolved, but Pettersson's suggestion that the paintings were completed by 1516 seems a likely possibility also for the Church of Lohja. Maintaining a large crew of painters for long periods was a costly venture, and we do not know of any other larger works by this group.

The miracle paintings at Hattula and Lohja also have a special feature that has not been discussed in the literature: they are in the south nave in both churches. Traditionally, the altar of the Virgin Mary was always in the north part of the church, where paintings in her honour should also have been located. Paintings of the Virgin are found in the south nave also in the church of the parish of Maaria (literally 'Virgin Mary'), where they are dated to the fifteenth century[14]; and in the south nave of the Church of Pyhtää is a primitive depiction of an Apocalyptic Madonna (Fig. 86). This location was thus no individual occurrence. Tove Riska explains it by suggesting that unlike in other countries, the altar of the Virgin was specifically located in the south nave of churches in late-medieval Finland[15].

Riitta Pylkkänen already pointed to the fact that the locations of the altars in the Church of Lohja largely follow the custom of the Cathedral of Turku[16]. This could explain the exceptional location of the altar of the Virgin. Juhani Rinne's study of the building of Turku Cathedral shows that ever since the erection of the cathedral the south nave has had an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This was the parish altar, or the main altar of the local congregation, headed by its own vicar[17]. This altar was in exactly the same place as the assumed locations of the Mary altars at Hattula and Lohja, i.e. next to the easternmost south pillar at the boundary of the choir and the main part of the church[18]; in other words,

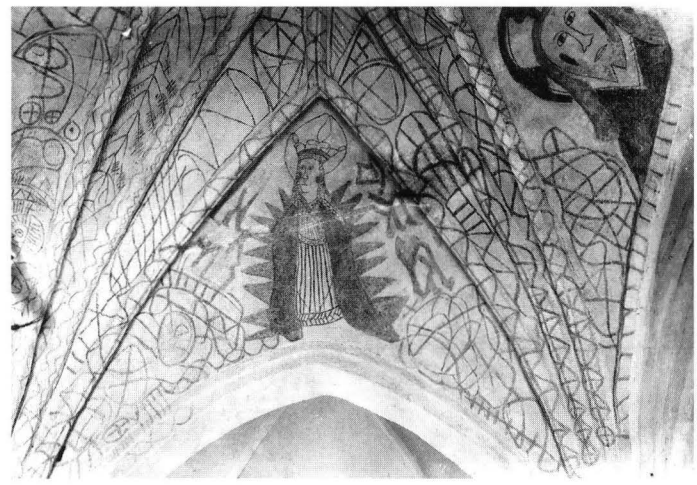

Fig. 86. The Apocalyptic Madonna, wall-painting in the Church of Pyhtää. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

under the same vault which at Hattula and Lohja contains the painting of Mary as the Madonna of Mercy (*Mater misericordiae*). Knowing how important a model the Cathedral of Turku was for rural churches, and how keenly the latter followed the solutions of the main church[19], we have reason to assume that the location of the Mary altar in the south nave was also based on a custom derived from the Cathedral. Turku Cathedral also had an altar of the Virgin in the normal location in the north nave[20], but it appears to have been of lesser importance than its counterpart in the south nave. The foundation for maintaining the parish altar had already been established in the middle of the fourteenth century, from which time we have the first information on a donation for it[21]. The foundation for the north or 'New Mary Altar' was not established until the time of Bishop Magnus Tavast in the early fifteenth century[22]. It thus appears that it was the south altar that became the Finns' main altar to Mary. The custom of the Cathedral of Turku was certainly familiar to Finnish priests, for since the early years of the church in Finland most of its clergy had trained at the Cathedral School, and all new priests had to serve a few years at the Cathedral before being deemed fit to take on the responsibilities of their own parishes[23].

It has often been pointed out that the pictorial programmes at both Hattula and Lohja are so rich and multi-layered that, as entities, they must have been drawn up by a learned theologian. The details of the paintings, however, could have been influenced by many other parties. Researchers usually mention as these the bishop and the Diocesan Chapter, the local vicar, the donor, and the master of the painter group[24]. At least at Hattula it is quite sure that the paintings of the miracles of the Virgin were included upon the wishes of the donor, and it is even possible that he influenced the choice of individual miracle motifs. On the other hand, the miracles of the Virgin and the related motifs of sin and prayer form a whole whose planning must have been the work of a theologian.

We can also specify the role of other parties who influenced the planning of the picture programme. As pointed out by Tove Riska and others, the Bishop of Turku and the Diocesan Chapter were greatly interested in building and decoration work in churches in the Late Middle Ages, and they strove to control this activity, for example by preventing congregations from hiring painters without their official approval[25]. In the case of Hattula and Lohja, the Diocesan Chapter had a special reason to follow the undertakings, for at least in the Late Middle Ages, both congregations were incorporated with the Chapter. This meant that the local vicar was a canon, a member of the Chapter. As long as the Chapter did not require its members to reside in Turku, a member himself could still be the vicar in these congregations. When the members of the Chapter moved permanently to Turku, a vice-vicar, or *vicecuratus*, took charge of the office of the vicar[26]. Through the members concerned, the Diocesan Chapter was thus in direct contact with both parishes, having an especially good opportunity to participate in the planning and supervision of work.

That the Chapter actually supervised the execution of its orders for the decoration of churches is evidenced by a few references in the available sources. According to Pirinen, it can be generalized that after the ruling by Bishop Bitz, paintings in churches 'bespeak a religiosity similar in tone to the liturgy of the Cathedral'[27], but we may also cite a more concrete example.

One of the most typical manifestations of late-medieval Marian devotion was the custom of the rosary, which from an early stage became linked with the name of St. Dominic. The best-known propagandist of this practice was the Dominican Alanus de

Rupe. The rosary consisted of fifteen decades of Ave Marias and fifteen Paternosters, each divided into three *rosaria*. Reciting the rosary was linked with meditation on the main events of the lives of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. This devotion was spread by the Fraternity of the Psalter of the Virgin, a guild of men and women of different classes joined together in the communion of prayer. According to Pirinen, the Carthusian Monastery of Mariefred in Sweden, which received financial support i.a. from the Bishop and Diocesan Chapter of Turku, was already in 1490 a centre for propagating this form of devotion, and several rosary fraternities or guilds existed in Sweden at this time. Pirinen points out that also the Bridgettines spread this new form of prayer; in 1504 the Bridgettine brother Clemens Martini served this cause by translating the Psalter of the Virgin Mary, and he mentions that around this time the fraternity was actively spreading into many towns, parishes and villages. In 1509 Brother Clemens was transferred to the Bridgettine Convent at Naantali in Finland, but we do not know the length of his stay or what he may have done to promote the rosary devotion. It appears, however, to have gained some foothold in Finland; in a will drawn up in 1510–1511 Jacob, vicar of Porvoo, bequeathed a string of coral rosary beads to his colleague Henrik at Kangasala. There is, however, no information on any rosary guilds in Finland.[28]

An essential point of the rosary devotion was that the sum of all the prayers regularly said by the thousands of guild members was regarded as a spiritual benefit for all members. It was thus an example of a new form of religiosity emphasizing personal devotion while remaining independent of the organization of the church[29]. According to Pirinen, there is no information on the Diocesan Chapter's contacts with the rosary devotion or its attitudes concerning it. In his view, this new form of devotion strayed, however, from the basic course of spiritual care represented by the Chapter at the end of the Middle Ages. It was more in the interests of the Chapter to lead the people into sacramental communion in their own parishes, to fulfilling their duties towards the church and to carrying out good works, rather than to activate prayer circles independent of the parish organization[30].

It is thus difficult to say how deliberately the Diocesan Chapter strove to prevent rosary devotion. The fact remains, however, that the Finnish material does not contain a single painting or work of sculpture that can be definitely linked to this devotion, although they were very common in neighbouring countries[31]. The only Finnish work of art that has been described as having a rosary motif is the reredos of the Church of Somero. According to Pylkkänen, the *corpus madonna* of this piece may originally have been surrounded by a wreath of roses[32], but even this is highly uncertain. According to Olga Alice Nygren, the reredos in the Church of Houtskär also contains a clear reference to rosary devotion. In *Gudsmodersbilden i Finlands medeltidskonst* she describes this object as follows: 'On the outer surface of one of the doors is a figure of the Virgin Mary as *mulier amicta sole*. The Infant Jesus is holding a rosary in his hand'[33]. An exemplar of this book in the reference library of the Department of History of the National Board of Antiquities in Helsinki contains an addition which shows that Nygren was mistaken. In the margin on page 61 is a note written in the hand of Marta Hirn, Doctor of Philosophy h.c. and the former head of the department's pictorial archives: *Var är rosenkransen? Finns inte medger O.A.N 1/XI -56* ('Where is the rosary? Does not exist, admits O.A.N. 1/XI -56'). The Diocesan Chapter thus seems to have been successful in preventing rosary depictions from spreading into Finland.

The picture programme at Lohja has an additional feature possibly indicating the role of the Diocesan Chapter in its planning. In her discussion of the paintings in the church,

Tove Riska asks why the dove of the Holy Spirit appears in so many depictions, and observes that this theological symbol must have been especially important to one of parties participating in the planning of the painted decoration[34]. One such participant was the Diocesan Chapter, which always began its important electoral meetings by praying for the grace of the Holy Spirit to aid it in its tasks. This was done by celebrating the mass of the Holy Spirit in the Cathedral, after which the Chapter convened 'in this spirit' for its meeting.[35]

The above suggests that the Diocesan Chapter had the decisive role in the planning of the picture programmes at Hattula and Lohja. The master-painter working in these churches was hardly responsible for more than the design of individual motifs. I feel there is no need to assume that the painter himself would have brought all the necessary models with him[36]. The members of the Chapter must certainly have owned illustrated books or individual devotional pictures, and similar material was no doubt available in the Chapter's library. It is also possible that a rich donor could have supplied the painter with suitable models; as mentioned above (p. 173), the illustrated books of miracles of the Virgin were especially characteristic of the upper classes. The Bridgettine Convent in Naantali also had a library that was large for Finnish conditions (cf. below).

In addition to concrete factors, the pictorial programmes of the churches were also influenced by various spiritual features. Religious orders were no doubt among the most important of these – Franciscan and Bridgettine influences have especially been cited in connection with the churches of Hattula and Lohja[37].

According to Anna Nilsén, a particularly Franciscan feature of these paintings is the emphasis on Christ's suffering and the motif of the stigmata of Francis of Assisi, which in both churches is depicted on the west wall (Fig. 87). Nilsén also lists Brandanus as one of the saints popular among the Franciscans[38].

A focus on the Passion and increased veneration of Mary and the saints in general were, however, characteristic of late-medieval religious life even outside the communities of the Franciscans. These themes were all combined under the motif of compassion[39]. Even Francis's stigmatization can thus be seen in the wider context of growing European contemporary devotion to the suffering Christ and especially veneration of His Five Wounds, which was to remain popular throughout the later Middle Ages[40]. Devotion to the Five Wounds was greatly popularized by the Franciscans, e.g. by Henricus Harphius of Cologne (ob. 1478), but also in the works of major, non-Franciscan figures like the Dominican Henricus Suso (ob. 1366) and the Augustinian Thomas à Kempis (ob. 1471)[41]. The Bridgettines, in turn, adopted the Five Wounds as their distinguishing emblem[42].

This religious emphasis emerged also in Finland from the term of Bishop Magnus Tavast. Tavast dedicated the altar founded by him in the Cathedral of Turku to the Body of Christ and added to the canonical hours read in the whole diocese the Hours of the Cross and the Passion. According to the *Chronicon episcoporum finlandensium*, this was because of 'the great devotion which he had for the suffering of Our Lord'[43]. Accordingly, the emphasis on Christ's suffering that is evident in the paintings at Hattula and Lohja need not be a uniquely Franciscan theme; it could just as well have been added to the programme upon the wishes of the Diocesan Chapter.

The only Franciscan motif is thus the stigmatization of Francis, which also Henrik Roelvink sees as a clear sign of the order's influence[44]; and possibly also Brandanus (Brendan).

Tove Riska, in turn, stresses the role of the Bridgettines in the painting programmes at

Fig. 87. The Stigmatization of St. Francis, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Hattula and Lohja. Paintings in both churches feature St. Bridget and her daughter Katarina (Fig. 88). St. Botvid, the apostle of Sörmland, is also depicted in the Church of Lohja. His cult was eagerly promoted by the Convent of Vadstena, and in Finland written sources mention him considerably more often in the late fifteenth century than previously[45]. The Parish of Lohja is also known to have been in direct contact with the Convent of Naantali. In a letter from 1463 the nuns and brothers of the convent pledge Olavi Pietarinpoika and his wife Kaarina, of the village of Karstu, full participation in all services of the convent, regardless of whether they are held in daytime or at night, sung or read, or involving wakes, fasting or abstinence, and in all other religious services and pious prayers for the benefit of their souls and the forgiveness of their sins both in this life and the next. The letter also promises care for their souls at the hour of death, and their remembrance, and the recipients are assured that by saying masses in the daytime and at night the members of the convent will entrust their souls to God[46].

The markedly emphasized Marian devotion evident in both churches has also been seen as a sign of Bridgettine influence[47]. However, the cult of the Virgin achieved such prominence in the Late Middle Ages at Turku Cathedral, from where it spread into the liturgy of the whole diocese, that it cannot be attributed to the Bridgettine tradition alone. As pointed out in the discussion on the cult, the Hours of the Virgin Mary belonged to the regular choir service of the Cathedral in the 1480s at the latest. In addition to other themes, the Altar of All Saints, founded by Bishop Magnus Särkilahti was also dedicated to the Assumption of Mary and her compassion, and the number of Marian feasts in-

Fig. 88. Ss. Bridget and Catherine of Vadstena, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

creased in the Late Middle Ages and their official value grew. The sequences of these feasts clearly reflect a feeling of joy over Mary's position as the intercessor for mankind[48].

In studying late-medieval art in Finland we should take more clearly into account the distinct tendency of the church authorities to establish and maintaing strong centralized control. In assessing the significance and framework of individual religious phenomena, i.e. the influences from which they derived, it is necessary to review their role in the liturgy of Turku Cathedral and even in the diocese as a whole. In general, conclusions based on so-called influences in art should be approached with great caution. The presence of a certain influence (Bridgettine, Dominican, or Franciscan) in the paintings of a church is open to many different explanations, which limit the basis for broader conclusions concerning the cultural climate of the period. For example, paintings of the stigmatization of St. Francis are in the light of present knowledge equally a sign of the importance of Franciscan devotion in late-medieval religious life in Finland, and of great personal interest in this theme on the part of some party involved in the planning of the painting programme. A single depiction, or as in the interrelated cases of Hattula and Lohja even two of the same motif, does not yet permit generalizations if they do not find support in other material.

Although the large number of Marian motifs need not be attributed to Bridgettine influence, the churches of Hattula and Lohja contain other indications of this order in

addition to depictions of its own saints. In their details, some of the miracles of the Virgin in the churches, e.g. the painting of Mary and the drowning child, clearly correspond to the miracle legends translated into Swedish by the Bridgettines, and these portrayals must therefore have some connection. It is also possible that the legend of the painter and the devil was spread in Finland by the Bridgettines. As observed in a preceding section (see p. 64), Nicolaus Ragvaldi, one of the most famous preachers of the Convent of Vadstena used this legend as an exemplum in the late fifteenth century, and this sermon was most probably known also in Finland. The sermons of the Bridgettines are thus a significant factor in studying influences on religious art in late-medieval Finland. The treasures of the convent library at Vadstena are gradually being published as a whole, and in the future this material can be studied in a completely different way than at present. However, the question of the routes or agents of the Bridgettine influence in the churches of Hattula and Lohja cannot be solved with the pictorial material alone.

The Lohja paintings contain a curiosity which has not been noted in earlier studies but which may indicate more than an indirect contact between the paintings in the church and the Convent at Naantali. Emil Nervander's 1886 report to the Archaeological Commission on the paintings at Lohja mentions the following: 'Concerning the origin of the paintings in the church, local tradition relates the following legend: "In ancient times there was a virgin here who made these paintings. She lived in the porch attic of the church while work was in progress, and when the last painting was completed she fell down dead from the scaffolding" '. This legend immediately brings to mind the universally known story of the master who died when his work is finished, but a special feature, which may be of significance here, is to describe the painter as a virgin. To my knowledge, women, and especially young, unmarried females, did not work as monumental painters, whereby the legend cannot refer to any such case. It may, however, derive, from an obscured memory of the Naantali nunnery's connections with the painting. This would not be at all surprising in view of available information, albeit fragmentary, on artistic activity at the convent.

In the spring of 1441, the Bridgettine brother Johannes Bernardi, the first prior of the Naantali convent, who returned to Vadstena in 1443, wrote a letter to Vadstena requesting the paints (*picture colores*) which 'our physician' had bought for him in Lübeck. In publishing this letter from the Uppsala University Library collections, Maliniemi[49] underlined that the paint was probably required for decorating the walls of the convent church and not for book illustrations. Also von Bonsdorff and Kempff have observed that the Bridgettines did not practise miniature painting; the few examples of their efforts in this genre are clumsy and amateurish[50]. Another source mentions a Bridgettine brother who was sent abroad from Sweden to study painting[51]. The brothers thus included professional painters, and although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that some of them could have participated in the paintings at Lohja.

Discussion concerning late-medieval art in Finland has usually ignored the Dominicans. Although their influence on art is more difficult to demonstrate with distinct examples, we must remember that they probably had as much influence on the development of religious life in late-medieval Finland as other orders did. According to Professor Pirinen, the old common religious tradition probably enlivened the relations of the clergy at the Cathedral of Turku with the Dominican convents in the diocese[52]. There is also a concrete example of relations between the Dominicans and the Diocesan Chapter. The Dominican brother Henrik Lelle, the only medieval lector of theology known from Finland, is mentioned in 1490 as Chancellor to the Bishop of Turku, i.e. in a senior position in direct

contact with the bishop. In 1492 the master-general of the Dominican Convent in Turku gave Lelle permission to remain in the company of the bishop of Turku to preach. Henrik Lelle, who was of a well-known Finnish noble family, is also mentioned as the brother of Arvid Lille, Turku's last medieval archpresbyter[53].

Since the highest level of theological learning in late-medieval Finland was not to be found among the Diocesan Chapter or the secular clergy, but in the monastic orders[54], we may assume that especially in theological issues the Dominicans had considerable authority even in the Late Middle Ages. Among these issues were the planning of picture programmes for churches and especially the creation of new motifs.

Religious art is one of the most evocative aspects of medieval spiritual and intellectual life, but also one of its most difficult areas to interpret. Thorough knowledge and studies combining various disciplines are required before religious art can be used as an indicator of the cultural climate of the Middle Ages. This study has focused on a special area of Medieval art, paintings of miracles of the Virgin in the churches of Hattula and Lohja and the motifs essentially connected with them. This material offers a very positive picture of the standard of religious and intellectual life in the Diocese of Turku in the last stages of the Catholic era. This is not a new result; earlier researchers have arrived at the same conclusions using different sources. However, the material of this study makes it possible to add to this picture features hitherto lacking.

The paintings at Hattula and Lohja are above all an indication of a wealth of resources, both temporal and spiritual. Depictions of miracles of the Virgin of this extent are unique in Scandinavian art. It could not have been possible to add them to the programme of paintings by relying on old and established tradition alone. Considerable theological expertise and a creative spirit were needed to devise the whole formed by the miracles of the Virgin and their related motifs of sin and prayer. This message of the devil's trickery and the inevitability of death, countered by the all-encompassing mercy of the Virgin Mary was expressed with the most topical symbolic language and pictorial material available, using the same elements with which the period's leading artists worked in the opposite part of Europe. These artistic means also demonstrate the breadth of the intellectual contacts of Finland's learned men. Their presence in Finnish art may well derive from the fact that unlike other Scandinavians Finns did not lose their contacts with Paris in the Late Middle Ages. The fact that Finland's four last Catholic bishops were all trained in Paris must also have had a Europeanizing influence on religious art in this country.

Notes to chapter I

1. Söll 1984, 93.
2. Söll 1984, 94.
3. Carroll 1967.
4. Graef 1964, Carroll 1986.
5. Sources given in the notes of the text. The bibliographies of these works list the main literature on the subject, see especially *Handbuch der Marienkunde*.
6. See Schindler 1962, 26–27; Knoch 1984, 15.
7. Galatians 4:4; Warner 1990, 3; Ceroke 1967; Knoch 1984, 16.
8. Kee 1983, 218, note 88.
9. Warner 1990, 7.
10. Perdrizet 1908, 10.
11. Ceroke 1967.
12. Knoch 1984, 16, 22–23.
13. Knoch 1984, 30.
14. Knoch 1984, 40.
15. Räisänen 1969, 153–155, according to Knoch 1984, 64–65.
16. See Söll 1984, 106–107.
17. Clayton 1990, 3.
18. Hirn 1909, 187; Clayton 1990, 3.
19. Hirn 1909, 187.
20. Clayton 1990, 3; in his discussion on the *Protoeuangelium* Clayton refers to E. Amann (ed.) 1910, *Le protoevangile de Jacques*.
21. Warner 1990, 31.
22. Hirn 1909, 201.
23. Clayton 1990, 3; Warner 1990, 29.
24. Söll 1984, 105.
25. Clayton 1990, 3; Hirn 1909, 202–3.
26. Warner 1990, 30.
27. Clayton 1990, 4.
28. Söll 1984, 100.
29. *Wir wissen, dass er (Kristus) durch die Jungfrau Mensch geworden ist, damit auf dem gleichen Wege, auf welchem die von der Schlange verursachte Sünde ihren Anfang nahm, die Sünde auch aufgehoben Werde. Denn Eva, welche eine unverdorbene Jungfrau war, gebar, nach dem sie das Wort der Schlange empfangen hatte, Sünde und Tod. Die Jungfrau Maria dagegen war voll Glaube und Freude, als der Engel Gabriel ihr die frohe Botschaft brachte, der Geist des Herrn werde über sie kommen und die Kraft des Höchsten werde sie überschatten, weshalb auch das Heilige, das aus ihr geboren werde, Sohn Gottes sei.* Söll 1984, 102.
30. Carroll 1967.
31. Söll 1984, 102.
32. Söll 1984, 108.
33. Söll 1984, 108, 121.
34. Carroll 1967.
35. Söll 1984, 112.
36. Clayton 1990, 5; Carroll 1986, 84.
37. Warner 1990, 63.
38. Warner 1990, 63–64.
39. Warner 1990, 64.
40. Warner 1990, 65; Clayton 1990, 7; Söll 1984, 114.
41. Warner 1990, 65–66; Carroll 1986, 85; Owens 1967; Söll 1984, 114–116.
42. Warner 1990, 105.
43. Carroll 1967; Warner 1990, 66–67; Söll 1984, 133.
44. Carroll 1967.
45. Bühler 1965, 11.
46. According to Weisweiler 1953, 322 and Bühler 1965, 11; see Carmody 1967.
47. Bühler 1965, 11.
48. Carroll 1967.
49. Warner 1990, 67.
50. Carroll 1967.
51. Carroll 1967.
52. Söll 1984, 162.
53. Söll 1984, 150.
54. Good discussions of this question are to be found e.g. in Stefan Beissel's classic *Geschichte der Verährung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, 1909; Barré, *Prières anciennes*, 1963; or *Handbuch der Marienkunde: Maria in der Geschichte von Theologie und Frömmigkeit* 1984.
55. Carroll 1967.
56. Barré 1909, 100–102.
57. Barré 1963, 125.
58. Warner 1990, 107; Carroll 1967.
59. *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, Otto Knoch, 443–445.
60. Barré 1963, 125.
61. *le sentiment et l'horreur du péché.*
62. According to Barré : *'Ce qu'il demande au Seigneur, à Notre-Dame ou aux Saints, ..., c'est la grace d'un plus grand et plus pur amour'*, Barré 1963, 287.
63. Söll 1984, 158.
64. *'de tous les docteurs du moyen âge, celui qui a le plus poétiquement rêvé de la Vierge et le mieux parlé d'elle'*, Perdrizet 1908, 250.
65. Perdrizet 1908, 14.
66. Söll 1984, 128.
67. See e.g. Vollert 1967; Caroll 1967.
68. *'insofern sie in vorbereitender oder dienender Funktion (dispositive vel ministerialiter) an der Verbindung der Menschen mit Gott mitwirken'*.
69. Quoted according to Söll 1984, 183.
70. Chapter 6., section 39, according to Lundén 1958.
71. *War jene (Eva) Gott ungehorsam, so folgte diese (Maria) Gott willig, damit die Jungfrau Maria der Anwalt (advocata) der Eva werde*; according to Söll 1984, 107.
72. Söll 1984, 120–121.
73. Söll 1984, 122; Barré 1963, 30.
74. Barré 1963, 30.
75. Carol 1967.
76. Translated by Hilda Graef,1964, 135.
77. Graef 1964, 136.
78. Graef 1964, 136.
79. See Barré 1963, 91; Söll 1984, 131; on the significance of the legend of Theophilus see p. 128.
80. Barré 1963, 36.
81. According to Barré 1963, 37.
82. Barré 1963, 37, 53; Söll 1984, 185.

83. Barré 1963, 86, 105.
84. Barré 1963, 111.
85. Söll 1984, 164.
86. Carol 1967.
87. Graef 1964, 218.
88. Carol 1967.
89. Graef 1963, 288.
90. Söll 1984, 204; Düfel 1968, 220.
91. Graef 1964, 218.
92. Borgehammar 1992, 209–210.
93. This story appears e.g. in Unger's *Mariu saga*, in which it is compiled from various manuscript sources. It is also contained in English manuscripts, see Widding–Bekker–Nielsen 1961, 77–78.
94. For the period preceding the Norman conquest, the following overview is based on Mary Clayton's 'The Cult of Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England', Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2, 1990. Post-Conquest developments are discussed mainly with reference to Waterton, Pietas Mariana Britannica, London 1879.
95. Clayton 1990, 1.
96. Clayton 1990, s. 267, 272.
97. Clayton 1990, 269–270.
98. Clayton 1990, 269–270.
99. Youngs 1991, 15–16.
100. Clayton 1990, 38.
101. Clayton 1990, 44; Bishop 1918, 258.
102. Clayton 1990, 46–47.
103. Clayton 1990, 51.
104. Clayton 1990, 52–89.
105. Clayton 1990, 110, 120.
106. Clayton 1990, 120.
107. Clayton 1990, 120.
108. Clayton 1990, 178.
109. Clayton 1990, 164–165; Deshman 1970, 232.
110. The New Minster Charter, London BL, Cotton Vespasian A. VIII, c. 966: King Edgar is shown together with Mary and Saint Peter extending the charter of the monastery to a figure of Christ depicted in a mandorla above them. New Minster Liber uitae, London, BL, Stowe 944, c. 1030: King Canute and Queen Emma present a cross to Christ shown above them in heaven flanked by Mary and St. Peter; beneath the donors is a group of monks of the New Minster shown clearly in prayer for the royal figures, while Mary and Peter are tending to this task in heaven.
111. Clayton 1990, 273.
112. Clayton 1990, 273.
113. Söll 1984.
114. Waterton 1879, 11–14.
115. Waterton 1879, 39.
116. Waterton 1879, passim, 40.
117. Barré 1963; Graef 1964; Söll 1984.
118. This is a point of debate in the prehistory and early history of the Åland Islands. Together with other evidence, the ending of burials with gravegoods has also been atrributed to depopulation and the complete desolation of the islands for some two centuries. See e.g. Hellberg 1987. I feel this theory is not plausible.
119. On early Christianity in Finland see e.g. Cleve 1943 and 1947–48, Kivikoski 1955, T.Edgren 1992, and Törnblom 1992; on the emergence of ecclesiastical organization e.g. Pirinen 1955 and Taavitsainen 1989.
120. See Köster 1984, 443–445.
121. Pirinen 1991, 82.
122. Rinne 1932, 114; Radloff 1795, 70.
123. E.g. Pirinen 1991, 169.
124. See Wallin 1896; Pirinen 1991, 169.
125. On pendants with Marian motifs, see Kivikoski 1955, 39–40; Purhonen 1984 and 87; see Purhonen 1987 for a discussion of pendants as indicators of Christianity.
126. Malin 1925, 235.
127. Maliniemi 1925, 239.
128. Maliniemi 1925, 237–239; Suomi 1979, 40.
129. Pirinen 1956, 472–473.
130. Gummerus 1896, 286.
131. On this work, see Parvio 1973; Suomi 1979; Parvio 1988.
132. Suomi 1979, 38.
133. Suomi 1979, 38, 40.
134. Suomi 1979, 38, 42.
135. Suomi 1979, 44.
136. Haavio 1935, 189–191.
137. See Å. Ringbom 1991.
138. Hanna Pirinen 1991, 76–77.

Notes to chapter II

1. E.g. Sigal 1985.
2. Finucane 1977, 17.
3. Kelsey 1987.
4. Waida 1987.
5. Quoted in Finucane 1977, 4.
6. Kelsey 1987; Brown 1984, 3–7, 304; Finucane 1977, 17–18.
7. Brown 1984, 4.
8. Ward 1987, 3.
9. Ward 1987, 3.
10. Brown 1984, 9.
11. Ward 1987, 4.
12. De Conceptu Virginali 2.11; Ward 1982, 4, quoting Bettenson 1972, 154.
13. Ward 1982, 4–7.
14. Ward 1987, 7.
15. Ward 1987, 8.
16. Brown 1984, 11.
17. Brown 1984, 11.
18. Pater 1967.
19. Brown 1984, 11.
20. Summa contra Gentiles; Gad 1981, "Mirakel".
21. Ward 1987, 216.
22. Finucane 1977, 55.

23. Vauchez 1988, 579–580.
24. Rendtel 1985, 116; Ward 1987, 32, 212.
25. Vauchez 1988, 581.
26. Ward 1987, 114; Finucane 1977, 30.
27. E.g. Ward, Finucane, Sigal, Rendtel and cited literature.
28. Sigal 1985, 11.
29. Sigal 1985, 311.
30. E.g. Vauchez 1988.
31. Ward 1987, 185, 201.
32. Finucane 1977, 13.
33. Ward 1987, 215.
34. Rendtel 1985, 114; Sigal 1985, 271.
35. Finucane 1977, 146; Rendtel 1985, 113; Sigal 1985,265; Oury 1983, 21.
36. Ward 1987, 146.
37. '*Eine Frau aus Chartres begab sich, bevor sie auf den Markt Wolle einkaufen ging, an das Grab des hl. Gilduinus und bat den Heiligen, ihr zu einem günstigen Einkauf zu verhelfen*'; Rendtel 1985, 114.
38. Ward 1987, 211; Sigal.
39. E.g. Sigal 1985; Finucane 1977; Oury 1983.
40. Sigal 1985, 271.
41. Sigal 1985, 271.
42. Ward 1987, 211; Sigal 1985, 271.
43. Ward 1987, 211, 213.
44. Sigal 1985, 271.
45. Ward 1987, 212.
46. Ward 1987, 212.
47. Rendtel 1985, 130.
48. Finucane 1977, 26.
49. Finucane 1977, 18.
50. Finucane 1977, 199–201.
51. Schreiner 1966, 5–9, 11.
52. Sigal 1985, 211–215; Rendtel 1985, 141; Schreiner 1966,1–2; Vauchez 1988, 576.
53. Rendtel 1985, 144, 149; Schreiner 1966, 11–14; see also Vauchez 1988.
54. E.g. Schreiner 1966, 20–25.
55. Rendtel 1985, 146–148; Schreiner 1966, 37, concerning Bernard of Siena's opinion of this matter.
56. Ward 1987, 208.
57. Kee 1983, 223.
58. Rendtel 1985, 163.
59. Schreiner 1966, 32.
60. Rendtel 1985, 149.
61. Sigal 1985, 150–155; Finucane 1977, 52–54.
62. Vauchez 1988, 58–59.
63. Gallén-Norberg 1982, "Reliker".
64. Finucane 1977, 53.
65. With the exception of the independent-minded Icelanders; Vauchez 1988, 32.
66. Finucane 1977, 197; Rinne 1932, 166–167; especially Vauchez 1988, 25–37, discussing the signficance of the events of 1171.
67. Vauchez 1988, 96.
68. The first manuscript on the life and miracles of St. Bridget was already prsented in 1373 to the Bishop of Spoleto, Italy, as the representative of the pope. The matter was later investigated by two Scandinavian bishops, and on several occasions by a papal commission. It was finally resolved when a new pope was installed. Nyberg 1991, 401–429.
69. Nyberg 1991, 424; Nyberg 1980 citing Ullman 1957, 190–201.
70. Nyberg 1991, 411, 412.
71. Cf. e.g. Vauchez 1988, 565: '*...les dépositions seraient entachées de suspicion, en raison du fait que les témoins étaient à la fois pauvres et Normands...*'
72. Nyberg 1991, 411.
73. Vauchez 1988, 579, note 47.
74. Finucane 1977, 54.
75. Cf. The New Catholic Encyclopedia: 'a miracle is an extraordinary event, perceptible to the senses, produced by God in a religious context as a sign of the supernatural'; Pater 1967.
76. FMU 4637; Rinne 1932, 261.
77. Nyberg 1991, 403; see e.g. Vauchez 1988, 530 on the reciprocity of a saint and a person venerating him or her.
78. "miraculis coruscando", Rinne 1932, 29.
79. Cf. Vauchez 1988, 499: "l'incorruptibilité" as the characteristic of a saint.
80. Rinne 1932, 219–222.
81. Sigal 1985.
82. The small number of miracles in the Legend of Saint Henry is surprising, and it is quite possible that it originally contained a greater number of them. According to Vauchez, it appears to have been common for canonization material gathered for papal approval to include a large number of miracle legends, from which the commission of the curia selected the most plausible ones. The actual canonization document contained only those miracles which the best grounds. In the case of St. Thomas de Cantiloupe, Pope John XXII approved only ten out of 39 claimed miracles (Vauchez 1988, 569–577). This is almost the same number that was included in the Legend of St. Henry.
83. Nyberg 1991, 405.
84. Vicar Olof at Kokemäki and Christina, wife of Mikael at Pedersöre; the seven-year-old girl Helena at Pedersöre, FMU 843–845.
85. Beatified 1499, the process was not finished until the Reformation, Pirinen 1956, 474–475.
86. FMU 4619; Pirinen 1956, 474–475; Rinne 1932, 302–03.
87. Gummerus 1896, 287.
88. Rinne 1932; Pirinen 1956, 46.
89. Niitemaa 1981 "Gilde Finland"; Rinne 1948, 49, 73–87; Pirinen 1956, 483–485.
90. E.g. Rinne 1952, 53–54.
91. FMU 4010.
92. Rinne 1932, 220.
93. Rinne 1932, 381.
94. Rinne 1932, 301.
95. Heininen 1988, 47; Rinne 1948, 157; 1932, 195.
96. Rinne 1948, 190.
97. Rinne 1943, 148; Norberg 1982, "Relikvarium".
98. Gallén-Norberg 1982 "Reliker"; Malin 1925, 219–223; Rinne 1932, 401.
99. Rinne 1948, 9; REA 655, 656.
100. Oja 1981, "Pilegrimsveier Finland".
101. FMU 1220, 1364; Pirinen 1991, 248; Rinne 1932, 237.
102. Malin 1927, 15.
103. Pirinen 1991, 248.
104. Rinne 1952, 55–65.
105. Rinne 1932, 195, 240.

106. Rinne 1932, 383–391.
107. REA 694, Pirinen 1956, 387; 1991, 253.
108. Pirinen 1991, 260.
109. These forbid as grave deadly sins punishable by public confession and high fines: lotteries, charms, fortune-telling, explanations of dreams, and un-Biblical magical texts and signs, which were believed to repel the dangers of fire, water, the sword, disease, and death, and also tricks for finding stolen property and similar follies. Pirinen 1991, 244.
110. Pirinen 1991, 260.
111. Pirinen 1991, 261.
112. See e.g. Hakamies 1991.

Notes to chapter III

1. C. 593/4; see e.g. Ebel 1965, 19; Boyd 1964, 3; Künstle 1928, 584.
2. Southern 1958, 178; e.g. Ward 1987 contains a good bibliography of miracles of the Virgin and related studies.
3. See also Boyd 1964, 3.
4. Boyd 1964, 3; Ward 1893, 589.
5. Barré 1963, 27.
6. Boyd 1964, 3.
7. Ward 1893, 587, 589.
8. Barré 1963, 105.
9. Mâle 1948, 263.
10. Ward 1987, 158
11. Beissel 1909, 97; Barré 1963, 91. On the legend of Theophilus, see section on art, p. 128.
12. Barré 1963, 132; Warner 1990, 323.
13. Barré 1963, 185–193.
14. Barré 1963, 91.
15. Graef 1964, 158.
16. E.g. Ward 1987, 134–142.
17. Ward 1987, 142–43.
18. Ward 1987, 145–154.
19. Ward 1987, 135.
20. Ward 1987, 145–147.
21. Ward 1987, 144–154.
22. Southern 1958, 177.
23. First issued in 1953, 1987 printing cited here.
24. Southern 1987, 238.
25. Southern 1987, 239–241; 1958.
26. Southern 1958, 183–200; 1987, 240–41.
27. Mussafia 1886.
28. Southern 1958, 202.
29. Southern 1958, 182–83.
30. Southern 1958, 178.
31. Southern 1958, 201.
32. Southern 1958, 202.
33. Southern 1958, 177, 202.
34. Ward 1987, 155, 162.
35. Ward 1987, 163.
36. Southern 1987, 236; Ward 1987, 163.
37. Warner 1990, 325.
38. Southern 1958, 177, 204.
39. Southern 1987, 241.
40. According to Southern, a similar surge of popular imagination is also evident at a more general level. 'The springs were there, and the rehabilitation of Celtic things in the twelfth century, after a long period of disfavour, is a symptom of a change of attitude towards the creations of popular imagination.' 'This union of learning and high spirituality with popular forms and impulses is something which meets us everywhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.' Southern 1987, 244; see also Le Goff 1990, 14.
41. Southern 1987, 177.
42. Raw 1990, 180.
43. Raw 1990, 98.
44. On this process as a whole, see Le Goff 1990.
45. Kaiser 1983, 49; Le Goff 1990, 5 and passim.
46. Aries 1980, 132, 135.
47. Aries 1980, 131; Le Goff 1990, 219; see e.g. BL Cotton Cleopatra C X, "The Rustic who removed Landmarks": How Devils and Angels disputed for his soul; and how the angels won, because of his devotion to the Virgin, Ward 1893, 607.
48. See e.g. op.cit., "Ave on the tongue": How a clerk was drowned on his way from his mistress; and how he was restored to life [to repent], because his last words, found imprinted on his tongue, were 'Ave Maria', Ward 1893, 612.
49. Tenenti 1952, 60.
50. Savonarola, Predica, fol. Avi; Tenenti 1952, 50.
51. Le Goff 1990, 230.
52. Ariès 1980, 178.
53. Heaven, Purgatory, Hell, and accordingly maiores, mediocres, minores, i.e. the birth of new tripartite social structure; Le Goff 1990, 226–227.
54. Le Goff 1990, 5.
55. Kaiser 1983, 51.
56. Le Goff 1990, 3, 4.
57. Ariès 1980, 197–206.
58. Bloomfield 1952, 97; Wenzel 1967, 69–70, see section on sloth.
59. Southern 1987, 216.
60. Southern 1987, 216.
61. Clayton 1990, 273.
62. Southern 1987, 235.
63. E.g. Ward 1893, or Mussafia, both containing good overviews of different authors; these results are commented on by Crane 1911.
64. Poncelet 1902.
65. Crane 1911, 236.
66. Southern 1987, 236, e.g. the story of the pilgrim to Santiago who was saved originally by St. James and later by St. James and the Virgin Mary, see p. 161.
67. Ducrot-Granderye 1932, 141, 171.
68. Laborde 1929, 9.
69. Ducrot-Granderye 1932, 145.

70. Laborde 1929, 16; Warner 1885, VI.
71. Guerrero Lovillo 1949.
72. Marks 1987, 138.
73. Boorstin 1983, 35.
74. Ward 1987, 162.
75. Knowledge of the Virgin Mary, or the Marian cult, was most probably introduced by the first missionaries, if not earlier. For example, St. Ansgar (ob. 865) is said to have shown particular veneration to the Virgin because of a vision he had experienced as a child; Beissel 1909, 35.
76. Widding 1961, 4.
77. See e.g. Beissel 1909 or Perdrizet 1908.
78. This theory has not been unequivocally accepted by all researchers, see Edgren 1991.
79. Gallén 1980, "Cistercienserordenen. Danmark, Sverige."; Gjerlow 1980, "Cistercienserordenen"; Ortved 1933.
80. The convents and monasteries of Alvastra, Nydala, Varnhem, Gutnalia/Roma, Saba/Julita, Vreta, Gudhem, Vårfruberga, Riseberga, Askeby, Solberga and Byarum were established before the end of the thirteenth century, Gudsberga in the 1480s; Gallén 1980, "Cistercienserordenen. Danmark, Sverige."
81. Jonsdottir 1964, 31; Ortved 1933, 62.
82. Lundén MCMLV, 24.
83. Ortved 1927, 131–32.
84. Ortved 1927, 107.
85. Gjerlow 1980, "Cistercienserordenen".
86. Selja, Nidarholm, Munkeliv, Gimsöy, Nonneseter and Bakke; Gallén 1980, "Benediktinorden".
87. The monastery, following the Augustinian regimen, became known for its strict, pure and serious life. Guillaume de Champeaux continued his teaching there, thus laying the foundation for the school of St. Victor. This work was later continued by the well-known teachers Hugues and Richard de St. Victor. The school made the monastery famous throughout Europe.; Johnsen 1943–46, 412–413; Copleston 1985, Vol. II.
88. Johnsen 1943–46, 406–407.
89. Johnsen 1943–46, 417–418.
90. Johnsen 1943–36, 431.
91. Widding 1981, "Marialegender"; see also Widding 1961.
92. Group 1 in both Unger's and Widding's classifications; Unger 1871, 65–157.
93. Widding 1961, 4.
94. Copleston 1985, 178; Johnsen claims that he was English.
95. Johnsen 1943–46, 421.
96. Unger 1871, 230–231.
97. Unger 1871, 231; Widding 1961, 6.
98. Examples include the Madonna of Hofstadir, belonging to the above-mentioned group of early madonnas, and Bishop Gudmundur of Holar, who appears to have held Bernhard of Clairvaux as his personal model, Jonsdottir 1964.
99. Gallén 1980, "Augustinkorherrar", "Benediktinorden".
100. Gallén 1980, "Augustinkorherrar", "Benediktinorden"; Paasche MCMLVII, Islandsk middelalder.
101. Paasche MCMLVII, 270–282.
102. A love for books survived there for centuries, being still evidenced by an exceptionally large number of preserved medieval manuscripts.
103. Electus ibidem non ad honorem assumptus sed expositus marturie reputetur... ; FMU 48.
104. FMU 72; Ortved 1933, 302.
105. Edgren 1991.
106. Schmidt 1941, especially p. 22.
107. In accordance with Unger and Widding, Norway and Iceland are here discussed as a single entity.
108. Results published in "Mariu Saga", Christiania 1871. As Unger himself points out in his preface, the book does not have the best possible structure. However, the table contents with brief comments in Danish on the stories greatly facilitates the study of individual legends.
109. Unger 1871, IV; Widding 1961, 3.
110. Widding 1961, 3.
111. Widding 1050–1200, 1961, 4.
112. Widding 1961, 6.
113. E.g. Jacobus de Voragine or Vincent of Beauvais; Widding 1961, 8.
114. Widding 1961, 4–8.
115. Widding 1981, "Marialegender, Norge, Island".
116. Unger 1871, XXIII, XXIV, XXX, XXXII.
117. Widding 1961, 9.
118. "Som man vel ikke behover at have saa stor Betaenkelighed ved at antage", Unger 1871, XVIII; XXXXI. It is, however, neither the first nor definitive translation, as sometimes mistakenly claimed, e.g. by Anne Wichström in *Norges kunsthistorie* (1981).
119. Unger 1871, XVIII; Widding 1961, 9.
120. Widding 1961, 9.
121. Jansson 1981, "Fornsvenska legendariet".
122. *Gudi till ära, hans moder jungfru Maria, Sankt Dominicus och alla helgon till pris, alla lekmän till kristelig undervisning och mig själv till avlat och synders förlåtelse offrar jag, ovärdige, mitt arbete* ('For the Glory of God, praise to His Mother the Virgin Mary, Saint Dominic and all the saints, for the Christian teaching of all laymen, and for indulgence for myself and forgiveness for my sins, I unworthily offer this work of mine'); translated into modern Swedish by Fogelklou-Rutberg 1917.
123. Jansson 1981, "Fornsvenska legendariet".
124. Stephens 1847, 7–30. According to Gad, there are twenty miracles, but only seventeen of them were perfromed after the Virgin Mary ascended into heaven.
125. Jansson 1981, "Fornsvenska legendariet".
126. Klemming 1877–78, 439.
127. Odenius 1981, 38, 44.
128. Gad 1981, "Marialegender, Sverige".
129. See Henning 1954, containing a thorough description of the sources of the work, its history, and other details.
130. Ronge 1982, "Saelinna thrøst".
131. There is also a work known as "Der Cleyn Selen Troist", printed in Cologne in 1483; Henning 1954, 444.
132. Ronge 1982, "Siaelinna thrøst".
133. Henning 1954, 456.
134. Henning 1954, 456.
135. Henning 1954, 495.
136. Henning 1954, V.

137. Ronge 1982, "Siaelinna thrøst".
138. Ronge 1982, "Siaelinna thrøst"; Henning 1954, 473–489; on the Danish version, see Gad 1961, 270–271.
139. Cod.Ups. C 54, formerly Vadstena G Vo 16us, written in Paris in the 1330 s.
140. Strömberg 1944, 84.
141. Cod.Ups. C 63, formerly Vadstena I 3o 7us and Cod.Ups. C 523, formerly Vadstena 5o 6us. The former contains 89 miracles of the Virgin, and the *explicit* of the manuscript mentions that the collection was written and completed in Constance in 1417. The latter, bought at the large book fair held in connection with the Council, is a French *Liber miraculorum* of the fourteenth century, whose original version date back to the thirteenth century; Odenius 1981, "Exempel".
142. Cod.Ups.C 359, formerly Vadstena I 6o 11us.
143. Odenius 1981, "Exempel". These miracle collections have not been published, and accordingly I have no precise knowledge of miracles of the Virgin contained in them.
144. Gad 1981, "Marialegender".
145. Stephens 1874, 64–69.
146. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, c. 1430/50.
147. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, 1476.
148. Stephens 1847, 16–17,31–44, Stephens 1874, 60–64; Gad 1981, "Marialegender. Sverige". Also Master Mathias's *Copia exemplorum* contains a few miracle legends set in Sweden; Odenius 1957, 138. Also Bridget's 'Revelations' mention a miracle of the Virgin at Alvastra, see Ortved 1933, 90.
149. Lundén 1957–59.
150. See Malin 1927, 13.
151. See Strömberg 1944.
152. See Gallén 1980, "Dominikanorden".
153. FMU 649, REA 160; Lehtinen 1988.
154. Malin 1922; Lehtinen 1988.
155. Pipping 1844 and Grönblad 1846.
156. Odenius 1981, "Exempel".
157. Malin 1922, 162.
158. Malin 1922, 163–164.
159. Malin 1922, 165.
160. Maliniemi 1955, 110.
161. Williams-Krapp 1981, 67.
162. Malin 1922, 166.
163. Strömberg 1944, 39, 43.
164. Malin 1922, 166.
165. Kirja Suomessa, näyttelyluettelo [exhibition catalogue] 1988.
166. Gummerus 1896, 289.
167. Kirja Suomessa, näyttelyluettelo [exhibition catalogue] 1988.
168. Odenius 1957, 113–124.
169. Odenius 1957, 141–143.
170. Odenius 1957, 113–115, 125.
171. Odenius 1957, 116–117.
172. Odenius 1957, 119; see also Unger 1871.
173. Speculum historiale, Liber VIII, cap. 104; English translation by Caiger-Smith 1963, 72; Odenius 1957, 133–135 Latin version.
174. Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS, Kansanrunousarkisto); Jalasjärvi. KRK 206. Yrjänäinen, Uuno 85. < Rustari, Juho, former forest warden born 1855. Jalasjärvenkylä, Jalasjärvi.
175. Ibid.; Iisalmi. Siiri Oulasmaa 99. 1936. < Heikki Kääriäinen, farmer, Iisalmi rural commune.
176. Ibid.; Viljakkala. Mattila,M. 3774. 1936. < Kalle Rantala, aged 62, Hepo-oja, Viljakkala.
177. Cf. Odenius 1957, 148–156.
178. The version from Iisalmi already bears the imprint of education: e.g. the term Middle Ages, albeit chronologically in the wrong place. The narrator may have had some idea of devil paintings being generally associated with medieval stone churches; there was never a stone church at Iisalmi, but the rural commune's first, wooden, church was built in the early seventeenth century, i.e. roughly at the time mentioned in the story.
179. Odenius 1957, 155.
180. Cod. C 362; Odenius 1957, 112, 130.
181. Maliniemi 1942, 633–64; see Malin 1926, 11–17 on the literary output of Nicolaus Ragvaldi.
182. Maliniemi 1942, 65.
183. Malin 1927, 17–18.
184. Maliniemi 1955, 106.
185. Malin 1927, 22; Maliniemi 1942, 169–171.
186. Maliniemi 1942, 169–171, containing a list of known preachers from Vadstena who visited Naantali.
187. Malin 1927, 14.
188. Maliniemi 1955, 106.
189. Malin 1927, 14–15, 43; see also Klockars 1979, 84.
190. Klockars 1979, 144–148.
191. Maliniemi 1943, 104.
192. FMU 2265.
193. Malin 1927, 13, and note 2 on the same page.
194. Malin 1927, 13–14.
195. Malin 1927, 14.

Notes to chapter IV

1. Pettersson 1981, 187.
2. See Edgren-Hiekkanen 1987.
3. Tapio 1991, 45.
4. See Jameson 1852, LIII. Emil Nervander painted the blue of the gown of the Infant Jesus shown seated on an altar depicted in the east cell of vault III at Lohja. The colour of the gown in the tracing made under his direction in the late nineteenth century is not recorded, but in the original restoration it was painted in a strong cobalt blue. In the 1956 restoration of the paintings the gown was considerably light-

ened, but an indication of the 1880s hue was also left visible. See report by Oskari Niemi, 18. 10. 1956, MVHTTA.

5. Hall 1979, 325; see also Nilsén 1986, 195.
6. Cf. for example the *Danse Macabre* painting in the Church of Inkoo, in which the king is shown in a long gown.
7. See Nilsén 1986, 301 and Riska 1991, 173.
8. Nilsén 1986, 208.
9. Cf. the Disciple John, who unlike the other disciples of Christ is depicted beardless. – In medieval art the beard was generally an attribute of age or social status. For example, the engraved fields on the sides of the sarcophagus of St. Henry depicting the arrival of the crusaders in Finland, all the figures are beardless and short-haired except King Erik, 'who had a beard as a sign of his rank', Riska 1990, 278; see also Vilkuna 1977, 120–121.
10. For example in the altarpiece by Michel Sittow (c. 1518) in the Church of St. Nicholas in Tallinn, both Mary and the Infant Jesus are without nimbuses, as also in the altar of Hermen Rode (1481), see Lumiste-Kangropol 1990.
11. Cf. e.g. Bringeus 1958, 35–36, fig. 10 p. 37.
12. Knapas 1990, 269; 1988, 51.
13. Riska 1991, 166
14. Memorandum by Nervander 22. 11. 1899, MVHTTA.
15. Nervander's notes concerning the churches of Hattula and Lohja, MVHTTA.
16. Taivassalo 1871, Kalanti 1884.
17. Nervander 1886, Hattula, Lohja.
18. Fornsvenskt legendarium; Nervander 1886, Hattula.
19. Translated into Finnish in 1923.
20. Nervander 1923, 56.
21. Rinne-Meinander 1925, 15.
22. Meinander 1921, p. XXXIV.
23. Wennervirta 1937, 143–144.
24. af Hällström 1949, 38–40, 59.
25. Nygren 1951, 122.
26. Nygren 1951, 119–120.
27. Nygren 1951, 120.
28. Nygren 1951, 121.
29. Nygren 1951, 122.
30. Nygren 1951, 124.
31. Nygren 1951, 124–125.
32. Nygren 1951, 128.
33. Pylkkänen 1959.
34. Männikkö 1973.
35. Männikkö 1973, 3.
36. Männikkö 1973, 11.
37. Männikkö 1973, 5.
38. Männikkö 1973, 6–7.
39. Männikkö 1973, 9.
40. Männikkö 1973, 9–10.
41. Männikkö 1973, 10–11.
42. Nilsén 1979.
43. In the latter she also touches upon the 'Bell of Judgement' and 'Banquet for Sinners' paintings.
44. Perdrizet 1908.
45. Scott-Bland 1929, 546.
46. After Perdrizet, the subject has been discussed by several researchers: Belting-Ihm, Cassee, Sussmann, Solway, Thomas, Eber, Schätti, Mohr, Silvy, Deschamps, and Der Nersessian. E.g. Christa Belting-Ihm's article *Sub matris tutela* contains a good summary of recent results. Her results are in turn complemented by Susan Solway, who discusses the subject mainly from a numismatic perspective.
47. Perdrizet 1908, 23.
48. Perdrizet 1908, 24.
49. See Belting-Ihm 1976, 26 and Mohr 1983, 41, and cited sources.
50. Belting-Ihm 1976, 36; see also Mohr 1983, 44.
51. Perdrizet 1908, 23–24; Belting-Ihm 1976, 33.
52. Perdrizet 1908, 24.
53. Belting-Ihm 1976, 26, 34.
54. Belting-Ihm 1976, 42.
55. Belting-Ihm 1976, 39.
56. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, lib. 1, cap. 10; Belting-Ihm 1976, 38.
57. Belting-Ihm 1976, 39.
58. Belting-Ihm 1976, 34; Cassee 1980, 71.
59. Belting-Ihm 1976, 45–46.
60. Belting-Ihm 1976, 47–56, 75.
61. Belting-Ihm 1976, 57–61.
62. Belting-Ihm 1976, 62–63.
63. Belting-Ihm 1976, 65–66.
64. Belting-Ihm 1976, 68–69.
65. Der Nersessian 1970; Belting-Ihm 1976, 69.
66. Der Nersessian 1970, 196.
67. Belting-Ihm 1976, 70,75.
68. Solway 1985.
69. Solway 1985, 361.
70. Solway 1985, 361.
71. Solway 1985, 365.
72. 'Armed with the knowledge that the earliest images of the Madonna of the Mercy occur on medieval seals...', Solway 1985, 361.
73. For example the Seal of the Cistercian nunnery of Beaupré, dated 1335.
74. Solway 1985, 362–364.
75. Solway 1985, 366, containing references to medieval texts on virtues.
76. Solway 1985, 364.
77. Solway 1985, 360.
78. Belting-Ihm 1976, 77.
79. This term is used by Belting-Ihm, e.g. on page 77.
80. Perdrizet 1908, 158, 195.
81. Perdrizet 1908, 150–155.
82. Perdrizet 1908, 158–159.
83. The Dominicans, the Premonstratensians, the Carmelites, the Carthusians, the Servites, the Mercedarians, the Augustinians, the Benedictines, and the Jesuits.
84. See Perdrizet's list of images belonging to different orders, 1908, 50–58.
85. Perdrizet 1908, 59–87, Belting-Ihm 1976, 70–71.
86. The earliest example is a fresco in the church of the Franciscan convent at Spoleto, dated to the 1280s–1290s; Belting-Ihm 1976, 72.
87. Belting-Ihm 1976, 73.
88. See Perdrizet 1908 and Sussmann 1929.
89. Appuhn 1981, 132.
90. Avril 1986, 169.
91. Perdrizet 1908, 103–104.
92. Among others, the Legenda aurea, the Old and New Testaments, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and the *Biblia pauperum*, Perdrizet

1908, 105; Appuhn 1981, 120–121, 133; Wilson-Wilson 1984, 24.
93. Various identifications have been suggested, e.g. Conradus of Altzheim, Vincent of Beauvais, Henricus Suso, Ludolph of Saxony, Nicolaus of Lyra, Wilson-Wilson 1984, 26; Appuhn 1981, 133.
94. Marcel Thomas, see Wilson-Wilson 1984, 27.
95. Appuhn 1981, 134.
96. Perdrizet 1908, 105; Wilson-Wilson 1984, 24.
97. Perdrizet 1908, 105.
98. For further details on this subject, see p. 99; James 1926.
99. Perdrizet 1908, 104.
100. Perdrizet 1908, 105.
101. James 1926, fig. XXXIX.
102. On Mary as Corredemptrix, see also Lundén 1979 and 1981.
103. For example an illustration in *Miroir de la rédemption*, Lyon 1478; Perdrizet 1908, pl. XV, 4.
104. Cornell 1917, 105.
105. Cornell 1917, 103.
106. Cornell 1917, 107 and passim.
107. As implied in Nilsén, 1986, 414–415.
108. Nilsén 1986, 414–415; cf. the preceding chapter on the cult of the Virgin Mary.
109. *D: Suscipe Fratres meos, quos educavi et fovi sub stricto scapulari meo, et defende eos sub lato mantello tuo. Rege eos, et refove, ne hostis antiquus praevaleat eis et ne dissipet vineam novellam quam plantavit dextera Filii tui! M: O Dominice amice dilecte, quia dilexisti me plus quam te"! Ego sublato mantello meo defendam et regam filios tuos, necnon et omnes qui in regula tua perseverant, salvabuntur. Mantellus vero meus latus misericordia mea est, quam nulli feliciter petenti denego.* Quoted according to Perdrizet 1908, 44; L. III, cap. 17.
110. Cf. Cornell 1917.
111. See e.g. Strömberg's study on the literary influences of Master Mathias; Strömberg 1944.
112. Cf. Nilsén 1986, 413–415.
113. Kaukonen 1943, 66, 72.
114. Kaukonen 1943, 72, 76.
115. Kaukonen 1943, 73.
116. Nervander 1886 Hattula, 14, 1886 Lohja, 13; Nygren 1951,122; Pylkkänen 1959, 45.
117. Nygren 1951, 120–122.
118. Pylkkänen 1959, 44.
119. Andrén 1976, 22.
120. Nilsén 1979, 24–25, 1986, 409.
121. Nilsén 1986, 409; see above p. 51, 52.
122. Nilsén 1979, 24–25.
123. Nilsén 1986, 195 and note 261.
124. Nilsén 1986, 236.
125. Møller-Christensen 1982, "Syfilis"; Oja 1982, "Syfilis. Finland".
126. FMU 5344, 5346, 5360.
127. If he had suffered from the plague, it is uncertain whether he would ever have had the time write a single letter about his illness. See also Pettersson 1981, 214.
128. Pettersson 1981, 215.
129. Nilsén 1986, 236.
130. FMU 5297.
131. FMU 5354.
132. FMU 5297 note.
133. FMU VI, "Pest".
134. Perdrizet 1908, 107.
135. II Samuel 24:13; Perdrizet 1908, 135.
136. Perdrizet 1908, 109–110.
137. According to the oldest Dominican sources the vision was experienced by St. Francis; Perdrizet 1908, 131.
138. Perdrizet 1908, 130.
139. See Perdrizet 1908, fig. 1 p. 127; Brossolet 1971.
140. Perdrizet 1908, 142–143.
141. Perdrizet 1908, 119, fig. 1, p. 126.
142. Guerrero Lovillo 1949, e.g. Cantiga XXX.
143. Pettersson 1981, 215.
144. In his view, *le thème de Marie s'interposant entre Dieu et les hommes, arretânt avec son manteau les flèches de la colère* probably derives from sermons of reprentance held by St. Bernard of Siena in the early fifteenth century; Perdrizet 1908, 121–123.
145. Petterson 1981, 216.
146. Pettersson 1981, 216.
147. Le Goff 1988, 76.
148. Pirinen 1956, 470.
149. Scott-Bland 1929 II, 313–314.
150. See e.g. Nilsén 1979, 25.
151. Freedberg 1989, 156,159.
152. Nilsén 1979, 26–27.
153. Ward 1893, 592.
154. Wenzel 1971, note 2, including different variants mentioned by Mussafia.
155. Scott-Bland 1929 I, 86–89.
156. Klemming 1877–78, 76–77.
157. Siaelinna thrøst, utg. Henning 1954, 176–177.
158. Arundel ms. 506, BL.
159. Wenzel 1971, 80.
160. See e.g. Scott-Bland 1929 I, 464, 487, 499.
161. Nilsén 1979, 27.
162. Wenzel 1971, 80, and notes, referring to various variants.
163. Nygren 1951.
164. Männikkö 1973.
165. See Nilsén 1979, 28.
166. Nilsén 1979, 27.
167. Nilsén 1979, 28.
168. Letter from Emil Nervander to R. Aspelin 16. 5. 1899, MVHTTA.
169. Egbert 1967, 48; Swartwout 1932, 54.
170. Egbert 1967, 48.
171. Nilsén 1979, 28–29.
172. Klosterläsning, Klemming 1877–78, 103–104.
173. Nilsén 1979, 29.
174. Warren 1885, 80.
175. As suggested by Sixten Ringbom, Kyllikki Männikkö, personal communication, 24. 4. 1992.
176. '*Då jag själv inte har något förslag till en annan tolkning, går jag inte närmare in på denna bild. Det är möjligt att tolkningen är riktig (se Männikkö). Men varken mannens ställning eller hans klädsel karakteriserar honom som jonglör. I ett franskt manuskript i Bibl. de l'Arsenal... gör jonglören en volt.*'Nilsén 1979, 30.
177. I wish to thank my sister Liisa Hakamies-Blomqvist Lic.Phil., for translating the twelfth-century French poem.
178. Illustration in Focillon 1950, pl. XXXII.

179. *Lors li commence a faire saus Bas et petis et grans et haus.*
180. Foerster 1873, lines 171, 172.
181. Op. cit., lines 175–185.
182. See e.g. Svanberg 1970 and cited literature or Faral 1910.
183. Bibliothèque du Roi, No XIII, f. 441; Randall 1966, note 29. In medieval terminology *joculatores* and minstrels were partly synonymous words for both wandering musicians and other performers of tricks, see e.g. Arup Seip 1981, "Leikarar", Wallén 1981, "Leikarar. Sverige och Danmark".
184. Randall 1966.
185. Tib. C. VI., f. 30b; Claud. B. IV, f. 35b; Harl. 4951, f. 298b; Lansd. 420, f. 12b; see Watson 1907, 15.
186. Watson 1907, fig. 2.
187. Watson 1907, fig. 4.
188. Watson 1907, 7.
189. Graevius, Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum, 1699, vol XII, 393–394; see Watson 1907, 9. According to Watson the funerary plaque reads as follows: 'I am Ursus Togatus. I was the first to show skill in playing with balls of glass among my players, to the great applause of the people in the baths of Trajan, Agrippa, and Titus, and very often in those of Nero. Yes, you may be assured that I am Ursus Togatus. Approach, you handlers of balls, strew on the statue of your friend flowers, violets, leaves, and essence of perfume. Pour out the dark Falernian wine, the wine of Setia and Coecubum, taken from the cellar of my master. Vie with one another in celebrating with one accord the old man Ursus, merry, full of jests, a master in handling balls, who excelled all his predecessors in taste, in grace, and in subtilies of the art. Nevertheless, to speak the truth in my old age, I confess that not once but often I was surpassed by my patron, thrice consul, and willingly do I call myself his buffoon.'
190. Watson 1907, 11, 12.
191. Hirn 1982, 49.
192. Watson 1907, 4.
193. Watson 1907, 8.
194. Männikkö 1973, 10.
195. Anatole France's story was published in Finnish translation in 1925. It originally belonged to a collection known as *Etui de nacre*. I wish to thank my mother, Mrs Flora Hakamies, for pointing out to me the existence of France's story.
196. Scott-Bland 1929, I, 25–26, 'Of the conversion of the author'.
197. Nilsén 1986, 397.
198. Randall 1966, 8.
199. Quintilianus, Institutiones oratoriae, liber X, ch. 7, cited according to Watson 1907, 11.
200. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Quintilian'.
201. Jameson 1852, LII.
202. Faral 1910, 133 and passim.
203. Foerster 1873, 317; Wächter 1901, 247.
204. Bibl. Ars. 3516 (283 B.F.), f. 132 r a – 133 v b (present page numbers differ from those used by Wächter), 1268 *Del tumbeor Nostre-Dame*; Bibl. Ars. 3518 (289 B.F.) , f. 88 ff, thirteenth-fourteenth century, *C'est du tumeuur nostre dame*; Bibl. Nat. 1807, f. 142 ff, fourteenth cent., *Le conte dou jugleur*; Bibl. Nat. Nouv. acq. fr. 4276, f. 78 ff, early fourteenth century, *D'un menestrer qui se rendi moynes a qui nostre dame fit grace*; Museum of Chantilly, catalogue number unknown, thirteenth century., *D'un menestrel qui servoit nostre dame de son propre mestier*; Wächter 1901, 223–224.
205. f. 20 b, Herbert 1912, 414–417.
206. Herbert 1912, 414.
207. Strömberg 1944, 77,75; Odenius 1981, 37.
208. Nilsén 1979, 29–30.
209. Henning 1954, 177–178.
210. Scott-Bland 1929, I, 466, 467,535,536,538,539 two, 540, 541, 542, 543.
211. Nilsén 1979, 30–31.
212. Klemming 1877–78, 93–94.
213. Warner MDCCCLXXXV, XXXIII, No LXI, f.87 b.
214. Warner MDCXXXV, XXXIII; Ward 1893, 665; Herbert 1912, 549.
215. Unger 1871, 780–781.
216. I wish to thank Mr Stefán Karlsson MA of Det arnamagnaeanske institut of Reykjavik for checking the translation.
217. Fire is similarly depicted in a painting in vault four of the middle nave in the Church of Lohja, in which the Prophet Daniel destroys a devil-like idol.
218. Nilsén 1979, 25.
219. Le Goff 1990, 118–120.
220. Pylkkänen 1959, 32; Riska 1991, 129.
221. Cf. the altar of St. Martin in Turku Cathedral, where funds were collected for the priests' charitable institution of the Holy Spirit, Rinne 1941, 382.
222. Scott-Bland 1929, 314.
223. Ward 1893, 666; Herbert 1912, 471.
224. Unger 1871, Forord.
225. Vadstena, October 1991.
226. Bloomfield 1952, XIV.
227. The pseudo-epigraphical Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Testament of Reuben, c. 109–106 BC.
228. *Orologium Sapientie*, MS Douce 114, fol. 90, quoted according to Owst 1926, 279.
229. Fearon 1967.
230. Thomas Aquinas, according to Bloomfield 1952, 88.
231. St. Augustine, Mc Guiness 1967; Bloomfield 1952, 43.
232. Bloomfield 1952, 44.
233. Other explanations have also been suggested, see Wenzel 1968, 2.
234. Bloomfield 1952, 13–36.
235. Bloomfield 1952, 34.
236. On the influence of possible Egyptian beliefs, see Blomfield 1952, 61, also containing a discussion on the significance of the numbers seven and eight in contemporary beliefs.
237. Bloomfield 1952, 57.
238. Bloomfield 1952, 59–60; Wenzel 1967, 15–17.
239. Wenzel 1967, 18–19; Bloomfield 1952, 69.
240. Wenzel 1967, 20–21.
241. Bloomfield 1952, 69, 71.
242. As well as a number of other lists, which did not achieve the same importance for this devel-

opment, see Bloomfield 1952.
243. Bloomfield 1952, 72; Wenzel 1967, 23.
244. On the reasons for the 'victory' of acedia, see Wenzel 1967, 29–35.
245. Bloomfield 1952, 72.
246. See e.g. Molland 1982, "Synd"; Kilström 1982, "Synd. Sverige."
247. See e.g. Snyder 1965; Bloomfield 1952; Wenzel 1967.
248. See Bieler 1967.
249. Bloomfield 1952, 97.
250. Wenzel 1967, 69–70.
251. Bloomfield 1952, 97.
252. Wenzel 1967, 70, citing McNeill 1923, 1.
253. Wenzel 1967, 70.
254. The same pope who in a letter from 1216 to King Erik Knutsson of Sweden confirmed the latter's rights to 'the land which the king's predecessors had taken from the hands of the heathens', viz. Finland, Suvanto 1985, 35.
255. Canon XXI, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, McNeill-Gamer 1938, 413; O'Reilly 1988, 83.
256. Wenzel 1967, 70; Gummerus 1900, 24.
257. O'Reilly 1988, 104.
258. Wenzel 1968, 13.
259. O'Reilly 1988, 99, citing Hinnesbuch 1951.
260. Maliniemi 1963, 27.
261. O'Reilly 1988, 99, citing Mosher 1911, 89.
262. Strömberg 1944, 134, 141, 147.
263. The first Dominican convent in Finland was established in 1249 in Turku, the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the country at the time; it was followed in 1349 by a convent in Viipuri on the east border of Finland.
264. Suvanto 1985, 48; Gallén 1980, 174–184; Malin 1925, 193; Strömberg 1944, 38.
265. Gallén 1981, 566.
266. Gallén 1990; Edgren-Hiekkanen 1990.
267. Gustafsson 1990.
268. Strömberg 1944, 38.
269. Gallén 1981, "Dominikanorden"; on the Dominicans, see also Gummerus 1900, 79.
270. Gallén 1981, "Dominikanorden".
271. Strömberg 1944, 39–45.
272. Gummerus 1896, 280, note 1.
273. Strömberg 1944, 174–178.
274. Gummerus 1896, 287–288.
275. Pirinen 1956, 331–332.
276. Wenzel 1967, 11–12.
277. Wenzel 1967, 5.
278. Wenzel 1967, 5–6.
279. Wenzel 1967, 22.
280. Wenzel 1967, 36–37.
281. Wenzel 1967, 64; Voll 1967; Snyder 1965, 46.
282. Wenzel 78, 179. According to Wenzel: 'The most distinctive feature of acedia's history between 400 and 1400 is... not the gradual loss of its spiritual meaning or its deterioration, but rather a continuing process of de-monasticization or secularization in the sense that the concept was carried from the monastery to the saeculum, the world outside the cloister. The ordinary notion of "sloth in God's service" should not be considered as a result of the deterioration of the lofty concept which acedia was in Scholastic summae theologie, but rather as representing the true main line of the concept's development, from which the Scholastic analysis branched off into an area of refined theory, of logical and psychological penetration made with the help of Aristotelian thought', 1967, 179; cf. Bloomfield 1952.
283. Wenzel 1967, 78.
284. Owst 1933, 436.
285. Wenzel 1967, 85.
286. MS Harl. 2398, f. 27–27b, quoted according to Owst 1933, 437.
287. Wenzel 1967, 85–86.
288. See Le Goff 1980.
289. Wenzel 1967, 91–95.
290. Wenzel 1967, 88, 168–169.
291. Wenzel 1967, 171, Summa justitiae, BL MS Harley 632.
292. Wenzel 1967, 149.
293. Mackenzie 1914, 35; see also Howard 1966.
294. See e.g. Katzenellenbogen 1939 (reprinted 1989), O'Reilly 1988 and cited literature.
295. Hieronymus Bosch, 'The Table of Wisdom', El Prado, Madrid; Quentin Metsys, 'Monumental Clock Dial', c. 1500, Stedelijke museum, Louvain.
296. Mâle 1948, 129; O'Reilly 1988, 54.
297. Katzenellenbogen 1989, 13; Evans 1971, 15–16, fig. p. 16.
298. Katzenellenbogen 1989, 11.
299. Katzenellenbogen 1989, 13, note 1.
300. BL Royal 1 B XI, fol. 6 vo.
301. O'Reilly 1988, 66.
302. O'Reilly 1988, 66, 104–105.
303. Millar 1953, 13; O'Reilly 1988, 105.
304. Millar 1953, 13; O'Reilly 1988, 106.
305. Millar 1953, 13–14.
306. Millar 1953, 14.
307. BL Add. 28 162, fol. 10 vo.
308. E.g. BL Add. 54180, fol. 188vo and Bibl. Mazarine, 870, fol. 179 ro.
309. Millar 1953, 51, Bibl. Nat. Mss. franc. 958 and 14939.
310. Katzenellenbogen 1989, 12, 13, note 1.
311. Mâle 1948, 109.
312. E.g. Bibl. Nat. fr. 14939, fol. 112vo; Bibl. Maz. Ms 870, fol. 111 vo.
313. Unger 1871, 975.
314. Wenzel 1967, 133.
315. Owst 1933, 435.
316. Owst 1933, 436.
317. Translated by J.F. Goodridge 1966.
318. Colmar, Unterlinden Museum.
319. Cf. e.g. E.S. Master, *Ars Moriendi* c. 1460; Kunzle 1973, figs. 1–2.
320. Letter to the author 1991.
321. Chew 1962.
322. Also published by David Kunzle in 'The Early Comic Strip', 1973, 265 .
323. Kunzle 1973, 265–266.
324. Kunzle 1973, 259; Chew 1962, fig. 77.
325. Kunzle 1973, 259; Vetter 1955, VI, XXII.
326. Vetter 1955, IX–XXI; Wood 1912–1913.
327. Kunzle 1973, 259; Vetter 1955, XXIV.
328. Kunzle 1973, 259.
329. Kunzle 1973, fig. 9–6/3.
330. E.g. Marlowe's 'Doctor Faustus'.
331. Snyder 1965, 26–27.
332. Snyder 1965, 18.

333. Snyder 1965, 49.
334. Snyder 1965, 59.
335. Snyder 1965, 22, 25.
336. Bibl. Nat. Ms. fr. 409, fol. 40ro.
337. Snyder 1965, 46.
338. Wenzel 1967, 150–152; O'Reilly 1988, 313.
339. Wenzel 1967, 103.
340. Snyder 1965, 42.
341. Pirinen 1956, 482.
342. BL Stowe 39.2, fol. 32v.
343. Told by Aleks Seppänen, born 1877.
344. Told by Alfred Leskinen.
345. Told by Katri Kääriö.
346. Wenzel 1967, 153; Edgren 1979, and cited literature.
347. Edgren 1979, 55; Wenzel 1967, 150.
348. Wenzel 1967, 153.
349. Pp.174–180, other sections from *Fra diakna er sa pukann skrifa*, pp. 1142–1145 and *Af einum subdiakne*, pp. 1145–1147.
350. Unger 1871, IV.
351. Herbert 1912, 19, 568, see also p. 584.
352. See Strömberg 1944.
353. Haavio 1935, 345–346.
354. Edgren 1979.
355. Söderberg 1942, 309.
356. Nilsén 1986, 415–416.
357. The altar frontal is mentioned in (at least) the following works: M. Jourdain, Embroideries in the Possession of St. John's College, Oxford. Connoisseur 1916; Royal Academy Exhibition of British Primitives. 1923; Illustrated Catalogue of English Decorative Art at Landsowne House. 1929; Victoria and Albert Museum. Exhibition of English Mediaeval Art 1930.
358. Information on the dalmatica supplied by The Victoria and Albert Museum.
359. Information from Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.
360. Seligman 1923, 303.
361. Written reply from Dr. Donald King to this author, 2. 2. 1990.
362. Künstle 1928, 207.
363. Künstle 1928, 207–208.
364. Campbell Dodgson 1934, PL. CXVII b.
365. VI, 1866, 256.
366. Künstle 1928, 207–208.
367. The plaque and text are at present in the St. Anne Museum in Lübeck, Inventar 1948/149. Cameron 1940, 323–324, 1970, 61.
368. Text according to Cameron 1940, 323.
369. Esser 1902, 802; Kneller 1904, 396.
370. Esser 1902, 50.
371. Letter of indulgence; other early letters of indulgence from 1435 (Räntämäki), 1441 (Turku two letters), 1450 (Rymättylä); Bringeus 1958, 85; Klockars 1955, 174.
372. See Esser 1902; Steidl 1918, 137.
373. Esser 1902, 42, 83; on letters of indulgence repeating this order, see also Bringeus 1958, 84, 96.
374. Cf. Andrén 1976, 22.
375. See e.g. Bringeus 1958, 227; Edsman 1980; Honko 1980; Ström 1980.
376. Bringeus 1958, 79–82.
377. Esser 1902, 789.
378. Cf. e.g. Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus*.
379. Esser 1902, 790–791.
380. Maliniemi 1955, 94.
381. de Marco 1967.
382. Personal communication by Monica Hedlund, October 1991.
383. See Bihlmeyer 1907; also Macey 1980.
384. *L'Horloge de Sapience*, Ms. Bibl. Royale de Belgique f. XIII vo, published in Michel 1960, Fig. 1.
385. Waller 1877, 233; Caiger-Smith 1963, 163.
386. In addition, there is on the same wall a painting of St. Christopher and a series of scenes from the legend of St. Catherine. Painted above the arch separating the choir are the instruments of Christ's suffering. Caiger-Smith dates the paintings to the end of the fifteenth century (Caiger-Smith 1963, 163); David Park dates them to the beginning of the century (personal communication May 1991).
387. Waller 1877, 221.
388. Fresco from 1338 by Ambrosio Lorenzetti in Siena.
389. Macey 1987, 43; see also Mâle 1986, s. 288; Le Goff 1982, 52. Since Augustine, medieval theologians stressed the importance of temperance. Richard of St. Victor, among others, underlined the principle of virtue as affection ordered and tempered. Also Bonaventura regards vice as resulting from an excess of one emotion; despair, for example, is a product of excessive fear, while insufficient fear leads to the opposite peril, overconfidence in God's mercy; see. Snyder 1965.
390. See Bilfinger 1892.
391. See e.g. Boorstin 1983, Cipolla 1967, Le Goff 1982, and Landes 1983, 59–63 especially on the development of the hours of prayer.
392. See Le Goff 1982.
393. Le Goff 1982, 44–45.
394. Boorstin 1983, 37–38.
395. Landes 1983, 69.
396. Cipolla 1967, 39.
397. Cipolla 1967, 40.
398. Cipolla 1967, 40–41; Boorstin 1983, 39.
399. Landes 1983, 74–75.
400. Boorstin 1983, 37.
401. Boorstin 1983, 45.
402. Le Goff 1982, 50.
403. Le Goff 1982, 50.
404. Le Goff 1982, 50–51.
405. On the significance of time for the concepts of the Christian church, see Russell 1966.
406. Cleve 1982, "Urmageri. Finland".
407. For example, in medieval French the word *horloge* began to mean a mechanical clock, and the word *cloche* was introduced for *church bell*, see e.g. Landes 1983, 68.
408. Stiesdal 1990, 71.
409. See Macey 1987.
410. Apparently with the exception of Finland; in view of the situtation in Sweden (see Norberg 1982, 355–357) it seems possible that also Finnish convents and monasteries may have had clocks of some kind, but no information on them has survived.
411. Norberg 1982, 356–357.
412. Norberg 1982, 357; Sidenbladh 1947, 9; Cipolla 1967, 52.

413. Lindblom 1953, 27.
414. Lindblom 1953, 27–28.
415. Lindblom 1953, 73–74.
416. Ullén 1990, 178–179.
417. Odenius 1968, 10, quoting Sundquist 1960, 81–100.
418. Odenius 1968 10–14.
419. Odenius 1968, 14.
420. Thirty-one antemensals have been preserved in Norway, forming the largest group of contemporary European paintings of this kind, Wichström 1981, 255.
421. Information supplied by Den ikonografiske registrant i Norge, Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo.
422. Anker 1971; Anker 1976; Wichström 1981.
423. Nordhagen 1972.
424. Wichström 1981, 289.
425. Wichström 1981, 288.
426. See e.g. Unger 1871, 282–297, 577–578, 1185–1187. The paintings were first identified by Bendixen 1894/95, see Anker 1971, 12–14.
427. Unger 1871, 140–143, 990–993; Bendixen 1984/5; Lindblom 1916, 204–205; Anker 1971, 14–15.
428. Unger 1871, 121–126, 900–904; Anker 1976, 27.
429. There may have been more of these, see Nordhagen 1972, 112.
430. Unger 1871, 808; Anker 1971, 17–18.
431. Unger 1871, 813.
432. Unger 1871, 813–815; Anker 1971, 17.
433. Wichström 1981, 304–307, 289.
434. Nordhagen 1972, 110.
435. Anker 1976, 30; Kaland 1982, 170, 177.
436. Mackeprang 1926, 93–95.
437. Unger 1871, 767–769, 193–198; Mackeprang 1926, 90–91.
438. Unger 1871, 863–869.
439. Unger 1871, XXII.
440. Kristjánsson et al. 1982.
441. The story of Reginald (Reynaldus) was one of the originally Cistercian legends which the Dominicans later adopted to demonstrate the special position of their own order, Lindblom 1916, 201.
442. Nordhagen 1972, 113–114.
443. Lindblom 1916, 202.
444. See e.g. Anker 1971, 1976.
445. Gallén 1946, 84–86.
446. E.g. Anker 1976, 30.
447. Gallén 1946, 83–87. According to Gallén, also the family of Eufemia, who was known for her literary pursuits, had connections with the Dominicans. Her grandfather, Prince Witzlaw of Rügen who died in Oslo in 1302, bequeathed money to all the convents in the town, Gallén 1946, 87.
448. See e.g. Ståhle 1981, "Eufemiavisorna" and cited literature.
449. Ståhle 1981, "Eufemiavisorna".
450. Cod.Holm. D 3 and D 4, see Stevens 1847, 1874.
451. See e.g. Lindblom 1916, table on p. 179.
452. Ullén 1990, 181.
453. Lindblom 1916, 190.
454. Mâle 1953, 426.
455. Mâle 1953, 428–430.
456. Mâle 1953, 431.
457. Early Christian art already portrayed Mary alone, but in these depictions she was a static *orans* figure, and not a part of a narrative picture, see e.g. Beissel 1909.
458. Mâle 1953, 434.
459. Fryer 1935, 292–293, 325; Labourdette 1979; Cothren 1984, 324. Fryer describes the contents of the relief as follows:

'I. Theophilus signs the bond. Satan, emaciated, naked except for vandyked loin cloth made of beads, hideous head, low forehead, wide mouth showing teeth, protruding eyes, animal ears, one horn on head and cock's spurs on calves. He holds bond with both hands while Theophilus signs it in his blood.

II. The oath of allegiance. Satan as in no. i; except for added "frightfulness", the imager has given him one claw foot and one cloven hoof instead of human feet, and two horns instead of one. Theophilus is taking the oath of fealty and has raised his hands, palm to palm, and Satan has placed his over them.

III. The return of the bond to Theophilus. Theophilus after his long vigil and prayers to the Virgin to recover the bond has fallen asleep before the church he has built to her honour. The Romanesque church leans against the belfry of three stories surmounted by a short spire at an angle approaching ninety degrees, while a circular column beneath assist to secure its preservation. The clouds above are portrayed in sculpture resembling foliage or valences with many folds, the Blessed Virgin in kirtle, mantle and veil has descended and placed the bond she has recovered from the Devil on the sleeping Theophilus. Her face is older than Art usually represents her and an attendant angel, nimbed and with outspread wings, lays one hand on Theophilus and rests the other on the shoulder of the Virgin." p. 325.

460. E.g. in the Cathedral of Laon eighteen different scenes of the legend are depicted, Fryer 1935, 329.
461. CHARTRES: Mâle 1948, 260, note 4, Cothren 1984, 310, note 11, Delaporte-Houvet 1926; LAON: Cothren 1984, 335, Fryer 1935, 329–40, Grodecki et al. 1978; LE MANS: Cothren 1984, 336, Fryer 1935, 327, Mâle 1948, 263–266, Hucher 1864; AUXERRE: see Cothren 1984, 336; TROYES: Cothren 1984, 336, Lafond 1955, Marsat 1977; BEAUVAIS: Cothren 1984, 337, Bonnet-Laborderie 1975; SAINT-JULIEN-DU-SAULT: Cothren 1984, 336, Lafond 1958; CLERMONT FERRAND: Cothren 1984, 337, Fryer 1935, 328–329, du Ranquet 1932; ANGERS: Cothren 1984, 335; DREUX: Cothren 1984, 335, Les vitraux du Centre et des pays de la Loire. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, 2, Paris 1981; GERCY: Cothren 1984, 335, Grodecki 1953; PARIS: Mâle 1948, 261, Fryer 1935, 326–327.
462. Fryer 1935, 311, note 1; Cothren 1984, 310, note 11.
463. On all these, see Mâle 1986, 192, note 177, Fryer 1935, 310, note 1; Montangon and Le Grand-Andely: Fryer 1935, 331, 332.
464. Mâle 1948, 261.

465. Mâle 1948, 260.
466. Mâle 1948, 262.
467. Mâle 1948, 263, 266.
468. See also Mâle 1986, 192.
469. Delaporte-Houvet 1926.
470. Mâle 1948, 260, note 4.
471. Hucher 1864, pl. 88.
472. Mâle 1948, 266.
473. Cothren 1984, 310, note 11; Papanicolau 1979, 135–136.
474. Fryer 1935, 310; Mâle 1986, 192.
475. Mâle 1986, 192.
476. Cothren 1984.
477. Cothren 1984, 333–334.
478. Cothren 1984, 333.
479. Lafond 1946, 132–133.
480. Lafond 1946, 150; Marks 1987, 140; see also Morgan 1983, Fryer 1935, 317 and Woodforde 1954, 3.
481. Fryer 1935, 294; Lafond 1946, 133.
482. James 1901.
483. Marks 1987, 143; Woodforde 1954, 3; Lafond 1946, 133 dates the medallions to the first half of the thirteenth century.
484. James 1928–29, 16. Gibson's 'The stained and painted glass of York Minster' (Gibson 1979) does not mention the Marian miracle motifs, nor are they mentioned by Harrison 1927 and 1940, Knowles 1936, or Connor and Haselock 1977. The works at York Minster have not been published *in toto* in the series Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, England.
485. James 1895, 121–190.
486. In the 1330s, Tracy 1987, 428.
487. Beverley Minster, Visitor's questions answered. London 1945; Hall 1973; Stone 1955.
488. James 1895, list of identified sculptures; Coldstream 1987, 95–96. Coldstream discusses Lady Chapel also in the Barbara Dodwell *festschrift*. Unfortunately this article was not available for the present study.
489. Ladds 1930.
490. Caiger-Smith 1963, 71, 132.
491. Tristram 1955, 150–151; see also Phipps 1902, containig the architectural history of the church and descriptions of paintings, including several other Marian motifs.
492. James 1928–29; 1908; Bensly 1908.
493. Borenius-Tristram 1927, 43.
494. James 1928–29, Diagram on p. 36.
495. James 1928–29, 16.
496. James 1928–29, 1–4.
497. Tristram 1928–29, 41.
498. Tristram 1928–29, 42–43. The accounts of Eton College for 1560 mention payment to a barber 'wypinge oute' the paintings, i.e. whitewashing them. In 1847 large-scale alterations were carried out in the choir, in which connection earlier layers of paint were removed, revealing the paintings. Some of the upper paintings were, however, destroyed before their value could be recognized. The paintings raised wide interest; among other, Prince Albert inspected them and spoke in favour of their conservation. The paintings were on view for seven months, during which time the artist R.H. Essex was employed to make pencil drawings of them, and Mesdamoiselles Charlotte, Georgina and Eleanor Crust were permitted 'of their own strong interest in art' to make a series of lithographs of them. When the new choir benches were being installed, all traces of the paintings visible above the canopies were removed, and the remainig parts were onscured by the benches. The paintings were again revealed in 1923 in connection with an 'Exhibition of British Primitives'. At this time Professor Tristram, using the earlier drawings, painted part of the works on separate panels, which were placed among the paintings; James-Tristram 1928–29, 5–12.
499. Tristram 1928–29, 42 and guide booklet on Lady Chapel in Winchester Cathedral.
500. James 1928–29, 15.
501. Lyte 1911, 1.
502. Lyte 1911, 1–2; on Wykeham see e.g. Winchester College 1393–1893 by Old Wykehamists. London 1893 and Winchester: Its History, Buildings and People. By the W.C.A.S., Winchester 1933.
503. Lyte 1911, 3–7.
504. Waterton 1879, 28–29.
505. Lyte 1911, 14.
506. Lyte 1911, 19.
507. Lyte 1911, 19.
508. Lyte 1911, 60–62.
509. Lyte 1911, 66.
510. Lyte 1911, 72.
511. Lyte 1911, 75.
512. Lyte 1911, 89.
513. Lyte 1911, 82.
514. Lyte 1911, 83.
515. James 1928–29, 23.
516. E.g. 'Late medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library. Harvard University. Houghton Library 1983' by Roger S. Wieck mentions only the number of images and not their content, and is thus useless for art-historical studies. On the other hand, M.R. James's 'A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge 1895' remains an example of an excellent catalogue for inconographic purposes.
517. A Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles.
518. Part of the work is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.913.
519. Morgan 1982, 118–119.
520. BL Add. 49999, Book of Hours, c. 1240; London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 209, Apocalypse in Latin with gloss, The Lambeth Apocalypse, c. 1260–70; BL MS Royal I.D.I, Bible of William of Devon, c. 1260–70; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.756, The Cuerdon Psalter, c. 1270; Madresfield Court, Earl Beauchamp MS M, Madresfield Hours, c. 1320–30; BL MS Royal 2.B.VII, Queen Mary Psalter, c. 1310–1320; BL MS Yates Thompson 13, Taymouth Hours, c. 1325–1335; BL MS Royal 10.E.IV, Decretals of Gregory IX with marginal gloss of Bernard of Parma, Smithfield Decretals, c. 1330–40; BL Add. MS 42130, The Luttrell Psalter, c. 1335–40; BL MS Egerton 2781, Hours of the Virgin, c. 1340–50; Cambridge,

Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48, Hours of the Virgin, Carew-Poyntz Hours, c. 1350–60; BL MS Egerton 3277, Psalter and Hours of the Virgin, Bohun Psalter, c. 1361–1373; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.4.4., Psalter and Hours of the Virgin, Bohun Hours, c. 1380; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Thott 547, 4o, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of Mary de Bohun, c. 1380–94; Morgan 1982, 1987 and Sandler 1986.

521. Beginning with the Madresfield Hours, and containing four of them, Sandler 1986 II, 42–43.
522. An Apocalyptic Madonna surrounded by male dignitaries in prayer is depicted e.g. in Bibliothèque National, Paris, MS Nouv. Acq. Lat. 183, Heures à l'usage de Paris, fol. 25 or Ms.Lat. 10548, Book of Hours, use of Paris (in the same library), which was possibly made for Francois II, Duke of Brittany, and shows an Apocalyptic Madonna surrounded by angels playing instruments, both fifteenth cent., or Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut, in the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris, dated c. 1420, in which the owner is shown in the lower part of the image, praying before an altar; in the upper part is a half-portrait of the Apocalyptic Madonna. Examples of the Madonna of Mercy include ÖNB MS 1855 (Vienna), Book of Hours, attrib. to the Master of the Bedford Hours, French fifteenth cent., in which the Madonna is shown with an ermine cloak on her shoulders, the Infant on her arm, and ecclecsiastical and worldly dignitaries seeking protection under her cloak, and Aschaffenburg, Schlossbibl. MS 3, Book of Hours, Flemish fifteenth cent., Group of the Master of the Gold Scrolls, in which the Virgin spreads her ermine cloak with both hands while holding small arrows between her thumb and forefinger. On praying figures shown together with Mary, see Naughton 1992.
523. For example, there is listed in the collections of the John Rylands Library in Manchester an Horae etc. Normandy, written in France 1501, with Festum b. Marie ad Nives; in connection with the Lessons the initial is illustrated with a scene from the legend of Theophilus, see James 1921, 112–114. In the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum are two corresponding works, both written in France between 1500 and 1510; in the margin of one is a scene from the legend of Theophilus, and in the margin of the other also a scene from the Theophilus legend, and a scene from the story of Mary rescuing a shipwrecked monk; see James 1895, 112.
524. Cothren 1984, s. 326, notes 27 and 28, p. 340, and Ducrot-Granderye 1932, containing a list of illuminated exemplars.
525. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Fr. Nouv. Acq. 24541.
526. Laborde 1929, 11; Focillon 1950; Avril 1978, 20.
527. Warner MDCCCLXXXV.
528. Warner MDCCCLXXXV, I–V.
529. Warner MDCCCXXXV, IV.
530. Randall 1966, 8–10, 20.
531. These had strong ideological import as a metaphor of the Virgin's immaculate conception, and because of the disputes related to this concept, see e.g. Roelvink 1990, 140.
532. On this subject, see e.g. Harbison 1985 and Ringbom 1965.
533. Pettersson 1981, 214–215.
534. I wish to thank Father Martti Voutilainen, O.P., of the Studium Catholicum in Helsinki for discussions that helped clarify the concept of votive. On votive gifts, see e.g. Freedberg 1989.
535. Nilsén 1986, 486.
536. Pirinen 1956, 389.
537. Pirinen 1956, 386.
538. Pirinen 1956, 387–389.
539. Pirinen 1956, 388–389.
540. '*av förnämitetsskäl omvänd ordning*'.
541. Pettersson 1981, 213.
542. Norberg 1980, "Donatorsbilder"; heraldic devices as the 'portraits' of their owners are characteristic not only of wall-paintings, according Wieck 1988, 34–35 also medieval Books of Hours began to contain an increasing number of the coats-of-arms rather than the portraits of their owners. This was based on the development of heraldry, the science of genealogical identification and a means of precise recognition for individual knights, into a functioning system, whereby a coat-of-arms was nearly as distinctive a mark of one's individuality as a personal portrait.
543. As seen in the cost of burial sites: according to a late-medieval church tax regulation concerning Häme, a grave site in the Cathedral of Turku cost ten marks, five marks in a stone church, and three marks in a wooden church, Pirinen 1981, 477.
544. Cf. Pirinen 1956, 477.
545. Nilsén 1986, 397.
546. Cf. Humphrey Mills' poem 'An Indightment against Death by Life, being plaintiffe' from 1639, in which Life, appealing to God, delivers a long harangue on Death's misdeeds in afflicting families, lovers, and friends. Finally, God pronounces judgment, sentencing not only Death but Sin to destruction. At this moment Satan appears and sues for reprieves for both Sin and Death. God rebukes Satan but for his own purposes grants the reprieves, declaring, however, that both shall be punished in the end. Chew 1962, 5-6.
547. Fraenger 1975, 267–268.
548. Anna Nilsén assumes that the image possibly depicts the four main virgins praying on their knees to Mary to ask Jesus to have mercy on sinful mankind, Nilsen 1979, 30. The theme, however, is the betrothal of St. Catherine, as already suggested by Nervander. The depiction has parallels (although I have not found a direct model), e.g. in French late-medieval manuscripts, i.a. Ms.fr. 6449, "Vie de sainte Catherine" (1457) in the Bibliothèque National in Paris. Also in the Church of Lohja the theme is similarly depicted, although the other kneeling virgins are lacking.
549. Ringbom 1991, 20; see also Ringbom 1969; Ringbom 1965.
550. Most recently 1986 and 1991.
551. Riska 1991, 194–195.
552. This painting is 'The Painter and the Devil', Nilsén 1986, 396.

553. See Fett, *En isländsk Tegnebok*; Gudbjörg Kristjansdottir, MA, of Iceland is publishing a new, thorough study on this subject.
554. Riska 1991, 143.
555. Riska 1991, 143.
556. Morgan 1982, 118.
557. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Barlow 22 S.C. 6461. I have not been able to verify the origin of this information.
558. In addition to supporting Eton college, he also established Magdalen College at Oxford, see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1965, Waynflete.
559. Riska 1991, 143–145.
560. Real Biblioteca, Escorial T.I.I. fol 109 ro.
561. See e.g. Hakamies 1958.
562. Foerster 1873, 316, note 1.
563. Mâle 1986, 200–201, fig. 116, 117, Blockbook of the Song of Songs, London, BL, I.B.46, fol. XIIr, IV.

Notes to chapter V

1. Nervander 1896.
2. Pettersson 1981, 215.
3. Pylkkänen 1959, 19; Pettersson 1981, 216.
4. Nygren 1945, 102–105; Pettersson 1981, 216; Riska 1991, 134.
5. Malin 1925, 251–252.
6. Riska 1991, 164–165.
7. 'utgående från samma skola', Nygren 1957, 188.
8. Nervander 1896; Wennervirta 1937, 148–149; Nordman 1956, 10; Pettersson 1981, 215–216.
9. Pylkkänen 1959, 19; Riska 1991, 143.
10. Pettersson 1981, 216.
11. Wennervirta 1937, 148; Nygren 1957, 188.
12. Riska 1991, 143.
13. Pettersson 1981, 216.
14. Edgren 1990, 116.
15. Riska 1991, 172, and discussions with this author.
16. Pylkkänen 1959, 32 et seq.; Riska 1991, 187.
17. Rinne 1941, 358.
18. Rinne 1941, fig. 109.
19. Pirinen 1991, 217.
20. The priests' altar, Rinne 1941, 358.
21. Rinne 1948, 3.
22. Pirinen 1956, 72 corrects mistaken information given in Rinne 1948, 6.
23. Pirinen 1956, 422.
24. Riska 1991, 139, 143.
25. FMU 3853; Riska 1991, 139; Pirinen 1956, 325; 1991, 223.
26. Pirinen 1956, 74–76, 154, 158–159, 195–196.
27. Pirinen 1956, 473.
28. Pirinen 1956, 485–487; Bekker-Nielsen – Widding, Nisbeth 1982, 'Rosenkrans'.
29. Scwarz Lausten 1982, 'Rosenkransbroderskab'; Pirinen 1956, 484–485.
30. Pirinen1956, 486.
31. See e.g. Nisbeth 1982, 'Rosenkrans'.
32. Nygren 1951, 60.
33. Nygren 1951, 61.
34. Riska 1991, 195; cf. Riska 1991, 143.
35. Pirinen 1956, 224.
36. Cf. Riska 1991, 143.
37. See Riska 1991, 195.
38. Nilsén 1986, 486, 488.
39. Pirinen 1956, 471.
40. O'Reilly 1988, 230–231.
41. O'Reilly 1988, 231, 234.
42. O'Reilly 1988, 231.
43. Pirinen 1956, 471–472.
44. Roelvink 1990.
45. Riska 1991, 195; Malin 1925, 226–227.
46. FMU IV, pp. 219, 220; Rein 1944, 40–41; Riska 1991, 195; Neovius 1907, 14.
47. Riska 1991, 195.
48. Pirinen 1956, 472–473; Malin 925, 235–240; Suomi 1979, 36, 40–44.
49. C 3, fol. 33b–34a, Malin 1927, 10 and note 1 on same page.
50. von Bonsdorff-Kempff 1990, 281; Malin 1927, 10, note 1.
51 Norberg 1980, 'Birgittinsk konst'.
52. Pirinen 1956, 333.
53. Pirinen 1956, 333–334.
54. Pirinen 1956, 440.

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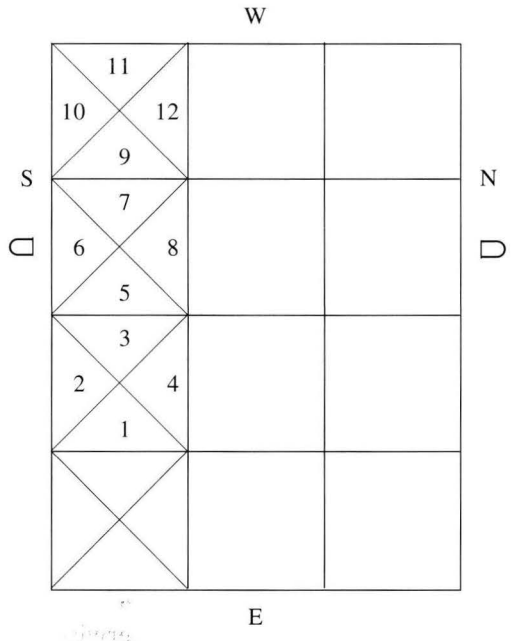
APPENDIX 1

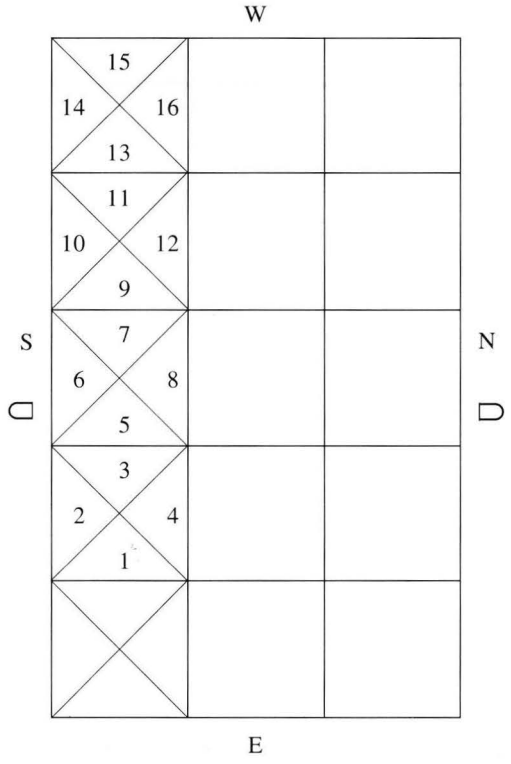
HATTULA



1. Mater Misericordiae
2. Mary and People at Prayer
3. Mary and the Aquitanian Youth
4. The Painter and the Devil
5. Mary and the English Priest
6. The Betrothal of St. Catherine
7. The Angelus
8. The Banquet for Sinners

9.–12. Jesus as Healer

LOHJA



1. Mater Misericordiae
2. The Stoning of St. Stephen
3. St. Lawrence Giving Alms
4. The Death of St. Lawrence
5. Mary and the Aquitanian Youth
6. Mary and People at Prayer
7. The Angelus
8. The Banquet for Sinners
9. The Painter and the Devil
10. Ornaments
11. Mary and the Dying Monk
12. Mary and the Drowning Boy
13. Mary and the Unicorn
14. The Miserly Priest in Purgatory
15. The Tiburtine Sibyl
16. Jesus and Lazarus

APPENDIX 2

Our Lady's Tumbler. A Twelfth-Century Legend transcribed from the French by Rev. P.H. Wicksteed. London & Toronto 1930.

In the lives of the ancient fathers, where is store of goodly matter, is told a certain tale. Now I will not say that others full as fair may not be heard – ay! many a one – but I say that this is not to be so scorned but it is worth narrating. I will therefore tell you and relate of what befell a certain minstrel.

He wandered so far to and fro, over so many a plot and place, that he grew a-weary of the world and gave himself up to a Holy Order. Horses and robes and money, and whatsoever he had he straight surrendered to it, and clean dismissed himself from the world, resolved never again to set teeth in it. Wherefore he entered that Holy Order – as folk say – in Clairvaux. And when this dancer had given himself to it, albeit he was well adorned and beauteous, comely and well made, he knew no trade that he could ply therein. For all his life he had spent in tumbling and leaping and dancing. How to trip and spring he understood, but naught beside, for he had conned no other lesson – nor pater noster, nor chant, no credo, no ave, nor aught that might make for his salvation.

When he had entered the Order, he saw those folk high-shorn converse by signs, while no sound passed their lips; and he supposed for sure that they could speak no otherwise. But presently he learned the truth, and knew that for penance they were forbidden to speak, therefore somewhiles they were silent; whereat it came to his mind that he too ought often to keep his silence; and he held his peace so meekly and so long, he had not spoken all the day had they not bidden him to do it; whereat there was no little laughter many time. The man was all abashed amongst them, for he knew not to do or say aught with which they were busied there, and he was sore grieved and sad thereat. He beheld the monks and the converts, as each one served God here and there according to such office as he held. He saw the priests at the altars, for such was their duty, the deacons at the gospels, the sub-deacons at the vigils, while the acolytes stood ready for their epistles, in due time. One recites verses, and another a lesson, and the choristers are at the psalters, and the converts at the misereres – for so they order their lamentings – and even the simplest at pater nosters. Through offices and cloisters he gazes everywhere, up and down, and sees in remote recesses here five, here three, here two, here one. He looks fixedly, if he may, at every one. The one has to lament, the other weep, a third to groan and sigh. Much he wonders what ails them. "Holy Mary!" he says, "what ails these folk that they bear them thus and show such grief" Methinks they are perturbed indeed, that they all make such lamentations." Then he added, "Holy Mary! -ah! woe is me, what have I said! I trow they are praying God for mercy. But, O wretched me! what am I doing? For there is none here so caitiff but who vies with all the rest in serving God after his trade; but I had no business here, for I know not what to do or to say. A very wretch was I when I gave myself to the Order, for I knew no prayer, nor aught that is good. I see them – one before and another behind – while I only walk with nose in air and consume victuals for nothing. If I am found out in this I shall foully fall, for they will thrust me out to the dogs. And here am I, a strong villain, doing naught but eat. Verily I am wretched in a high degree". Then in despite he wept for woe, and for his part would he were dead. "Holy Mary! Mother!" he said, "do pray your Sovereign Father that He hold me in His pleasure,

and send me His good counsel, that I may have power to serve Him and you, and may earn the victuals that I take: for I know well that I misreceive them."

Thus maddened with grief he went his way, till, searching through the monastery, he came upon a crypt, and crouched down by an altar, pressing up as close to it as might be. Above the altar was the form of my Lady, the Holy Mary. He had not lost his way when he came to that place! No, verily, for God, who well knows how to call His own to Him, led him there. When he heard them sound for Mass he leapt up, all dismayed. Now each one will say his stave, and here am I like a tethered ox, doing naught but browse, and spoiling victuals for no good. – Shall I say it? Shall I do it? By the Mother of God I will! I shall ne'er be blamed for it, if I do what I have learned, and serve the Mother of God in her monastery according to my trade. The rest serve in chanting, and I will serve in tumbling!"

He removes his cloak and strips himself, and lays his clothes beside the altar; but, that the flesh be not all naked, he keeps on an undercoat, right fine and thin, scarce more than a shift. Then he stood, just in his body, well girt and adorned. He girds his coat and takes his stand, turns towards the image right humbly, and looks upon it. "Lady", says he, "to your protection I commend my body and my soul. Sweet Queen, sweet Lady, despise not what I know: for I would fain essay to serve you in good faith, if God aid me, without guile. I can nor chant, nor read to you; but, certes, I would pick for you a choice of all my finest feats. Now, may I be like the bullcalf that leaps and bounds before his mother. Lady, who art no whit bitter to such as serve you truly, whatsoever I am, may it be for you." Then he began his leaps before her, low and small, great and high, first under and then over. Then he threw himself on his knees again before the image, and saluted it. "Ah!" he says, "all-sweet Queen! of your pity and of your frankness, despise not my service." Then he tumbled and leapt, and made, in festal guise, the vault of Metz around his head. He saluted the image and adored it, and honoured it with all his might. Then he did the French vault and then the vault of Champagne, and then he did the Spanish vault and then the vaults they do in Brittany, and then the vault of Lorraine, and strained himself to do the best of all his power. Then he did the Roman vault, and put his hand before his brow and danced so featly as he gazed right humbly at the image of the Mother of God. "Lady", he said, "this is a choice performance. I do it for no other but for you; so aid me God, I do not – for you and for your Son! And this I dare avouch and boast, that for me it is no playwork. But I am serving you, and that pays me. The others serve, and so do I. Lady, despise not your slave, for I serve you for your disport. Lady, you are the Monjoie that kindles all the world." Then he tumbled with his feet up in the air, walked and went on his two hands that he might journey closer to the ground. He twists with his feet and weeps with his eyes. "Lady", he says, "I adore you with heart and body, feet and hands, for I can nor more nor less. Henceforth I will ever be your minstrel. They shall sing in there together, and I will come here to entertain you. Lady, you can guide me. For God's sake do not despise me." Then he beat his breasts in penitence, he sighed and wept right tenderly, for he knew not how else to pray. Then he turned back and made a leap. "Lady", he said, "so save me God, I ne'er did that before! This does not rank among inferior feats, and is all new. Lady! what fill of joyance should he have who might abide with you in your glorious manor. For god's sake, Lady, receive me therein, for I am yours, and no whit my own." Then he did the vault of Metz again, and tumbled and danced right there. And when he heard them raise the chants he laid to in right good earnest, and as long as the Mass lasted his body did not cease to dance and trip and leap, till he waxed so

faint he might no longer stand upon his feet, but fell upon the ground and dropped for very weariness. And as blood drips from the spit so the sweat started from him, head to foot, from end to end. "Lady", he said, "I can do no more now; but, indeed, I'll come again." With heat he seemed all burning. He puts on his vestments again, and when he is clothed salutes the image and goes his way. "Adieu", he says, "sweetest friend. For God's sake be not cast down, for if I can I will come again. At every hour I would serve you the very best that may be, if it please you, and if I can." Then he went away, still looking at the image. "Lady", he said, "what pity that I know not all those psalters! Right gladly would I say them for love of you, most sweet Lady. To you I commend my body and my soul."

This life he led a long time, for at every hour thenceforth he went to render his service and his homage before the image; for he took marvellous delight therein, and did it with a right good-will, so that no day was ever so weary but what he did hid best therein to entertain the Mother of God; and never did he desire other sport. Now they knew, of course, that he went every day into the crypt, but no man on earth knew, save God, what it was that he did there, nor would he, for all the wealth the world possesses, have had any know his doings save only the Lord God alone. For he well believed that so soon as they should know they would chase him out and force him into the world again, which is all seething him with sins, and he would liefer die than ever be bitten again by sin. But God, who knew his meaning, and how great was his compunction, and the leave that made him do it, would not have his deed concealed. Rather did the Sire will and decree that the doings of His friend should be known and manifested, for His Mother's sake, whom he had fêted, and that all should know and understand and perceive that God rejects no one who comes to Him in love, of whatsoever trade he be, if only he love God and do right.

Now, do you suppose that God would have prized his service had he not loved? Not a whit, however much he tumbled! But it was his love that He prized. Do penance and toil all you may, keep fast and vigil all you may, weep all you may and sigh, groan and pray, and give yourself to discipline, and go to Mass and matin, and give all you have, and pay all you owe: yet, if you love not God with all your heart, all those good things are thrown away – be well assured – and avail you naught at all for salvation; for without love and without pity all labour counts for nothing. God asks not gold nor silver, but only true love in folks' hearts. And this man loved God unfeigningly, and that was why God prized his service.

So went it with the good man long space. I cannot number you the years that the good man was thus in ease; but the time came when he was very ill at ease: for a monk took note of him, and blamed him much in his heart for that he came not to matins. He wandered what became of him, and said that he would never stop till he knew what sort of a man this was, and for what he was forth, and how he earned his bread. The monk observed and tracked and spied him out until he plainly saw him playing his trade without disguise, as I have told you. "In faith", said he, "here is fine sport! and methinks greater doings than all the rest of ours put together" There are the others at their orisons, and toiling for the houses, while he is dancing as proudly as if he had a hundred marks in silver. He does his business in good style, and verily he pays us all he owes. It is a goodly way of doing it – for us to chant for him and him to tumble for us! We pay for him and he for us. If we do weep, he gives us quits. Would all the convent could see him as I do – if I had to fast till nightfall for it! Not a soul, I trow, could keep from laughing if they saw the fury with which this wretch goes killing himself, as he throws himself into his tumbling

and gives himself no mercy. May God count it for penance! for he does it without guile. And, for my part in sooth, I think no ill of it; for I take it he does according to his lights and in good faith, because he would fain not be idle." This the monk saw with his eyes at all the hours of the day, as he worked and rested not. Much did he laugh and much rejoice, and feel delight and pity.

He went to the Abbot and told him. From end to end he related it just as you have heard. Wherein the Abbot rose to his feet and said to the monk: "Now hold your peace, and do not scandalize him; I bid you, on the vows of your Order. And observe my command to speak of it to no one, save to me. And we will go and see it this day. We will find out what it may mean. And we will pray the Celestial King and His most sweet dear Mother, who is precious and bright, to beg, in her sweetness, her Son, her Father, her Lord, to let me see this thing to-day, if it be His pleasure; that God be the more loved thereby and the good man be not blamed, if it likewise please Him". Then they went all quietly and hid themselves without more ado hard by the altar in a nook where he could not see them. The Abbot and the monk witnessed all the convert's office, and all the divers vaults he made, and his leaping and dancing and saluting the image, and tripping and bounding, until he came to faint. He worked himself into such weariness that he needs must fall, and down he sat all worn out. The sweat all over him, for very toil, dropped down upon the floor of the crypt. But in short time, in little space, his sweet Lady succours him, she whom he serves without deceit. Well knew she how to come at need!

The Abbot looked and straightway saw a Dame so glorious descend from the vault that none e'er saw one so precious and so richly arrayed, nor was one so beautous e'er born. Her garment were very costly with gold and precious stones. With her were the angels from heaven above, and the archangels, who came around the minstrel and solaced and sustained him. When they were ranged around him all his heart was assuaged. Then they pressed to serve him, because they longed to repay the service that he did their Lady, who is so precious a gem. And the sweet frank Queen held a white napkin, and fanned her minstrel with it right sweetly before the altar. The Dame, frank and meek, fans his neck and body and face to cool him. Well does she undertake to aid him. The Dame abandons herself to the task. The good man does not turn a glance to her, for he sees her not, nor knows a whit that he has such fair company.

The holy angels do him great honour, albeit they remain no longer with him, and the Lady sojourns there no more. She makes the sign of God on him and turns away, and the holy angels make him an escort: for they find a marvellous delight in gazing on their companion, and only wait the hour when God shall cast him from this life and they shall have matched his soul. And this the Abbot saw without let, and his monk, a good four times, for at every hour it came to pass that the Mother of God came to aid and succour her man, for she well knows how to rescue her own. The Abbot had exceeding joy, for he had longed sore to know the truth of it. But now God had shown him verily that the service pleased Him which this poor man had rendered.

The holy Abbot turned to him, and, weeping, raised him up, and kissed both his two eyes. "Brother", he said, "now hold thy peace, for I accord, in very truth, that you shall be of our convent".

This is what the holy fathers relate concerning what befell this minstrel. In happy hour he tumbled; in happy hour he served; and at his end were the angels present. Now pray we God, who has no like, that He grant us to serve Him that we may earn His love.'

Fig. 89. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

Fig. 90. Mater misericordiae, *wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.*

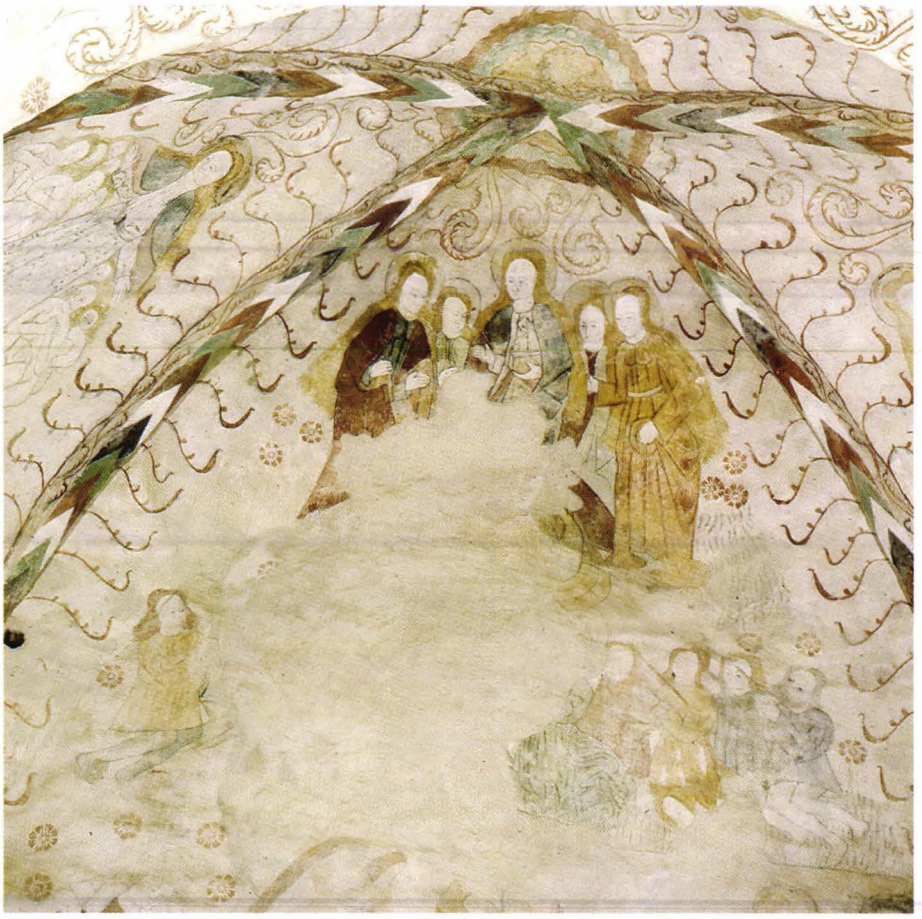


Fig. 91. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 92. The Virgin Mary and People at Prayer, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 93. The Aquitanian Youth, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 94. The Aquitanian Youth, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 95. The Painter and the Devil, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 96. The Painter and the Devil, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 97. Mary and the English Priest, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 98. Mary and the Juggler, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 99. Mary and the Dying Monk, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 100. Mary and the Drowning Boy, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 101. The Miserly Priest in Purgatory, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 102. The Angelus, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 103. The Angelus, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 104. The Banquet for Sinners, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 105. The Banquet for Sinners, wall-painting in the Church of Lohja. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 106. The Betrothal of Saint Catherine, wall-painting in the Church of Hattula. Photograph by P.O. Welin, Archives for Prints and Photographs, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Fig. 107. The Story of Theophilus, stained-glass window in Lincoln Cathedral. Photograph by the author.

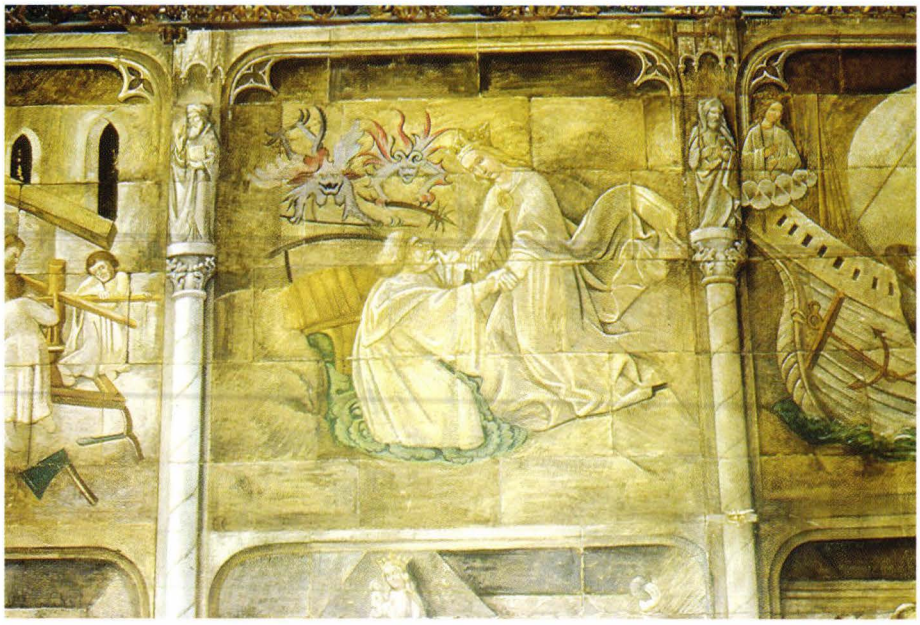


Fig. 108. Mary and the Drowning Monk, painting in Winchester Cathedral. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 109. Jugglers performing for the Virgin, sculpture in the nave of Exeter Cathedral. Photograph by the author.