RICHARD III
1452 - 1485
His Book of Hours
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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  by Anne F. Sutton & Liva Visser-Fuchs

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DATE 15TH CENTURY

The capital letters are extremely beautiful.

In capital letters has been cut out - p. 50.
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Tus qui populos patris a bento
ominibus, pacem et similitudinem
confessus in ad vitam nostram muniscis.

Nunc pnus, ut anus studis ne vertas
in luce fundamenti ase
lehis vit gaudia consequamur.
De sancto episco
Sanctus episcopus mater iah
epi. Domine, in nomine
paras pulchri. Open confirmabam
et nunquam mis. Si alii dixer e,agna
manu. Reris sancti spem, quin
vestur. Illo nempedem inillo langues
gravamur. Non episcopos pro salutam
honore. Sint nos maiestas dignos in
tens amore. Promissi ep. qua quod
pens opunnifi. Da mihi, bona que
moxando perdi. Contra solum, animo
selle granamen. Judias amen. Fac mi
fron militia amen. B. ctus et honor.

Kerabush. Da rum. 

Deire qui ilum et misit
ius die, ut qui haepi
marias tu menouam agimus aus

BIBLIO THECA
LAMBETHANA
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Deo gratias. Domine Deus, omnis sacerdos Angelorum.

Psalms 126:5

Sicut in praeceptis meis.

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[Text in Latin]

[Handwritten Latin script]
En quod bene mane sigis ut
durbi mui angelo nimante car
non lupenolust: pia simulit; nus
nurqurier ea grnta da alle ordini; dus
apre insslomis advinvis. Pmandr
X. Multus est gavat angel'ad mana igni
dunostara soli. psalmi ntrup. Capim.

Dn sem visiune omni audireb.
Laq clm audirra unui arpier s
inhabiter in ima paupes i augus iegm
t et minues in x. dixilla e gia a pia
bonunt. sia. Sila. dixilla. Y. Spem e.

Dnecx. dins qui de nera. Advi. an.
Ingr diu minuue mane i ror' de spru so. Alla sa
e paresa tiuq quis sui i spi labi pl.

Dor hueo instac ipiu tarr instina in
gui luvri o x hun audiosi ini x. x.
Spmena. Y. funnde. Et pulc. glia pint. Spc."
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omnibus in Ipsi grunibus et in stippe positis
que adsunt multitud angeli de media. Sin a
patrem de psalmis landamus. In
laudibus habet a. O. adnusile. p. ut sip
Caplin manu uno loqui. eth
ora est prius quae quinque pio dir
rar quae nam ab duas duas duas
femur caput. et auter choros estini. angri
nun in palam sit pastoris pastri
marti omnia glia suis die. b. Elpis.
E. Havis unum qui re portum spectavat ula
quae sanctuarium diem a saluto muniat. a
s: et mundum a. Comite nos tandem.
mo: uris domini sa. Enturbarsa.
Pamur inguina et huma
paws salvator mi. de non.
propens isthiae quae fravus nos sed se
mundum quam niem sauros nos sint. K
E. Landant angeli sa di gnomr
que non ommund et
nulla est puerpa, 

Magnificat. 

Omnes nos salutem, nes ets. Ad o

plaudui a Complain sunt duas manu et pare

utrum hum primogna. ps 127 qu

n quo Caplin. Si arginamomu. b

sanatas. ait Expletur sunt omnia que
dicta sunt per angulum de virgine tua. Ps

non nunc dimittis serv. Diano

Quadragesimam multos

das fragiliter et precidum

et qui santer in gratus manem

om am agimus eius et tribu a nse unqueta

bus insuevamus. Per idum minim

etm ilium num qui num vivat et ry

nat in unum spinae sancti dnis. Per

omnia salua salutem. Amen.
Hic est filii dei qui natus est de virgine Maria. Salve ho-

muni. Ecce tibi manus mea. Deus meus est et sal-

avi. Deus tuus est ut filiae. Mea est Deo qui plasmasti me et educasti.

In manus tuae dabo me et meis filiis. In domum tuae et in regnum

do salutaris nos pro pneumonia saecum aetem
in confessione et psalmis iubilatim et
Aucema grae a ploa dominus tam
qui nos magnus dominus et rex
magnum super omnium de quo nam non re
pellet dominus pleam siam quia in ma
nun dominum omnes fines terrae et alnodi
nes mononam ploa conspici

Quamquam ipsa et mancipi fisc
illo et audiam huiuscecont manus a
nunt ad veon et proadunis ante di
pleorumman domin qui femnos
qua lex et dominus suis et nos aut
popusex eos etones pasuce eos. Aue
mata grae a ploa dominus tam.

Hodie si nonus eius audiam nostrum obdunar
vita nostra sit in certa quae semid
duo temporaem indito ubi tempa

unum me pater natus profluerunt et
uduntur opera mea. Dominus mun
Quadragesima annis primus sui gen
ramon hic et tan semper hi taur etre
ipse nyo non cognosco meus inca qui
bus meun in na mea sum (dubitum in re)
mean Aucema grae a ploa dominus
Aue patam et inno et spumus so
sacram primum cumue et tane et
mula trane Amme. Aue nun
Aucema grae a ploa dum tam
Aunma pontus etea count
adveunt pdrant rum an a
manman dauen man tuar.

Quina sola et omum densuir per ne
posa psusa ehi grana gatant puelie us
ma Gcca maternius unus sup
nus aeteremindum pugilla cunnens
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[Text in Latin]

- [Text continues]

[Decorative initial letter]
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Ammargiatio suo super tergum tum: postamline e perenit et pulmumde
ma: unum pedum per proet erga pro
oruantatem et manu inuomman om plane
adduor er nubem deuina via. Sa
gure tue aure: populi sub re radit in ob
da immovum nis Fads mi dus in
solum feal: unga domum ins scratched
mit. Abraham uuliam nus es di uque
nun: propura unaet dus nis sus a
le lene paosomibus: sus M a et
guma et cia a uelhernus nus a domin;
blun noquis dactrauen et veliu nis
in honor et: est her regina a gis
sus in nesm d'arito annum na
nare. Audi filia etu er uchnea annu
nur: et plun fiir pinn tun in domi
pars nis et conuipius et duxen

Krauthun: men nus urbun
lunum: dion go pera mea
mea salsus intre: re
lador salutis Sprophos forma per
fulis hominmi: dithu et arma in labris
nus propria imedure dus uemam.
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Gloria paenitentiae.I PSALMUS

Glória paenitentiae.I
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preamtur

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Gloria patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.
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Benedicite Domino, quoniam magnus
Domine, et magnificus
et potentissimus Domino nostro
et salvator noster Jesu Christo.

Praefacio

Adhecit anima mea post remissae securitatis tuta
et ad aspicientem meum, qui iniquam
animam meam immittit in infirma
partem: manentur manus gladii pannus
mutilum, et nesciam liberari in hoc
landabunt omnes qui vivunt nec quae
obstructum est oculos aut unius pulchra.

Prima Simulacrum

Ecce risus astantur ni imminent
nobilis: illuminet mundum omnem
super nos et ministrat nostris.

Prima Simulacrum

Constanti nbi populi dux: constanci
nbi populi omnes

Prima Simulacrum

Constat in die aeternae salutis
et in omnibus regnum salutar num.

Prima Simulacrum

Constat in die aeternae salutis
et in omnibus regnum salutar num.

Prima Simulacrum

Constat in die aeternae salutis
et in omnibus regnum salutar num.
...omnibus diebus nih...
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Deo nostro aeterno nomen et sancta resurrectio ejus. Amen.

Ramus

Teclam tuam quis domine legemeus illustrem trothum ad dona pro anseram P

Ramus

Memoria d sancto thoma ac nothobis othoma quoniam hanc trahem

Memoria d sancto thoma ac nothobis othoma quoniam hanc trahem

Amen
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quoniam assumit Peripuu. Manova d'so
Stephanu ait. Stephanus indicatos apud
infrae cumbam manuo aure partiunt.

V Spona et hono reonast uum domne K? Et
consensus uum sup part manulo max-Dam

N obis quosimus dic Dios
unat q'dolumnus urdiam
at manuos dilagr quia quis
nathana aldranuis. qui nouuam pr
us pimnionbus cavor diris unu hym
wm aluin tum. Perim Manova
de santo laummo ait. alumnus tuui
opus opamuis et qui persigni unus mos illi
minaur v Dipsaff d'or panprib K? Judua
uis manui in seubui sant. Donius. Dio

A obis quos omis dus mig
sudum flammas eruguer
ur qui trat laummo nubatu

romanzvim suvnuin mandia super a

perim Manova d'sanuo nihola ait.

Carus nihola > ad hic purulus unu re
um maaltr opus v. Dia pe nobis han
nihola K?. Physim elinauii pu minerals a.

Eus qui hi dois Formus
nun nihola > puun pum
ham toon. in unuus drazac
in miraaliu minus quin uuis mans er
prubus a chamm unudos hiam. Pr.

Manova d'saneto mana magdalena q.
Manala q'nter podi l't et capillis sus et
donus plata et reader unignum v. Dunaia et
apamna multa K?. Doni dinaus. Donum

Agnorofis dominus co
pate. q'd siurba manu
magdalena unquinun nu
hipromnia diligno sio-opnuiu

nu
...

Memento salus autem quod nostrum quondam corporis cristifera urguere natalis fonsam inipstans. Ad aula plena granem animam solvendie nis nos ab isto potege vulta moines sulpicis gloria nobis domine urbs a. O admobile Ps. Eius in nomine salum me secor et in memoriam indua me. Deus grandi oram quia nani: ambus panem penitentem quis mons secundum animam me: et soms quiescere animam me: et non posuere dnum antrespecti domum: et nunc dnum adnueit: et dominus fustprop et animiuerit. Lúcina m Receive "musa manus mas: eri uant a pe dtpardillos Voluntare sanctitudo in: et consedui nominum quo qui veniam st."
quomam randish me: et factus semach
in salutem Constantinum dixi qui bonum:
quomam in salutum nis aet Gloria
patem praeceptr. aet. O admirabile om
mum in maevum gravis humanam animam et
pons humen et virgine na sa dignum estre pro
nous homunculorum languis et nobis in
omnibus quoniam Capitibus Francois.
questus est harditate domini mortalve
nunc pumper et nunc mihi ami cum omnui
et qui manum me requirer in tabernaculo
nec. Deo gratias. R. Auremane quem
plana dominum mun. Auremane. B. Benedicta
mi munhabe endowed sanctus animus tu.
Domum ma. Gloria pater esto et sparsi
sancto. Anc. tua B. sunt de genere
vivo sanctum manu AE Interced pro nobis ad
dominum dum min. Dominus Domno.
imputus. 

Tu autem, Domine, lae 

luna, quae plena gis 

loqua nobi 

dumque tibi 

Rurumque indeque Ps 

De retribu onus nos: qui 

habitas in eis, erubias 

sumum in manibus do 

minorum loquen 

verbi, et ancell 

in manibus dominicis, auti noce 

ad dimum non durum misericordia. 

Misere mi domine miserere mi: quia 
multum in plenitum sumus dispensate 
a 
multum repleta et anima tua obprob 
nam habundans erat spemo superbus. 

Psalms 

Ex quo dominus carit in nobi 

dicitur nostri: ut quia do 
nominis carit in nobis, ut 

revelant homines in nos forte misio 

nus intelhivat nos quum nascetur su 

ne cum in nos, quia est in aqua obvi 

bullet nostri: omnes, transire aia 

maturum, pulvulat anima in aqua 

in collaborule. Benedictus dominus 

qui non odo nos in capone et niz coe. 

Anna, nis siur passer aperta est: de la 

nobo unam unum Aquas omnibus 

e tertius lumen Sumus. Adutonum 

uninomin domini, qui facit domini 

Sumus quia pati sunt incrat. 

Dicit Dominus ut omn 

non nostrum sunt non unum 

marchi in unum qui 

habitat in Jerusalem: mori ex 

minus et dominus in minume populi su 

ex hoc nuncius in salvum. Quia no 

minuer dominus unam pavum sup
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Donam nos famulos nos. Benedictum.

Quo sit iste et nunc condaminus et est ai

lambibus puentens agnatis. Pbestos mecum sin

nis fille saeunus, agnus amnis dibum, si indisti

amnes. Adanam trice. Ave per Deum.

Domine trice. Tono sa pello mos.

Dcam omnibus natis sub

nuns urbi ad genus, in omnibus

nuns possum. Ad

nunc, si dominus saeunus

nun. Ad

nunc, si dominus saeunus

nun. Ad

nunc, si dominus saeunus

nun. Ad

nunc, si dominus saeunus

nun. Ad
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[Two pages of medieval manuscript text in Latin, decorated with ornate borders and initial capital letters.]
L'annus stella di mara alma
ampers turbigo stetit portae.
Sumpsit illus auge gabatus
obunda nos in pacem mutuis nomine eur.
E soluenda mis prostratum nos
la ræ pellitona nuta poes
monstramann suman pertur part qui non
bynat nit etl eunus
Qogo singula
os introunum mi nos nilpis solutos
nues facer farsos
Ucam pista pura
par para tui omnin uncitantes igitur
sper collanimur
Sirs laud del pam sumim
epo am spinnus santo nobis honor
vius Amen. V.
Dissima et gia mlabys
mus & propra midurr tredus unnum
Laute Sancta mana Psalmus
Agistur anima mea dim
et eteaur spinus meus
expugnauentur me animosum mea: et
omnia non ponant muni. Supra
modum meum fabricauerunt prodes:
prolongaverunt imputatem sibi.

Dominius justus consideravit nos
parastis ad in anima
mea. Ex tremum in domum: et horum
et in seum. Dixit patri
aeterni. In condituram manus
varmac
perflavimus ucipla pro nobi immaculam do
minu nunc 
Capitulum
art osmomni et alami
fruitur et
et q
num dea didi humitatem odios. De
gnis impus
urgo singularis.

Itam prosta etlanus doit.

Emanulla dui arturui suis ubi nui a.

Dondi Ps. Holocaustus.
mitis servum num die: le
andum ibum nui in pace.
num manum salutum nui.
uod parasit atque aem om pide.
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...
In unum spem pro literis in his et pessim 
Gaudio pro in memorium in his. Genius 

Ab omni specie pro literis in his et pessim 
Gaudio pro in memorium in his. Genius 
Hoc est diutius psalmos psalmisales.

Diate latina multas Dios,

votis mis hos psalmos onse

antos quos ego indignum

padi mantar aqio in honoore disillusion

no

muns tu dircum unguis oinam fyr

angdonum anthangae parmanak pro

pethar-aplo eogthak-mun wonsf

town-unun om un soe et sarr: pme

miero pover acr poacutus ammas etm

mias et consanguinemas mas, puenos non

non poeill qu in me fidemum halint

acri poacutus vinus et sincris conade do

mine hui vech thu psalmi omnui pronoat ad utam penannam sanviam

et unandnonun uter ete utam anna

penniam. Amen.
DOMINUS a me non a meerum
in imminuerunt ossa mea dum dama
ma mare di QQI die acta nos quam
et super mensam a multis sum
in campum dum conaiguris pura
Auctum mai omnem niu sta emul
nam nam nam non ab loquere dum
sive ad aetiam me in such nam nam

Gloria Patri, Psalmus

Dominus in subveni tuo aquas
Qui lae bruta animas me quidem concedat superemani manum et animas in memoriam a se atermum non est parum. Qui timor mei surgat se inquit maiestas omnis gratus gaudet sumptum sip me.

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erunt parans conceptus in manna, scilicet

in unum diem in armis, et clementia

propter eum, qui subito, quia

in primordiis, in quibus

iudicum modo

dabimus erit unum

in humilitatem

et sanctum

in sancta sua.
laudam iam Quæ tuobis sanctus adsum sunt holomus in non dementis.

Sanctum te spinas omum dulcis; quod tum cum humilium tus non est

paes. Tunge sanctum in una uo

lumine tua sion: sede ti annu rum in et in
tum spes sancta sanctus ut sua obla
tiones cholooska cuncto imponant super

almumnum uolos. Gloriam patris

Deum cuius odonen mare: et
ti man: nullas ad terranet

natus saecum nian a me quam qui

debulo: induna ad me aurum nian.

Et quamque die inuocatio trudoam
cruad mi Qua desunt sanctis

diu meteola mea sec ordini amement

sanctus san ufu sanctum uerm

quia oblitum san tudem panem

nian

Tui organum mea ad se est mi

nem. Sus elis satus sum pecunias to

travus satus sum sani indivo rino

modo Anglican elias sum sani pas

colbanum in et in om die exp_ORD

an uoci immo me quæ laudan tium

aduamum metuam Qua sine nian

magni panem mandylaman et non mai

sum sunt mundam. Et sae re indignan

ous nec quæ tavian allo mi

metreat verba teneauent et gudo tim

sanu et Qua aut de uinabem metu

i manus et ius suleum in gudamone

agreganone. Quæ caoens donum mi

sanctus sion quæ nunc miesta

siqua uenit compus qui planent

sus lasipas aus er au sest misereuus

et ambuc gram nonen mi donum et orn
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

[Manuscript text in Latin]

Excerpt:

Rex regis gloriavit domini.quia edificare dominus sion cruttt quantum in gloria sua. Rex posito in sion humilium et non sperat

Eextantur hic ingoniae et alme: populus qui orabatur laudabat domini quia pueri & emiis sancto suo domino filo in lami alpetra grandi

erignum ex compedito et solutur filos in

innumeros ampluam annihilantur in sion nonis domini claudamus in latum domi

meus populos in eum et nigris ir sauci
domino respont fir in divum nuntius sue

paenia in dominum meosi nunc qui

Innumus meus in dieu diex meosi in

gnovam et gnovam in annis

110 modum in sancta et opama ma-

nia max huns. Ubi penibus in su-

tern pianes et mis labens huns uter
ante Johannes et paule
ante archipreti chymane
ante episcop
ante annane
ante domin
ante lamun
annes sanct marus
ante silvtr
ante lev
ante bern
ante augustine
ante jude
ante illan
ante nicolae
ante marue
ante ambroi
ante gregiu
ante gomane
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

[Handwritten Latin text in columns]
Pecaminus sum pabls nis. Inustegi
inus unquarat sumus Domnnon
Cumdmum pai nis sanas nobis. Nape
endum unquarat mis umbus nobis
Sanvus tu induantur uitbqam. Et
laud tu cultant. Domne salvi facer
um. Et caud tu nos urpia innum
sumus facer nos nos eranitas m
as. Deus meus prosperus utr Salvi
fac populum sum domne et indirhchian
tur nie. Et rapus et rallos illus urpin
munt. Domne salvi par um sturq tu
are. Et atidua unmundus Einnena
lorum simulars ui max. Inquirant um pa
Et clam: meus ad reminar. Domus or
Eis sum pmum est misiam tempart
parp, joydur. Animus sanum nu
a panem omnibu eras et peus quas pro
nus uumun bruignis mius. Per. oio
impresimun duns nisiq, quins
ad pas més er da novis familis
nis hém uum lpan etarn humi
num onad domine ut donaet har
in novis simplant affitus. paneat for
nis ordimna psalmans. per psalm
nis pum adum ce; i mundum ndun
nis lona consamna sancta. opimm so
als. uam inanlam consimano impri
hsibilis quam'm mansus tus uir
nus. ennui manan salam uatr uin
nhi da. Per. pum dium uin. oio
Aduum das omni condmd cre
impio animab: orn adum adum
duimis abutor mbur prx ur cud
nmaam quam sany optaemur pys
suplica omnis consequuntur. Per. pum.
Solue domine animas oin oio
adum adum ab omni mndu
ntum ur i mnимвom glia ur sos
edoos nos rellaman uspunt. Per. oio
cte am quiq domine omni
bou imnulal omu ad ad
nnae lam et gliosa sugy et uigne
du gruaet manu nun onus sandun
us
nos familis nos atp
om niq inni omni saumane auth an onis
sq consanguinan ar simulanan uel su
flione et oqon nobis muns us oon po
pulum catholiam a uins punya cum
bus illuam panm ualur nobis mbur.
nos usibilis et unusibilis inone pset
nyple. annus annus manan aq uin
Piacuit dio. Psalmus

In qua erat dies:

Quam visiis me.

Sunt indita in

Iam iniqui:

Sib mors

In sociis mortis:

Et pe

Maria istis

Vexatione

Et

Dominus

Vos

Est

Visiis

Contristis

Saudavit

Maria

Hunc

Pacem

Vos

Est

Dominus

Pacem

Maria

Saudavit

Hunc

Pacem

Vos

Est

Dominus

Pacem
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

almum in tiam liuam: in illa die probit
omnes cogitationes comm. Annis ni
us dies in tab adiutor aus sper aus in do
mino te ipus qui for ad ut raman: mar
cum quaque in es tum quin uistod
uinae in isidum: sanet inaudium munia
patrimus, de sunt circa et ois sol
nus compedros: donum illuminat nos

Domini exaginos: dis diligibus
Domini aut ad adnas pipient
et induam solus et uas pone: despender
ignabir dominus in salua dies nos
lon: in gregamine et greganone. v

Requiem amem dona es domine k
Et tu per
pema lunat es v
Aposta in es
Efru dinc
nimas cosi v

Cum indelvina domun

Et summa u6
Dure unde et clamor. k

Gis au ypum at manus super

et parum resplandit dominum pro anima
salut in gregamine et greganone. v

Requiem amem dona es domine k

Et tu per

pema lunat es v

Aposta in es

Efru dinc

nimas cosi v

Cum indelvina domun

Et summa u6

Dure unde et clamor. k

Gis au ypum at manus super

et parum resplandit dominum pro anima
salut in gregamine et greganone. v
Domine Deus, in tua sua nuna, *per misericordiam tuam, noli nos duperi nostri, noli nos nuntire, nunc vestra medicina, nunc vestra salus.*

*Psalterium,* fol. 157v
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

[Text in Latin]

[Text in Latin]
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

Super aquam esomonis oculavit me: amnum nam vehementem "Deduce me super semnas sustaer; prae nomine

nam et ambulacrum in medio umbrem omods: non nimdo mala qui tu

meam es "Urgat tua at alias tus

ipsa me consolata sunt "Parash in

mea manus: adiusus dos qui ambulat

me "Unguinal in oleo adnuit mai:

et affar mans inebrians qui planus et

Arnoldia in subsequente me.; omibs

dischius iuro me; "Sturhism in do

mo domum; in longitudinem diei, ait

In taw percolatur me subplus a Deista.
P

Domine lau aliam mani in ambitius enduros non amni

nus mais in re confido non amli

em unam me unum ma: et

num manus qui sustiner e non consi

...
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

quam düm: legem statuat a muis qua
degre Amüs aus amosábiture: et se
ma eus herdmobri amm Anname
num et domus munamb dium et semne
num quius ur manumtr ills Oath
ira temped ad dium: qui sse auell de la
quo podes meos Espire un mez volâte
me: quia unus et panpe litm yqo.

Tubulanos odis ma mutaphant-
fruit: dum stantus mas me mez
humilman vam et alvan nam: et
durante unua eista mad Rispé
unuos meos quí mutaphant lit: etodo
unquo odmut mecem moste di animam
mae: mem: non svestam qui bpe
uai me. Unnae es mnam adhexitur
mich: quia bishum et Lebma dis ill
er omív: tubulanos: Luis. a. Delan
Psalms illuminated in a 15th-century manuscript, featuring ornate initials and decorated borders.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours


Damas hater intemane et par

cita mea et dicitur ostende me. Curr

quanum abscondis et adhaens me

numquam num: Contra solum quod

nuncl rapitur obsidies potenam tuam:

ehpulam siam pluish. Speris quia

da me amandiones: Consumere

meris pues adnololae me: Polum in

novo pand meun et obsequi omnes

sintas men: et uSWGia pedum meum

consistah. Qui quasi puno

cumime
dus sum: et quasi inustiendum quod uro

medinir a turis. K. Hai ma domine q

paimn winus in uma mea. Quii saam ucer

uh me resu mis u ad redins numa multis mea.

Dum uam in nostjimo die 2 Anuna mea

numram in valde sed in domum huma e. Dii.

Duo namus et mulitar lequina

nuus uamus nampe: replur mi

us numus. Qui quios quomin et conne

num & signia uer umbra et uumqii in co
dan insan pinant. Et digum duas lup

iuliamodi apur onilos rous et adduq

numnum in indium: Ques potest fac

nirdum d'innuad conceptim somue.

Nonne uquis solus e: Hac is des fojes

sum numus mas rum aus apud et.

Consuntum reminos aus qui plano

e nume: Kuprov paulum ac ac ur

quetet donec opsar uanat: et har ma

amant dies aus e. 8 Neurudem sua ma
INNOVATIO LUNGO VISIT.

INNOVATIO LUNGO VISIT.

INNOVATIO LUNGO VISIT.

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INNOVATIO LUNGO VISIT.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

The image contains two pages of text in Latin, which appear to be excerpts from a manuscript. The text is written in a medieval script, typical of illuminated manuscripts. Due to the nature of the script and the content, the translation or transcription of the text would require specialized knowledge in Latin paleography and medieval manuscripts. The content seems to involve religious or historical narrative, possibly a reflection or inscription of a significant event, given the context and style of the writing.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

 נוס tergiversatus hominibus. 

 Olim me diona de morte tua unde illa manda. Quando et mouendi hic de una. 

 Dum nemis indicare sechun per ignem. 

 Osis illa dies ur calamans et instare dies magna eramara valde. Quando et. 

 Ego insaniae quod dixam et quod flexam 

 dum nil ioui premi anantun tuidiam. 

 Dum nemis v Nunc xis er pausus autem 

 quis qui nescit nundinae per tota 

 reremnos. Quando et. Dum nemis v 

 Ecce: omnis munium quis qui dixi me 

 maestri et inamabile tangium tuo mensis ut 

 pus quis loco nondum fumantat et sequor saas 

 in dehinc musitar. anodi erudi me 

 uramnam maan in sum abaque pananche 

 tuin inbas colocon. 

 Ruma me diona. Re 

 questam in pace Amen. 

 Inaudiobus ait.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours


...
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

Eus pros mi non estnummus
Quis peper anima; tamen mortuam
Petrus eam laboris, et eam
Quaeram autem, qui mihi
Apostol. in saec. Eiusdem saeas vox.
Ecce Mariae, quae
Dixit in sanctam Formam eam.
Etiam in spem, quid
In eum autem, et miseri temp. ois
Laups tempora, dux au munus
Sine spe mei supranum, qui
Annum; tamen mortuam, et
Qui eam cum in cum non posse, et
Immune sovin nostri munus, etas
Agger
Per eo dixit mi. ORUM.

RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

Eus pros mi non estnummus
Quis peper anima; tamen mortuam
Petrus eam laboris, et eam
Quaeram autem, qui mihi
Apostol. in saec. Eiusdem saeas vox.
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Etiam in spem, quid
In eum autem, et miseri temp. ois
Laups tempora, dux au munus
Sine spe mei supranum, qui
Annum; tamen mortuam, et
Qui eam cum in cum non posse, et
Immune sovin nostri munus, etas
Agger
Per eo dixit mi. ORUM.
Ps. 119:11

Si iniquitatem non uidemis, ne captaret vos in manus inimicorum eorum, et in manus inimicorum eorum captaret vos, ne caperet vos in manibus inimicorum eorum, ne caperet vos in manibus inimicorum eorum. Si iniquitatem non uidemis, ne captaret vos in manus inimicorum eorum, et in manus inimicorum eorum captaret vos, ne caperet vos in manibus inimicorum eorum, ne caperet vos in manibus inimicorum eorum.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

male dicum qui dividemur a mandatis
A ndra me debemus exercitium: pe
mnionem me equinum. Ex un de
nur punc et addimus me voluptu num
nus autem nus crantiur in insula
am nus nam et animam me
nun magis et: cranius nunc
nones me: Adheir panun mor anima
ma: niunia me codin nem num
.

U nus meus nunamx cranius me:
der meu insinonem me: unam
am insonem num innum num me:
num et unam: unum mor nus
omma anima mea: continu me in
bis me: unam inquiratur ammone a me: et

degy me大纲 me: unam nunc de
gi: indi nae non etsi oblitum: Adhe
norum mei: nus domine: non me unum

ariam mandane m or am: nim
mnionem me equinum: et
numero a me: niunia me codin doqui
num et respondov cristi

Eregam pone mihi domine num: ins
mnionem me equinum: et
numero a me: niunia me codin doqui
num et respondov cristi
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

Psalms

Lord, thou hast been my help: in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice. Thou shalt conceal me in the secret of thy tabernacles, in the multitude of thy herns. I will set forth my complaint unto thee, O Lord, and I will declare my troubles unto thee. Set thou the lamp of thy presence upon my head, that my enemies may be troubled for shame of thee. Keep me not for my sins, nor for the sins of my parents, for of the iniquities of thy people art thou merciful: destroy me not with multitudes of people: neither cast me with the company of the oppressors: neither among the ungodly, nor with the sinners of thy people. Who is a wise man and hearkeneth unto my voice? Who is a prudent man, and hearkeneth unto my words? Let him that giveth his heart unto all these things also understand: and those whose eyes are open shall find the assembly of the just. The Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it and is safe. Return unto me, O Lord, for thy servants call upon thee. All the days of my life will I cry aloud: I will preserve the form of my complaint unto the Lord. Art not thou my help? Deliver me, and do not forsake me, O God of my salvation. Destroy not, O Lord my God, all the Danes, all the heathen and the heathen of the lands; but let them be cast down and utterly put to shame, that they may know that thou only art the Lord, and thine are the points of righteousness. The Lord was there for me: I called unto him; and he answered me. He delivered me from my enemies: and from them that sought my life. He delivered me from my feet: he set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. 

In the midst of the congregation shall the Lord shew the light of his countenance, and be gracious unto his people. The Lord be merciful unto all his works: for his compassion and his wonder is toward his saints; yea, the work of his hands is with him. The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord. The Lord is strong in the day of his power: in the day whereof he will judge the congregation of the people of Jacob. The Lord is a God of salvation: upon the throne of the Most High are all his works. 

The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us. Save us, O Lord, our God: and gather us together, and set us in safety. 

Praised be the Lord at the most high place, and the fulness of his praise in the assembly of the holy: 

He that walketh in the counsel of the Lord shall prosper: and they shallвуно гогда солны

For the Lord is our judge: the Lord is our lawgiver: the Lord is our king: he will save us. 

Save us, O Lord, our God: and gather us together, and set us in safety.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

Quand auscultas anima tua:

illumina animam tua:

Ad rem Dixi:

Tu es domine:

Et tu:

Psalmus:

Mandavit Domini:

Hac erat:

Et in:

Immanuel:

Et in:

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ur medianter doquia tua Uroam manu
audi trin mi am nian do hune: et trin
udiaum nui uisista me a propinqu
nent plaquant nul uiquan: ala ge
ant nia longis huns: eonostri do
mune: com nar uet nus vitas Luao nog
nom d'udiaun nui: quiia trnnum
funda: eu Urod quinnand mean et
empere: qui laegu nui oim obli us
tria udiaum mean eudum me:
para do quum nui uisista me longe
a posuri satus: quiu uist hmodus nui
non equisiun: uist die muel do
mune: trin udiaun nui uisista me.
Man quiu oninort nui embanul nai:
ea rathomnys nui nuiat uodi
pluaunant: et tablatan: quiu laqu
nia non aistrosiu uot de quiu meu

tma dien domne: in siuia uismi
me Pannum ilve moriitam: is
nun unma uindia uihae nui. P:
Exnatops saini sunt me grans:
a unde nui quidum co
man Uralove go super doquia tua:
qui quiu uinat spolia multa uisr
oio hawii tabhioscu: alegruia diin.
Ssepau ud adiand nui: super un
da uihae nui. Ppar multa diuignus
loqu nai: et non sioliis trimdul.
Erapatruuul saluardiui domne: et
mamara nui dien Chacdoiu amma
nui rathomnys nui: a dilaut e xihana
Eman mandan nia rathomnys nai:
qui quiu me in onipetu no Ap
propinquap dejanq nui: in onipetu
nui dohme: wera doquwm nui a michi indl
Psalmus

Quia ipsa super magnum fundator et super summam summum

Dominus aeternus.

Dominus Deus, aeternus princeps

Psalmus

Quia ipsa super magnum fundator et super summam summum

Dominus aeternus.
nullus salutari meus et Deus salutari meus

nullus salutari meus et Deus salutari meus

This page contains Latin text, which is likely from a historical or religious manuscript. The text is written in a script typical of medieval manuscripts, with ornate decoration at the beginning of the page.
ipsus ur manifestur illis. Domine mea salva per ad dim: quin ipsa exceller elaque pedes meos. Exigite in me et suscitate me: qua
umaris a pauper sum ego. Inbulaeones
didis in me multiplicare sunt dormisitus
mas quae mea. Splenditem meam et
laborare ma: et dimutre vultu me dita
ma. Respiro mimos ma quin multis
pluntatem sunt. Ador me unico odium me.
Judex animam meam et quem me. Non
nullam qui sparsit in me. Inoantes
mea: adjutandus meaque sustulit ut P5
Guna uram meam. Exonix tribulatam
Domine mecum qui ego P5bus suis.
Inoantes mea inglus sus: et in dis
sparsus non insinuaver: Drola me die
trimma me: ur misus et uci mai.
Qui me tua antro antos mews et: et u5

plaeiinatrum. Non sedi quin o
atno navimus: eram unqua gravis
non mudo Dumi a amal malignan
am: eram impus ineto. Lausto
interno antus manus mea et univado
alte me a domine. Estadam noam
laudis: eremantum vniila mabilia tua
Domine dica dixam domus tu: et lo
am hymans glie tue. Nescias in
mpus dua suam mea: eram unis f
sight urum mea in quor manub
unians sunt: dema conun vleta et
univado. Ego autem inoantes mea
inglus lui: reduce me a misare ma.

Des mams starr in direct: in echis ir
obduam domine. Psalmus
ominus illuminando mea et sa
lus mea quem timuus inis proterr
Pater noster: ut peregrinum
omnipotentem
in altissimis
et omnibus
suis ministeriis
et maxime
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mordum plebis sue et pro recto salviandi
in tua et Salui fac populi tuum do
mine a levi hardman in crux re
mores et in munium
Psalmus

Iam dominum filium racheteret
Nobis annum. Asiam dominon
Giam e honore: asiam dominon
nunnus qui ad sum in amo co
nus Tornonius hyp aquas dieo
nus utrantr dominus hyp aquas
mas Tornonius in muntr: nor domum
in magniiam na Tornonius consti
nus ados ercuisct dnis ados
hame et comnue et puti snub
nus et biquam quanadmodi situs
nunmum T or domin in mundis
flama ignis: nor dominum constat
mas ercomnump dnis ados eas.
et nun sunt animuli in aeterna gloria

Decipiente et manumis tibi.

Hodie erit unum et intellectus

In humilitate et in simplicitate

Gaudium et consolamentum non nos desinit.

Tempora faciunt in tanta voluptate

et iniquitas et falsus ductus non habent.

Sola humilitas est nomen Dei.

Spondas semper in Christo Deo nostro

et in veritatem et in pulchritudinem.

Inhabitation

Amen.
et abscondit ipi calcaneum maim obser-

uabunt scripturae aitiam maim maim maim

pue mishi loyalty fases illos: maim popu-

lum ontingers diis utam maim

anuntiam qui potius lammas mexi so

spere nasi Fiait in pulchra nova nic

continent innumera mundi

En qua

cum dixem omnia fraternum qui es

mas es In domo laudabo sernum in do

nario laudabo sommonem in dominum

non tamen quid sanar mihci hommo

In nescitur nus dom na quem

lanunones tibi qui apuisti aitiam

mam emitor: expressus de lapidur

plamam dian do inlumine mundi

ps

Oscriera d'insirema: qui me

Considere anima mea et in un

dia alarux spera doncemancun

quias clamav ad dorm aitiam:

nun qui tinctur multum: hit elato et

hipnum me: doit in obprobrium conatr

ite me Misir das inman suam crutta

am suam et ripur aitiam maim: de medio

anulosi leonis dominus consuebatis

in hominum duos eos: anna et sagitt. et

lingua et gladium animus et raltime

hupetos suis et in omne mia gia mia

Liquemum pammum pedes et

manuum aitiam maim: Fodinu

ane sanem man suam et medtun

mae pammum cov mai dus parani

cov maim: annu et pl ammunition

Grze glia mea griez paimu et ci

mae gryam dumalo soutrion

bi in populus domine et plaimu diaun tvi

in graneb: Qui magnificat sit usp
quia contudam sunt omnia sola mea. Et a
mina una turba est vade. sed tu domine
ipsiquo domine dominus et seai am
salum me faciat per niam tuam.

Domine durs meus immensu. salui
me fac ex omnis psalmamb me et libra me
ne quando reparsor te anima meam
bun non est qui tenet rap qui salvi
sanat. Respiro erausi et domine durs
meus illuminans osuos meus necquit
ob turman in mens: nequeo quam duar mi
mae mais plusi adiustus aunu. Ex
audi domine utagram meam. intum de
jeanone meam. Amamus pape o
non meam. non ut labus dolos per
firegustus meos in latius mus. ut non
moutrant usigna mea. Ego dama
ui qui eraudisti me durs. victua auter ma.

— RICHARD III - His Book of Hours —
Domine exaudi me in manu mea. Erdaye me in limina tua per manum meam.

Domine adflicte me in manu mea. Erdaye me in limina tua per manum meam.

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RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

manu mecum Ego nova gratia et paup
sum domini sum habet me. Cuando:
mas et parvo meus eus meus ne mitt
uis Ego dixi domine miserere me: sa
ua animam manu qua paraui.
Euge quarobdum, Domine, car
ospelas nos usque in saecum. Quar
Man aitis et obliviscamur ipse ne err
blandarum nos. Euge domine aduina
nos recta nos popus nomen num

miserrima quis in magnan mi
man et saeculum mutandum in
brandum tuani de uiturare me

Euplus saevia meditini a iniqua
et amisit satis me mundi me. Omi
man a patari meus et omnes
inuentes meus de for in mundi una
in medius et sum innum imnnum in uscens
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours
quia in mandamus tuis ardistis. Domus est tu in
montani tuas. Domus iniunctiones tuas.
Erat missariam tua ut consolarente me.
Dandum eloquium tuum semper nostrum.
Quia lex tua meditato me et factum
me in manibus meis semper. Ego
non sum oblivus. Suspicem semper. In
tuam semper. In tuo semper. In
tuam semper. In tuo semper.
Quia lex tua meditato me et factum
me in manibus meis semper. Ego
non sum oblivus. Suspicem semper. In
tuam semper. In tuo semper. In
tuam semper. In tuo semper.
RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

miam nam et iustificandus tuas dve
me Deus tuus sum ego d man intre
Latin ut distam mandata tua. Reple
in me et sustine me. Subi inui dligo
num nomine tuis. Deus meos dirige
in eloquium tuum. Et non dierum o
omnis mundana Redime mea salu
uis homini. ut autodii mandata tua.

Hanc nam illumina superna tu
um. et dve me iustificandus tuas. Die
humitate meam et suprema. quia igno
num non sub obitus. Ludia indra
num manserim me. Per eloquium
num munia me. Oppinqueris dpre
cano mea in conspectu tuo dve. sodi
um tuui de man intrelati. Nunt pop
stialo mea in conspectu tuo. Sodin eloqui
num tuui expe me. Erudibunt labiar me

impii. num davis me iustificandus ni
as. Dominus ab alii mea domini
num. quia omnium mandata tua apertas

harmonius mea ur salver me qui man
nata mea ege. Concupui salutare tu
nun. eterna medias mea et. In
uam mea laudabite erudiam tua
adunabunt me. Et navi harmonous que
poet. quod sanctum dve quia manda
tua non sum obitus. Deus nobis
domine miseram nobis. quia multiplen
suum dependere. Generos domine:
tous eritis mercedes. Omne domine cap
nunt aum niam. Harvans in austo.

In quasip die inuocare te. Atque au
dine multiplicabas in aia mea urnum

Pone domine autodiam ou meo. Ethos
num omnibis laobas me. Me eran

ines
...
Danso nbi par
et inre ubris tene
et ving wolfone thun
num spu ad pro sa
vita et giola le
per qu'ingone di
grandus mana
er cwmang bish
nus et cwm omnibus sanctus nus et cwi
present utman mno. Nuna in potans on
appus natus et nuntius sum et post ini
mi nsp ad lanchoram omnis sum.
Consino man quia potarn minus in
hysbiu ram nisht quin intishi in una
glosa. In erollo a anlory. In owam
nethum. In munnida actiui mecz. In
muddia in olio. In amawam san hounu
qui poume. In na. In amdia. In nautus
quamdam pauper nec hit nec nunc
nordinar audiendo manus divinando a
misericordia mais hic non semper
dum grata mea et gratuma mea et omnia
conglutinatas non honorabili non
impendingo omnipotens debita obsec-
qua non expectando inania de ipso unde
suada sedendo ergodiendo in quoquis
urpis: in man ab imps insistendo utque
et munirem sancti potius abs et man
bus in misidis tangendo oiones in mia et
notigine sedendo et audiendo: in qua
nomen postumus: in mediamobly quis
indigna tanquam: in consulo malo: et
monito iniquo: in omnipotens cunctis
redactione ac sigillatone nem non sa
quilare seu umida pollutione: in ibis
obono biputius et commundiosis: In dimar
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...
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Hic est tempus est multis tota

nec in tempore inducendi quae nam uti

bent in sanguine tecto dium sed it in tu

nam conpes non eum non mox ini

debunten in omnis qui dixit tund in

simul et si admissis membris levisi

mi ne sumi non cura angustios pro

ter me domine. Admissi ego me dissi

lime thii intra numetum dato et

voram illis solam as talier inter omnis

qui dixit nomen et. Qui vult

trigas ducta Domina slia labore.

Am

Qui hanc salut mi dominum fili

et quondi dixit domum tamen in podi

nali ducor non fuer melius annum

sumnum in ponit. Quid

Dixit dixis sus, iuxta singulis, iuxta

alum, iuxta manu natus, iuxta te fortunam...
In manus tuas, Domine, ducimus sacramentum nostrum in saecula saeculorum. Amen.
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...
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...
...
et ab omni angusta et collasa mea sint, as
iste anima non ut dictum inarar colloca
Perpin dem non. Amen. Qua d a
vabus se scibun de sepulchro tin in nu
repardias quam odonan quon quon
die moraes gemubis dunit duc doldus
ur malus homo qui nod poter sine
sionone monseur et remigum dus antrob
vim ssum undib glodam virgina ma
sum in antilnum sibi preparata
Quonchab a pequi spec
nuta duculmo nume
in marapedus disti ut
lanturilla fannsnilma u
la in monosam halrunus. Xugo te per
numis illosun sepulchro ut miq yas
quod quid paxam aus omni sepulchro pa
ratis mortibus; sallar de supria jnudus
Ira. amida. anna gula lurima. Die si
armidish. Patrognos se anahgimbis
me. sacrum nos se ur paranm ego aur
ns mihi male saanmibus. Et ha nor di
sh. lamou. Hodie nunc can in padu
sacrem in tue. rucun josa moris me
rias mihi rodiamen en in padu
et ha nor di. man me quater mor si
bus nius. Don di. sh. dismulo. En ma
pra. sacrum me melot amor
nus crantus ma. Et ha nor di. fah
hem lamazaluthau. Quod signif
Daus meus dis us mais ut quid antiquit
me. sacrum dicus in omnem pos tubu
lanosan erargulue mer. Panur di. ne
usare mihi prusa. Adini me er di
mer mais en dis mais qui me no pro
sanguine nisni. Et ha nor di. Suno
sacratam animam sanctum quod in hum-
bo infans S. Mariae aduocatum num erat
na. Sed nemo semper idam rediligato
fontem aequum est fontem animi qui
us post obiit undis ad annum et
hanc dies. Patrem sanctissimus om-
nendum sit nunc. Sancta mater urae
in hora mortis me in vivi dicit
Patrem sanctissimam nunc omnem
sit. Respice mei nomen ad te quae
in conspectu mei non est. Et saec-
ul. Consilium autem quod significat
latus et dolores quos pro nobis mis-
us sustinebatur et in me. Sustinu-
eram illam dulcisiam utam nam
dimissum. Dux a mea dulcis quae
qua iam dispoau penitentes nunc con-
silium in me manum utidas el ange-
les mas sanctus in regno meo epulans
omni crunno per inuenta sanctum
santa. Amen. In un orago
Reve repulsus domini du-
pe, pauxillum sanctum qui
us ortus phile pudentus in manu
am. Mange mimar, ams muslin a saia.
am mille, amam gustu. Nam unius falsi-
bus. Nam misterio oxe. Nam susce-
rado oportere. Nam languides multo-
bus. Nam expensus manibus nam endus
us. Nam cum solita oxe. Nam una
am. Nam palam sanct. Nam mortali colori.
am lamnos oculis amateubundo
gustur. Nam susandis sidiast. Nam
amare gustu stilis. Nam nimium sapi-
t. Nam divisione eipous et amine. Nam
ugine quae est fontis. In ea cantate
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ni honorare advin triplus unannus. ut re nunc fate ad sann unnummum sup nos vindam spin vindamus. Dom no mun sym sim sim filium tu. Qui amm.

Sancta Dei meo oso nunc adoro urpet us meum munias. opus nsto dias.

Domum punitas. mun sanctas. mo nes enus. de meum olim lapimna illustres multil. scicio nun qui sre passus et plaunum facias. Obiignum

nim etea salus. me salum

ut mare. lipsian de prans. ut per

hostia salus. regra do salam in

ex qui inre pepe dhon dunis conum

quod in nesbi dornanum et sconsma

camal ens unim um par. nam ex

guat. lugum unim quo. et nupilo.

compesiat a pitaem in os. main coniin et commu pollusionen ma

tis et repouit etc me amme p

sani munam honestam compontr ip

so adulante meus regnum et unpen

pmanet in sula seidoum. Amen.

Bis am. im an. am.

thi pe fil do un. persam

meun un. unimnun in

moror duna mea. caanosa mea p

hara nur akd di caprum. p lo iec

dian nur akd olos meos. p uقرر

manda nur akd olos meom. p idolat

nur akd di man meos. p sanca

nur akd di un meos. p. go mio nur

akd di grna mea. p honosbili nur

akd di ped os meos. et omma mendra

mea ab omnibus adistitabi. p. odi.
Hoc domini mei professione quaeram unum mundi adluentis. Requidem diee aequum
Nie quam uo sanguine Aedaste.

Rex me quo paraus orio auendare quid male sit.Narrago ane don nihil se
ipsi omnes inquitas meas.ursum

nus iniuos posse digestum dignum
metam santa solu, et quoniam uerba
philano corporis et sanguinis tu quam
ego in dignum sustaperiendo, hic poxy
nem milio. Scito me pecuta pur

gando. Hic quum operationem offi
go, lonosi que et his regmale opusm,
qui plenum salubris efflano, aet

quis corporis solumme inuus et
sinina nuno, Ami. Nisi ad

Hysponis et milandus de
me ad sanctum nimi corporis et

sanguinis sicut tu dominus, ut

hui arnum minimo ad medium

mna. In mundus ad somnium nig. quis ad human

dantans esse, quiaus ad diem sit et

mr. Judas ad angelique. Rogo ego in

mulam dominam Nam quatuor mis

am avem dignum in summation. laur

permat illumnare amantem. dicam pau

peram. nec habere etiam. ut ipsum pa

non angelorum, non rangel dini domi

manus, am tanta uerena et honore

ranta sagiiam commissione et amore

tali epitom tali posito et humilim

etiam expediet salu animae meae. D a

manus lites, da mehi sustaper corporis et

sanguine unigenitus sibi tu dieu me hui

quip quod mare d' unigenie manu, ut vi

por siu nostro mei aequus poenam et
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dispulsus tuis corporis muneris, languiet, num tradisti pater, num laudasti. Hic et
accolae aeternae consolatione, unum non
perdixisti. In manu omnibus namo
as angustie et doloris quis in tuo dolore
repose, aeternam passionem, unum sine
perdita. Quando post mare, in animam
et sanguiinem, in dominum te
translatans. A falsis quos tecum,
amavit, ambus invidis, aeternum
domum. In eodem unum
perdita. In flosida, eximia,
nonam, novem dux, te
translatans. Vestris et salutis.
nalans, octavus et
translatans. Ad octavum
sacramenti, flagit,
translatans. Spum suorum, annum in
aeternum, et unum
alys.
compaginos membrosinos. Permane rent
num sanamnum et amansum in meo
dolos memonam ur de mischini tinoem et

Hui dechis mediet modum
angos lunos et dolos.
Quos malco aus patimbo
lunans palls es in omnis dila mans
membres nus, quonum illum in suo
hastu repuanscar. saeat ur villus dolos
similis ni dolos imunf. qua aplan
ca pedis. usi ad uenan apins ni fut
in trasatus. et ni ucommui dolor ime
moi pamn pro minnas yerdal dius.
Patrignosrilles. qua nitunqu quid sa
unte. Per haeniam ar obnandiam
illis dolos. onarduha manoxia pas
hous num amansine. scio in pade mogy

quis una libertas anglorum ad paradisum dina tum. in qua
no nobis et horribus quos sub
minas. quando omnes mina. quis quasi
leones habebimur. crumina sunt. et co
pluram obi conspungillis. igni quum
nus animas in aedibus

latum. et per omnia contumeliosa

numta dieu. uxoria. digna et owner
dominus. ex pe. per panas. quis est nos
minu. in affermum. deo. erubescens
me ad omnes minas. mas usabilis
et invisibilis. et divus ex umbra a
lamin tue. promove erme calum in

ipsi spernum. Ave mara.

chantans eram. Manendo il

nus maxas quando. is. quis in spero. et
muliere. mancatus. nec conspexist. per
numanun datis. nor. per nuna nepas.
honis salvandum. et prolatone ma
choice. in multitudinem. dandum.

et per abyssum. in cubi. nos nec qui no
bis. pot. et dispa. nus. nuns co
diuit. et. quantum. quam. lac. o

et. tibi. dies. Hodie nam ens. in pa
mudo. Xogor. pe. per. urba. nus. ma
niam tuan. in gosa. mon. ma. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave mara.

ipsi nramadis. amaronis

cristalabilis. manente me

nos quando. habuisti. quando. nus

cristalabilis. in aner. padis. et omnes

nus. nus et. ad. nus. tue. tertium. et

num. consolatam. in. cuclitas. sed. solom.
Sanctorum ordini. ingratis
ius Ecclesiae multum per am
ninam an et filius quem
pro nobis suscussit. et in gall.
ora mortem exorabimus* opus et anguis
nun. digne papar ad mundum et ad nostr
landum amanum nostri mun. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave maria
Sanctus. Ave sanctissima. sanctus. sanctus. sanctus sanctus.
Sanctus. Ave sanctissima
et socii quum passus es. quando pri mo
ns amanuid. misir vos insulaeone ni
magna voca ad dominum us da
mash dimus. Deus manus eius mens ur
quid adjuvasti me. Partihancunguha
perc et ur in anguis. mons nostre ne
Pater noster. Ave maria.
Huius alpha et omnium studium
in omni medio mundi qua
sinnum capitis usque ad plan
nam pedis, pro nobis in aquam paslio
nis divinitus. propter lamindum in mag
numdomum illumum in omni dore per
unam santatem. tum mandatum num
in paus numm duum. Amen Pater

Amen abjicitis in Aeterna.
prosindisse me, rogote
proprie prosinditum un
nummum nummum que transtienit num in
num medullam. tibi ac inferior num
ut me sustinet. in paus onerias ubi
fondas in foraminis. ut nec mor apace
me doue sanctum suum nus duc;

sunt signum. sanctus unum in
numerus illium in omni tos quibus
a tumbo capitis usque ad jam pedis milita
fiungi et ipsum uter lacaret iusti et angello
munitans. qui magnitudinem doc
us in unum acuenta patulis pro no
bis. quinis quid ulius abuisit famer quod
non saepe. Sanctus quis in omnia un
num tua in ordineo preoccito, lang
nemo uter illis legam dolor ex amore
num. ut in grannam amore usp uterin
ut me suscrite pasturum. Amen Pater

Huius nos ad Aeterna.
sono sine mirotralis et inc
lassile. ortamolo doloris quod
paussus et omnes omnes sus pedes et om
pous sus sus tantum desuorunt. iduam
raptredin. Consumerum est perhac
Pater noster, Ave Maria.

Pater noster, Ave Maria,

Our Father, Hail Mary,

Augustam et dolorem uturra me multam
consimulacionem enus mas quimus, anna
nima mea amata hic et spinnus maius
conunitus, Aman.

Pater noster, Ave Maria.

Pater noster, Ave Maria.
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Das nudus sancti quaelcumque pauca fuit.

Pater noster. Amen. Credo in di. Domino. Hic namemis aper ad ma.m misitns in
bulanos et angulias quas nundinatar me
non ducundo vade et pue hulinas
et immer d'oulema. In etandias ncept
nonni dominus ineffabile. Excita tabula
con melius et ururuco trad in plamo
alpha et co. Hic imgnex utlimns ne ab
angulhs nehsranta; riponhs et pino
tous a pismoe et pindaone. Amen 02:

Domine qui pare oin ortum

Sordidum

Confolant

Piae luxes paremmum. una erle

Ragna

Ragna magna dni uno poelans.
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Papa sub divum. matr singularis.
Samanum palatium diu possums.
Qvmdn annulum nobis largnus.
Mismodie
Ellis misendo dicta manisti.
Anx matr grade. quond consequitis.
Suum mi ingangl qvon post pepehi.
Langin fel untie mundo omnibus.

Lora
Una manitas. cstra tua nata.
Et semper virginitas tua illata.
Nam tua humilitas. sui opata.
Quod introdumitas. est in manipata.

Dulced
Dulced dulcium. sunt in mundus.
Bainms nu virgins. agnus di dicit.
Luis una langvims. homo.drithiis.
Lous lalemum. est dranon rictus.

Et risus nostrum.
Et risum solita. us unio manua.
Digo vselle flouda. urin yliaa.
Rohonma dicta. diar prophtha.
Pulna urna.candida. du matrpi.

Iam
Iam uria. sitium. fulgms urauioa.
Nvese lux ia illum. pulna crsroa.
Onmeq esto nornum. rollesinmenos.
Erdn illum. pis nobis mploa.

Ad te
Ad fadamanum. mulii doloan.
Nobis avres. apen. patus. laanan.
Dr a saucinmis. per hiran.
Consequamur illum. nam nui nan.

Quamns.
Quamns dominus. ad transpianum.
Et attinbultus. trpiae prauns.
Desequiduimus malacognatas.
Salimus eramus oparereantes.
Sed
Salimus salio. omnes simulus dan.
Pio parentis nino. gloria puin.
Paradisi gaudio. se vobis.
Luo tresino. similus rana.

Fili
Fili suspina. propter cogiturn.
Mundi pro miseria. per quae incoluntur.
Ad aempsam nina. epedialbunin.
Sed misioia ma. fulamorn.

Que
Quelaphus multum. amphi dthanks.
Et a nobis absulit. gaudinum laum.
O d posteam. nihil. ubi mammamum.
Quando. monse subulit. deur pain.
Ad re.
Lunam nos altebis, manam tuam ad.

In hac uelle

In hac uelle misera, multum mediosa.

Hominum sunt gracia, planmis frons.

Primum omnis corpore, sincontagiosa.

Propersa situ et obprobiosa.

ANNUNIUN

ANNUNIUN multo, plurum et aque.

Quin sanus et pulsat, plos unaqua.

Timens qub inimiq. quanta amuniqua.

Et fiant lium sati, natnatur sequa.

Obi ago

Sia ago digere ad mias manus.

Anus lapsos encre conscientiam.

Et manus longe repiquamind.

Hustros nos digere inconstinent.

ADNOCA

Ad novam librum vixam salvator.
Diano prudens illa gemma conselos
Ipso sanctum illa lauro apostolor

Odulans

Odulans dulcisilla sup sauo melle
Colunla castilla. cansis oni sile
Mare longuilla uerra nin uelle
Tu amica multiplicata nobis rapelle.

Manus

Manus annua nanum apparet
Brucium oria heucutuare
In nui onemoria et coluandare
Signam in glia sua dolore. Amen.

V. Dixit nobis sancta di grunir. 
Or
digu inanum promissionibus. O 

En qui destruens nuncius
urbo urbiun nun angelo una
name canum susapere voluisti pia sup
pliabuls tus ut quen rem di grunire.
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matrem suam salutibus ut ut uinopé
maniam amipsa confarre dignum,

decu gemine celebres manu et robus.

duo humana duorum ante duum
lumen valetus in disi mortem ini
gate nobila.

Vos enim scis ill duo
in quibus duis parre per filius sui spes
hiereditatibus sed domini in quibus
ipsius sum in obsecrationes inquirunt
manum dilectos sine consimulare

ad imum. Eam mater tua in hunc ego
tam faciunt in aurum dulcime a
nunc ore dunnidum uent matrem silus

ad manum communi ests nobis duob
ego musumnos pasi somendo hodie

opus meum eranum meam ut in
omnibus sive ang momentis ser me
numus et annus sumus nus us et
pud dominii uenitour uichi castar dig
nunum. Cind o num sinuor et indulga
ter fnor quu uelle uatnum uele uest.
uolle uatnum nolle uest uide quid quid
ab illo petitis sine mosa obnuncion.
Perhant ego tam potens haman ueste
dignans uumum posate uichi quod
porator uipous et ale laur. Agte que
u o agne uemus uam oisounbus uro me
um mulus et habitate dignumu sic
alminus giae. largus optimus qui me
a uatnis uinor foeliv er uurer uum
ubus satis uissur uerouen uidemos
ne et pone uiatet etuanuere
neuati. Et post nunn uie uisum ad
gaudia medicar et ter tnuor munus

uns paraditus grana tiu largior op
numus. Quid num panet et lion
numus consolidanualis num as uine
comuare durs perversima similus seula.
Annm. Ima alia otao.

Bla uo redomina sancta
uam manu mara uo uelter
plun sa hum uis
uia uanrgiosu siuina.

manu orpha
numu. consolano 
ulam: una 
um.
salus et spes omnium in te speram 
um.
wyo arabium. wyo u pamu.
wyo post pamu. tuns uudic. tuns sa
luns et grae. tuns priam et lenae. tuns
consolidanum este indulgenue. Per illa
sanctam meo sulen lenam qua exul
taur spinus nius in illa hora quando
nhi per gabuynem arhangletu annu
natus ex conceptus filius di sui. Experilud dumnum misit unus quod nuncopa
nis et spinus sanctus in e. Experilla
sanctam instabiliam putatam grana
num amanam et humilitatem per qu3
filius deisandus amperi humanam,
canem in unciabilissinum umro no Et
in quibu transept quando recte et
santo volam apldo e augdieste. Et qu
traluit super choris angelos. Et per
illa sanctam instabili humilissi.
in qua respondit at angelus gauderi.
Era analla domini sancti sed in ter
yum num. Experilla sanctissima qu3
domin gaudia tua que hundi des诃i
domino quibt e. Experilam maria
compassione instabili sudis dolo
rem quem hundis quando filii tui dunt

num idem antro cane nudatum et
super lauantum udiste. Pendens mina
fnum vulnus num. Filium. Et annom
lamanem audis eruncant udiste.
Et per quis uultura filii mi. Et per con
monen in anum suor prunno dolo
re uultenum. Et per dolores quem hundi
quando uisdeem uultenum. Exper
santes laugumus sui et per annum pas
sionem eius. Expermonem doloris uin
ivi. Et permonem lamante max. ur ei
omni sanctis et datis da uem et sehna
in anihilation et omnibus mai in omibi
vis et quibus mas idin omibi un
quis et sustineb mas. Erunt omibi
nus illis in quib3 ego sum factum lo
amus. aut rogatatis omibi dius
osthib hors aux momentis me me.
Et mihi famulo mio. Domine a diis filo nio complanenti. Omni uia et con-
soiine omni consilio et anhro omi
aduerto omni tridimo et sanctifia-
none omni salutazione per eprospan-
ma omi gstdio etiam et am ha
bundunaam qum nones spialun et
corplun et soin sanctis quis qui mele-
ne peromnia disponat abiam meas su-
tudiat cypus inum ngar.mans cngar
nusius dngar.sanis prompt. mores su
ponat atus prodr. moe rerdinia psa-
cr.cogimiones fas intumar.Piwn
mala indulgat pentra omend. situa
moder uiam honstant et honorabile
nichi mubrot.Cruetnam omi oves
adustarres.Iunus uida. hatam per
spialun coorporalen michi mubrat.to

nam span cannam sub calvmen hu-
militate et paoniam.Quibus sanis
vornus me ngar cngar. septem opa-
nic compler me saudar. duoderm amni-
los sin. Decem posta leges sintiit or-
eram me saudar. Et a septem post moh-
mulb mubrat et disnum usp in sinem
nir me. Etin novilius dics mas of
ndi michi sauem uam et annaia
nich diem et homam obnus me. Erhac
osium mean simplam suspiajas et ex-
audias crumam amam mishi mubias
Andi ext undi medulssima marana ma
rd de ermic.Amen jna haaxno

Rec ro repellima de grumte
miyo mania peramoam uii
grum stin ni mmadns,p me
petiono. Drignuai me susturin obi;
...
Santullina sanctissima spes
ommun in te speranda se
mana dura et manona
osma. Eia hora illa qua tetra mortis
salutis omni nit in tanto praeabunt
ut num tuinis salvi videre non valeat
et lingam manu inuer non possim
ad munecundum te. Et ne mihi om
et valete fragile anxi impideo neque in
mundo spium inuasione via palpare
et supcerat. Nomena ostina membr
inor contrarum et in stagno ostia
di sudus premortua apparet. Ad num
inืcuncti dix mem non onm choro
anges et sumnent muchu non onm
miha alyum et interspondi can am
am meam in tuam median firma.
sub tua pronone et penta cum ante
mblal film num ubi melis iute inu mer
necri et iub laudibus et sius angelo al

Per partum uno inviolata permanis.

Sans qui transitus in uno
nem manam in conceptu et
in patrn nigurtrata fama
ipsum gaudio levis se que
quis gau
dia filio nis ignatur et ad nos almo
dante multiplicata, passa quis ut ad illi
inflabile gaudum que manu allimpta
gaud in eis quis munds et in admir
dibus meranti gacure. Per sipin

Per gaudemana uno ermale
stitutionibus et in
nieti prouima eti domin
mundi interim interm multima et do
nus populi xpiani. Amen.
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foliis Stella pansi. undulata radium.
Panum non gravius. unum manus
nerumans. propus purpuraeum. Sunt
flos propreetrum. hunc non padi er
men. num ode amittis. dicu proprie
moxum. virginitatis candor. non pr
dis num nastrum. manum matro pa
cho nobis reta ma. apud numinum
Anno tua grana. dyelle nostra nin.
per hoc sanctum gaudium.

E terno granum. Stella mo

Per hoc Sanctum gaudium.

In ammis adum. ipsius annus et
dirum. numerum unam. Stella notar
numinant. mors ipse mutam. in pre
dito siho. Annun innum puccati. mura
nunt william. etibus et orano.

Omnina Stella mundi. aquis sinus
per quos a salutar. de atla palad. ergo sungaret sequatur illam uiam qui mi-
rantur in mundi modera. Par horgan
dum rogannus nec uimin ualearnus. de
monis uignes. sed ad atos a salandam
ubi son ver gaudanam. man eran filho.
Ernum guandi ostiandit. et
inpini qui dandit in lin-
guis paradoxus. Dum eu
simiar et tindic. uiper mundar et uam
dir. aplios ponunt. In linguas et ignis
anum. ut per linguas in canatus. homo
linguis ydum. Et per ignan ondardar
qui uirat manilatius. y paim ponunt.
Pter horgandium ranum. a s ung
anum ranum. in hore. Dae
noshun ranum. nehrnovis in paradi
in magno judino.
D lepomui uxorant nam a mund cruciatire ad alti.
Superhionos eauunat.
Dxamat hynxorant semali gri hynor.
ibi fis praebatur quod omnia mistrant.
inci per trunca.
Per omnis diramuis
per trun danor. omninum misdia

Vingo mater pietans. sinamus lo
vitatis. territumum. Er nos fames a
parans. et pudes nitans. ad remi
gaudium. S mana tota mundi. a par
icans nos mundi. per her seprigandia.
Et fenda nos mundi. er ductae ad io
gandia. padis gaundia. Amen.

E depos santissima mana
magnifacienti pietae plenit
sima. simum regis salia. magno gloriosi
sima. mater exphanox. concludo dolo

omn. una manam. salus et pes inter spes
muniam. uigo ante prum. uigo ugni
uigo post partum. Ionus uig. Ionus in
graeque. Ionus piamans et lenae. Ionus et
sololomis et indulgroei. Ionumas pro
me pade. N. sanudo tuo anto antipari
hin tu diui mi ilu spi. upar tum mag
nam miun nam et sanatlaam
impassionem confidet michi ante temp
er dien moenis me puram conditionem.
depos mas. ac commone et uram pon
miam. et post novam um sus et celitis
sus utam piram acombus. sintibus
vini et sinistus quae sempita. Amen.

Siquis singulis dubius labiatis um
lepmum. Ave mana quam imagine se
mane gramiexus durum pondero legir
der alter visibilis inania in passus gaundia.
O magna Hugo flos Diano.

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...
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mum mania cantas habue
nir usar. Quanto tuo anno, valor
laeans. Hunc pendentur publice, du
urre spatulans. Quinta est minora, di
ipse dominus. Enisteus bracket nattis
et communistis. Perhas quins t金华
abane madam. Et qvia hani mundi,
usamus manem. Post hanc uram a
minas. Dies summus ad honorem u
qua pro nobis sancta in gnimi k y ldi
di et
anamur promshonbus se. lllano.

Manu uno undique con
solamur misamur quam u
per usas quinus minnas
tanguvian mas quias in hoc mundo
vina qual siio dolum olo pro
labor pandear sudnumisi quauvis om
nes tabulationes etanguishus uras a

moe mo et sily qui dominu nii ihsi epi pa
amur valam sus incrier et humillar
suparuturabi et sigo no lucet in omn
senus merarur et conungrare. P xin.

Domina lma alia orano.

Gloriosa uugo mania digna
re mas paonius; indignus
litimus annular quas essindre phimo co
ram dulamino filo tuo dio nio illu
pio. Et domo te pinni; spianus vius
acidimentis. In omni suo stare et ordine
et pro amnab; patnis et manus nec et
ominu parentum et assimum meo
nus fustaurim et maleor-e-trplo pro qui
bulambe. Fun sinu erro diones acnola
manus vivar; qui sidnam halvar in
mas orian File: indignus ut pro cie de
parus possimui silium nui dim non
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Loquintur, non assisu nullis ignis
Dab lucidus satiis et tus pannum
Huc open sine, pannum longu amani.
Dabo manu di pannum magnificavit
Dum condit, qui illo quinta manum
Consorvo fragis ago alti clivus.
Exaltans humiles salvi sita silentes,
Veni manu gnoa piana nisi num
S. Hei medica et in multibus eruditorum
Aliae tu tibi, quibus tibi mundo
Rerum turpium digna
Dabo manu per amore filii
Nisi dux tu hui quern non distinguas nos
Nostros pannos sine adiuvo tuo sola
Sapta et adiunca nos ut solum purum
Apostas paradisi et un dilatorum
Num dixi mihi sine sine vertere menti.
Por tum dixi num. Amen.
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[Image of medieval manuscript page with Latin text]
Gloriosa pennis tuyo angelor dignissi
ma numis urneranda per omnia finita
salutationis. Amen. In alia oratione

Hoc si tua mens ad quod tu praecepsi
ab uia tua et ab uia quem tu esse nunc
omnium Christi. Ab uia tua et ab
omnia mala indolenter. A sulfurem
petere. A substantia et omni morte.
Ab omni periculo corpus transeunt et omni
mala tribulatione angustia. A labius
iniquus et a postesta coe. A multis et per
Dux te conservet dumcum vivis.
Per in mollibus est in una
Dura praelago tam erit
eiu.
Quid benedictus et fedelis
Sic ugo uringi sancta mater
Per quam luminis huminum modo filioth.
Per eis longe quem non procul
Vor suntu gaudui nidi ne
non par sit sancti eius aut 2nus.
Sed perseveration tuis sancte pens
Deor miens anstar pemetteo 20.
De lae coritic et de loro 2ns. Amen.
Labam membrum dolosla nata
Vnum inanbosa dunn pim
Dat alius Eius aum
gnatus. confirmata et idem
pnu initur gladius. Qn qui mihs er
affutura. surella benedita mater unignun.
Quis est homo qui non sacer epi mamam si mamut, ut tan
to sperato. Qvis non posset contemtis.

[Handwritten text in Latin]

Dicitur [Handwritten text in Latin]
per ans insafablan pitarum etia saim
inanstionen muean in die undin mi
simordiam. Sed qualis labus duper de
iuan simiam truguratam miam da
mea nana. San quia ego miseramus
sus sum peparum dui mea ihi spi.Quale
ignor exordium confessio mne faanam
Quih inesctel qual condinent con
firmis impiam ligianct e polium labia
mouar tempalo ut d quib persam pi
miti minutionen deplor. Ego miset
�� rakst qlid faanam ad quan tv quid
mrompto in dies undin quand omnia
apprendunt aut qualis fistiia. Aslatr re
galt illi mbili mbuinali. Quon roga
to in illa tribulane le do. Qus mih
miserimur quis mihchi subuenet quis
mih prygr quis me porit a umma
na
literae insas se indr usas puri et mi
nos dui qui proptiam non deplar ma
turam sed caluor et adunat. Ad qual
mam consignam postum vel ad quale
consignam remedi misenorditina ma
na. Misi ad er et ad eum qui nani es re
re acroban et dnu proen nesi. San
domina mea quia valde pemen in re eti
fiiem mi diun nin ilin eipm et non si
dignum miam imperiam. Sed habini
et numplum ehis qui ante merumur per
cate indulgen nam. Udo ar a amde pi
sumo ineraequis domna de gnun tria
nia sola casta sola sancta anima ego epp
imedita tribulanum sventudo afflic
compassio. Vindui ubhantmi. Meneu
ns inanins. Condnniis ad truca pur
no postulans trugnarn miam diam ut
dextram nihili dignitatis nunc edulgo
nam patsum dilectum amen. nos de
vernir et illum nonam demus tabula
nors et de nona postare imperare
nignens. auidum fulis nui diem min.Po
est enim alia praelo homnnix utilis
in praedicata. Quis intedna mea spera
uer et autitius est. Unde ego miser et
eum pro phcnem suntm languitantis
nec et sibi si nihii impendas et in ho-
ra enim mag et haec tamen intes
sim necipere diabolmi madi. Quia hoc
es quod prout usquam asiam isam
Ego ignior. nede. adio. laud. et gltium
vni in minutut dem dum non illum
dis vinum. antemun a parte in stabilitur
natum nominius autem tempore dt
andreu davis. etiamtamen et nunti

de su locuto. etre sancta inmanulata
temperunque ipsitn constitu. est pser
num dum. cpisti hominun. qui par
nos hostes pan dignatus est. et super
usinabile ligni manus eronde. harpa-

ttions animam etiam ponens pro

oubus sus. sepultus est et resumptus ass-
disq. in colun num same quem estu sa-

suspeti. et nnnnus et indicat inuos t
nmonios. harciat woes anima corpore

et colo. avo amplitudo. etre. ut haec

man. in actione oftras. sancta et

manulata nudo dignitute filio nudo

ino nudo et ne abores ne dsinas de

manonam nnnam. Sed libera me ab

quitando que me aqpliandit et pional

is surpindndus que me possidit. qua

tantiss. etiquitanalnplexus sum.
Te num sancta di grumio, spe sobstani
num gratis humanis spianos tempore, pu
siliamnonum consolano et affluens
instigium, ob vado trvm penadonis meos
silo mio dio mi o fessas eampias pr
catvocum medovm indulgaeeas simul
ps impens in pevam consolacnon,
Tcmnum estvm qui crematis et salu
adorando, eglossionip solis lirong
laus tribulano, umns opotaes sonv
do crumpanum, nunc et empercemier
nola sedamur. Amen.

De mar grancumirg ip per
pura. Manna divinis ad
nume saria. Grana padin
por tricietia. Plena hucipos coda nis
duna. Dcis aliaiun in treu deindir.
Teum mannum singim inter amm

Baudita planamia quia sios ascendi.
Tu peramnum ad una qui meus pedip
t
m unoque ilium unicm grum.
M flourishing in hocetum nepus.
Es quum peramn granas hish.
Benedictus per quem muta mens.
Estucus tam salvusnam qu poran.
Trenis decanon dilutarvanis.
Tum mannum unum placantis.
Hic nos salviote fxo advocatis.

Amen omnis diuinis p riconan.
Qua pastum diuinis uque qian.
Perwum dulvisini thu ni nan.
Cum sas in pama simus complatan.
Amen. Diavon dranbengus

Sion vos Olandutchid.
Sancto gabriel, sanctraphael.
Amen sonis uste qui astat
ante in spesina in antetr y ptrta intuler
in, and num tenaci integro utra memoria
utra consititio salus in manu omm
non et erituna umonu divitis in sum
et divino uide di mirabilen sanem do
num uii uii Qui min do pate f.

Alumnus Dei anna
mam sii Anna finnis num
et tum. pate min leiana.
Ex revela uen ans uaur. promisens suchi
qui deint. minchiana. Per cemiam si
proles, nos per lumus mundi molen.
mar soli unine. A pmans ecm, smi
afandamus num, num mons glue.
Handica trianna quemamagnum.
Per quam nobis saluns sus appent. oj.

Et non in virtum mundum
transcendite annum praeponen treh
qui solus salutem possis. Da mihi postea
sur seule operam, et pateat quilibet placent
int. et ut expediam. Da mihi in prout
ad sui consilium in pleno ac tibi in
tribulatione solus in me modicum
minum tam punitur unum et gruir
faciendi quod non ani eas amis
fides in me seque salutis in epi nubie
utius in me. Signa si quis in honore di
lerno de tuo temo in patre pannoo
almam in amandi honestas in amore.
Sobriam in assumme, sancta in confi
sqrt. amare, desiderium invencit et per
salvam amorem usque in finem. Prater
domina nobis qui eum vult ac immensae
niv. Omnia patr est pueri fo visser
vignar donum sola da solae. Amen
De benedictus patr.
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chilare. Sicut contracto... oditum et nam
good haben et... bisixtoe in brachium tuum et gravi
me offerite et me literare dignus ab ois
bus angelus... dolores in quibus po-
stitus sum. Sicut literas abrahami de
manus caldox et j sicut domus
ne pascet. Jacob de manu fissa sae
san Joseph de manibus fratrum nixos.

Nunc aram ad aquis dilecto.
ne regnat sabundo et familia tua

et manus et populum isti de man
num phantasmis et liberae regnaph
et factum salve monte goliene. David
regnum de manu saul et goli gigantes.
Et Sicut literas susannam de falsi cri

mine et testimone et Judith de man
o lofervus. Danielum de lam leum et

tres pios de cumulo ignis ardens. Jo-

nium de ventre et... silam mulieres cha-
nanter a doloribus... ad amm et

sindo inferno... suo et Based suancute.
c et petrum de man parvum de

Tanta domine ille qui de vivi literare
dignus me familia tuum regnum
ab onum tribulatione dolores

angustia in quibus situs sum. Et om

ubi mundus inmodum in mor et mare
dignos in adinornum mamm undati

archangelum contra eos a eos mala mon

ilia que contra me sanctum vel facto vo-

nut dignus domine ille ipsi cusmare.
saint enso qua solium arctici qui

consolatus est absalom contra david

regum. ita me literare dignus y santa de

nania tua. y instancia quem tuam per
nus tuus omnem situm. Dixisti domine, confirmatum est. Significans laboris et dolores quos nobis sustinere suscepti, tam sinti. Pray for Deus semper dulcis semper dulcis domine, ut in repecta custodias me familium tuum per gentem et discipulam ad nostrum, et frequentem tuam ad semper semper dulcis semper dulcis domine. Dixisti domine, sao salutem sum maxim sanctarum dixisti domine. Patre
ubi gläs ago t retstro et pr amus breur
sias sät lous niedt collatis quia tu
me fæstli fe mishalo et redunshi me et tua
longuisima pectate et tua ab tua dux
dnxone xpnta vitart etiam p mitra
do. Propri ista et alia quoniam videret
vidit et puris auduit, nec m cx hois
ascendit. Nego te dulassine donum idum
pte ut ab omnibus panbis corpus et alia
p tua pectate me adnus, et me ling fe-
librare diguus et summerea, et pot hui
vite cursum ad te temum limen et veri
me ponere diguus. Quo vult re-
drus: P xpiu d. n. Amet—

omini nos servus a langrore, qui tuo
nomine sublim glioso, expurgas nos in
uue omnis election. Nn ne monne
ris inquitatim naxe annuax et
Cito antapient nos niste ex papes si sum
nuus. X. Aduna nos et salutaris m. X.
Et xpt ghiam nomini sin diuc libera
nos 1 ripiicin esto pois mis ytter noma
nomni. X. Laudte undi thin omnes angli
xus X. Laudte undi thin omnes uirtutes ens.
x. Domine salutum fac regem. X. Cre
audir nos in die qua omniumus te X.
Dex xandl a zonen m. X. Et et Gane,
undi nos domine hui: omnu
pans lempatius et mistere dig
nus tristus d nis qui notodiant souc
ant pegrant visitant et defends uum
habita in hor habitanilo. P xpiu d.
Quintus temp. Siemus.

Hic Deus in suis manu sunt omnes potestates ac omnia una regna respicit
in aequilibrio etiamque in tribus paganos
qui de sua fortitate constiunt restituere potisse conturbantur. Ex quia illi autem
hierarchia, hi hierarchiae omne illius um-
serere, non illius mis. Duc tuum inferre
Ipsi Deus est, qui nobis ordines usque ad mos-
tem mundi autem annos. Patru Ord
Esper dimum an hanc familiam
manum, qui ait Deus non
dubitantes manibus tradidit munus et ex
rebus supplementum. sequamur duc
testamentum sui per angulo pavimentum ostentum
manus tuae, non desolaeur terra quae y pacate
aniam veniam. O mundi olim
vita tua in volo tuo. Et a suitate fata ut
nunc molemur. Præ cæ.
THE HOURS OF RICHARD III
by
Anne F. Sutton & Liva Visser-Fuchs
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Denique familiae pro tolerantia.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes. Full citations for the works thus abbreviated, and for other works referred to by short titles, will be found in the Bibliography.

AH  Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi
Antidotarius  Salicetus, Nicolaus, Liber meditationum . . .
BL  British Library
BN  Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Darmstadt  Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt
Horae Ebor.  Wordsworth, Chr., Horae Eboracenses
LH  Lerouquis, V., Les Livres d'Heures
Lyell  De La Mare, A., Catalogue of the Collection . . . bequeathed . . . by James P.R. Lyell (the numbers refer to the list of incipit of Latin prayers on pp. 366-400)
PL  Migne, J. P., Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina
RH  Chevalier, U., Repertorium hymnologicum
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A study of the Hours of Richard III is justified more by his ownership than by any other single factor: his ownership and the addition of certain prayers for his use as King make the manuscript unique.

Lambeth Ms. 474, here styled the Hours of Richard III, was not made originally for the King. As demonstrated below, it was produced in London about 1420 for an unknown owner, possibly a clerk. It is a text of unusual length and some distinctive features. At some date after 6 July 1483, the date of his coronation, Richard III chose to use this text as his personal book of hours. He made four additions to it:

1. His birth-date in the calendar (f.7v).
2. A collect of St. Ninian (f.1).
3. A long, fairly common prayer, the history of which is here studied for the first time. It is called 'Richard III's prayer' because it has been so often and mistakenly asserted that it is unique to Richard and has been used to draw unfounded conclusions about his personality (ff.181–183).
4. A long devotion, perhaps a litany, which was apparently composed for him personally and which may reflect his interest in the crusading 'movement', such as it was, in his day (ff.184–184v).

Richard III (1452–1485) is one of the most controversial figures in medieval history. In 1483 he succeeded his brother, Edward IV, on the throne of England, setting aside his nephews who were declared illegitimate. To establish himself he had to execute several opponents and crush one rebellion. During the two years of his reign his only son and his wife died. In administrative terms his rule was not unsuccessful but its full potential was never realised for he failed to defeat an invasion led by Henry Tudor, the future Henry VII, losing his crown and his life at the battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485.

Criticism of Richard III centres on the murder of his nephews. Other crimes of which he has been accused and of which Shakespeare’s play is a constant reminder include the murder of Henry VI, Edward IV’s predecessor, his own wife, and his brother, the Duke of Clarence. These charges, however, are rarely now considered worthy of attention by serious historians. The disappearance of his two nephews, who are not known to have been seen again after the first few months of his reign, remains a constant theme of debate: did he murder them or not? Richard’s personality can still be described in the most pejorative of terms as a consequence.

As a man’s religious convictions can be considered fundamental to his character and behaviour Richard’s piety has naturally provoked comment, and conclusions have been made linking his piety with his crimes and a need to atone. Some of these theories have been drawn on material in the Hours, especially ‘his’ prayer, but none have been based on any real inspection or understanding of the manuscript or of the prayer’s text and purpose. A study of the Hours is therefore long overdue and should contribute to a better appreciation of what are the facts about Richard III and his piety to be found in the Hours. A caveat must be entered, however, on the more general issue of whether the piety of a king of the fifteenth century, or indeed of any individual, can ever really be known. In the authors’ opinion the enigma of Richard III cannot be solved by looking at his Hours.

There are other reasons to study this second-hand book of hours chosen by Richard III for his own use, and each of these may incidentally contribute to our understanding of why he chose this manuscript. It is a long text, longer than many other hours, and stuffed with individual prayers presumably all chosen by the first unknown owner of the book – these are set out and explained folio by folio in the ‘Analysis of Contents’. Despite this wide choice of prayers offered to him in the book Richard III still felt impelled to add others that were important to him. The liturgical texts of this Hours justify a study in their own right.

In its decoration the Hours is a comparatively modest one. It is not like the more lavish ones so often owned by royalty. If Richard III owned any such magnificent hours, and princes often had more than one, they either do not survive or all signs of his ownership have been expunged by a later owner (Henry VII is known to have superimposed his arms over those of Edward IV in some books). Although Richard’s Hours is plain it is nevertheless a good example of a fine period of London illumination. By its illumination it is also possible to date the manuscript.

Both its liturgical contents and its decoration presumably appealed to Richard III. The text shows the preoccupations of a devout man of the fifteenth century and its decoration puts it in the context of the development of London manuscript illumination in the same period. Richard III chose a very useful, solid, unfan- boyant and English manuscript for his daily use – one that can be shown to be entirely in keeping with the other books he owned. He seems to have chosen his books for their contents.

Books of Hours

A book of hours, or primer, was the private book of devotions of the layman in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was the result of a long development towards a more personal expression of religious feeling.¹

The ‘hours’ referred to are not the sixty-minute hours of the clock as we know them, but recall an older division of day and night marked by the position of the sun and varying with the season. Since very early times and in many religions people have felt the need to pray to their god at frequent fixed intervals. In the Christian faith not only the moment but also the content of each devotion soon became highly formalised. As early as the third century AD the faithful were expected to worship at the ‘natural’ times of midnight, cockcrow and sunset, and also at the third, sixth and ninth hour of the day. They were to express their faith by reading certain parts of the Bible and singing designated psalms and hymns at each of these occasions. This was the duty of laymen as well as of priests and monks.

In the ninth and tenth centuries the renewal of religious zeal led to an extension and elaboration of the official daily devotions, or Divine Office. By the year 1000 the most important ‘extras’ were the Gradual and Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead and the special offices of the Virgin, the Trinity, the Holy Cross and the Holy Spirit.² Many of these came to be regarded as integral parts of
the older devotions, but unlike them they were not related to the festal days of the saints and hardly changed with the church’s year. The laity found these offices more attractive and convenient than the long complicated devotions of the clergy: their objects, such as the Virgin or the Passion, appealed, and their format was brief and almost invariable. These offices were at first added to the existing layman’s devotional book, the psalter, but also came to lead a separate life by about 1400. The main and most distinctive item in a book of hours is the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Officium Parvum Beatae Virginis Mariae). Its prayers, lessons and psalms, read and sung in honour of St. Mary, were spread over day and night, each part to be said at its appointed ‘hour’. The names of the hours or offices changed in the course of the Middle Ages, but by Richard III’s time Matins (matutinum, from the Latin matutinum, ‘morning’) was the first and began at midnight or shortly after. Together with Lauds (laudes matutinales, ‘morning praises’, because originally it always ended with psalms 148, 149 and 150 in praise of God) it formed one long office said during the night and early morning. The next four, shorter, offices, Prime, Terce, Sext and None, at the first, third, sixth (noon) and ninth hour, filled the day. Between Terce and Sext, Mass was celebrated. Vespers (vesperae, ‘evensong’) started at sunset or earlier. Compline (completorium) completed the cycle and was said before going to bed.

The text of the Hours of the Virgin was usually preceded by a perpetual calendar listing the saints and feasts of universal and local importance, set passages from the Four Gospels, one from each, and the Passion according to St. John. After the Hours themselves (and there could be included not merely those of the Virgin but the Hours of the Cross, the Holy Ghost etc.), followed the Seven Penitential Psalms with the Litany of Saints and The Office or Vigil of the Dead. Several other items are common to most books of hours and will be discussed below in so far as they are included in Richard III’s manuscript.

In specific details the books vary according to the diocese or monastic order in which they were used. Among the better known ‘uses’ are those of Rome, Paris and Utrecht on the continent, York and Salisbury (Sarum) in England. Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian use are also found. Analyses of the variations in the short devotional texts that accompany the psalms sung at each hour and of the saints in the calendar, as well as the precise texts of hymns and prayers, help to establish a manuscript’s origin or the market for which it was made. This is of importance to the art historian studying book illumination and painting.

As the popularity of books of hours grew their contents gradually eluded clerical control and their quality deteriorated. The Latin they were written in came to contain many errors because of the ignorance of the copyist, and items were added, mostly prayers, of which the contents bordered on, and often trespassed well into, the realm of superstition. These additional devotions, however, can also provide evidence of sincerity and faith. Some are very old and may be found in earlier manuscripts already existing in the time of Charlemagne. Most were anonymous, many were ascribed to saints and fathers of the church and some were credited with miraculous origins and equally miraculous powers.

The contents of books of hours were very familiar to every literate person in the later Middle Ages and their influence on imagination and speech and thus on contemporary prose and verse was considerable.10

THE MANUSCRIPT, ITS SCHEME OF DECORATION AND STATUS

Lambeth Ms. 474 is a book of hours according to the use of Sarum. It is now in a mid-sixteenth century binding, with some gold tooling, which has recently been rebacked. The binding was executed in the workshop of the King Edward and Queen Mary Binder which was active in the 1540s and 1550s, doing work for Henry VIII, Edward and Mary as well as less illustrious customers. Unfortunately it is not known who commissioned this rebinding. All edges are gilt. The lining sheet from a fourteenth-century service book with music is visible. Two brass clasps with catches survive, hinged to the front cover, but the bottom hinged bar is missing.

It now has 184 vellum folios with two unrulled flyleaves at the end, blank except for some erasures; several leaves are missing and there are no unrulled flyleaves at the beginning. Most of the twenty-six gatherings have eight leaves, the first is of two only, the third of six. In the twenty-first gathering, between folios 151v and 152 there is a neat stub. Of the twenty-fourth the seventh leaf is lost (the one that contained the beginning of ‘Richard III’s prayer’). The twenty-fifth gathering has two leaves and after these (that is, after the end of the same prayer) at least three ruled folios have been crudely cut out. The twenty-sixth gathering consists of the leaf on which is written the surviving portion of Richard III’s ‘litany’ – it is of a different, rougher vellum, comparable to that of the doubling of two flyleaves. All gatherings and all folios have been numbered in pencil, presumably by M. R. James when he collated the manuscript. In two instances only, the Calendar and the instructions of the seasonal variations of the Hours of the Virgin, do the major sections of the text correspond with the physical divisions of the manuscript.

Devotional pieces were added to the original text for the use of Richard III and there are minor inscriptions by or about other persons. All these, as well as the damage or erasures, will be dealt with below in the discussion of the contents, under the appropriate folio, and in the section on ownership.

Without its binding the book now measures 193 by 140mm. It was originally much larger. If the proportions of the decoration of the Annunciation page are considered and if comparison is made with other manuscripts, closely related to Richard III’s Hours in date and style, which survive in their first binding after one careful cropping, an original size of at least 236 by 173mm, is arrived at. Such a size would have left about 10mm of space between the decorative sprays of the full border of the Annunciation page and the edge of the page. The sixteenth-century binder, who for some reason had to rebind the Hours, overcut the book, but he must be a little excused for his destruction of the Annunciation border for here the artist had painted far more in the upper margin than did the artist of the other two full borders. The binder certainly resewed the manuscript because some letters of the addition of Richard III’s birthday in the October Calendar now disappear into the spine.
THE MANUSCRIPT, ITS SCHEME OF DECORATION AND STATUS

The text is in one column throughout and is in what M. R. James described as a ‘tall narrow English hand,’ a *goschica textus quadrata formata*. A full page has eighteen lines ruled in brown ink, the text space measuring 83–83.5mm. by 117–117.5mm. The devotional additions made for Richard III imitate the hand of the original book.

The manuscript is decorated simply but richly. There are historiated initials (that is, decorated with a picture) for the three key divisions of the text: the Hours of the Virgin (Matins; f.15), the Penitential Psalms (f.55) and the Vigil of the Dead (f.72). The initial of the second has been cut out. All these have full vinets, that is to say a border decoration extending around all four sides of the text. There are no other pictures in the book; the rest of the decoration is composed of elaborate, formal foliage patterns of demi-vinets and champels (initials decorated in colour on a gold ground with ornamental sprays in the margin).

The size of the introductory initials suit the importance of the individual offices, psalms, prayers, and so on down to the responses. Thus, a nine-line historiated initial and a full vinet opens Matins and six-line historiated initials with full vinets open the other key items in the book: a nine-line decorated initial introduces *Salve virgo virginum* (f.152), while eight-line decorated initials are suitable for the beginnings of Lauds (f.25), Prime (f.37v), Terce (f.41), Sext (f.43), None (f.45), Vespers (f.47v) and Compline (f.49) of the Hours of the Virgin, as well as the Psalms of the Passion (f.101) and the *Confiteor* (f.124), and the Fifteen Oes (f.145). Seven-line initials are sufficient for the Commendation of Souls (f.90v), the first of the Miserere psalms (f.109), and the Psalter of St. Jerome (f.112v). There are no six-line initials, apart from the two superior, historiated ones, and only one five-line initial, the one introducing the Seven Joys (f.162v). Four-line initials are frequent, for example one opens the first stanza of *Omnibus consideratis* (f.131v), the prayer of the Venerable Bede (f.136v), the *O interrerata* (f.156v), the *Obsequio* (f.158), the Five Sorrows of Mary (f.168), and the *Sub Stabat mater* (f.173). The status of the initial is often not immediately clear as they curve down the margin and have no space left for them in the text, but most of them rank as four- or three-line initials (eg. ff.25v, 35v, 95v, 122v, 129v, 131, 151v).

The majority of prayers rate three-line initials and as these appear towards the end of the book, the book gives the appearance of ‘running out’ of decoration in its second half (especially ff.168v–180), as do other books of hours, for the same reason. The last, or rather the last surviving, prayer of the original book, to St. Julian, is introduced by a one-line initial (f.180v).

Subsidiary sections of the longer items are similarly marked by initials of different sizes. Two- and three-line initials introduce hymns, chapters, psalms, and prayers throughout the Hours of the Virgin, and one-line initials introduce most minor items. Subsidiary initials for the Seven Penitential Psalms are all two-line ones, as are those for the *Commendationes Asiamorum* and Psalms of the Passion. The Vigil of the Dead is also served by two-line initials, except for one four-line initial at the beginning of the *Dirige* (f.74v). After an introductory eight-line initial for the first of the Fifteen Oes each subsequent one is marked by a three-line one.

One-line initials perform a great variety of functions: these are in gold or blue alternately and are decorated with pen flourishes in blue for the gold ones and red for the blue. None are remarkable. The lowest level in this hierarchy of attention marks is represented by the pale stroke of ochre paint through certain capitals in the text.

Titles and rubrics are in red, sometimes heavily abbreviated, such as those indicating verses or responses. Paragraph signs are also in red (eg. f.36) and line fillers are in blue and gold.

The pages of the Calendar have little decoration: the one champ of the KL at the head of each month has alternately red and blue as its main colour and always has two stiff sprays of foliage jutting out from it. The painter seems to have considered decorating the outer margin of January with other sprays and tentatively sketched in a few, but he thought better of it and went no further. Red, blue and black mark the days and feasts in the usual manner, with one-line initials as described above. (See also in the Analysis of Contents for the Calendar).

The champs introducing the textual additions made for Richard III are in the London style, as it had become in the 1480s: their prolongations are like solid fern fronds rather than the curling tendrils of the decoration of the original book. The one-line initials are in the style of the rest of the book.

The time expended on decorating a book indicates something of its status and relative cost in the absence of precise details of its commission and price. Clearly the Hours of Richard III, with the scheme of decoration indicated above, is in a very different class of manuscript from the lavishly illustrated hours commissioned by such as the Dukes of Berry and Bedford. Nor does it have the status of a book of hours with a long sequence of historiated initials and miniatures such as the Nevill Hours, called after its first known owner, Richard III’s cousin George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny. It is, in its turn, superior to hours that have no historiated initials and call for no representational skill from the decorator, such as Lambeth Ms. 459 made in London 1470–90, which has plenty of crude foliage-decorated initials, or Bodley 113, an unpretentious Sarum hours similar in style and date to Richard’s and made in London 1425–50 with a plain vinet for the Hours of the Virgin, demi-vinets, champels, all unelaborate and with little gold. Closest to the Hours of Richard III but sufficiently different in small details to show effectively the range of books of hours produced in the same workshop, probably within months of each other in this case, is manuscript AB 6 C 4 of the Benedictines of Altenburg, Austria. This has a full vinet and one historiated initial of seven lines for the Hours of the Virgin, using the same model as Richard’s Hours, and its Vigil of the Dead and Penitential Psalms are introduced by demi-vinets with seven-line initials composed of foliage. The last are so similar to those in the Richard III Hours they might have been done for it. Subsidiary decoration is in the same manner, with no decoration at all for its plain Calendar. Everything in the Altenburg manuscript is slightly less lavish than in the Lambeth manuscript: its highest point is the one seven-line historiated initial for Matins; its subsidiary illumination is less extensive and its demi-vinets have less variety, but its style and colouring are the same. The Altenburg manuscript was the cheaper of the two commissions.
THE ILLUMINATION: STYLE, WORKMANSHIP AND DATE

By the time Richard III's Hours was produced the illumination of books of hours had become subject to several conventions. These conventions imposed an overall order and both facilitated and standardised the tasks of the scribes and painters, speeding up the production of what has been called the best-seller of the middle ages: for example, the method of differentiating saints by their emblems was universal, even if the saints included might vary, and the labours of the months and later the signs of the zodiac became the usual way of illustrating the Calendar. The Hours of the Virgin were illustrated either by scenes from her life, concluding with her heavenly coronation, or by a sequence showing the Passion of Christ, the latter being usual in England. There were regional differences among these conventions, just as there were for the local use or custom of the diocese which affected which prayers, offices and saints were included, and different workshops added their own characteristic decoration. Bruges and Paris were noted centres of production with their own styles, and so was London in the early fifteenth century.

The illumination of books of hours was as much part of the humanisation of the church's offices and the personalising of devotion as the text. Each manuscript differed in some respects from every other manuscript, although the more expensive the commission the more unique the book might be as a work of art. The purchaser's wishes and purse affected the decoration, particularly as regards quality and quantity: whether pictures were to be included, how much gold was to be used and whether personal motifs such as coats of arms were to be added. The decoration also depended on certain priorities dictated by the text and its contents: attention was first paid to the opening of the Hours of the Virgin, secondly to the Penitential Psalms and thirdly to the Office of the Dead.

Only these three sections are historiated (given pictorial illustration) in the Hours of Richard III; the rest of the illumination is purely decorative, to please the eye, indicate the divisions of the text and help the reader to find his way about the book. The original owner did not make any discernible impression upon the artist's work (though he did on the contents). It is, however, an expensive product of a good workshop. The first page of the Hours of the Virgin has a border of the best quality English illumination of the time, and few openings lack pattern, colour and gold. The restrained reaction of commentators hardly prepares one for its bright, clear colouring and its warm attractiveness. The last quality is partly due to the particularly pleasing combination of orange and gold, a softer combination than the blue and pink or harsh red that so often dominate similar manuscripts. It is a book for use, for its owner to carry around and take to church, and to add new items to for personal devotion. It is not a showpiece designed primarily for its pictures – if Richard III owned such hours (and many rich people did own more than one), they are not known. This book was the service book he chose to use personally as king.

English Illumination in the early Fifteenth Century

From the end of the fourteenth century a marked change in the style of illumination (the art of decorating or 'lighting up' a manuscript with gold and colours) took place in England. A linear, flat and decorative style with little modelling of figures gave way to one that aimed at a three-dimensional and realistic quality, with solid figures and a liking for portraiture. This change is considered to have been the result of communication between English artists with their several native traditions and the continental schools of France, the Low Countries and Germany. Artists had their own workshops, mostly small family based units with a few apprentices; they tended to congregate in one area, such as Paternoster Row in London. They were frequently employed by middlemen, for example stationers of London, who handled and financed the commission and put out the work. They taught apprentices; they copied each others' work, they collaborated on large projects under one master or supervisor and they often specialised in one type of work, such as borders or miniatures; they moved around to find work, influenced each others' styles and models, borrowed themes; they were attracted or repulsed by foreign fashions and developments. For all these reasons the work and style of individual artists in early fifteenth century London are almost impossible to identify or distinguish, particularly when more than one worked on a book, a gathering or even on one page, and, as so often happens, when the talent of the painter was unremarkable and no details are known of the commission from documentary sources.

To identify the artists who worked on Richard III's Hours, or at least locate them, in this web of workshops and styles, it is necessary first to describe the known illuminators and their circumstances in the early fifteenth century, as well as the manuscripts they produced. Secondly, the main decorative features of Richard's Hours need to be related to similar features in those manuscripts found to be closest to his Hours in character, paying particular attention to dated manuscripts. The main features are the historiation, the portrait heads and the subsidiary decoration of the borders and initials. The fluid interchange of styles and the working environment of the period make this dangerous and speculative. Above all we are conscious of Abbé Leroquais' gentle reminder of how the long dead painters would smile at modern historians' attempts to analyse their work.

One notable English artist flourishing at the beginning of the fifteenth century was John Siferwas, a Dominican friar, whose portrait and name appeared in the great missal illuminated under his supervision for Sherborne Abbey circa 1400-1407. He was also involved in the production of the lectionary made for Salisbury Cathedral at the order of John, Lord Lovel of Titchmarsh (died 1408). He took ideas from everyone and adapted them with great talent, combining native traditions with the new international gothic style, and has been praised for his fine portraiture. This theme of portraiture is manifest in several English manuscripts of the early fifteenth century, such as the Bedford Hours and Psalter and, in a minor key, the Hours of Richard III.

One of the greatest products of the international gothic style, probably of the first decade of the fifteenth century, was the missal made for the Carmelites of London. It was a complicated, co-operative piece of work by several groups of artists in London under the supervision of a continental Master, variously described as Dutch or Flemish – it seems likely that whichever of these two nationalities was the
Master’s, the other was a dominant influence over him. The missal also shows the influence of the older English schools of illumination at Westminster and in East Anglia. Apart from the particular hand of the unknown Master in this manuscript, the hand of Herman Scheerre has been detected. The workshop of Herman Scheerre was identified in the 1920s, and documentary evidence was found later to suggest that he originated in Cologne. His art, however, had strong Flemish connections. He lived in England in the first two decades of the fifteenth century and it is possible he leased property in Paternoster Row near St. Paul’s Cathedral, the heart of the London book trade. Herman occasionally signed his work: he did so in a small book of prayers and offices probably made about 1405–10 and extensively decorated with small, intense renderings of religious subjects (BL Add. 16998), a large breviary probably made for the future Archbishop Chichele between 1408 and 1414 (Lambeth 69), and the Hours and Psalter made for John Duke of Bedford circa 1420 (BL Add. 42131). Mottoes associated with his workshop have been found in other manuscripts. His work has been extensively identified and discussed, perhaps more because his name is known than for any other reason, and his personal achievement has had its detractors, but for the moment at least, his reputation appears to stand high. His was a spiritual art: his figures have soft draperies, flat bodies and long, pale faces set against formal backdrops of colour patterned with gold. He worked on both large and small commissions, often doing one or a few miniatures himself in each. He was extensively copied.

A named contemporary of Herman Scheerre was Johannes, who put his name on his famous picture of Venice illustrating a copy of Marco Polo’s Li Livre du Graunt Cam. circa, 1410 (Bodley 264). Johannes had a more lively and robust style than Scheerre – like him he was extensively copied. The ‘Johannes group’ of artists delighted in bright, clear colours, often with a lot of yellow, and pictures full of characters; their people had heavily featured faces, protruding eyes and exotic clothes. The most remarkable manuscript produced by the Johannes group is the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, named for Elizabeth of York, a later owner (BL Add. 50001). It was made in the late 1420s and its first known owner was Cecily Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who married first Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick (died 1446) and then John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, whom she predeceased in 1450.

There was considerable communication and cross-fertilisation between Scheerre and Johannes and their associates, and several manuscripts show collaboration of artists belonging to each group.

The Historiation of the Hours of Richard III: Annunciation, Christ in Judgement and Funeral

An Annunciation is an extremely simple scene: a dialogue between the Virgin Mary and the angel. There is little action or variety of gesture available to the painter. God could be added to the scene and the Holy Ghost, as a dove; a scroll with the angel’s words of greeting was a very early addition; other decorative features such as Mary’s lilies, her book of hours, pieces of furniture and details of background were emphasised or forgotten by different groups of artists. With such a limited range of possibilities in the iconography, the smallest detail has to be highlighted to place each version in its context, while remembering that entirely separate artists might invent the same new variation independently since they were manoeuvring in such a small field. The most important and unusual features of the Annunciation on folio 15 of Richard III’s Hours are the peaceful position of the Virgin’s hands, crossed at the wrists, and her jewelled coronal.

The main influences behind this particular Annunciation, so far discovered, are English and Flemish. The most striking English parallel occurs in a psalter and hours made circa 1395 for Eleanor de Bohun, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, National Library of Scotland, Advocates Ms.18.6.5., f.9v. Annunciation, with an early English representation of the Virgin with her arms crossed.
similar iconographical details including a Mary with crossed arms. It seems likely, therefore, that the immediate origin of this gesture, as used in English fifteenth century manuscripts, was English, and from Westminster in particular. A far more magnificent and influential use of the same gesture of acceptance was to appear in Flanders on the reverse of Jan van Eyck’s Ghent altarpiece in 1432.

It has been suggested that the overall prototype was created by Melchior Broederlam for a Dijon altarpiece made circa 1391–4. This Annunciation is set in an architectural background and is supremely elegant and rich in ornament. The kneeling angel on the left lightly restrains a scroll from floating upwards between himself and the Virgin who kneels at an altar or prie-dieu on the right. The soft and demure Virgin has her own book of hours open before her; half turning to the messenger she raises one hand in modest deprecation of the honour done her. At the top left there is a representation of God the Father (often reduced to a red or blue cloud on which God is sketched in a darker shade of the same colour), and from him a dove descends in a ray of light to the Virgin (sometimes a child follows the dove). Whether Broederlam’s altarpiece can be called the prototype or not, his elegant model was extensively copied, with endless variations, on the continent, by such as the so-called Rouen Master as early as 1400 in Bruges, and the Boucicaut Master who practised in Paris around 1405–1430. It was taken to England by such painters as Herman Scheerer.

Two of the earliest and finest renderings in England were one by John Siferwas in the Sherborne Missal, and another by Herman Scheerer for a psalter made for...

John Beaufort the elder (died 1410) and his wife Margaret Holand (died 1439) about 1404–7. In both versions one hand of the Virgin lies on her book and the other rises towards her breast – they are not yet in repose. More significant for the present study are two other very simple Annunciations, one by Scheerer and the other an associate. Scheerer’s was made about 1405–10 for the small book of prayers and offices which contains his name (BL. Add. 16998, f.17, fig. 2). This shows the Virgin kneeling with both her hands in repose, although not yet crossed – the rest of the composition is already very close to that of Richard III’s Hours. To the elegance of the continental model Scheerer has added the restful, accepting hands, a detail which it has been suggested was English. He and his associate were to make the motif their own. The other example, probably around 1415–20, occurs in the Bodleian Library manuscript Lat. liturg. f.2, a Flemish book of hours to which English additions were made by Scheerer and his associates. The small Annunciation (f.13, fig.3) is undoubtedly by an untalented associate; it is poorly proportioned and ugly, but it has the striking feature of the crossed hands, large and ungrammatically though they are. Like Scheerer’s small version, it has all the component elements of an Annunciation scene.

To Scheerer is also attributed another fine Annunciation in the Hours and Psalter of John Duke of Bedford, circa 1420, a manuscript of which he is now generally considered to have been the overall Master. This version (fig.4), however, again shows the Virgin with one upraised hand.

The model reoccurs in three other manuscripts painted by artists from both the Scheerer and the Johannes groups: the Nevill Hours, the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, and a less pretentious hours, now Hart 21038, of which no early owner is known. The first known owner of the Nevill Hours was George Nevill, Baron Abergavenny (died 1492); it is an elaborately decorated manuscript and contains a motto associated with the Scheerer group of artists. It has two Annunciations: a full miniature (f.100) with a seated Virgin, and an historiated initial (f.15, fig.5) with a
Figure 4. Bedford Hours and Psalter, made for John, Duke of Bedford circa 1420, British Library, Additional Ms. 42131, f.7. Annunciation.

Figure 5. An Annunciation in unusual colouring: the angel is in blue with green wings, the Virgin in pink at a table draped in green, and the background is red. Berkeley Castle, Nevill Hours, f.15. Annunciation.

Figure 6. Hours of Margaret Holand, wife of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V and John, Duke of Bedford. Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.15. Annunciation.
design close to the Richard III version except in its unusual colouring. In both versions, however, the Virgin has one hand upraised and one on her book. This gesture also separates the version in the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence from that of Richard III’s Hours, although otherwise the details are strikingly similar (f.15, fig.6). The angel in particular can be noted as identical in both colouring and drawing, but the Virgin is more poorly proportioned. These Hours were first owned by the same Margaret Holand mentioned above as the wife of John Beaufort (died 1410), who married secondly Thomas Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V and John Duke of Bedford. In the third example (Hart 21018, f.7, fig.7) the Virgin’s book is replaced with a scroll bearing her answer to the angel, and the Virgin’s hands are one above the other in front of her, not quite in repose but also not in any active display of emotion.

Closest to the Annunciation in the Hours of Richard III is the one in the Hours owned by the Benedictines of Altenburg (f.9, pl.4). Differences are that the Virgin has her blue mantle over her head in the latter and that her hands, although in repose, are not crossed at the wrists. (In the Altenburg manuscript her hands are in fact closest to the pose used by Scherre in the small prayer book Annunciation, fig.2). The Altenburg Hours have been dated to circa 1410–12, but in light of recent
opinion a date 1415–20 may now have to be preferred. The Annunciation has also been attributed to Herman Scheerre—perhaps too boldly.\textsuperscript{30} The Annunciation in Richard III’s Hours certainly cannot be so attributed: the proportions of the Virgin are a little ungraceful, the head and long neck are graceful but her whole person seems slightly too large for the arrangement of the picture and for the framework of the initial. Herman’s figures are always more proportioned, both in themselves and within their frame. She bears more resemblance to the round faced, chinless damsel to whom David displays the head of Goliath in the Bedford Hours and Psalter (f.122, fig.8), than to Scheerre’s refined, long faced ladies.\textsuperscript{51} All these ladies are relatives, however—they were all produced under the supervision or influence of Herman Scheerre.

No precise parallel has been found in any of these manuscripts—nor in the later versions of the Annunciation which will be discussed next—for the unusual jewelled coronal worn by the Virgin in Richard III’s Hours. It is similar to but much less rich than that worn by the Virgin on the front of the Ghent altarpiece (1432). The closest parallel is on the head of a man in an initial of the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (f.7).\textsuperscript{52} It is in fact more usual to find the Virgin either with her mantle covering her head or bareheaded and nimbed in these English manuscripts.\textsuperscript{53}

This model of the Annunciation continued in use in London in the following decades. Three striking examples can be given. The first in date is the charming, small hours made for Queen Katherine de Valois around 1425–30 in London to the use of Paris. The manuscript as a whole suggests her French taste influenced the decoration as well as the use, but in general its treatment falls within the ‘Johannes’ group of manuscripts.\textsuperscript{54} The figures of its Annunciation (BL Add. 65100, f.27v, fig.9) are remarkably similar to those already discussed, although their positions are rearranged: most importantly, the Virgin is uncovered and has her arms crossed.

The ‘damned’ Annunciation in the Hours and Psalter of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick also uses this model.\textsuperscript{55} The figures of both angel and Virgin lack proportion, their faces are vacuous and ugly, and the flat background is almost aggressively unrelated to the figures (Pierpont Morgan M. 893, f.12, fig.10). For all its intense colour the miniature as a whole comes a poor second to the lavish border surrounding it, although the same artist may have been responsible for both. These Hours are datable to the 1430s and must predate the Duke’s death in 1446.\textsuperscript{56}

The model continued in use into the 1470s. There is a version, poorer in quality than that in Richard III’s Hours but close in its details, in a book of hours and offices of that date (BL, Harleian 2887, f.29, fig.11). The Virgin is bareheaded with a large rayed nimbus, her hands are at her breast, a scroll is unrolled on the prayer-table before her. The angel is kneeling on both knees instead of on one, and his cloak has become a plain gown. Backdrop, tiled floor and the blue cloud of God are all in place.\textsuperscript{57}

The later London artists of Richard III’s own lifetime do not match Herman Scheerre and his associates for talent but they are the descendents of their workshops and their traditions, and they have inherited their models.\textsuperscript{58}

Strictly speaking the illumination of the second historiated initial opening the Penitential Psalms (f.55) of Richard III’s Hours should be treated at this point, but as it no longer survives, having been cut out, the identification of its picture must depend on the establishment of a group of books of hours closest in style and iconography to Richard’s Hours. The third historiated initial, for the Vigil of the Dead, which does survive has therefore to be studied first, before any conclusions can be ventured about the missing picture.

Like the Annunciation, the Funeral that introduces the Office or Vigil of the Dead was taken from a standard model. Monks chanting the actual office of the dead was the most common image used to illustrate this section of a book of hours; others included the requiem mass, the burial of the corpse or the raising of Lazarus.\textsuperscript{59} In Richard’s Hours the chosen motif is an extremely simple composition (f.72, pl.2): a draped coffin dominates the scene, behind it four clerics sing with their service book open on its top, two mourners droop on a bench in the foreground (they are now very smudged) and a single tall candleabra stands to their left. The floor is of tiles and the backdrop is red painted with a gold pattern as in the Annunciation. It is all carefully depicted and the faces have some individuality and animation. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the artist of the Annunciation did not also paint the Funeral.

Figure 9. Hours of Queen Katherine de Valois, made \textit{circa} 1425–30, during her widowhood. Use of Paris, but made in London. British Library, Additional Ms. 65100, f.27v. Annunciation.

Figure 11. Book of hours, made 1470s in London. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.29. Annunciation
The earliest and simplest version of this scene had been produced *circa* 1400 on the continent, by followers of the Rouen Master in Bruges, to illustrate books of hours for the English market. For example, Bodleian manuscript Lat. liturg. f.2 (f.79v, fig.12) shows an enormously tall, grey draped coffin standing on a beige and black tiled floor with three lumpish clerics behind it in mauve, red and blue.60

Brighter and better examples were produced in England,61 such as Richard III's Hours, and such as a Bodleian book of hours, Rawlinson liturg. d.1, which has an almost identical funeral to Richard III's Hours in both details and colours (f.59, fig.13). The mourners are missing and two of the clerics are differently dressed but the characterisation of the latter is remarkably similar in both manuscripts.62 The figures of the Rawlinson manuscript are slightly too large for the initial: the grouping is the same but the Richard III Hours is more refined and successful in its facial details and in the placing of the figures within the initial. Another trio of clerics behind a coffin illustrates Hart 21018 (f.49, fig.14).

This group of singing clerics was too useful a device not to be used in other contexts: very similar groups appear behind lecterns to illustrate two psalters (BL Royal 2 B viii, f.88v and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 148/198, f.206), both of which are closely related in their style of decoration to the Hours of Richard III and produced by the same circles of artists.63

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**Figure 12.** Book of hours, made *circa* 1400 by followers of the Rouen Master in Bruges, for the English market. Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. liturg. f.2, f.79v. Funeral.

**Figure 13.** Book of hours, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.59. The Funeral most closely resembling that in the Hours of Richard III.
An extremely simple funeral scene can also be found in the Bedford Hours and Psalter (f.46, fig.15). Though it is a luxury manuscript, its iconography is always plain and to the point. The Funeral has been attributed to Herman Schoerre himself. Only a few additional details differentiate it from Richard's Hours: the seated mourners or poor men are on stools, not a single bench, and they face to the right holding cierges rather than show their backs to the reader; other mourners, probably family, stand at the end of the coffin.

The grander manuscripts already mentioned in the context of the Annunciation, with the very important exception of the Bedford manuscript, indulge in the more elaborate scene of the requiem mass: the Clarence Hours (f.75, fig.16), the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (f.55) and the Warwick Hours and Psalter (f.60, fig.17). Many of the same elements are present such as the centrally placed coffin, the mourners with or without their bench, candles, tiled floor; almsmen or congregation are added along with the copeed priest before the altar for the mass.

The small and less pretentious Hours of Katherine de Valois has a funeral service with some additional details (f.193v, fig.18) and an architectural background. Finally, the Harley Hours of the 1470s has a version close to that of Richard III’s Hours (Harleian 2887, f.80, fig.19): green tiles, draped coffin, three clerics with a book and two mourners behind, a pink backdrop patterned with gold.

The iconography of both the Annunciation and the Funeral used in the Richard III Hours has been found to be close to that used in several other London manuscripts. Unfortunately the other historiated initial, introducing the Penitential Psalms, is now lost, but the information accumulated on the other images enables it to be described precisely.

The usual image to introduce the Penitential Psalms in England and the Low Countries from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries was Christ in Judgement; in France an image from the life of David became more popular in the fifteenth century. In England Christ in Judgement meant Christ at the Second Coming: between two swords, wrapped in his mantle or in a loincloth alone, he displayed his wounds seated on a rainbow above the earth’s surface from which the dead are beginning to rise up; he was flanked by the Virgin and the Baptist, as intercessors, and angels with trumpets. This is the subject illustrating the Penitential Psalms in all the manuscripts so far searched for Annunciations and Funerals, with the one exception of the Hours of Katherine de Valois which unsurprisingly adopts the preferred French image of David at prayer (f.133v). The Bedford Hours and Psalter, whose simple iconography has been found to be so close in spirit to that of Richard III’s Hours, has Christ in his mantle, displaying his wounds, seated on a rainbow which ends abruptly in two dish-like clouds; souls emerge from their tombs below him; there is a red, gold patterned backdrop (f.37). The Christ in Judgement which is undoubtedly closest to the lost initial of Richard III’s Hours is that in the
Figure 16. Clarence Hours. Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.75. Requiem mass.

Figure 17. Hours and Psalter of Henry, Duke of Warwick. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.893, f.60. Requiem mass.
Bodleian manuscript, Rawlinson liturg. d.1 (f.40, fig.20) whose simple representation shows only Christ on the rainbow, the two swords, grassy earth beneath, and nothing else but a patterned background. The same picture in Hart 21018 (f.35v, fig.21) is close; the grass on the earth’s surface is depicted in the same way but the background is a louring grey and Christ is surrounded by rays.

In the Nevill Hours the image is equally simple (f.62) with no additional figures, but the Duchess of Clarence Hours (f.57, fig.22) has a more complicated iconography close to that in the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (f.27). The latter has an elaborate, even idiosyncratic, image in keeping with the rest of its decoration: Christ in a loincloth looking as though he is about to slide down his rainbow, attended by angels with trumpets, two with emblems of the Passion, as well as the Virgin in crown and ermine mantle and St. John the Baptist, while souls emerge from their tombs below. The Warwick Hours and Psalter (f.44v, fig.23) also adopts this elaborate picture, and it is extended into the corner motifs of the border where more angels and souls are depicted.

Harley 2887, of the 1470s, the final example in this survey, chooses, as it has before for the Annunciation and Funeral, the simplest design: Christ alone on the rainbow against a pink background (f.68, fig.24).86

The study of the iconography of the two surviving historiated initials of Richard III’s Hours has shown that their artist used models that were extremely popular throughout the fifteenth century. He chose from among the simpler versions and these are closely related to others produced in London in the first three decades of the century. Most important of all, close parallels can be found in a manuscript that can be dated to circa 1420, the Bedford Hours and Psalter.

The Portrait Heads
The native English portrait tradition of the first decade of the fifteenth century observed in the Sherborne Missal and Lovel Lectionary had several brilliant exponents. Later it was to degenerate via the work of such as William Abell, and only the remnant of good teaching lightened the heavy hands of talentless pupils.89

The interest in the human face among early fifteenth century artists in England is relevant to the decoration of the Annunciation page of Richard III’s Hours: two finely done ‘portraits’ of Saints Peter and Paul and three round-faced angels, all in one colour, are set in the border. The features of the two saints are instantly recognisable. St. Peter with his square beard, St. Paul with his long beard, etc. The sensitive rendering of the saints in Richard III’s Hours (in monochrome) is very close to that of the same saints in the Bedford Hours and Psalter (in natural
Figure 20. The missing miniature at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms in the Hours of Richard III probably looked very like this example of Christ in Judgement from the book of hours, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.40. The complete border of trumpet flowers and foliate also gives some idea of what has been lost from the Annunciation border of Richard III’s Hours.

Figure 21. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, f.35v. Christ in Judgement.

Their types are, however, in such common use that it is not possible to make a definite conclusion of association on that fact alone. 70

Far more important is the use of monochrome and of the portrait or human face as decorative devices, employed together to such good effect in the Richard III Hours. A striking parallel can be immediately instanced from the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, where the Penitential Psalms has a border with corner bosses containing two profile and two full-face angels in pink and blue monochrome (f.57, fig.22), 72 the middle one on the right of Richard’s Hours being very close to the angel on the bottom right of the Clarence Hours. Further examples of the use of monochrome faces can be found in several of the other manuscripts already cited as close to Richard’s Hours in their iconography. The Bedford Hours and Psalter uses monochrome faces in its borders (e.g. ff.7, 73); and so does the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (f.98v), some of the latter being formed out of foliage (f.7) like strange green men. The Hours and Psalter owned by the Duke of Warwick and made in the 1430s similarly makes a striking use of monochrome faces set into its borders (e.g. ff.12, 44v).

Many of these examples, however, lack the quality of the Peter and Paul of Richard III’s Hours. To find this, comparison must be made with the portraits in natural colours in the Bedford Hours and Psalter, the Rawlinson Hours (fig.25) and the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen. 73 Of these the most relevant for the study of Richard’s Hours are the elaborate and remarkable set of over 280 portrait-head initials in the Bedford manuscript, some the work of Herman Scheer, 74 and the
Figure 22. Clarence Hours, Executors of Major Abbey Ms. J.A.7398, f.57. Christ in Judgement.

less elaborate series of portraits in Rawlinson liturg. d.1,\textsuperscript{75} obviously by an artist very much aware of the Scheerre style. Among the second scenes the portrait of the Virgin is close in type to the Virgin of the Annunciation in Richard III’s Hours: a child with a high forehead and her hair tucked behind her ears; the Rawlinson St. John the Evangelist is the same type as the angel of Richard’s Hours (fig.25).

The portraits in its Annunciation border again place Richard III’s Hours within a small group of manuscripts surrounding the great Bedford Hours and Psalter of which Herman Scheerre was the Master, \textit{circa} 1420, and on which artists of the Johannes group collaborated. Associates of Scheerre worked on the Rawlinson Hours, collaborating once more with artists of the Johannes group who contributed the Passion scenes both in this manuscript and in the Clarence Hours. Some of these artists went on to work on the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen.\textsuperscript{76} The tangled web of influences and collaboration in early fifteenth century London illumination cannot be over-emphasised.

Cleverly executed faces, in natural colours or in monochrome, were clearly a hallmark of manuscripts produced in London by both the Scheerre and Johannes groups of artists.

\textbf{Borders, Initials and Colour}

The Annunciation page border is incomparably the finest in the Hours of Richard III. It seems reasonable to suppose that much of it is by the artist responsible for the historiation, in particular the three-dimensional effects and faces. The wide border is composed of monochrome bands sculpted like masonry boxes containing three different patterns: a plain scroll wrapped round a rod; acanthus leaves wrapped round a rod; a long acanthus leaf forming a continuous undulating scroll. The initial itself on this page is also composed of acanthus scrolled round rods. Set in the centre of three of the borders, like jewels, are three faces of angels, each in one colour; at the top a flower and an acanthus leaf and at the bottom fine monochrome portraits of Saints Peter and Paul form the three-dimensional centres

\textbf{Figure 24.} Book of hours, 1470s. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.68. Christ in Judgement.

\textbf{Figure 25.} Portrait initials (the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist) illustrating the last two stanzas of the prayer \textit{Omnibus consideratis} (see ff.132–134 of the description of the contents of the Hours of Richard III). These full colour portraits are comparable in quality to the monochrome portraits of Saints Peter and Paul in Richard III’s Hours. Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1., f.110v.
of the corner clusters. The surrounding foliage of these clusters is composed mostly of scrolled acanthus with some trefoil leaves, all highlighted with delicate white shading and a fine white crust of beading along the spines and veins of the leaf and flower shapes. The sprays of foliage that have not been cropped by the border have terminals of bell-flowers, simple lobe-shaped leaves as well as five-petalled flowers, some with sepals. Small sprays end in gold dots and squiggles smudged over with green.

The 'portraits' have been discussed above. Otherwise the most notable feature of the border is the use of three-dimensional acanthus. It is not used to such effect in the rest of the book although similar enclosed bands of acanthus occur in some semi-vinets (ff.25, 124). The device of three-dimensional acanthus is a common feature of the manuscripts already compared with the Hours of Richard III, in the decoration of initials, single leaves in the centre of clusters or scrolled borders.77 Three-dimensional flowers are also employed as centres. The use, in two of the manuscripts consulted, of precisely the same flower which appears as the centre of the top left cluster of the Annunciation page of Richard III's Hours – Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.40 (fig.20) and Gonville and Caius 148/198, f.1 – again shows how close these manuscripts are in their manufacture and date.78 The three-dimensional effect in monochrome challenged the virtuosity of the artist and seems to have become a trademark of skill for London artists of this date.

The rest of the illumination of the Hours of Richard III is unlikely at all to have been painted by the artist of the Annunciation page and the two historiated initials, although it is possible he did some of the scrolled acanthus (e.g. f.25). It was probably left to assistants who specialised in border decoration, and who were probably responsible for the similar decoration of the Altenburg Hours. The handling is heavier but the work is finished and agreeable. The two full vinets of the Vigil of the Dead and the Penitential Psalms each have two-bar borders, one in colour and one in gold, from which erupt clusters of formal foliage and flowers at each corner, at the centre of the three free sides and in the terminals of the initial on the fourth side. The leaf motifs are repetitive and trumpet flowers with dotted fruit centres occur. Sprays emerge from the clusters with a variety of terminals: four- or five-petalled flowers with or without sepals, small trumpet flowers, trefoil, kidney or lobe-shaped leaves. Smaller pen sprays terminate in gold dots with squiggles smudged with green paint. All these terminals may be found in the manuscripts already searched for comparable historiation.79

The fourteen semi-vinets accompanying the seven-, eight- and nine-line initials usually have band borders extending down the left-hand margin in a variety of forms and patterns. Some adopt the three-dimensional scrolled acanthus of the Annunciation page (ff.25, 124), others (e.g. ff.37v, 41, 43, 90v, 101) have undulating patterns of trefoil-leaves, lobe-shaped leaves or three-petalled flowers, curling back on themselves and creating a figure of eight in a design comparable to those of the borders of the Annunciation page of the Altenburg Hours and those used frequently in the Nevill Hours to frame the miniatures. Exactly the same pattern with trefoil-leaves is used on folio 50v of the Nevill Hours and on folio 101 of the Hours of Richard III. Done with incomparably more skill and discipline is the variant used on folio 7 of the Bedford Hours and Psalter. A third type of semi-vinet border in Richard III's Hours is composed of unconfined acanthus leaves twisted over themselves in such a riot of blue and pinky orange that the bar about which they are supposed to twine is forgotten, as in the example on folio 152. Acanthus leaves looped over themselves like the tongues of garters or belts can be found in several of the related manuscripts.80 From these demi-vinets erupt sprays similar to those described above for the vinets. Additional terminals include trumpet-shaped flowers, sometimes collared, sometimes with serrated petals, or with yellow dotted fruit centres.81

These strawberry-like fruits, often dotted with yellow and protruding from funnel flowers and leaves, have been noticed as a motif used with increasing frequency in fifteenth century English illumination.82 They are conspicuous in Richard III's Hours and the Altenburg Hours, there are some in the Bedford manuscript, in the Clarence Hours and Rawlinson liturg. d.1,83 some splendid ones in the Gonville and Caius Psalter, and they are in the later Hours of Elizabeth the Queen as well as the Warwick Hours and the Psalter.84 They become endlessly repetitive and boring in such manuscripts as Lambeth 459 in the 1470s-90s.85

All the large and small initials in the Hours apart from the historiated ones are decorated, according to their size, with a simple interlaced pattern of clusters of four, three or two lobe-shaped leaves twisted to fill the spaces created by their stems. The leaves are regularly patterned and highlighted with white. Sometimes the leaves are replaced by trumpet or open flowers with spotted fruit centres, and occasionally a minor variation is introduced, such as an unsuccessful attempt at three-dimensional leaves in a three-line initial (ff.163, 163v) or unusual leafy trumpet sprays coming off another three-line initial (f.279v). The initials themselves are mostly one colour, shaded with white in a button-hole pattern and beaded with white dots; others are patterned with simple scrolls wrapped round a rod. Their stiff, jutting sprays and terminals are as those described for the vinets and demi-vinets. If two or more four-line initials occur on one page, the artist allows their individual leaf clusters to run into each other or links them by a bar running up the margin. Except for its lack of variety of borders, the Altenburg manuscript bears the closest resemblance to the Hours of Richard III in its subsidiary illumination: its four-, three-, two- and one-line initials are all comparable, as are its line fillers.86

The development of border decoration in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century in England is not easy to trace; the standard designs and patterns were used very widely and in endless variations and combinations. The new devices introduced have been noticed and studied: new feathery sprays of foliage, bell-shaped flowers, spoon-shaped leaves, borders composed of rigid bars or decorated bands with clusters and bosses at the corners and other points, an increasing use of green dots of paint on terminals, and the attenuation of marginal branches into slender hair-like sprays. Most conspicuous of all developments at this time were the brilliantly coloured scrolls of acanthus in borders and initials, in all the variants noted above – these became characteristic of all English work up to circa 1450.87

The luxuriant borders of the associated manuscripts of the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen and the Warwick Hours and Psalter need to be briefly mentioned. The border of the latter's Annunciation (f.12, fig.10) is similar in type to that surrounding the Last Supper of the first manuscript (f.7).88 Both of the borders are
against a solid backing of gold, the Warwick manuscript’s gold precisely finished off to a line on either side, the other allowing its gold to follow the more erratic line of the sprays and foliage. The Warwick manuscript then goes one better and has a subsidiary border extending out to the furthest point of the corner decorations and consisting of a riot of foliage, flowers and birds on a smaller scale than its main border (see figs 10, 23). The designers of this have a different concept of a border from that held by the designers of the Bedford Hours and Psalter, the Clarence Hours, Rawlinson liturg. d.1 or the Hours of Richard III: they want to fill up the margin and are no longer content with an uneven decoration of sprays. This regularisation of outline becomes a feature of later fifteenth century English borders.

The colour scheme of the Hours of Richard III is pink and blue with an extensive use of orange, a little green, with gold. A striking and unusual use of green in this manuscript is the line defining the inner border of the Annunciation page and completely encircling the text. The other manuscripts used so far to place the book in its context use the same colours in different balances: the Bedford Hours and Psalter uses pink and blue, some orange, and a lot of olive green (the pink is often brown toned and the green can be an ‘emerald’) with a wide range of vivid colours in its historiation, including yellow; the Clarence Hours, the Nevill Hours, the Gonville and Caius Psalter and Rawlinson liturg. d.1 all use pink and blue predominantly, with green and orange, and brightly coloured historiation, the Clarence Hours making a great use of olive green upon occasion (e.g. f.44); the Altenburg manuscript uses pink and blue with some orange and green, its use of orange being less marked than in the Richard III Hours. Yellow and green are conspicuous in the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, while the Warwick Hours veers to concentrate on red, pink, blue and green. The technical study of the use and availability of pigments and colours is in its infancy, but comments on colours in use in England in the early fifteenth century argue that Scheere’s workshop, for example, went in for bright colours and a striking use of orange. Such usage has been attributed (probably fairly) to the foreign influences at work on and through Scheere and on English illumination in general at this date, but such warmth and richness of colours were certainly not without native precedents.

Conclusion

The Annunciation page is by the hand of the artist who must be called the Master of the Hours of Richard III. It shows us the artist’s character as clearly as is possible. Its main elements – the colour scheme of blue and pink brilliantly warmed by the orange so frequently found in Scheere manuscripts, the portrait heads, the saints set in clusters of leaves, the angels set like intaglio gems in circles of gold on the bands of three-dimensional, entwined acanthus leaves, and the contrasting, darker toned, bright blue and pink historiated initial – are all convincing evidence that this page is by an accomplished painter. Its restraint in comparison with the flamboyance of the later ‘Johannes’ type manuscripts, and its accomplished design, are close in spirit to the Bedford Hours and Psalter overseen by Herman Scheere about 1420. Many of its component elements and iconography can be found in this and other manuscripts of the same group. The monochrome faces show traits visible earlier in the Big Bible, in the more closely contemporary Bedford manuscript, and more prominent and idiosyncratic in the later Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, the tour de force of the Johannes group.

Other manuscripts show the complicated interplay of work and influences of the two identifiable painters and their associates: the Gonville and Caius Psalter, the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, and the Rawlinson Hours which has no ducal or royal title. These were certainly worked on by artists of both groups and they, in particular, clarify and suggest the chronology of the manuscripts. They fit neatly into the few years that separate the Bedford Hours and Psalter and the Hours of Richard III (and its closest companion, the Altenburg Hours) from the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen.

M. R. James first noticed the similarity of the Hours of Richard III to the British Museum’s newly acquired Bedford Hours and Psalter in 1932. His eye was unerring. It can be safely concluded that a painter who was primarily under the influence of Herman Scheere and collaborated with him on the Bedford Hours and Psalter, circa 1420, and who also collaborated on the Sarum Hours now called Rawlinson liturg. d.1 with artists of the Johannes group, was the Master of the Hours of Richard III.
name Ricardum to interfere with his or her devotions. This person was not sufficiently interested in Richard III to erase regem as well, as Margaret Beaufort would probably have done.104

Margaret gave the book away to an unknown person whom she asked to pray for her ‘in the honour of God and Sainte Edmonde’.105 The idea that the recipient was Elisabeth, Lady Sceope and Upsall, daughter of John Nevill, Marquis Montagu, who recorded in her will of 1514 a gift of a primer and psalter from Margaret, is attractive, but the lack of a psalter and of any hard evidence argue against it.106

Later signs of ownership are notes in the Calendar that Thomas Harward ‘happened’ to die 28 March 1542 and that AF died 26 August 1548. A ‘Henry Lyghe gent.’ of an unnamed city is referred to in the first person,107 and someone made notes referring to an Isabel Bradford and seven years, the usual term of apprenticeship.108 None of these people has been identified.

The book was in the library of the see of Canterbury early in the seventeenth century, most probably part of the gift of his large personal library to the see from Archbishop Bancroft (died 1610), which created the Lambeth Palace library, but possibly part of the smaller number of manuscripts collected and bequeathed by his successor, George Abbot (died 1633). It was among the manuscripts transferred to Cambridge University Library 1647–1664, and there catalogued and given the press mark, G 6 23, in the top left hand corner of the inside front cover. Later in the seventeenth century at Lambeth, it received the additional shelf mark 8vo 40 (according to its size) in the same place. The book escaped the rebinding programme of Archbishop Sancroft (deprived 1690).109 In view of the long period it has been at Lambeth Palace, it cannot be assumed that all the erasures in the text and the mutilation of folio 55 occurred in the sixteenth century.
ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS

In this description of the contents of the Hours of Richard III the more usual items of a book of hours are not discussed in great detail and not all texts or beginnings of texts are given - these can be found in the main reference books. The more unusual additional devotions, however, some of which are rare or very rare, are treated individually. Their incipit (first line) is given, together with some information about their purpose and contents; their origins where possible have been traced and other copies, printed editions and comparable material referred to. Completeness has been attempted but not necessarily achieved.

In the Latin quotations the spelling and capitalisation have been left as they are in the manuscript. The original punctuation has been indicated by either commas or full stops. Abbreviations have been silently extended. Translation is given in round brackets, editorial additions and comments on the Latin text and the translation are in square brackets. An attempt has been made to make the translation both accurate and comprehensible - criticism from Latin scholars and from those who expect Cranmer’s translation is thus inevitable. The problem of where and when to use capitals for divine names and biblical formulas has not been satisfactorily solved, but it is hoped this will not distract the reader.

Psalm numbers are given according to the Vulgate. When the word ‘rubric’ is used, an introductory heading or title written in red ink is meant.

Written in a later hand than the main text, this prayer is likely to have been included at Richard III’s request. The original book had a gathering of two ruled leaves (four pages) at the beginning. These remained blank until the collect of Ninian was added on the third page. It is a short prayer asking for the saint’s intercession:

O God who has converted the peoples of the Britons and the Picts by the teaching of St. Ninian your confessor to knowledge of your faith, grant of your grace that by the intercession of him by whose learning we are steeped in the light of your truth, we may gain the joys of heavenly life. Through Christ our lord. Amen.

St. Ninian, according to the anonymous chronicle possibly owned and certainly consulted by Richard, was a Briton educated in Rome who returned to his native country to convert the Southern Picts to Christianity. He was buried at ‘White House’ (Whithorn) in Galloway, named after a church he had built there of white stone, a custom not usual among the Britons. Both this shrine and Ripon became centres of his cult; dedications to him were mainly in the north of England and Scotland. He was the patron saint of the Western March towards Scotland, of which Richard was warden as Duke of Gloucester. Richard seems to have deliberately taken up and extended his cult for he included his worship at each of
his religious foundations at York, Middleham and Barnard Castle, and also at Queens' College, Cambridge, where he endowed four priests. In the statutes of his college at Middleham Richard instructed the collect to be said daily after matins and St. Ninian's day (16 September) was to be a principal feast, together with St. George's, St. Cuthbert's and St. Anthony's. The stall dedicated to him was to be the fourth of six in the church, after those of the Virgin, St. George and St. Katherine.

In general the inclusion of a collect or memorial to St. Ninian suggests a Scots owner of a book of hours, but there is clearly sufficient evidence in this case that Richard III had a special devotion to this saint.

ff.2-2v. Memorials to St. Christopher and St. George.

These are short prayers for the relevant saint's intercession, preceded by antiphon, versicle and response. The placing of these saints' memorials in this prominent position probably reflects the preferences of the first owner, just as the placing of the collect of St. Ninian is an example of Richard III's. The memorial of St. Christopher is the longer; it is a request for protection from 'sudden death, illness, hunger, fear and poverty'. Both saints may be supposed to have been chosen by a man.

ff.3-8v. Calendar.

The Calendar, usually the first item in a book of hours, occupies the remainder of the second gathering of eight leaves. Its use and purpose can best be explained with the help of the page illustrated, the month of October.

The days of the month are indicated by the small Arabic numerals in brown ink in the last column. They were evidently added later, after the insertion of the birth of Richard III on 2 October, for they were all written one line too low. Originally this numbering would have been unnecessary as early owners could have used the red Roman numerals in the third column and the abbreviations N (for Nones), Id (for Ides) and KI (for Kalends) in the fourth, which give the date according to Roman practice.

The first column, an apparently random series of Roman numerals, gives the so-called Golden Number of the year and indicates the day of the new moon, while the second has the Dominical or Sunday letter. Both were essential to calculate the date of Easter, the first Sunday following the first full moon on or after 21 March.

The Latin rhymes at the top of the page differ for each month and tell the reader which are the two evil or 'Egyptian' days (dies Egyptiani). Two numbers are worked into each cryptic verse: the first indicates one ill-omened day counting from the beginning of the month, the second gives the other, counting backward from the end. Each day is marked in the Calendar by a capital D in red. The rhyme of October reads: 'The third and the tenth are like unfriendly death'. The Latin of these lines is corrupt, probably because they are very old—similar lines pointing to the same days have been found in fourth-century manuscripts. Their origin is not clear; they may go back to Chaldean astrologers. Christian writers suggested that they were the anniversaries of the plagues of Egypt, or that they were discovered by the Egyptians, who were famous as astrologers. Such rhymes occur in many books of hours and it is impossible to know how much attention owners paid to them. It
was considered inadvisable to do certain things on these days, for example being bled, building a house, buying or selling, or cutting one’s hair, beard and nails.\textsuperscript{116}

The last line at the foot of the page indicates the relative length of day and night in the various months. In October ‘the night has fourteen hours, the day ten’. For the clergy the intervals between the offices were longer in summer, and the times at which they were said, as well as the hours of eating and sleeping, varied with the season.

The lists of saints’ days and feast days is the main part of the Calendar. Most are written in black or red ink, and a few in blue, according to their importance. Blue is used here for the great festivals connected with Christ and the Virgin (e.g., Epiphany, Annunciation), the Apostles and the Evangelists, and, for instance, All Saints and the Invention of the Cross; red is used for the other important feasts to be celebrated by everyone, not only the clergy (red letter days). To be noted is the presence in red of St. Erconwald or Erkenwald, bishop of London; 30 April (principal feast) and 14 November (translation).\textsuperscript{117} The Calendar is not graded in the sense of giving more specific liturgical instructions.

Later hands have made some additions and changes. On 5 January the deposition of St. Edward, king and confessor (the commemoration of his burial), was completely erased.\textsuperscript{118} In every instance the abbreviation for ‘pope’ (pope) was deleted – see for example 14 (here 15) October (fig.28) which date should have Sancti Calixti pape et martiris (the feast of St. Calixtus pope and martyr). These erasures, like similar ones in the rest of the manuscript, were made after Henry VIII’s break with Rome.

On 28 March a neat hand has written: Isto die obiit Thomas Harward con tingenter Anno domini 1542 (on this day died T.H. through an accident [?], unexpectedly [?]). On 25 August is written: 1548 Isto die obiit AF. The persons referred to are unknown. The hands of these notes are similar to each other and to the one that added the Arabic numerals in the last column of each month.

At an unknown date the feast of St. Michael was inserted at 29 September, a fact one is tempted to associate with the apparently unique inclusion of St. Michael in the text of the prayer added for Richard III on folio 182 of this manuscript,\textsuperscript{119} though the original omission of this popular feast is perhaps more remarkable than its later insertion.

By far the most interesting note is the one at 2 October (f.7v): hac die natus erat Ricardus Rex Anglie tertius Apud Foderingy Anno domini Mcccclii (on this day was born Richard III King of England AD 1452), written in a large, sprawling script that, unlike the other additions, makes no attempt to imitate the neatness of the original scribe, spils into the right margin and fills the lines reserved for the next two days as well. It must have been added after 6 July 1483 and probably by the King himself.\textsuperscript{120} The note was left untouched by later owners.

The Calendar contains no other special features.

In many books of hours the Calendar is followed by the gospel fragments and intercessory prayers to St. Mary and St. John (\textit{Obeschero te} and \textit{O intermerata}). The gospel fragments do not occur in this manuscript and the prayers are on folios 156v–159, below.

On folios 9–12 detailed instructions are given on which texts of the hours are to be changed during Advent, followed on folios 12v–14 by similar instructions for the period from Christmas to Candlemas (2 February). During the rest of the year the hours were recited as they are given in the main text. Although in some liturgical books the three variant forms of the hours are given in full, it is usual to have only the text needed for the period between Candlemas (or Purification) and Advent. It must have taken some training to interpret and use these abbreviated and highly condensed instructions correctly and easily, and their presence suggests that the first owner of the book was a cleric or someone with a clerical background.

f. 14v. thes. [H]esu christe fili dei qui natus es . . . (Jesus Christ, son of God, you who are born . . .) fills only the first eight lines of the page leaving the remainder blank. The illuminator forgot to fill in the three-line capital I of this, the last text of this section and of the third quire.

ff. 15–54. Hours of the Virgin

Matins, the first of the hours, prefaced by Hic incipit matutine de sancta maria (Here begin . . .) and beginning Domine labia mea aperies Et os meum annumabit laudem tuam (O Lord open my lips and my mouth shall announce your praise. Ps. 50,17) is on folios 15–25, followed by Lauds on folios 25–31. Lauds and the other hours except Compline begin with the words Deus in adiutorium meum intende Domine ad adiuvandum me festina (O Lord come to my aid. O Lord make haste to help me, Ps. 69,2). As is usual in books of hours of Sarum use, Lauds has at its end a series of memorials to various saints and others. In Richard III's manuscript these are to the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Cross, All Angels, John the Baptist, Peter, Andrew, Thomas of Canterbury (untouched), Stephen, Laurence, Nicholas, Mary Magdalene, Margaret, Sitha, the Relics of the Saints, All Saints, Peace; this series contains only one unusual item. Compline, on folios 49–54, can be recognised by its opening words Conversus nos deus salutarius noster Et avertite tram tuam a nobis (Convert us, O God, our saviour, and turn your anger away from us, Ps. 84,5).

The very brief Hours of the Cross (or Passion) and the Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin have been added together at the end of the main devotion of each hour (starting with Lauds), in each instance written as one composite text headed by the rubric De passione. The Hours of the Cross have the seven quatrains of the famous poem Patris sapientia as their variable text. It begins Patris sapientia, veritas divina, Deus homo captus est hora matutina (The wisdom of the father, the divine truth, God-and-man was taken in the morning hour) and each of its quatrains describes what happened to Christ at each of the seven hours on the day of his death. This variable text is followed by the same prayer in every instance, Domine thes. christe fili dei vivi pone passionem . . . (Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, put your passion . . .). The Hours of the Compassion also consist of a variable text and an invariable prayer. The former is a poem of seven quatrains beginning Matris cor virginem trena to tum trivi, quando suum filium nocte capitum scivit (The virgin heart of the mother was devastated by grief when she knew that her son had been captured in the night). Each quatrain is followed by the prayer Domine sancte thes. christe dulcis fili virginis qui pro nobis mortem crucis tollerasti . . . (Holy Lord Jesus Christ, son of the sweet virgin, who for us suffered death on the cross . . .). The hours end with a series of prayers to St. Mary (ff. 52–54).

ff. 54v–71v. Penitential and Gradual Psalms and Litany

The Penitential Psalms (psalms penitentiales) are a group of seven, expressing the grief of the faithful for their sins. They are recited in order to engender a spirit of penitence and to obtain God's pardon. These psalms were named by Cassiodorus (died c. 580) and have remained the same ever since. They are accompanied by the antiphon Ne reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentem meorum (Do not remember my sins and those of my parents, Tob. 3,3) and are here introduced by the prayer Suscipe sancta trinitas unis deus hos psalmos consecratos . . . (Accept, Holy Trinity, One God, these consecrated psalms . . ., ff. 54v). Part of psalm 6 is lost because the six-line initial that depicted the Last Judgement was cut out and folios 55 and 56 were damaged.

The Litany of Saints is closely connected with the Penitential Psalms and often follows immediately after, but here, as in most hours of Sarum use, the Gradual Psalms were put in between, beginning with only a two-line initial and ending with the same antiphon Ne reminiscaris.

The Fifteen (or) Gradual Psalms, like the Penitential Psalms, were added to the existing Divine Office in the eleventh century. Originally they were recited by the monks before Matins and divided into three groups: one for the faithful living, one for all the dead, one for the recently deceased. As is usual, only the first few words of the first thirteen are given (psalms 119–130), and the last three in full (psalms 131–133), because the latter do not occur in a preceding part of the hours.

The Litany (ff. 62v–71v) follows. It is one of the oldest liturgical prayers. Its main feature is its repetitive request (Greek liturane) for the intercession of all apostles and saints, and for salvation and the mercy of God. The prayer of Richard III (see chapter 6, below) recalls part of the repetitive 'Lord deliver us' (By your nativity, by your baptism . . . Lord deliver us), and also the list of evils from which the supplicant begs to be saved (From all evil, from the snares of the devil . . . deliver us). The list of saints invoked contains no names that call for special attention. Curious but not unusual is the inclusion of Martial (30 June) among the angels. This high status is the result of legend and forgery and was widely accepted.

The Litany ends with a number of collects for various purposes. They have no rubric allotted to them here, but they are known from other sources as prayers 'for devoted friends', 'for peace', 'for continence', 'for acting justly', 'of the saints whose relics remain in the holy church', 'against evil thoughts', 'for all the faithful deceased', 'for all Christian souls' and one to be said after the Sacrament. Several of these are still in use today. The final text Pietate tua quaesumus domin e solvere vincula omnium delictorum . . . (We beseech you, Lord, loosen the bonds of all our sins by your mercy . . .) asks for the intercession of Mary and all the saints for those 'related to us by blood, friendship, confession or prayer'.

Nearly a line and a half in this last prayer were deleted and filled with line-fillers in the ink of the original hand. Comparison with other copies shows that there are no 'offending' words to erase here and that the scribe himself had made the error.
On folio 67v, in the prayers asking for the preservation of the church, the prelates, the king and all the faithful, some offending references — to the pope and the abbots — were deleted completely.

ff.72–90. Office of the Dead.
The Office or Vigil of the Dead (Vigilie mortuorum) found in books of hours is a long text, its contents the same as those in the clergy’s breviary. They are the prayers and devotional texts that were said by those who kept vigil around the coffin in the night before burial, and could be used privately in memory of the dead and as a reminder of the need for repentance. It consisted only of Vespers and Matins plus Lauds, the first called Placebo after the first antiphon Placebo domino in regione vivorum (I shall please the lord in the land of the living), the second Dirige after the antiphon Dirige domine meus in conspectu tuo viam meam (O Lord, my God, direct my way in your sight). Placebo was said after Vespers of the day, Dirige after Lauds of the next day. Each office consists of psalms and lessons.

ff.90–100v. Commendations
The Commendation of Souls (Commendationes animarum) in books of hours differs from the Commendatio animarum still in use in the Catholic church, said by the priest over the dying. In Richard III’s Hours it consists of all twenty-two parts of psalm 118 (Beati immaculati), preceded and followed by the antiphon Requiem eorum donea eis domine (Give them eternal rest, o Lord), psalm 138 (Domine probasti me), a dialogue of verses and responses and the prayers Deus cui proprium est misereri . . . (O God who is always full of pity . . .), Tibi domine commendamus animas fumularum . . . (Lord, we recommend to you the souls of your servants . . .) and Misericordiam tuam domine sancte pater . . . (O Lord and Holy Father, your mercy . . .). These devotions were meant to help the dying in their passage to the next world, commending their souls to God, as Jesus had commended his on the cross.

They are introduced in the last line of folio 100v by the rubric Psalms de passione christi (Ps.21–30). Because of their contents they were considered appropriate as a devotion on the crucifixion. A primer in English and Latin of 1537 has ‘in these psalms . . . diverse prophecies concerning the passion, death and resurrection . . . are contained’. The last psalm In te dominum speravi (In you, Lord, I put my trust) breaks off after verse 6: ‘Into your hands I commend my spirit for you have redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth . . .’, because there was a tradition that Jesus recited these psalms while he hung on the cross and died after speaking those words.

The psalms are followed by two short prayers, and three Misere are psalms 50, 55 and 56, of which the first has a full seven-line initial. They are followed by a rubric: ‘This prayer is to be said after three Misere’, and the prayer Omnifotum semperiter deus qui humano corpori animam ad similitudinem iuventutis incipite dignatus es . . . (O Almighty everlasting God, who deigned to breathe a spirit in your likeness into a human body . . .).

In the middle of folio 112, marked by a two-line initial, begins the page-long explanatory rubric of a selection of lines from the psalms traditionally ascribed to St. Jerome (died 420), the maker of the Latin Bible translation, the Vulgate. On f.112v there is a seven-line capital of the first word of the text Verba mea auribus percipe . . . (Give ear to my words . . ., Ps. 5, 2). In a book with a richer scheme of illumination the initial, or the preceding full page, would have had a picture of Jerome writing, dressed in red as a cardinal, with his lion beside him.

In Richard III’s Hours the rubric reads: ‘The beloved Jerome composed this psalter in this world [the scribe wrote mundo instead of modo, ‘in this way’] when an angel of the lord taught it to him through the Holy Spirit. This psalter was abridged for those who are happy [should be ‘anxious’; the rubric wrote felicitudinem instead of sollicitudinem] or who lie sick or are working hard or are ship-wrecked [should be ‘at sea’] or constantly fighting hard against the enemies of Christendom or one who has vowed to sing the whole psalter every day but is quite unable to do so, for him who is weak from a severe fast and for those observing festivals and solemn feast days and unable to sing the psalter. Whoever wants to save his soul and gain eternal life should sing this psalter assiduously. The earliest known copy of the text that follows dates from the end of the tenth century and is possibly of English origin. In the present manuscript it consists of 183 single and double lines taken from a great number of psalms, each starting with a decorated capital.

Three short prayers follow, all containing the phrase famulus tuus N. (your servant N) enabling the supplicant to insert his own name (ff.122–122v).

The rubric reads: ‘One finds in the book of St. Bernard that the devil said to him that he knew eight verses and that he who said them every day would be saved. When the blessed Bernard asked which they were he said he would not make them known. The blessed Bernard answered that he would say the whole psalter every day. When the devil heard this he made them known at once. And they are these.’ The Verses themselves consist of eight lines from various psalms and they are followed by the prayer Libera nos domine de morte ad vitam, de tenenis ad lucem . . . (Save us, o Lord, from death to life, from darkness to light . . .).

The relative importance of these devotions is shown by the size of their opening letters: most have three-line initials, some have four-line ones, as indicated. The long capital Is, written in the margin, eludes such precise classification.

ff.124–126. The Confiteor, introduced by an eight-line decorated initial and a demi-vinet. It is an extended formula of the well known text, which was believed to give absolution for daily sins. Before God, Christ, St. Mary and all the saints — none are mentioned by name — acknowledgement is made of errors of pride and vainglory, of anger, envy, desire for money and honour, idle talk, and every conceivable mental and physical shortcoming, and forgiveness is prayed for.

The Confiteor is followed by four rhyming, metrical invocations to the Father,
Plate 1. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms.474, f.15. Annunciation and the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin. The page has suffered severely at the hand of a sixteenth-century binder. (Actual size)

Plate 2. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms.474, f.72. Funeral and the beginning of the Vigil of the Dead. (Actual size)
Plate 4. Altenburg Hours, Altenburg Ms. AB 6 C 4, f. 9. Annunciation and the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin. This manuscript, though simpler, is the closest in type and status to that of Richard III.
the Son, the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, each headed by a rubric beginning

Invocatio ad . . .

ff. 126–127. O pater clementissime, mundane factor machine . . . (O most merciful Father, creator of the earthly world . . .).

ff. 127–127v. O patris unigenite, fili lumin de lumine . . . (O only-begotten Son of the father, light from the light . . .).

ff. 127v–128. O spiritus paracleti, o amborum almiflu . . . (O intercessory Spirit, o beneficent [love] of both [the father and the son] . . .).

ff. 128–129. O adoranda trinitas, et predicanda unitas . . . (O Trinity to be worshipped, and unity to be adored . . .).

These and the next two prayers.

ff. 129–129v. Index meus clementissime noli me secundum peccata mea judicare . . . (My most merciful judge, do not judge me according to my sins . . .) and

ff. 129v–130. Ihesu, ihesu miserere mei. Ihesu, ihesu obliviscere superbum provicantem . . . (Jesus have mercy on me, Jesus forget him who provokes out of pride . . .) are closely related to the Confiteor in spirit and were seen as one devotion.

ff. 130–131. The rubric Qui hanc prosam in honorem fili det quotidiem dixerit dum tamen in peccato mortaliter scienter non fuerit exterior certissime dampnari non poterit. (He who says this sequence, daily in honour of the son of God, as long as he is not knowingly in mortal sin, can certainly not go to hell for ever) introduces the text Ihesus ex deo gentius, Ihesus [pre]figuratius . . . (Jesus born of God, Jesus who was prefigured . . .). It consists almost entirely of rhyming epithets, describing Christ's life and passion, and was probably composed by St. Bonaventure (died 1274), who used the lines as separate chapter headings in his Lignum Vitae (The Tree of Life).

ff. 131–132. Iustus index ihesu christe rex regum et domin . . . (Righteous judge, Jesus Christ, king of kings and lord . . .) was written by the polemical theologian Berengar of Tours (died 1088). Whether he hoped to protect himself against spiritual enemies or his opponents is not perfectly clear. The text occurs in the Ancrere Rivile, where it is called one of the Crucis, prayers to the Holy Cross, [rubric] Ad ymaginem crucifixi dicatur. oratio. (To the image of the crucifix should be said [this prayer]. A prayer). [text] Omnibus consideratis, paradisum voluputatis, es ihesu piissime. (When all things have been considered, you, most merciful Jesus, are the paradise of delight). A sequence on the wounds of Christ, it is divided into ten stanzas of twelve lines: to the crucifix, the cross, the head, each of the five wounds, to St. Mary and to St. John. The text occurs in many books of hours. It recalls the symmetrical scene depicted in miniatures and paintings of the crucifixion, with the Virgin in blue on the left, St. John in red on the right. The prayer compares the wounds of Christ's hands and feet to the rivers Phison, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates that irrigated the garden of Eden: they wash away misery and sin and are gates that lead to salvation. From the wound in the side flow sweet springs, breaking the power of evil.

The author is thought to have been Jean de Limoges, monk at Clairvaux at the end of the thirteenth century. In more luxurious books of hours each stanzas-initial is decorated with a tiny miniature of each wound, the cross, and of St. Mary and St. John; the last two can be very attractive when small and yet perfectly executed (see fig 25).
ff.139v–139v. Deus qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi a iudeis reprobare et a iuda traditore osculo tradi. . . . (God, you were willing for the redemption of the world to be condemned by the Jews and be betrayed with a kiss by the traitor Judas . . . ) is here simply headed oracio devota (a devout prayer), but in some books of hours is has a more impressive rubric, ascribing it to various popes or even to St. Augustine himself, and promising indulgences between thirty days and 80 years. In the short text all the events and instruments of the passion are remembered and deliverance from 'punishments of hell' is asked for.152

ff.140v–140v. Deus propitius esto mihi peccator et sis custos mei omnibus diebus vite meae. . . . (Lord, be merciful to me a sinner and be my guardian all the days of my life . . . ), here merely called 'a devout prayer', in other copies has a long rubric explaining how effective it was against many kinds of evil and danger. It is frequently ascribed to St. Augustine and also closely connected with St. Michael. In the text he and the other archangels and angels are asked for their protection. Towards the end it reads like an incantation and the sign of the cross is made ten times by the supplicant with the words: 'Holy, holy, holy, Cross of Christ save me, Cross of Christ protect me, Cross of Christ defend me'.153

ff.141v–141iv. Salve sancta factae nostri redemptoris. In qua niti species divini splendoris . . . . (Hail, holy face of our Saviour, in which the beauty of divine splendour shines . . . ) opens with a four-line initial and the rubric 'a prayer of St. Veronica'. It is immediately followed by psalm 66 (Deus miserereant), verses and responses. The prayer itself was sometimes said to have been composed by Pope John XXII, who granted 5,000 or 10,000 days of indulgence to those who said it 'while beholding the glorious . . . visage of our lord'. One could also say five Pater Nosters instead. The text honours Veronica and the veil, or vernicle, on which the image of Christ's features was left when she wiped the sweat from his face. It is often accompanied by a miniature showing the vernicle with Christ's face.154

ff.141iv–141v. Deus qui nobis signasti lumine validus tuus. . . . (O God who marked for us with the light of your face . . . ) is in many devotions to the vernicle and often found with the preceding text.155

ff.141v–142. Te sancta cruix adorao ut pectus meum munias . . . . (I adore you, Holy Cross, that you may strengthen my heart . . . ) is addressed to the cross itself, asking for its assistance and beneficial influence.156

ff.142v–142v. Obsecro te thesus christe fili dei vivi, per sanctam crucem tuam. . . . (I beseech you, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, by your holy cross . . . ) calls for Christ's help and protection for all the parts of the supplicant's body in the name of the cross: 'for the sake of the blessed cross protect my eyes, for the venerable cross protect my tongue . . . . This text is undoubtedly of Celtic origin and is found in a collection of prayers dating from the eighth century.157

This series of devotions to God and Christ ends with prayers on the sacrament:

ff.142v–143v. Ad mensam dulcisissimam convivi tui . . . . (To the very sweet table of your feast . . . ) is to be said before communion and is usually ascribed to St. Ambrose.158

ff.143v–144v. Omnipotens et misericors deus ecce ad sacramentum corporis et sanguinis . . . (Almighty and merciful God, here [I come] to the sacrament of the body and the blood . . . ) is also to be said before communion and is sometimes attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas.159

ff.144v–145. Sancte spiritus qui ueterum carissime semper virginis marie tua virtute fecondasti . . . . (Holy Spirit, who by your virtue made fruitful the womb of the very chaste Mary who was always a virgin . . . ) followed by versicles, responses and the prayer Deus qui sacrateissimam cenam cum discipulis tuis celebrasti . . . . (O God, who celebrated the most holy supper with your disciples . . . ) form the final devotion on the sacrament and of this section.160


The next important item in the book, introduced by an eight-line capital O and a demi-vinet, but without rubric, is the famous Fifteen Oes or Fifteen Prayers, a series of invocations to Jesus all beginning O iesus. The theme is the passion and each section cleverly contrasts an aspect of Christ's divine powers with one of his human sufferings and relates them to the supplicant's needs and requests. The Fifteen Oes are very common in English books of hours from the early fifteenth century on. Though probably not composed by St. Bridget of Sweden herself - to whom they are often ascribed in rubrics - they may well have originated with the Bridgetine order. The text also has links with the north of England. The prayers are often prefaced by a long rubric containing a variety of promises, but in most cases it is 'merely' claimed that by saying them one will save fifteen souls from purgatory, convert fifteen sinners, comfort fifteen of the faithful and obtain great blessings for oneself. This rubric scandalised later readers and was often erased.161

1. O iesus christe eterna dulcedo te amantium . . . . ( . . . eternal sweetness of those that love you . . . ) remembers all that Christ suffered in mind and body before the actual crucifixion, during the last supper, the trial and flagellation. True contrition and absolution before death are prayed for.

2. O iesus mundi fabricator quem nulla divinio [should probably read dimenso] vero in termino mutur . . . . ( . . . maker of the world, of whom no one can calculate the true limit . . . ) asks to receive fear and love of Christ for the sake of the accumulated pain that he suffered when he was nailed to the cross and his limbs stretched to fit it.

3. O iesus celestis medice, recordare langoris livoris et doloris . . . . ( . . . heavenly healer, remember the weakness, the pallor and the grief . . . ) remembers how Christ did not heed his own pain and said: Father, forgive them.

4. O iesus vera libertas angelorum paradisi deliciorum . . . . ( . . . true angelic freedom, paradise of delights . . . ) recalling how Christ was despised and maltreated, it asks for protection against enemies.

5. O iesus spectulum claritatis eternae . . . . ( . . . mirror of eternal brightness . . . ) remembers Christ's prophetic vision of how the elect shall be saved by his passion. It includes his words to the robber crucified beside him.

6. O iesus rex amabilis amice totus et desiderabilis . . . . ( . . . king to be loved, entire and desirable friend . . . ) describes how Christ, forsaken by all, commended St. John and St. Mary to each other, and asks for comfort in time of trouble.

7. O iesus fons inhaustus pietaet . . . . ( . . . inexhaustible well of mercy . . . ) how Christ's love of mankind made him 'thirst' for its salvation even on the cross. The supplicant prays that his own evil desires may be quenched.

8. O iesus dulcedo cordium, ingensque suavius menium . . . . ( . . . sweetness of the heart and immense delight of the mind . . . ) contrasts Christ's sweetness and
love with the bitterness of the gall he drank and hopes to be healed and comforted for its sake.

9. O thesa regalis virtus tibi biscus mentalis . . . . ( . . . royal power and joy of the mind . . . .) recalls Christ's cry of anguish: Why have you forsaken me?! The suppliant hopes Christ will not forget him in his despair.

10. O thesa alpha et gamma . . . . ( . . . beginning and end . . . ) remembers how Christ suffered from head to foot and asks to be taught true charity.

11. O thesa abyssus profundissime misericordie . . . . ( . . . deepest abyss of pity . . . .) the suppliant asks to be hidden safely from God's anger in the deep wounds of Christ.

12. O thesa veritas speculum . . . . ( . . . mirror of truth . . . .) asks for all wounds to be 'written' with Christ's blood on the suppliant's heart so that they can always be 'read' there.

13. O thesa leo fortissime rex immortals . . . . ( . . . strongest lion, immortal king . . . .) when Christ's strength failed him he said: It is finished. He is prayed for, for the sake of this anguish, to remember the faithful in their final hour.

14. O thesa unigenite alissim patris . . . . ( . . . only son of the highest father . . . .) for the sake of his own recommendation of his soul to God, may Christ help the suppliant to resist evil and receive his soul; 'for I am but an exile and a pilgrim'.

15. O thesa vitae vera et fecunda . . . . ( . . . true and fruitful vine . . . .) describes in detail how blood and water flowed from Christ's wounds. The person praying begs to be 'wounded' by the passion and wishes to shed tears of penitence and love, day and night.

The Fifteen Occs are followed by two short prayers;[162]

f.151v. Ithesa nazaerene respice ad meas miseries . . . . (Jesu of Nazareth, regard my misery . . . .) and Domine thesa christe patre omnium creditium . . . . (Lord Jesus Christ, father of all who believe . . . .) asking for deliverance from anxiety and danger generally.

ff.152–162. Long Prayers to the Virgin.

ff.152–156v. Salve virgo virginum . . . . (Hail, virgin of virgins . . . .). A rubric beginning Has videus laudes . . . . (See these praises . . . .), a nine-line decorated initial and a semi-vinet introduce a 'farced' version of the Salve regina. This is a long devotion of thirty-four stanzae, each headed by and beginning with one or more words from the Salve regina itself. These headings, written in red, form the original text. The first lines of the first two stanzae read: Salve virgo virginum, Regina regnacuum. This metrical and rhyming salutation of the Virgin, with its verse rubric, occurs in many books of hours, often, as here, followed by the prayer beginning:

ff.156v–157. Deus qui de beate marie virginis uereo . . . . (God, who from the womb of the blessed virgin Mary . . . .).[164]

ff.156v–158. O interemerata et in eternum benedicta . . . . (O immaculate and blessed forever . . . .) and

ff.158–160. Obscero te domina sancta maria . . . . (I beseech you, holy lady Mary . . . .). These two long prayers will be found in most books of hours, frequently in a more prominent position than they have here. In Richard III's Hours the four-line initials, however, indicate their relative importance. Both prayers address the

Virgin directly, the first St. John the Evangelist as well, who is often found connected with her.[165] The O interemerata was probably written in the sphere of Citeaux in the middle of the twelfth century and survives in several redactions. St. Edmund of Canterbury is said to have recited it every day. In it the help and intercession are requested of Mary and John, 'jewels of heaven', 'divine lamps' and virgins both.[166] The Obscero te is directed to Mary alone and after saluting her by various titles, enumerates many events of her life, her joys and sorrows. The suppliant asks exhaustively for all kinds of help and blessings and concludes: 'at the end of my days show me your face and tell me the day and the hour of my death'. In one manuscript the text is said to have been composed by St. Augustine on the day he died. Many powers were attributed to it, which accounts for its popularity.[167]

ff.160–161. Precor te piissima dei genitrix . . . . (I beseech you, most merciful mother of God . . . .), a long series of names and salutations.[168]

ff.161v–162. O sanctissima et certissima spes omnium . . . . (O holiest and surest hope of all . . . .) followed by versicle and response and the collect Deus qui beatissimam virginem mariam . . . . (O God, who [gave joy] to the most blessed virgin Mary . . . .).[169]

f.162. Ave et gaude virgo et mater . . . . (I salute you and wish you joy, Mary, virgin and mother . . . .) a very short text with a two-line initial closes this section of the book.[170]
as a whole is easily recognisable. It contains such names as ‘turtle dove’, ‘tuba’, ‘rose’ and ‘illy’. The rubric here promises the visible presence of the Virgin in one’s final hour; in another copy the names are said to have been revealed to a certain bishop by an angel and it is claimed that who says them for seven years will be cured of leprosy. A brief dialogue of versicle and response run this text and the next prayer together in a single devotion.\footnote{174}

f.166. Fiat michi queso domine... firma fides... (I ask you, Lord, let me have strong faith...). Even a short prayer like this can have an extremely complicated and confusing history of composition and it is a good example of the process: it closely resembles the middle part of another prayer on folios 180-180v of the present manuscript and both texts also occur separately or in other contexts in other devotional books. In the present text the supplicant asks for virtues of body and mind, in this case through the intercession of the Virgin. It uses the phrase ‘a helmet of grace on my head’, which suggests that the text is related to the old Celtic loricæ, prayers that are literally called ‘cuiasses’. These are often long and ask for the protection of the Trinity, angels and saints against spiritual and especially temporal dangers. These dangers and the parts of the body for which protection is asked are enumerated in great detail. Such devotions were often ascribed to important saints and they were very popular in Celtic regions.\footnote{175}

ff.166v-167. Meliﬂua mater maria... (Honey-sweet mother Mary...). The first five lines of this prayer have not been identified, but the remainder, beginning [Gaude] dei genitrix virgo immaculata. Gaude que gaudium ab angelo suscepisti... (Rejoice mother of God, immaculate virgin. Rejoice you who received joy from the angel...), is a slightly corrupt version of a prayer based on the Antiphon of the Five Joys, written by Peter Damian (died 1072). Legend has it that a certain monk used to say these five salutations to Mary frequently and devoutly. When he fell ill and was in great distress the Virgin appeared to him and said: Do not fear, you will find joy as you have always wished it to me. The sick man thought he would recover but when he rose in hope from his bed, his soul left his body and he received the joys of paradise.\footnote{176}

ff.167-168. Ave cius concescio solenni plena gaudio... (I salute you who conceived in solemn joy...). specifies the Five Joys: the Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption.\footnote{177} This text occurs in many books of hours, followed, as here, by versicle, response and the collect Deus qui nos concepcionis, nativitatis, etc. (O God, who makes us happy [when we remember Mary’s joys] of the conception, the nativity...).\footnote{178}

The Five Joys of Mary are followed by the Five Sorrows:

ff.168-169. [rubric] ‘Whoever says the Five Sorrows of the Blessed Mary every Saturday with one Pater noster and one Ave Maria, devoutly and properly and with a pure heart will be safely delivered from all troubles’. Maria dulcis miseros nos audi/loquentes... (Sweet Mary, listen to us wretches when we plead...). This metrical and rhyming devotion on the ‘great sorrows’ – Simeon’s prophecy concerning Jesus, Jesus in the temple, Jesus’ arrest, the Crucifixion and the Deposition – has a four-line initial.\footnote{179} It is followed by versicle, response and another text referred to the Sorrows: Maria virgo virginitum consolatrix misericordium... (Mary, virgin of virgins, comfortress of the wretched...).\footnote{180}

ff.169-169v. O Domina gloriosa virgo maria dignare mea peticiobus indigissimis... (O glorious lady, virgin Mary, deign to listen to my most unworthy pleas...) enables the supplicant to pray ‘for all the living and dead Christians, of every sex, age or order, for my father and mother and all my relations, benefactors and enemies’.\footnote{181}

ff.169v-170. O regina poli, peccantem linguer noli. Da mihi tua dona, dulcissima virgo maria... (O queen of heaven, do not desert a sinner. Give me your gifts, sweetest virgin Mary...) is followed by versicle, response and the prose prayer Preceamur te pissima dei genitrix virgo maria per amores filii tuui... (We pray you, most merciful mother of God, virgin Mary, by the love of your son...). This constitutes a single devotion to the Virgin, beseeching her not to abandon the sinful supplicant.\footnote{182}

ff.170v. Ave maria mitis et pia gracia plena conserva me a pena... (Hail Mary, gentle and merciful, full of grace, preserve me from punishment...). A farced version of the Ave Maria, incorporating the words of the well known prayer on the angel’s salutation (compare ff.176v-177, below).\footnote{183} It is here followed by versicle, response and the collect Deus qui beatam virginem mariam super choros angelorum exaltasti... (O God, who raised the blessed virgin Mary above the choirs of angels...).\footnote{184}

ff.170v-171. Suscipere digneris domine deus omnipotens laudes et orationes... (Deign to accept, Lord God almighty, the praises and the prayers...). This devotion falls into two parts though it is written as one. The first section serves as an introduction to a series of twenty-six salutations to the Virgin, which has been called ‘a charming prayer’ and is said to have been composed in the twelfth century.\footnote{185} It begins Ave maria gracia plena dei genitrix super solen et lumem pulcherrimam... (Hail Mary, full of grace, mother of God, fairer by far than the sun and the moon...). It is very rare. Other salutations are ‘Hail lady of angels and archangels’, ‘Hail hope of the wretched’, but most refer to events in Mary’s life.

ff.172-172v. Sancta maria mater domini nostri thesii christit in manus eiusdem filii tui et in tusas, commendo... (Holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, into the hands of your son and into yours I commend...). A general plea to the Virgin for protection of the various parts of the body and against both physical and mental dangers.\footnote{186}

ff.172v-173. O cunctis excelsior angelorum chorit... (O you that are more exalted than all the choirs of angels...). It is both metrical and rhyming devotion to Mary, full of epithets and descriptive detail. The present manuscript contains only five of the ten known stanzas of this text.\footnote{187}

ff.173-174. Stabat mater. This is one of the best known poems on the suffering of Mary. Though it has no rubric in Richard’s book of hours, its importance is acknowledged by the four-line opening S. There is still no unanimity on the poem’s authorship, but there is an extensive literature on the subject. The text has frequently been translated and set to music. In other books of hours its rubric promises indulgences and it is often accompanied by a miniature of the Pietà, Mary with the body of Christ. It begins Stabat mater dolorosa uxta crucem lacrimosis... (The sorrowing mother stood weeping beside the cross...) and contains the famous passage Quis est homo qui non fereat matrem christi si videret in tanto supplicio... (Who is the man who would not weep if he were to see Christ’s mother in such torment?).\footnote{188}
ff.174–176v. Gloriosissima et precelentissima dei genitrix virgo maria . . . (Most glorious and most exalted mother of God, virgin Mary . . .); these words introduce a long and moving prayer inspired by the popular legend of Theophilus. He was a cleric who repudiated the Virgin and Christ, signed and sealed a document to that effect, giving it into the keeping of the devil. Later he became deeply penitent and prayed to Mary, who rebuked him in a vision and returned the paper to him, thus delivering him from the devil's power. The enormity of Theophilus' crime and the depth of his despair and penitence are well expressed in the prayer and it must have appealed to many medieval supplicants: 'For which of my crimes shall I ask pardon first? . . . To whom shall I turn? . . . What shall I answer on the day of Judgment, when all shall be revealed? . . . Who will have pity on me? . . . To what haven can I flee . . . except to you, most merciful Mary, and to him that was born to you?'

ff.176v–177. Ave mater gracie virgoque perfura. Maria in diceres adinutrix secura . . . (Hail mother of grace, purest virgin, Mary, you are called the secure help . . .), another metrical and rhyming prayer that incorporates the words of the Ave Maria, at the beginning of each line. This is the last devotion to the Virgin in the present manuscript.

ff.177v–177v [rubric] Oracio de archangelis [text] Osasco vos o sancte michael, sancte gabriel, sancte raphael, cum sociis vestris qui asistis ante claritatem dei clamantes quiadite ac dicentes, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth . . . (I beseech you, O St. Michael . . . and your companions who stand before the splendour of God and daily cry: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts . . .). This prayer to the archangels is the first of the miscellaneous devotions of the last section of the original part of this book. It is a rare copy of a text dating from the twelfth century.

ff.177v–178. [rubric] Oracio. De sancto iohanne evangelista. [text] Sancte et beate iohannes apostolo et evangelistae . . . (Holy and blessed John, apostle and evangelist . . .) is said to have been a favourite of St. Edmund of Canterbury (died 1240), who had a special devotion to the apostle and said the prayer every day.

ff.178v–178v. [rubric] De beata anna [text] Salve parens matris catrisa Anna jeron mundo tristi pacem cum letitia . . . (Hail, Anne, mother of Christ's mother, bringing peace with joy to the sorrowful world . . .). After this hymn that serves as antiphon this suffrage to St. Anne is completed by verse, response, and the collect Deus qui universum mundum beassimtm ann peuerpero letificast . . . (O God who brought joy to the whole world by the lying-in of the most blessed Anne . . .).

ff.179v–179v. [rubric] De iocachim et anna [text] Salve sancte iochim virginis [sic] dans esse . . . (I salute you, St. Joachim, who gave life to the Virgin . . .); this antiphon introduces another suffrage, to Saints Anne and Joachim jointly. It is completed by verse, response, and the collect Deus qui beatos iochim et annam pene sterilisatis afflicitos . . . (O God who [was willing to make fruitful] Joachim and Anne who were afflicted with barrenness . . .).

f.179. [rubric] Eundo ad cabilum, oracio. (On going to bed. A prayer) [text] Dominator domine omnium . . .; the full text in translation reads: 'O lord, ruler and protector of all, who separated light from darkness, we pray you as supplicants that your right hand may protect us through the darkness of the coming night and that we may rise joyfully at the light of dawn'. The text also alludes to the deliverance of the elect from purgatory and the return of light after Christ's death.

ff.179v–179v. [rubric] Oracio. Ad bonum angelum. (To the good angel) [text] Omni angele qui es sanctus esto michi propicius . . . (O my angel, you who are holy, have mercy on me . . .); the guardian angel is asked to make the supplicant perform God's will and he is prayed to be helper, companion, 'true protector' and protector against all visible and invisible enemies.

ff.179v. [rubric] De beato joseph. Oracio [text] Deus qui prudenciam beato joseph in domino domini sui et coram pharaone dedisti . . . (O God who gave wisdom to the blessed Joseph in the house of his lord and in the presence of pharaoh . . .). It is surprising to find a devotion that has Joseph, the son of Jacob, as its subject. The text recalls how Joseph was saved from the envy of his brothers and raised to high honours. The supplicant asks to be similarly saved from the plots of his enemies and to be allowed to find favour in the eyes of his 'adversaries and all Christians'. Why the original owner of the book chose this devotion is a mystery. It is possible that his Christian name was Joseph – though in that case he could have chosen a prayer on Joseph the husband of Mary – but a special interest in the successful career of the son of Jacob may also explain his preference. The text is comparable to the enumeration of biblical deliverances in 'Richard III's prayer' (see chapter 6, below). The supplicant hopes to be heard as many others were heard, and it has to be remembered that in the case of Joseph and, for example, Daniel and Job as well, not only were their problems solved, they were also 'over-compensated' and brought to higher honours and better fortune than they had had before.

In the Middle Ages Joseph's life was often seen as a prefiguration of the life of Christ, but there is no suggestion of such a comparison in this short simple prayer.

ff.179v–180. Pax christi qui exsuperat omnia sensus . . . (Peace of Christ that surpasses all understanding . . .), a prayer that asks for peace and reconciliation, not only generally but also very specifically. Three times the name of the person with whom good relations are sought can be inserted in the text. Christ is asked to make peace between the supplicant and 'N' for the sake of the 'peace' – in the sense of love and concord – that he made between angels and men, between St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist, and between the apostles (John: 14.27).

ff.180–180v. Salvator mundi salvum me faci domine ihesu christi qui solus salvare potes . . . (Saviour of the world, lord Jesus Christ, who alone can bring salvation, save me . . .); this last complete devotion of the original book, as it was made for the first owner, is also a text with a specific purpose. Christ's assistance is asked to help the faithful live according to his will, and it continues, 'Grant that I will be able to do, know, wish, perform, and accomplish what pleases you and is good for me', and 'counsel in trouble', 'help in persecution', 'moderation in anger' are prayed for. The second half of the text is reminiscent of the prayer on folio 166 of the present manuscript, though the wording is not the same.

f.180v. The rubric of a prayer to St. Julian the Hospitaller [incomplete]. The last surviving line of the original text of the book as it was commissioned by the first owner, that is the last line of folio 180v, has caused considerable confusion among modern commentators. The next folio is missing, that is, the one which contained both the greater part of a devotion written in the 1420s and the beginning of the long prayer added for Richard III, 1483–5. Of the first, a prayer to St. Julian, only a few words of the rubric remain: the whole of the text itself has gone; and of the
prayer added for Richard III, the rubric is lacking although most of the text survives. The position and incompleteness of these two devotions have led to several curious hypotheses.  

The facts are these: the prayers in this last section of the book all have, as has been seen, a specific purpose or object. The suffrages to St. John, Saints Anne and Joachim, the prayer to be said when going to bed, the prayer on the Old Testament figure of Joseph, are all meant to be used by a particular person or in a particular situation, more so than the more general devotions on the preceding pages. The occurrence of such ‘additional’ devotional texts at the end of a book of hours is quite common.

The surviving bit of rubric at the end of folio 180v suggests that the prayer originally included here was a similar one. It reads, in red ink: De beato iuliano. Cum volueris pere... (On the blessed Julian. Whenever you have decided [to?]...). It must be emphasised that none of these words is part of the actual prayer, they merely explain the subject and purpose of the following text, which is now lost. The text on the next surviving folio was added sixty years later, during the reign of Richard III, and has no connection whatsoever with the fragmentary rubric.

There are two clues in the remaining words of the rubric and they need each other’s support to make any conclusion possible: iuliano and pere-. The Julian referred to is most likely to be St. Julian the Hospitaller, who was the most popular of the saints of that name and the one most frequently the subject of prayers. The choice of Latin words that begin with pere- is limited, and almost the only possibility is peregrinari (to travel, to wander). Since Julian was the patron of innkeepers, ferrymen and travellers and many prayers survive asking for his protection in that capacity, it is highly probable that the lost prayer had analogous contents, and that the rubric explained when it should be said. On the evidence of other texts it may be concluded that the prayer was meant to be spoken ‘whenever you have decided to travel’, probably in the morning when setting out, and that a safe journey, shelter for the night, a good and pleasant host and a safe return were asked for, through the intercession of St. Julian. It was the original owner who had this useful devotion included towards the end, or at the very end, of his book of hours. Its actual text, though not identified, was probably far from unique.

ff. 181–184v. Devotions added for Richard III.

The exact contents of the missing leaf between folio 180v and folio 181 have also to be guessed at. The recto side was no doubt filled partly by the rest of the rubric and the prayer to St. Julian, the length of both of which is uncertain. The lower part of the verso side must have contained the first four or five lines of the next surviving devotion, ‘the prayer of Richard III’, which now lacks its beginning. It is possible that St. Julian’s suffrage was the last text of the original book and that the lower part of the page it ended on was blank, and that the other side of the leaf was also blank. The scribe who added ‘Richard III’s prayer’ in 1483–5 then used this blank side for the new prayer’s rubric – which may have been fairly long – a three- or four-line initial, some decorative sprays in the margin similar to those of the other additions of the book (e.g. on folio 1, fig. 26) and for the first few lines of the text itself. As at the beginning of the manuscript, a gathering of two unused leaves, four pages, was available at the end, and together with the leaf now missing and the present folios 181 and 181v they sufficed for the complete text of the King’s prayer.

ff. 181–183v. ‘The prayer of Richard III’. The rubric and the first four or five lines of this text are missing because the leaf that preceded folio 181 is lost (see above), but an almost accurate rendering of the beginning was added in a sixteenth-century hand in the upper margin (fig. 29). The script of the prayer is the same as that of the other text added for Richard III, the Collect of St. Ninian (f. 1; fig. 26), and it is likely that the decoration of the initials of the missing rubric and first line were also similar, possibly more elaborate. There is no decoration of any kind on folios 181–183, on 183v the capitals are touched in red. On folio 182 the word Ricardum was erased in the phrase me famulam tuum Regem Ricardum (me, your servant King Richard), and on folio 183, in the same formula. Ricardum was partly obliterated, but the final -m is still visible. In both instances M. R. James was able to read the erased words: [it] is legible in the second, and I have revived it in the first. The inclusion of the King’s name and title makes it certain that the text was added for him after 6 July 1483.

More details and the history and contents of the prayer are given in the next chapter, followed by a full text and translation.

ff. 184–184v. ‘The “litany” of Richard III’. After ‘the prayer of Richard III’, which ends on folio 183v, the quality of the parchment changes. Three stubs are visible between folios 183v and 184 and it is clear that three leaves were cut out. Folio 184 and the two blank endleaves are made of slightly rougher parchment. Script and decoration (two-line initials) on both sides of folio 184 are very similar to those of the other texts added for Richard III, that is the Collect of St. Ninian and the King’s prayer. It cannot be established with absolute certainty that this final addition was made for him, because the rubric and much of the text itself are missing and the supplicant is not referred to by name as in the long prayer, but it is more than likely. For reasons given below it has been tentatively called ‘the “litany” of Richard III’.

Because the devotion appears to be unique the text is here given in full, followed by a translation and a discussion of its contents and their possible implications. In the text printed below punctuation and capitalisation follow the manuscript. Abbreviations have been silently extended; rubrics are in italics; foliation and editorial additions are in square brackets.


Oremus. Exaudi nos domine ihesu, omnipotentem sempiterne deus et muttere digneris sanctos tuos de celis qui custodiant foveant protegent visitant et defendant omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo. Per christum dominum nostrum.
as can now be seen – are taken from the Bible and texts existing in his time, but the devotion as a whole has not been found elsewhere. The greater part is capable of a more general application, but some of its texts suggest a royal choice. It should be emphasised, ad nauseam, that the excessively penitent tone, the pleas for pardon, the requests to God not to visit past sins on the supplicants, do not allow of ‘personal’ conclusions. A great number of prayers in many devotional books give expression to such intense feelings of guilt and humility and they are an essential feature of a litany.

Instead of drawing ominous or gratuitous ad hominem conclusions it is more interesting to try and discover in what context the same phrases are used elsewhere and what their purpose may have been in this instance.

\[\ldots\ \text{optimum nos serves}. \ldots\] this incomplete sentence (a response? an antiphon?) can unfortunately not be identified as the other verses and responses can. The line may have begun \textit{Per verbum tuum bonum et optimum}. \ldots\ (Through your good and very good word . . .), but no parallel texts have been found.\textsuperscript{205} The word \textit{languere} could be the key-word. In Biblical and medieval Latin \textit{languor} means either bodily illness (that can perhaps be cured), or a reprehensible state of mental weakness that makes the faithful fall short of proper Christian activity and hope, and should be shamed off. In the Bible the word more often means the former. Either may have been intended here.

\textit{V. Ne memineris . . . R. Cito . . . V. Adiva . . . R. Et propter . . .} these versicles and responses (psalm 78, verses 8 and 9) are used especially in times of trouble and penitence: in the post-Tridentine missal as tract on the mass in Lent and in the votive masses ‘to avert death’ and ‘against the heathen’. In the ninth-century St. Emmneran prayer book they form a prayer \textit{pro peccatis et neglectibus nostris} (for our sins and neglects) following a litany.\textsuperscript{206} \textit{V. Laudate . . . R. Laudate . . .} these exhortations to praise God are taken from psalm 148, verse 2. In the 1570 missal they occur after the \textit{Alleluia} on the second Sunday after Epiphany; in the Sarum missal, in the same position on the next Sunday.

\textit{V. Domine . . . R. Et exaudi . . .} this phrase specifically asks God to protect the King. It is the last verse of psalm 19 (verse 10) and frequently used. In other contexts it usually goes together with similar entreaties for the protection of other authorities, temporal as well as spiritual, but here it stands alone. In the St. Emmneran prayer book it occurs after the litany as a separate short prayer \textit{pro rege nostro} (for our King).\textsuperscript{207} The text could obviously have been chosen by Richard III or with him in mind.

\textit{V. Domine . . . R. Et el[amor] . . .} the opening lines of psalm 101, one of the Penitential Psalms, used in the post-Tridentine missal as \textit{Alleluia} verse on the seventeenth Sunday after Whitsun and in the votive mass ‘for the sick’. The sentence often precedes the versicle \textit{Dominus vobiscum} (followed by the response \textit{Et cum spiritu tuo}) at the end of a section of a composite devotional text.\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Oremus. Exaudi nos . . .} this brief prayer asks for the protection of all who live in the supplicant’s house. Elsewhere it is called ‘for a family’.\textsuperscript{209} Here it may refer to the King and his wife and son, or to his household in a wider sense. Perhaps, in the context of this book of hours and of this devotion, it refers to all the King’s subjects.

The composition of this fragment suggests that the complete text possibly was a ‘private litany’, similar to those that were composed in great numbers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{201} Whatever its exact format, it was probably written at the request of Richard III and for his needs. Most of its elements – as far
Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne dei in caussa manu . . . : these first lines form the main prayer of the votive mass against the heathen, said to have been composed in the fifteenth century when the threat to western Europe from the Turks was at its height. It is tempting to conclude from the central position of this text and from the fact that it is followed by three Kyrie eleison and three Domine Deus miserere (that emphasise the litany-like character of the entire devotion) that this is the distinctive element. The section is completed by a text also used as gradual and antiphon in Holy Week, taken from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians (2:8) remembering the greatness of Christ's sacrifice, and finally the Pater noster.

Oratio. Respicite dominum . . . : the first part of this prayer again remembers Christ's sacrifice and his willingness to die for man. It is a prayer 'over the people' used on several occasions in Holy Week, in the missal as well as in the breviary, for example as collect on Good Friday.

Recordare . . . : the second half of this prayer was also used as introit to the mass 'to avert death'; it is especially connected with pestilence and sudden death. In a late fifteenth-century French prayer, for instance, these words form the first line of a prayer 'against death, illness, tempest, famine, war and all enemies'.

V. Quiescat . . . R. Et a civitate . . . : the final versicle and response are based on Exodus 32:12–3, where Moses asks God to repent of his anger against the Israelites.

It is an inevitable conclusion that these are the remnants of a highly personal devotion, though compiled from existing formulas. They may have been actually chosen by the King, perhaps with the help of a priest, and reflect his preoccupations. If this is true, it is very unfortunate that so much of the text is missing. If it was a litany it could have told us what saints Richard III venerated and from whose intercession he expected help. The missing pages may have held all, or many, of the saints that he 'had devotion unto', listed in the statutes of his college at Middleham, but they may have contained a narrower and more revealing selection, or could have shown that the King expected special benefits from reciting the names and titles of Mary or Christ. If the list was short the pages obviously may have held yet another devotion. It is also possible that the folios that were cut out contained a long rubric, explaining the purpose of the prayer and promising an inordinate number of indulgences, which scandalised later owners and led to their destruction.

The text as a whole leaves the reader with a first impression that its user needed support against death and illness for himself and his companions and dependents, but this feeling is lessened and contradicted by the prayer 'against the heathen', which is so central in (the remnants of) this devotion and given greater intensity by the repeated Kyrie and 'Jesus have mercy'. If, as is possible, the threat from the East was seen as an imminent 'pestilence', it may have been the safety of Christendom as a whole that was foremost in the supplicant's mind, and the languor from which God is begged to preserve 'us' may refer to the slackness of the princes of the Christian West in supporting a new crusade with deeds as well as with words, and their endless excuses and prevarications.

During the few years of Richard's reign - the period in which this prayer must have been added - the immediacy of the danger from the East was brought to his attention on at least one occasion: on 21 November 1484 Pope Innocent VIII, who had been elected at the end of August, sent an encyclical to almost all kings and princes of Europe, warning them of the increase of the Turkish threat to the Western church and culture. He asked for speedy assistance: ambassadors with sufficient powers should be sent and delay was no longer possible. This was, of course, not the first attempt of its kind by the fifth-century popes, and like the others it proved completely unsuccessful. Princes always found an excuse for not tackling the problem in the inimical behaviour and untrustworthiness of their neighbours. Though he was willing to talk enthusiastically about crusading, Richard's response, if there was one, may have been in the same vein. It is possible, however, that he was sufficiently moved to have a special prayer made.

We can only interpret the scraps of evidence given by this fragmentary text in the light of others equally incomplete. Whoever cut out the first three pages of the "litany" of Richard III has left us with enough to make us painfully aware of how much is missing and how much fuller our picture of Richard and his piety could have been.
THE ‘PRAYER OF RICHARD III’

Father most true, this day my cause defend!
Thou that to Jonah Thy succour didst extend
In the whale’s belly, and safely draw him thence, . . .
Thou that didst save thy servant Daniel
From torments dire within the lions’ den.
And the Three Children amid the fire protect,
Lord, be Thy love this day my present help; . . .
[Charlemagne’s prayer in The Song of Roland]¹¹³

Charlemagne made this appeal to God for aid, remembering others who had been aided in the past, on the day he fought the Saracens and avenged Roland’s death. Roland himself, in the very hour of his death, had turned his face towards Spain, recalled his victories and prayed in almost the same words: he had asked God to save his soul as he had delivered Lazarus from death and Daniel from the lions’ den.²¹⁴

The section of ‘Richard III’s prayer’ that closely resembles the lines quoted here is very old. Such invocations which called to mind past examples of God’s goodness go back to the very beginning of the church, probably to pre-Christian times, and originated in the Early Christian wall-paintings in the catacombs of Rome. These depict scenes of biblical deliverances, and there survive prayers in various languages, in both literary and liturgical contexts, that contain lists of such events, ranging from Adam and Noah, Joseph and Isaac to Peter and Paul and John the Evangelist. These texts have been called typical ‘lay’ prayers that any Christian could use in great distress or danger, before battle and especially when close to death.²¹⁵ Some are very short and could be said in the moment of crisis itself; some, probably composed under clerical influence, are very long and narrate the biblical stories at some length and also bear witness to the supplicant’s faith in the events he enumerates. These series of Old and New Testament deliverances and names even now read like powerful incantations. We can still appreciate their emotional appeal and that they were genuinely held to be effective, even without the evidence of their early origins and wide-spread use, and their occurrence in literary works.²¹⁶

The entire text of Richard III’s prayer as it was copied into his book of hours is probably no older than the middle of the fourteenth century, despite the antiquity of some of its component parts. The earliest copies so far traced date from the end of the fourteenth century.²¹⁷ Two of them form part of two books of hours cum missals, one of Franciscan and one of Roman use, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.²¹⁸ These manuscripts have been dated to the last two decades of the fourteenth century and the text of the prayer in the older of the two is still comparatively free of the curious inconsistencies and scribal errors that disfigure many later copies. It is impossible, however, to say how far even this copy is removed from the original. The provenance of these, and other later manuscripts in which the prayer occurs, may point to an Italian and Franciscan origin of the text.²¹⁹ The devotions composed by Franciscans and often ascribed to great members of the order, St. Francis himself or St. Bonaventure, have a special and deep concern with Christ himself, with love of Christ and contemplation of his life and especially his passion.²²⁰

A third early copy that seems more or less to link the southern copies mentioned above and the northern one described below, is a book of hours made in Bruges in the 1380s for a client from Catalonia in Spain. The text of the prayer itself is in Latin without any special features, the rubric is in the owner’s native language. It is impossible to tell whether the text was known in Bruges at the time or merely copied from a Catalan exemplar for the occasion.²²¹

Another possibly fourteenth-century copy of the prayer survives in an interesting context but is impossible to date with any certainty. It occurs in a composite manuscript known as the Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (died 1404). The manuscript was written in many hands over a period of at least seventy-five years and is famous for its illumination rather than its contents. Ordered by Philip the Bold in 1376 it passed to his son, John the Fearless, and his grandson, Philip the Good, during whose lifetime additions were still being made. The text of the prayer was probably added about 1400 and must have been familiar to all the Valois dukes of Burgundy and their wives. The book shows signs of intensive use.

In the Burgundy hours as well as in most other copies the prayer was credited with a famous author: ‘Saint Augustine made this prayer which follows . . .’²²² This is partly due to an understandable wish to ascribe every devotional text to an author whose fame and holiness will guarantee its effectiveness. It is also because the opening lines closely resemble that of a far older prayer which was traditionally made by St. Augustine. The latter text is found as early as the ninth century and its very similar beginning, Domine Iesu Christe qui in hunc mundum propter nos pecatores de sinu patris advenisti (Lord Jesus Christ, who came to this world from the bosom of the Father for us sinners . . .), has led even modern scholars to confuse the two texts.²²³ Medieval copyists or their patrons were probably only too willing to exploit any resemblance and associate the name of the great father of the church with the fourteenth-century prayer.

The rubric of Richard III’s prayer is lacking in his hours because the leaf that contained it is missing from the manuscript, but it is likely that it held at least a reference to St. Augustine’s authorship and probably a longer introduction, similar to the one found for example in a prayer book made for Alexander, Prince of Poland, in 1491.²²⁶

Whoever is in any distress, anxiety or infirmity, or has incurred the wrath of God, or is held in prison, or has experienced any kind of calamity, let him say this prayer on thirty successive days, and he must be without mortal sin. It is certain that the Lord God will hear him completely, that all his trouble will turn to joy and comfort, whether he says it for himself or for another. And this has been proved by many trustworthy persons.²²⁷

The wording of this rubric is typical of most introductions to Richard III’s prayer, especially those written during his lifetime. Most of them specify the necessity of saying it on thirty (or thirty-three) consecutive days on bended knees. If one is unable to read one can have it read out by someone else and its value will be the...
same. The suppliant must be contrite, without mortal sin and without hate, but provided he is, it will wash away his own sins and save the souls of others from purgatory. In one case reciting the prayer is said to be equivalent to singing the complete psalter a hundred times. Many rubrics end by attesting that the prayer’s effectiveness has been proved again and again – an addition that is reminiscent of similar assurances at the end of medieval medical recipes.

One of the more impressive rubrics – and perhaps one that appeals more to the modern mind – is the one in Philip the Bold’s Hours. Though most other versions promise that God will turn one’s trouble to comfort, this particular text appears to suggest that saying the prayer in itself will bring relief:

...let him say it ... on thirty consecutive days in honour of God and Our Lady and he shall be uplifted in such a way (exauches siellement) that his sadness will turn to joy.

The text of the devotion itself and the effect of repeating will, it implies, bring comfort and relief. A text which encourages the reader to remember so many hope-giving events from the Old Testament and reiterates in such detail Christ’s deeds and his suffering for mankind was probably well suited to have a therapeutic effect.

One of the greatest attractions of certain prayers in the later middle ages was the number of indulgences attached to them. One text in Richard III’s hours, ascribed sometimes to Innocent VI, sometimes to Boniface VIII and composed, according to its rubric, at the request of King Philip (IV) of France, was said to give as many as 20,000 days, or in other versions 2000 years, of remission from the pains of purgatory. 229 Rubrics with promises of this nature scandalised later owners during and after the reformation and they were often erased, as was done with the six-line introduction to this same prayer in the present manuscript (f.138v). In one instance, in a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century volume the rubric to ‘Richard III’s prayer’ was also scrubbed out, but its simple two-line text cannot have contained much offending material, 230 for generally such a short rubric would merely have mentioned St. Augustine’s authorship. Many copies are simply headed ‘a prayer in affliction’, a title which became usual for the prayer in the sixteenth century and later, when the text also became standardised.

Since the rubric of this prayer nowhere, in none of the copies found, contains mention either of popes – a frequent reason for erasure – or of the incredible indulgences they were supposed to have granted, it is unlikely that the page plus rubric in Richard III’s hours disappeared because it offended a later owner. Whatever the cause of its loss, however, it is a pity that we cannot know with any certainty what value and hopes the prayer held for Richard III. It is clear that he valued it enough to have it specially added to his devotions, with his name as king in the text. In other copies of the prayer high-born owners did not have their names inserted (Alexander of Poland and Maximilian 231), or they had it written in without their title (Frederick of Aragon). It is possible, of course, that someone else had the prayer, including the royal title, copied into the volume before it was given to the King; in that case the nature, quality and execution of the book suggests a friend or relation: it is hardly a formal presentation copy. Obviously Richard III’s piety was, or was thought to be by someone who knew him, no different in depth or direction from that of the many contemporaries who had this prayer included among, or even especially added to, their personal devotions. Certainly to modern eyes the Hours of Richard III in its original condition had enough long items to satisfy any owner’s religious needs in any situation.

The missing page (between folios 180v and 181) of Lambeth Ms.474 on which the rubric must have been written also contained the initial and first four or five lines of the prayer, which now begins abruptly with the last syllable of a word: -res. A later reader, probably sixteenth-century, knew – or thought he knew – what was lacking and he wrote some opening lines in the upper margin of folio 181:

*Clementissime domine ictu christe vere desis qui a summi patris omnipotantis sede misus e in mundum pecurta relaxe, pecursum . . . . (Most merciful lord Jesus Christ, very God, who was sent from the seat of the highest almighty Father to forgive sins, . . . .)

He added a caret mark after the last word, another in the left margin opposite the first line of the text of the page and crossed out the -res of the original script. He apparently had an accurate mind and having omitted to break off his own last word, he deleted the now superfluous syllable from the original text. 232

The added lines, however, cannot be correct and cannot have been the ones that Richard III knew: none of the other copies of the prayer has this beginning; virtually all start with *Dulcissime* or *O dulcissime* (most sweet or most gentle) instead of *Clementissime* (most merciful) and none have a summi . . . patris . . . sede (from the seat of the highest . . . Father). This is corroborated by all the accessible French, Dutch and German versions. 233 It is also more usual to use dulcis (sweet) of Jesus and clement (merciful) of God himself 233 and there are other instances of prayers beginning Dulcissime Domine Jesu Christe. Perhaps the sixteenth-century corrector was quoting from memory, or he used a faulty copy in which sinu and abbreviated summi (summi) had become confused and the resulting incomprehensible sentence had been put right by adding sede. 236 The text of the prayer as a whole does not leave any room for doubt that Richard’s copy should begin and did begin like the other surviving ones and that it is the same prayer and not merely a similar one.

There is also evidence that the scribe of these pages of Ms.474 was either a scholar himself or had a good exemplar to work from. Whoever brought the prayer to King Richard’s attention and copied out the original, certainly knew his Latin. Apart from one instance its wording and grammar are correct, the text makes sense at every point and there are no scribal errors, in contrast to many other copies of the text.

It is necessary to take the text of the prayer step by step to see if Richard III’s copy has any unique aspects.

The first lines were probably inspired by the prayer mentioned earlier as ascribed to St. Augustine. The words ‘from the bosom of the Father’ echo John 1:18: ‘*the Son qui est in sinu Patris*’, now translated as ‘he who is nearest to the Father’s heart’ or ‘who is the same as God and is at his Father’s side’.

The series of Christ’s works – the first of several litany-like series in this prayer –
rsembles the Works of Mercy in a general way. In many copies of the prayer there is
unnecessary repetition; for example, Richard’s text should probably read pecuniares
salvare instead of pecuniares afflictores relevare (relevare was inserted later by the scriber,
see fig. 29), but the general hopeful meaning of the long sentence is clear and shared by
all versions. The sonorous dolentes et lugentes (the sorrowful and mourning), whom
Christ will console, recall Matthew 5:4: ‘How blessed are the sorrowful (lugentes);
they shall find consolation’. Richard’s text is slightly longer here than the other copies
but there is nothing to suggest a personal contribution or application.

There may be proof of some personal involvement, however, in the description
of the situation in which the person praying finds himself (or herself). In
Lambeth Ms. 474 the list of afflictions includes dolor (grief), infirmitas (infirmity)
and paupertas (want), which are found nowhere else. Though some of these extras
may originate from scribal confusion, dolor (grief) may be unique. The
standardised sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts merely have the very general
terms ‘affliction’ and ‘tribulation’.

Only a few manuscripts of books of hours resemble Richard’s text as far as the next
lines are concerned. There is no doubt that all versions go back to one original, but
numerous successive scribal errors have in some places led to an entirely new wording
and interpretation. Only Richard’s Hours and a few others mention the ‘concord’
between God and men which Christ ‘restored’: the oldest text must have had custodia
(keeping) into which Christ ‘received’ (recepistis) humanity and this is echoed by all
other copies. In the next sentence the composer had probably written omni
incredulitatem deposita paradisum cum sanguine mercatus ex (when all unbelief
had been taken away you purchased paradise with your blood), but many抄本ists found
this beyond them. Errors and variants of these words are legion, but the ‘proscribed
inheritance’ (proscriptum hereditatem, tertia... prescripte) is found in a small
number of manuscripts which must therefore belong to one textual family.

The series of Old- and some New-Testament examples led to minor confusion
among individual scribes. The biblical knowledge of some of them cannot have been
impressive. Misunderstanding of de hur caldeo rum (out of the city of Ur of the
Chaldeans) was eventually solved by putting de manu or de manibus caldeo rum
(from the hand(s) of . . .), but one scribe wrote that Noah was saved ‘by Abraham
from the waters of the flood’. The stories chosen hardly ever vary. The writer of
Richard’s copy, however, left in no inconsistencies and produced a straightforward,
comprehensible text. There is nothing in these lines that implies a more than usual
personal involvement; no words were used that were not used in at least several
other copies. It has to be stressed that though St. Brendan himself when faced with a
real whale during his miraculous voyage to the Promised Land could appropriately
pray: ‘Save us, Lord, as you saved Jonah from the belly of the great sea monster’,
none of these invocations in the prayer should be interpreted in a ‘realistic’ way. The
stories of the biblical deliverances are general evidence of God’s miraculous
williness to save men and their souls, they give promise of eternal life and are
symbols of hope. Few of the dozens of medieval Christians who used and liked the
current prayer will have been in actual danger from lions, giants, whales or burning
furnaces, or even of imprisonment or false witness, and to connect Richard III
and his reputation with Susanna and the false testimony of the elders which, but for
the intervention of Daniel, would have meant her death, is unjustifiable.
In another context, but for the same general purpose, a series of biblical exempla was used to illustrate the power and effectiveness of the act of praying itself. In the *Tractatus de Regimine Principum*, a didactic work on the conduct of princes written for Henry VI in the late 1430s, probably by a clerical author, most of the biblical stories found in ‘Richard III’s prayer’ are repeated in similar words to show that the protagonists prayed and were thereby saved: Peter prayed in prison and the chains fell from his hands, Christ prayed on the cross and he was saved.246 The actual nature of the Christian’s trouble is irrelevant, his confidence in God’s goodness – of which the precedents bear witness – is what counts.

Only the later copies of the prayer allow for the insertion of the reader’s name in the next sentence. The words *famulus tuus N.* (N for nomen (name)) are very common in such texts. *Famulus tuus* (your servant) or *servus tuus* (your slave) with descriptive additions like *indignus* (unworthy) or *peccator* (sinner) are followed by *N.* or by the owner’s name. This helps to identify the owner and establish the fact that the book was made to order, or that it was produced for an individual woman (if it has the feminine Latin forms plus a name) or for a convent (if it merely has the feminine endings).247 In Richard III’s hours the phrase *famulus tuus* occurs several times, all in the non-committal masculine form.248 The presence of the King’s name in the hand of the scribe suggests a wish to give the prayer a personal application; the inclusion of the royal title as well is unique. The re-occurrence of *dolor* in this sentence is also unique to the present manuscript; ‘tribulation’, ‘anxiety’ and ‘snare of enemies’ are shared by almost all other versions.

Special significance may perhaps also be attached to the request for the intervention of St. Michael, which occurs only in Richard III’s text of the prayer. St. Michael is the commander of the heavenly hosts, soldier, protector and fighter against evil *par excellence*. He represents the angel sent to deliver the three children from the fire, Daniel from the lions and St. Peter from his chains, and his name is often connected with these miraculous deliverances. His is the receiver of the souls of the dead and is mentioned to this day in the Litany chant in the mass for the dead: ‘may the standard bearer Michael introduce (the souls of all the faithful departed) to the holy light’.249 In the *Song of Roland* the hero’s soul is taken to Paradise by God’s angels, ‘Cherubim and Saint Michael of Perils’.250 The saint’s feast day, 29 September, was especially added to the Calendar of the present manuscript in a neat late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand. This insertion suggests that some owner had a particular devotion for the archangel – or at least regretted the omission. His inclusion in the prayer may also be the result of St. Michael’s frequent association with the biblical stories of deliverance, in liturgical texts as well as in other contexts.

After a brief reference to the rebellion of Absalom and Achitophel’s evil counsel – to which again no other meaning should be attributed than that of another instance of God’s intervention251 – there follows a long enumeration of events in the life and passion of Christ, which resembles the one towards the end of the Litany: *Per misterium sancte incarnatis, libera. Per sanctum nativitatem tuam, libera. . . .* and was probably inspired by it. In the prayer the text goes on to include all the events and instruments of the passion and ends with the Seven Words spoken by Christ on the cross.252

The Seven Words had been the subject of special devotion and study since the twelfth century. Early writers called them the Five or the Six Words and the order in which they were quoted varied, but seven became the usual number. They were described as ‘the seven leaves of the mysterious vine’, ‘the seven flames of Christ’s love’ or ‘the seven notes that the nightingale sang so high that his noble heart broke’.253 Elaborate treatises were written on the meaning of each and there survive at least two devotional texts based on them which were especially popular in English books of hours: the ‘prayer on the Seven Words’ attributed to Bede, and the ‘Fifteen Oes’, often said to have been composed by St. Bridget of Sweden. Both are included in Richard III’s Hours.254

The Seven Words are followed by a renewed request for protection and deliverance in words which occur in many prayers: *ab omni male aitque ab hoste maligno et omnibus periculo praebenti praeterer eum et futuro* (from all evil and from the devil and from all danger, present, past and future). Again the name *Ricardum* was erased in these lines, though *regem* was not, and again *doloribus* (grief) is unique to this manuscript. The prayer is here given intensity by naming Christ’s deeds after his crucifixion: his legendary descent into hell, his resurrection, his appearance to his apostles, his ascension, as well as the descent of the Holy Ghost and Christ’s return on the day of Judgement. This series is common to all copies, though words vary and some, for instance, read *per diem tremendum judicii* (by the fearful day of judgement).

The next passage gives thanks to God for all his gifts and remembers the unworthiness of the supplicant: ‘because you made me out of nothing’. It is similar in spirit to the preamble of the foundation charter of Richard’s college at Middleham (1478):

*Know ye that where it hath pleased Almighty God, Creatour and Redemer of all mankind, of His most bounteous and manifold graces to ennable, enhance and exalte me His most simple creature, naikedly borne into this wretched world, destitute of possessions, goods and entertainments, to the grete astate, honor and dignite that He hath called me now unto, to be named, knowed, reputed and called Richard Duc of Gloucester, and of His infynyte goodnesse not onely to endew me with grete possessions and of giftys of His divynge grace, but also to preserve, kep and deliver me of many grete jeopard’, parrel and hurts, for the whiche and other manifold benefits of His bounteous grace and godnesse to me, without any desert or cause in sundry behalves shewed and given, I, daily and ourly according to my deuty remembering the promisses, and in recompenzation that all such goodnes cometh of Hyrne . . .*.255

In the prayer the words of gratitude are common to all copies, but the sincerity of Richard’s feelings may perhaps be gleaned from the Middleham text.

The Old Testament words describing the hidden ways in which God’s wisdom works, quoted by St. Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians, form the last section that occurs in virtually all copies of the prayer. About half the manuscripts traced have an ending more or less identical with that of the present book, the others have a shorter one. Instead of *Rogo te dulcisissime . . .* they read *Te adoro et laudo et glorifico nomen tuum quia in te benedictus et laudabilis et gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen* (I worship and praise you and I glorify your name, because you are blessed and praiseworthy and glorious for ever and ever), or words that are very similar and equally brief. There seems to be no connection between the place of origin of the manuscript and the version of the prayer’s ending, and both occur in books of hours as well as prayerbooks, though the later and the printed texts tend to have the longer version as in Richard III’s hours.
In a few instances\textsuperscript{256} the prayer is only part of a more complicated devotional text which also includes psalm 135 Confitemini domino (Give thanks to the Lord) with the antiphon O clavis David et sceptrum domus Israel (O key of David and sceptre of the house of Israel) and sometimes a prayer beginning Domine theseus Christe prelator fortissime princeps exercitus celestis domine qui dyabolum vincisti (Lord Jesus Christ, strong champion, prince of the heavenly army, lord who defeated the devil). There is no trace of these other texts in Lambeth Ms. 474.\textsuperscript{257}

Richard III’s preference for the prayer called after him was not unique. We have seen that Maximilian I and Frederick of Aragon, princes whose lives were as troubled and uncertain as that of the English King, owned the text and must have used it. In Eastern Europe the King of Poland had it in his personal prayerbook made for him in his youth, and a certain Wenceslas Magirus filled in his name in the place where the former owner’s had been erased.\textsuperscript{258} In Spain a Thomas inserted his name in the text of the prayer about 1460\textsuperscript{260} as did, in Italy, an unknown Elisabetta.\textsuperscript{261}a Nicholas,\textsuperscript{262}Iohannes d’Ascolii\textsuperscript{263} and others. French, German and Dutch owners of books of hours or prayers must have put in their Christian names when they spoke the words in their language. In the Burgundian lands the Dukes or their wives said the prayer for themselves or others, and a Flemish contemporary of Richard III, Paul Deschamps of Bruges (died 1483), servant of the Dukes in several capacities, owned a text that was decorated with a full-page miniature of the Trinity of an unusually high quality, probably a copy of a panel painting and made about 1475.\textsuperscript{264}

In England the prayer was not unknown: John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret Beauchamp, his wife, both had the Latin text in their French-made books of hours—hers was probably made for her on the occasion of her marriage in 1425.\textsuperscript{265} The prayer also occurs in two manuscripts made in London in the 1460s. No owners of the first are known. The prayer is decorated with a six-line initial D depicting Christ as Salvator Mundi, dressed in a grey robe, blessing and holding an orb. The text of this copy is not closely related to Richard’s and the origin of the King’s copy cannot be sought here.\textsuperscript{266} Unfortunately the wording of the prayer in the other London manuscript also precludes any close connection with his text. This book of hours probably belonged to his sister Anne, Duchess of Exeter, but the fact that the series of biblical deliverances in her book is far longer than in her brother’s and that there are many other basic differences make it unlikely that the one derives from the other.

No other English manuscripts containing the prayer have been found. Most of those now in British libraries appear to be of French, Italian or Spanish provenance. Only in the sixteenth century did the text, in Latin and English, and printed in Antwerp for English Catholics, become better known in this country.\textsuperscript{268}

The question remains: how did Richard III learn of the prayer’s existence? Though few English copies now survive it may have been fairly well known at the time and if so, any intimate could have brought the comfort-promising text to the King’s attention at a particularly distressful period of his reign. It may, of course, have been the King’s confessor, the Franciscan friar and doctor of theology John Roby, who copied it or had it copied, together with other devotions, into his master’s personal book of hours, but it must be emphasised that his intervention is as conjectural as the prayer’s Franciscan origins.
pulorum tuorum consolacionem et visitacionem per admirabilem ascensionem tuam, per graciam sancti spiritus paraclitis, per adventum tuum in die iudicii. domine exaudi me per cuncta beneficia tua pro quibus [f.183v] tibi gracias ago et refero et pro cunctis beneficiis seu bonis mihi collatis quia tu me fecisti ex nihilo et redemisti me ex tua benignissima pietate et misericordia ab eterna damnacione perpetua271 vitam eternam promittendo. Proper ista et alia que oculos non vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit. Rogo te dulcisissime domine iessu christe ut ab omnibus periculis corporis et anime pro tua pietate me adiuves, et me semper deliberare digneris et succurrere, et post huius vite cursum ad te deum vivum et verum me perducere digneris,Qui vivis et regnas deus, Per christianum dominum nostrum Amen.

O most sweet lord Jesus Christ, true God, who was sent from the bosom of the almighty Father into the world to forgive sins, to comfort afflicted sinners, ransom captives, set free those in prison, bring together those who are scattered, lead travellers back to their native land, minister to the contrite in heart, comfort the sad, and to console those in grief and distress, deign to release me from the affliction, temptation, grief, sickness, need and danger in which I stand, and give me counsel. And you, Lord, who reconciled the race of man and the Father, who purchased with your own precious blood this proscribed inheritance of paradise and who made peace between men and angels, deign to make and keep concord between me and my enemies, to show me and pour over me your grace and glory, and deign to assuage, turn aside, destroy, and bring to nothing the hatred they bear towards me. Even as you extinguished the hatred and anger that Esau had for his brother Jacob. And stretch out your arm over me and spread your grace over me and deign to deliver me from all perplexities and sorrows in which I find myself, even as you delivered Abraham from the hand of the Chaldeans, Isaac from sacrifice by means of the ram, Jacob from the hands of his brother Esau, Joseph from the hands of his brothers, Noah from the waters of the flood by means of the ark, Lot from the city of the Sodomites, your servants Moses and Aaron and the people of Israel from the hand of Pharaoh and the bondage of Egypt, and likewise Saul from Mount Gilboa, and King David from the hand of Saul and of Goliath the giant. And even as you delivered Susanna from false accusation and testimony and Judith from the hand of Holophernes, Daniel from the den of lions, and the three young men from the burning fiery furnace, Jonah from the belly of the whale, the daughter of the woman of Cana from the torment of devils, and Adam from the depths of hell, with your own precious blood, and Peter from the sea and Paul from chains.

Even so, lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, deign to free me, your servant King Richard, from every tribulation, sorrow and trouble in which I am placed and from the plots of my enemies, and deign to send Michael the Archangel to my aid against them, and deign, lord Jesus Christ, to bring to nothing their evil plans that they are making or wish to make against me, even as you brought to nothing the counsel of Achitophel who incited Absalom against King David, even so deign to deliver me by your holy goodness, your incarnation, your nativity, your baptism, your fasting, by the hunger and thirst, the cold and heat, by the labour and suffering, by the spit and buffets, by the blows and the nails, by the crown of thorns.
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The study of the piety of the past, whether of individuals or communities, is a difficult one. Individual piety is a particularly controversial subject and the attitude to religion of men like Richard III and Henry VII has given rise to statements so divergent and conflicting that one despair of ever coming to an acceptable conclusion. In the context of Richard III’s personal Book of Hours, however, some consideration of his piety cannot be omitted.

The very nature of the subject forces the historian to make an assessment of personality: piety can have the most intimate and private origins and is, in the last analysis, the relationship of the individual to God. Any study of the piety of a particular historical figure is, in fact, prompted by curiosity about character and motives.

The study of medieval piety, both general and particular, presents a number of problems and some of them should be borne in mind. Are we, for instance, to judge the piety of a late medieval person by contemporary standards, or by ours? Can the piety of women be compared with that of men? Are we to take the examples of remarkable piety that have come down to us in biographical sources as the rule, the exception, or, at the least, as manifestations of an ideal to which most people aspired? What sources should be used, and can quantitative methods be applied to study the many variables, ever to be trusted on this ‘personal’ subject? Finally, and most pertinently, can modern observers be sufficiently aware of their own shortcomings, scepticism and prejudice?

Piety in the individual was a required characteristic in the fifteenth century – devotion to God was expected, if not always achieved. For the convenience of this study piety has here been divided into three parts. First, faith, the individual’s dependence on, and relation to, God, which is ultimately unknowable and unmeasurable. Secondly, private devotion, of which only some intimates are aware (confessors, friends and praying historians), a subject which a source such as Richard III’s Book of Hours should illuminate. Thirdly, there is public piety, of which the manifestation was so widespread and so prevalent that the individual’s social duty in a period when all were members of the Christian church, obeying its teachings, and when communal activities were carried on under the aegis and patronage of the church in its many guises, from the parish or fraternity to the prince’s luxurious chapel.

The purpose of all piety was to ensure the salvation of one’s own soul and those of others. The greater the consequence of the individual the more difficulty he might experience in achieving that aim, and the more responsibility he bore for those less able to care for themselves. Public piety and charity went hand in hand and were rarely distinguished as separate activities, as both benefited the soul.

The seven corporal acts of mercy describe contemporary charity in both symbolic and practical terms: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, sheltering the homeless, visiting the sick, ransoming prisoners and burying the dead. Any crowd of the disadvantaged might contain the silent figure of Christ himself and it was dangerous for anyone with a soul to save to forget this – a prince had to remember it at all times.

When tested on his public piety Richard III seems to have passed with flying colours in the opinion of most of his judges. His achievements in this field have been called conventional, but genuine and active. His foundations were, above all, his response to the demands placed on a prince to provide prayers for the living and the dead: the college of priests at Middleham, Yorkshire, that at Barnard Castle, county Durham, St. William’s College at York, which was to house a hundred chantry priests, and the endowment of four priests at Queens’ College, Cambridge. These were also conscious contributions to the better education of the clergy and the improvement of services in their localities, particularly in the first two examples in the north of England. The vicars choral of York Minster were given a much needed endowment, and Richard can also be found paying the stipend of a chaplain at Hawes, an isolated village in Wensleydale, for one year while he was king. Richard’s interest in the universities as a source of clerical education is well attested, particularly at Cambridge, where Queens’ College received an endowment for four priests in 1477, further grants in 1484, and the building of King’s College Chapel was generously supported.

His patronage and employment of learned and able men has also been praised. It is closely related to his founding of religious establishments and is another aspect of his support of the church and awareness of the need to improve the condition of his subjects and provide himself with good counsellors and administrators. Richard only appointed two bishops while king, Thomas Langton of Salisbury and John Shirwood of Durham, but both were noted for their learning and the first was an enthusiastic educator himself. The list of other learned men in his employment is a long one.

Gifts, large and small, went to religious establishments throughout Richard’s adult life, ranging from a bell to the shipmen’s fraternity in Hull to contributions to widows at Great Malvern and Carlisle Cathedral Priory, but the exact scale of his everyday giving cannot be ascertained as neither his ducal nor his regal accounts survive.

The very visibility of this kind of religious activity, however, has laid it open to attack. How can a man of Richard III’s political reputation be considered genuinely pious on such evidence? When confronted with a king whose personality seems to combine ruthlessness in politics with correct behaviour in religious matters, both medieval and modern commentators have resorted to various degrees of enthusiasm to the charge of hypocrisy. Writers have not always been aware that this particular indictment derives from several ancient ‘authorities’. Some discussion of these and of past characterisations and explanations of Richard III is necessary before the evidence of the Hours can be presented.

Aristotle was the first to describe the tyrant as one who, in order to maintain himself and not from any genuine virtue in him, acts with such benevolence and liberality that the difference between him and a good king is not discernible even to his subjects. According to the remorseless logic of Aristotle, and of his imitators like Giles of Rome, such a ruler always remains a tyrant. To this philosophical and
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century the laity were extremely well provided with information about these
expectations and how to satisfy them and save themselves from too long a term in
Purgatory. Ideally everyone should lead a life wholly devoted to God and spend
their days in prayer and meditation — this ideal was most closely pursued by
the celibate clergy. Even busy men and women of the world, however, could go about
their duties in an awareness and love of Christ and devote time to religious matters
as often as possible, leading the so-called 'meddled life.'

It has been suggested with some credibility that late fifteenth-century princes
tried to reconcile their ostentatious life-style with their religious consciences by
increasing their charitable activities and by reforming their households morally as
well as financially. The observant or sensitive prince could have been painfully
aware of how far his own way of life fell short of the ideal and how dangerously
near everlasting punishment he stood. One way of salving his conscience and
warding off punishment could be a meticulous correctness in his charity. Charles
the Bold, for example, organised his in detail. It is said that whenever he was about
to leave a town his almoner brought him a list of objects deserving his charity: old
people, prisoners, women who had recently given birth, orphans, people whose
possessions had been lost by fire, merchants brought low by fortune. All of them
had apparently been carefully registered and checked. The Duke signed the paper
and authorised the amounts to be given to each and the alms were distributed
before the almoner departed. In this, as in other matters, the Duke of Burgundy
liked to do his duty.

The ideal set by his religion should also have made a prince aware of his own
exalted position, of God's goodness to him and the fickleness of fortune. The last
would not have needed expounding to Richard III: in his preamble to the statutes
of the foundation of his college at Middleham — a text that was made when he
was still Duke of Gloucester and may bear his personal stamp — he expresses deep
gratitude to God. He contrasts the 'nakedness' of his birth to the pomp of his titles
using terms that were not uncommon, but the contrast cannot have been mere
formula to a man who only a few years before had been in exile for the second time
in his life, had had to borrow a few shillings in order to continue his journey, and
now ruled most of the north of England.

Apart from the Middleham statutes we do not have any personal documents
of Richard III, no will or personal letters to throw light on his private piety, but we
do have the book of hours he used. One fact is immediately apparent: the book is
beautiful, but in such a simple and unostentatious way that it cannot have been
chosen for its outward appearance. It is evident that the King did indeed choose it,
or was given it, for its contents and, more specifically, its many prayers. The
volume contains more of these than is usual. Both Richard and the book's first
owner must have wanted this large number of devotions, and a more than
conventional interest in such texts may be assumed, particularly in the first
 purchaser. Some of the original material in the book even suggests that it was made
for a clergyman or someone with a clerical background. The most remarkable
fact about the book as far as Richard himself is concerned is that he had at least
ten pages of devotional text added while he was king.

The central piece of this discussion must be the meaning and implications of the
long prayer that was added for Richard's personal use.

Theoretical origin of the picture of the tyrant as hypocrite was added the literary
tradition of Roman historians like Suetonius and, later, Tacitus. 

28 Medieval and Renaissance writers took up their methods of tendentious psychological
interpretation, descriptions of revealing habitual behaviour and suggestive atmosphere, all of
which matched only too well with the Aristotelian depiction of the 'ideal' tyrant and with other images embedded in the medieval mind.

However authoritative and time-honoured this picture of the smiling villain may
be, until Richard III's guilt of any of his crimes is proved, the charge of hypocrisy
cannot legitimately be added to the other accusations.

Richard III has also been the victim of another curious prejudice, based on the
slanderest of evidence. Students of his psyche have interpreted his official
exhortation to his bishops to promote 'virtue' and condemn and punish 'sins and
vices', and his proclamation against rebels and traitors, 'adulterers and bawds' in
1483, as both evidence of his insincerity and proof of 'an obsession with sexual
morality'. (The existence of two acknowledged illegitimate children seems to be
the only fact used to support this theory.) It was common for rulers of Richard's
time to cite moral failings against their enemies — accusations of incest, homosexuality,
witchcraft and murder were as much part of late fifteenth-century propaganda
as democratic behaviour, intolerance and racism are of twentieth-century
political slander. The use of such methods, however unattractive, can equally
well be said to reflect a sensitivity to public opinion and an awareness of what would
appear most to their subjects in a particular situation. The promotion of public
virtue was also what a prince was expected, and frequently told, to encourage — it
was a central dictum of the concept of the 'good prince' and part of the church's
teaching. There is no real evidence of any personal preoccupation with sexual
morality on Richard's part — in his condemnation of misbehaviour he was behaving
properly and 'by the book'. Insincerity is not ascertainable.

Even if some of the myths surrounding Richard's personality are disposed of (as
attempted above), it has to be admitted that a study of Richard III's public piety
does not contribute to an understanding of his personality. Everything depends
on the interpreter's prejudice. Sympathisers will conclude that such a pious man
cannot have been capable of the crimes he has been accused of, while detractors
will stick to the charge of hypocrisy and add another fault to his discredit. More
neutral commentators will be left with the inconsistency.

Is inconsistency a problem? Is it possible to collect all that is known about
Richard and achieve a finished picture? Not only will every gatherer of facts colour
the data, make a personal collection and inevitably slip in a few uncertain but
appealing facts, but it is also doubtful whether anyone is ever consistent in real life.
If a historical person appears to be consistent, is he or she more human and
plausible for being so? In the context of a discussion of Richard III it is perhaps
worth reflecting that goodness and acknowledged piety do not always go together,
efficient kings have been devout men, saints are not necessarily bad kings.

Richard's private piety must be studied next in this attempt to understand him
better.

Everyone in the late middle ages who had attained a certain level of education
knew what God and his church expected of the faithful — by the late fifteenth
Scholars have used the King's preference for this particular prayer as an argument for assuming that during his reign he was 'in a disturbed emotional condition' and felt 'under the constant threat of invasion'. Some have gone so far as to state that the prayer 'reveals an attitude of mind bordering upon persecution' (sic) and that in it 'the highly charged reference to Susannah... so prominently stands out'. Richard must either 'have thought himself innocent... or he was a very advanced schizophrenic' — the one or the other of these possibilities is emphasised by implication according to the sympathies of the commentator.

All such conclusions have to be strenuously denied. After analysing the text, comparing Richard's text with other copies and relating his use of the prayer to the use some of his contemporaries made of it, it can be safely concluded that there is nothing ominously unique in his choice and that no part of it can be used to reveal evidence of his guilt or even of any sense of guilt.

This is not to deny that Richard III evidently felt the need for this particular prayer and that it may reveal to us some of his needs. The main impression is one of sorrow and grief; it is an entreaty for comfort and help against an inimical world and it is full of hope. In the conventional words and the well-known phrases there is trust and hope and a desire to trust and hope — others, too, after all did not hope in vain. The repetitive incantations may have strongly affected a mind brought up in the Christian beliefs of the late medieval world, steeped in its conventions, fed on its images, and led to the intense devotional concentration that was thought desirable. On a more prosaic level, repeating the words daily for a month or more might induce a catharsis, a 'cleansing' of the mind, beyond our sceptical comprehension. This applies to anyone. In Richard's case it could have led the supplicant from the Castle of Care to the Tower of Truth, 'turned all his trouble and sorrow to comfort and joy'.

Why was this prayer of such significance to Richard III (and to many men and women of various backgrounds from the late fourteenth to well into the seventeenth century)? Why did he find it so attractive when many devotions of a similar nature were already available in his book of hours? Its length may have appealed to him and its apparent inclusion of all possible formulas for use in extreme distress, sorrow and danger. Equally attractive may have been its intensity, expressed in a number of recitals reminiscent of the litany of saints, or its familiar language, using words taken from the daily liturgy, and its reference to well-known biblical stories. Finally there was its close association with the passion of Christ, which inspired such devotion all through the later middle ages.

Comparison with other prayers, however, effectively reveals its over-all conventionality and lessens the importance of the text itself. The key to Richard's needs and hopes lay in the rubric, and that key is lost. If only the rubric had survived — which was written for him and which he must have seen whenever he spoke the prayer and which must as often have given him hope or warning (according to the reader's prejudice) — then it would be known whether he regarded the text as merely 'a devout and useful prayer', as an authoritative relic of the hand of St. Augustine himself, or perhaps as a magical remedy that would certainly bring him comfort so long as he was 'without mortal sin'.

'Richard III's prayer' as well as all other facts known about him suggest that his private piety was no different from that of his contemporaries, although his sorrows and cares may have been greater than most people's. He directed his attention to the same things: he, too, adopted favourite saints to be his patrons and intermediaries with God and had particular objects of veneration. His wealth enabled him to honour his chosen saints in a public and expensive fashion, dedicating stalls to them in his collegiate foundations and ordering the use of special devotions to them. His preference for Saints Ninian, George and Anthony stands out, they occur at both Middleham and Queen's College, Cambridge, but they are closely followed in importance by Saints Cuthbert, Barbara and Katherine. The reasons for their choice are fairly obvious: Ninian and Cuthbert were the saints of the western and eastern marches towards Scotland respectively, St. George the patron of England and the order of the Garter; Anthony was a healer and associated with the b o o r , the animal supporting Richard's own arms; Barbara protected from sudden death and Katherine patronised scholars. There are thirty-five other saints — 'that I have devotion to' — mentioned in the Middleham statutes to be honoured with double feasts. Several are obvious choices simply because of their importance, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, Michael, Anne, Elisabeth and Christopher, and they are joined by the equally obvious choices of Wilfred of Ripon and William of York. For the rest, no conclusion can be reached about the precise reason or need behind Richard's choice.

In the matter of relics Richard is known to have expressed veneration for the holy o f f o f St. Thomas Becket with which he was appointed, and to have placed a 'value' on the remains of Henry VI, which he had removed to Windsor. It is also known that he thought as he should on the subject of the crusade and that he touched for the king's evil like other English kings. Nothing is either surprising or unusual about these details: Richard's religion was that of the later middle ages, humanised, fervent and personal within the strong and controlling framework of the church.

The 'library' that Richard owned as duke and king has given rise to several conclusions about his piety — some of them totally unfounded. It has been said that his books on religious subjects reflect a 'genuine religious interest' and that he was 'something of a puritan'. It has been stated that 'nine of Richard's books demonstrate the type of his piety', that is the 'rather morbid piety of the late fifteenth century' (our italics). In fact, of the eleven books that he probably owned only four can be called devotional, his hours — described here — is one. Then there are an English verse paraphrase of the Old Testament, bound in with courtly tales which he owned as duke, an English translation of the New Testament and an English version of the Book of Special Grace of Mcheldel of Hackeborn which he owned with his wife.

The Old Testament paraphrase is probably representative of his tastes as a young man; the New Testament translation is an orthodox book — he would have had episcopal permission to own it — and does not imply any Lollard or 'Puritan' tendencies. The visions of Mcheldel are perhaps the most interesting, but it was not an unusual book and as it bears Anne Nevill's name as well as Richard's it may reflect her taste as much as his.

There is remarkably little to go on. Richard was interested in religious literature to some extent, but the fact that only one of the books he owned was actually made
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for him\textsuperscript{313} makes it difficult to be certain of his preferences. His extant library has a bias towards historical and informative books, but that was nothing unusual and only confirms an impression of conventionality.

Richard III still eludes us. Of the three elements of religious life that we have postulated, faith, the first, is not open to discussion and not subject to human judgement. Of the other two, private and public piety, the most valuable and devout acts, according to Christian doctrine, are those not noticed by others – this makes them a problematic subject of historical research.

As far as Richard's personology as a whole is concerned we get no nearer to him than his public life and the few glimpses of his private life allow. Almost every interpretation made so far can be balanced by another, and every verdict seems based on too little evidence. We will have to be satisfied with our own prejudiced explanation or live with the enigma. The enigma has best been summed up by Sir Walter Raleigh, more experienced in politics and the ways of princes, and more devout than most, in his History of the World:

For the heart of Man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their interests be seldom hidden from those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own close temper, by some subtil mists, they conceal the truth from all reports.\textsuperscript{314}

NOTES


2. Most of these devotions will be discussed in some more detail in the Contents section, ch.5 below.

3. The psalter of the laity contained all 150 psalms in their numerical order; the clergy's psalter was more complicated: the psalms and their additional texts were divided into the parts needed at the liturgical hours and the days of the week, since the clergy were expected to sing all in the course of one week. The missal contains all texts to be read and sung during the Mass. The breviary is the equivalent of the missal for the Divine Office, containing all the texts, including the psalms, to be said or sung at the eight canonical hours. The laity's book of hours was the equivalent of the clergy's breviary. Further 'specialisation' of these books led to the existence of the gradual, which has the text and the music of the sung parts of the mass, and the antiphonals, which has the same for the hours. Both were large books to ensure that they could be read by the choir.


5. 'Little' because it is considerably shorter than the liturgical prayers that the clergy and religious have to say every day. It has to be emphasised that the shorter offices have the same religious 'value', but they were are additional texts for the clergy and the main devotions for the laity. See the introduction of The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by A Master of Novices, Carmel of Plymouth 1683, and Stadlbauer, 'Das Laienstubengebet', p.286.

6. For a comprehensive survey of the liturgical day see K. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols., Oxford 1933, vol.1, pp.15-75.

7. John 1, 1-14 (Christmas); Luke 1, 26-38 (Annunciation); Mat. 2, 1-12 (Epiphany); Mark 16, 14-20 (Ascension); John 18, 1-19, 42 (Passion). Nicholas Rogers has kindly informed us that the inclusion of these passages was customary in France, to a lesser extent in Flanders. When they occur in English hours (about 8 per cent according to his researches) there are indications of strong French influence.


10. Ibid., p.xxxi; and, for example, Gugaud, 'La prière', passim.


We are indebted to Dr Mirjam Foot of the British Library for the identification of the binder.

13. M. R. James' collation: 1\textsuperscript{2} 2\textsuperscript{4} (wants 8) 3\textsuperscript{6} 4\textsuperscript{2} 24\textsuperscript{8} (wants 7) / 25 (two) 26 (one): 2 flyleaves.

14. Jones, 'A Study', p.4; estimates the original size as 225 x 150mm. Comparison has been made particularly with the Altenburg Hours, which is such a
close parallel to Richard’s and has large margins on two of its sides (220mm. by 150mm.), and with Bodleian Rawlinson it. d. i. (245mm. by 153mm.) which was created for a careful binder who left margins of 5-10mm. on the top and side margins of a full vellum (f.26) and a possibly over-generous 30mm. on the bottom margin.

15. For other comments on the text, its ink, the abbreviations used and the alterations made by the original scribe, see Jones, ‘A Study’ pp.5-6.

16. ‘Vinci’ is the fifteenth-century term used by painters, later vignetts. It comes from vigna or vine scroll. A demi-vinit extended half or two-thirds of the text. See M. Rickert in Manly and Rickert, pp.562-3, Craigie, ‘Champ and Vynel’, p.171 and Dinger, p.443.

17. Champ = ground; this is the fifteenth-century painter’s term, see references in n.16.

18. Sprigg, ‘Neivl Hours’, p.104 n.1. The Neivl Hours is at Berkeley Castle, the Bodleian Library holds a complete set of colour transparencies which have been consulted for this study.


20. We are most grateful to the Abbot of Altenburg for supplying us with photographs of the manuscript as well as a copy of the catalogue in which it appears: Egger, Schatzkammer Altenburg, item 25, where the Hours are erroneously given as North French c. 1400. The provenance of the manuscript is given by Schmidt, p.48.


23. This is a subjective statement. Compare the fact that Margaret Rickert criticises colouring that includes a lot of yellow, Painting, p.166.

24. Dinger, pp.21-3 for the definition of illumination. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, pp.29-34. Alexander and Kauffmann, pp.90-1 for a useful and succinct summary of late gothic illumination 1290-1500 followed by a description of the repertory. Marks and Morgan, pp.22-51 and plates, is another helpful summary. Kuhn, ‘Herman Scheere’, pp.136-156 analyses in detail the change in style. Rickert, Painting, p.165 points out the limitations of our information for this period and the analogies that can be made between manuscripts. Most recently Sandler, esp. vol.1, introduction.


26. LH. vol.1, p.xlii.

27. Herbert, Sherborne Missal, passim. English Book Illustration, vol.1, p.12. Rickert, Painting, pp.163-3. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, p.33. N. Rogers on Siferwas in Thames and Hudson Encyclopaedia of British Art, p.244. Tolley, ‘John Siferwas’, passim and esp. pp.561-78. Siferwas’s ‘Dominic in the background had a very considerable effect on his iconography; whether as a friar he was ever for long a member of a London workshop is a matter of debate; he was alive in the 1420s. See Friedman for other work possibly by Siferwas.

28. Rickert, ‘Reconstruction of an English Carmelite Missal’, pp.99-113 and her Reconstructed Carmelite Missal, passim. Rickert dated the missal birth before 1390, and has since provided more certainty to the first decade of the fifteenth century; her ‘Dutch’ Master has also been transferred to Flanders. See Kuhn, passim, and Panofsky, vol.1, pp.115-118. Most scholars now agree with the Flemish theory.

29. The other book produced in England in this period, the Big Bible (BL. Royal I E vi), has been dated to c. 1412 under the patronage of Henry IV, and associated with Henry Scheere. It is also held to be much influenced by the Flemish style, Kuhn, p.150 and Wright, ‘The Big Bible’, pp.17, 133-6.

30. Rickert, Reconstructed Carmelite Missal, p.94 and passim.

31. In chronological order the main works on Scheere are:

- Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts, pp.30-34; Rickert, ‘Herman the Illuminator’; Kuhn, ‘Herman Scheere’, preferred a Flemish rather than a Cologne origin for Scheere, (as did Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, vol.1, pp.115-118; Spriggs, ‘Unnoticed’, Rickert, ‘New German Attributions’, notes that thirty years of research had added little to Herman’s known career and adds words of caution about extending his work; she summarises the existing research in Painting, pp.164-174 and pp.166-176; as do Alexander and Kauffmann, pp.104, 105-9; Spriggs developed Scheere’s oeuvre with more confidence in ‘Neivl Hours’, and was convinced of his Cologne origins; Turner, ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’, reestablishes Scheere’s reputation, but not the Cologne origins as well as the Broederlam influence; N. Rogers in Thames and Hudson Encyclopaedia, p.222, summarises. See also Tolley on Scheere, pp.529-547 and Wright, pp.188-209.

- The recent Paternoster Row discovery is put forward in Christianson, Memorials, p.50.

- The dates of all these manuscripts are taken from Turner, ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’. We are grateful to Nicholas Rogers for discussing the dating of BL. Add. Ms. 16958.


- Bodleian Library, Bodley 264, ff.218-270v. Rickert, Painting, pp.164-6, 175. Kuhn, pp.154-5 (on the ‘Princess Joan’ group which may also be called the ‘Johannes group’), Wright, p.181 and Turner, ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’, p.11. The view that Johannes was a follower of Siferwas is not now maintained.

- We are much indebted to Michael Orr for discussing the ‘Johannes’ group with us and sharing his research on the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen.

- BL. Add. Ms. 16958. This was previously in the Henry Gomplson Collection, see the Descriptive Catalogue, Second Series, item 59. After Elizabeth of York it passed to her cousin Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (ex. 1521).

- Brown and others, ‘Manuscripts from the Dyson Perrins Collection’, pp.31-32, compare the Elizabeth Hours unfavourably with the Bedford Hours and Psalter. Rickert, Painting, pp.174-6 also finds the Hours less delicate and restrained in their layout and less well planned. See also Turner, ‘Bedford Hours and Psalter’, p.270 and his ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’, pp.11-12, English Book Illustration, vol.1, p.13 and Tolley, pp.570-8. It is illustrated in colour, Marks and Morgan, pl.36.

- It has been suggested that Scheere’s workshop combined with the heirs of another major establishment, perhaps when he left England, Schmidt, ‘Two Unknown English Horae’, p.53. This idea was an attempt to explain in practical terms the interplay of manuscripts, tradition, and the influence observed by art historians in the Lombard school of illumination at this time – it is unlikely it actually took place. It is now considered that artists had small workshops, congregated in one area, collaborated, used each other’s models, etc., see esp. Farquhar, Creation and Imagination, pp.41-3, 50, Calkins, Distribution of Labour, pp.10-11, 52-7.

- Tolley, the Book of Hours, pp.60-1, LH. vol.1, pp.lxxxiv-lxxxv.

- The problem of which the Advocates 18.6.5 artist collaborated contain similar Annunciations: BL. Add. Ms. 16958, f.10, Cambridge University Library Add. Ms. 4086, f.9 and Cambridge Trinity College Ms. B113, f.20. We are much indebted to Dr. Lynda Dennison for pointing out this early English use of the crossed arms motif and explaining the inter-relationship of these mss. Her arguments are expressed more fully in ch. 9 and 11 of her thesis.


- It has been pointed out to us by Nicholas Rogers that an ultimately Italian origin for the crossed hands is also possible, see the altarpiece by Giovanni del Biondo (fl. c. 1556-1599) in the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, illustrated by Richard Fre-
mantle, Florentine Gothic Painters, London 1975, fig.509. This Virgin also wears a thin hair.

39. Of the same circle as van Eyck, the Limbourg brothers produced a Virgin with both the crossed hands and a thin circlet or band through her hair in the Belles Heures (f.30), 1409-12. We are indebted to Nicholas Rogers for this reference.

Several later continental examples of manuscripts from the crossed hands can be insinuated: Wicke, The Book of Hours, pl.1, figs.12, 34, Panoysky, vol.2, fig.108b; or the hands in repose in Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 49, ill.28, illustrated Rogers, Thesis, p.33.


41. Herbert, Siborne Missal, pl. 28 and pl.2. See also n.27 above on Siferwas.

42. LS is partly in Royal 2 A viii and Rennes Bibliotheque Municipale Ms. 22. Analysed by Rickert, Beau Hours and York Psalter, pp.238-246, and her Painting, p.170. She is corrected in many particulars by Rogers, Thesis, pp.85-91.

The original manuscript was an unusual psalter with additions made in London between 1401 and 1410, probably 1404-7. One of the additions was the very fine Annunciation with ‘portraits’ of the book’s commissioner, John Beaufort the elder, Earl of Somerset (d.1410) and his wife Margaret Holand (d.1439), painted by Scheere. Other additions were the imported full-page miniatures by the Flemish artist called the Master of the Beaufort Saints, pasted in to illustrate the liturgy. After the death of John Beaufort the book was divided: the psalter went to his wife Margaret Holand and then to John Holand. Earl of Huntingdon (d.1447), Henry Holand, Duke of Westmorland, son of his wife Anne for whom he added birth dates of members of the house of York in or after 1401. (This is now Rennes Ms. 22, see Leroquais, Les Psautiers, vol.2, pp.176-181.) The small portion containing the Annunciation and 12 full-page saints passed to John Beaufort Earl of Somerset (d.1444) and his wife Margaret Beauchamp of Bletsoe (d.1482) who had it placed at the beginning of her book of hours commissioned in London in the early 1440s. From her it passed to her daughter Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and is now BL. Royal 2 A xvii.

43. Reposeful, long-fingered hands ‘cupped inwards’ have been noted as characteristic of his Virgins, Turner, ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’, pp.16-22, Alexander and Kauffmann, no.74.

44. Soesef. long-fingered hands ‘cupped inwards’ have been noted as characteristic of his Virgins, Turner, ‘Wyndham Payne Crucifixion’, pp. 13-14. (This Crucifixion shows the Virgin with hands crossed at her breast.) See also Wright, pp.191-8.

45. See especially Rogers, Thesis, pp.136-142, on Lat. liturgy f.2 which may have been owned by Henry Lord FitzHugh (d.1427); it is a complicated (and very damaged) manuscript, part being poor quality work produced soon after its English market in Flanders, the rest being additional, later work done by Scheere and others in England. We are grateful for Nicholas Rogers for discussing the date of the manuscript with us.


Other closely related Annunciations in this manner, with one hand upraised, can be found in the Chichele Breviary, one of the miss signed by Lambeth Ms. 69, f.4v, illustrated Panoysky, vol.2, fig.175, and see Wright, p.312, and in BL Stowe Ms. 16, a much mutilated book of hours of before c.1410, which has a delicate rendering which may be by Scheere himself (f.9. See Rickert, Painting, pp.169-70.)

47. Spriggs, Nevill Hours, p.104-130 and 29a. She attributes f.15 to an associate of Scheere and f.100 to an associate of Johannes.

48. Property of Major J. A. Abbey’s executors, Ms. JA.7398, Described in Sotheby’s Catalogue in December 1967, item 46. At the time this book went to press the

NOTES

The Hours of Richard III

Clarence Hours came up for sale again: it is described and illustrated in colour in Sotheby’s Catalogue, 19 June 1989, item 3018. The decoration and miniatures are closely related to such manuscripts as the Bedford Hours and Psalter and Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Libr. d.1, containing both Scheere and Van Eyck hands, dating between both Scheere and Van Eyck hands, dating between 1400 and 1410, which are clearly the same hands as in the Clarence Hours and the Altenburg manuscript, but its colouring is generally poorer, there is less gold and three-dimensional effects. The whole plan of Hart 21018 in text layout and decoration is careless. Despite its more elaborate organisation, Hart 21018 is a poorer quality manuscript, its three- and two-line initials are in blue and pink with white pannelling and gold, a type that does not occur in Richard’s Hours but is usually used in the latest initials in the Altenburg manuscript. See also Alexander, Treasures of the North-West, item 46.

Schmidt, p.51. He depended partly on the earlier opinion that BL. Add. Ms. 16998 was c.1405.

49. BL. Add. Ms. 42131, f.122. Rickert, Painting, p.175, notes this painter’s anemic women. (Turner, ‘Bedford Hours and Psalter’, p.269 rather surprisingly makes this painter the finest of the book, but this was before he apologised to Scheere for his low opinion of his work.) The long necked, weary-faced female type is very common, see the several Virgins in the Nevill Hours, ff.29v, 33v, 37v, 78v, or the mother of Alexander, Bodley 264, f.2v (Marks and Morgan, p.35); it can on occasion be very charming as in the Nevill Hours, f.29v or Rawlinson liturg. d.1., f.110v. And see Winkler, p.30.

50. There are several similar variants in the Bodleian Lat. liturgy. f.2 (f.19v), the Nevill Hours (eg. ff.33v, 78v) and Rawlinson liturg. d.1. as well as the crowns of the bride and groom in the Bedford Hours and Psalter, f.151v (Marks and Morgan, p.34), but these are all crowns, not coronals.

Nicholas Rogers has drawn our attention to the folio lent by the Virgin in a Legenda Aurea, probably from Bruges c.1405-10, Glasgow University Ms. Gen.1111, f.71. And see n.39 above.

51. Its series of full page miniatures and its borders immediately suggest continental taste, as do the reorganisation of the figures in the Annunciation and Funeral scenes (f.13v) and the use of David to illustrate the Pententential Psalms (f.13v). Hints of practices associated with the Caesar Master and the Owl Master are also present and Knott and Scofield’s forthcoming book will no doubt elucidate these links.

52. Panoysky’s word, vol.1, p.404 n.2. This manuscript was in the Dyson Perrins collection until 1958. Warner, Descriptive Catalogue of the Dyson Perrins Collection, vol.1, pp.64-8 gives a detailed description, and plates 24-7. See also Dyson Perrins Collection, Sotheby’s 1958, part 1, pp.45-7 and pl D, and Adams, Ninth Report, Pierpont Morgan Library, pp.27-32 and plates. It is now M.983 in this Library’s collection. The Annunciation is shown in colour in Marks and Morgan, p.38 and see p.114.

53. Illuminating the psalter in this manuscript are a series of miniatures on the life of David by the artist of its Annunciation and another. These are closely related to a similar series in Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms.4.24. This relationship suggests a date in the 1430s, as does the more dubious evidence of the dress depicted in the manuscript. We are indebted to the assistance of Mr. Gregory Clark of the Pierpont Morgan Library and Dr. Rowan Watson of the Victoria and Albert Museum for details about the manuscripts in their care.

The miniatures by the second artist of the Warwick Hours (which include the Requiem Mass and Last Judgment referred to below) have been ascribed by J. J. G. Alexander to William Abell, an English painter of modest talent who
rejected the gentler forms of the International Gothic style (perhaps a natural result of his lack of talent) preferring a linear and angular style and strong, vibrant colouring (Alexander, 'William Ablen', pp. 167, 168-9). This assertion is, however, doubted by Gregory Clark and others.

It has been suggested that the Richard III Annunciation is a copy of the one in the Warwick Hours (Tudor Craig, Richard III, p.27. She is followed in this by Jones, ‘A Study’, pp.10, 28). This theory ignores the evidence of other far closer versions of this model. ‘Copying’ of either manuscript by the other is unlikely – all can be said is that both Annunciations derive from the same model.


Before we leave the Annunciation, a couple of features common to this school of artists may be noticed; the figure of the angel who appears in many other compositions besides the Annunciation and who frequently doubles as St. John the Evangelist; and the floor tiles, usually green, which become ubiquitous in English historiation.

Compare the St John in Bodleian, Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.110v, Gough Liturg. 6, ff.30, 32, Nevill Hours, f.26, or the Clarence Hours, f.44v. See Sprigg, ‘Nevill Hours’, p.129 on the tiles. Rickert, Painting, p.173, described the green tiles used in the Bedford Hours and Psalter’s Annunciation as innovative. Tiles were an extremely common flooring in ms. originating in the Low Countries, see Rogers, Thesiss, plates.


60. For Lat. liturg. f.2 see n.44 above. Bodleian Ms. Canon. Liturg. 116, f.92v has an almost equally poor version, by the Loredan Master (see Rogers, Thesis, p.92 and references there cited), and another early example occurs in BL Sloane 2683, f.82b (ibid., pp.67-72). All three ms. also have similar Annunciations to Richard III’s and it can be assumed their Chrisms in Judgement would have been equally similar in type. See Sprigg, ‘Unnoticed’ pls.17 and 19 for illustration of Canon. Liturg. 116 and Lat. liturg. f.2.

61. Similar funerals can be found in French manuscripts as well - the model was as ubiquitous as that of the Annunciation, e.g. Boucquet Master of which de Hamel notes two examples in his History, p.179.

This manuscript has many points of similarity to Richard III’s Hours, referred to above. It is a Sarum Hours and dated to c.1420 and Parchet, vol.3, no.869. Alexander and Kauffman, item 80, note the close affiliation between the Gouville ms. and Rawlinson liturg. d.1. It is also, perhaps more closely, affiliated to the Clarence Hours.


65. Edinburgh University Ms. 39 is a mutilated ms. close to the Warwick Hours and Psalter in style. The initial for the Office of the Dead survives (f.70) four singing clerics and a fifth holding their book behind the coffin; mourners – one with dramatically clasped hands at the foot of the coffin may be the bendisco, two candelsticks, tilled floor, illustrated in heldon, Descriptive Catalogue . . . Edinburgh University Library, Ms. 39.

66. Comparison cannot be made with the Altenburg Hours as it has only the one picture of the Annunciation. The Nevill Hours has neither Funeral or Mass.


68. By this date an image from David’s life could also be found in English books of hours to introduce the Penitential Psalms e.g. Widener Ms. 2, Wiek, Houghton Library, item 46. The Annunciation and Funeral are similar to those discussed here, but with such distinctive dissimilarities that clearly other models are also at work.


70. Turner, ‘Bedford Hours and Psalter’, p.268, fig. 2.

71. Compare for example the St. Peter in Rawl. liturg. d.1, f.11v or both the saints in the Nevill Hours, ff.23v, 27, 31, all in natural colours.

72. The Clarence Hours also has a monochrome dog (f.22v) and an unsuccessful monochrome pink lion (f.28). The closely related Gouville and Caius Ms. 148/198, f.56 has a large green monochrome dog similar to that in the Clarence Hours.

73. The Hours of Elizabeth the Queen has ‘portraits’ in many initials.


75. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.99v-111v.

76. The Passion initials of Rawlinson liturg. d.1 have been attributed to Johannes by Turner (‘Bedford Hours and Psalter’, p.270). These Passion scenes and those in the Clarence Hours are remarkably similar in iconography but not always in style (Compare Morgan Hours and the Small Hours of the Bedford Hours). The Bedford Hours and Psalter have been cautiously attributed to Johannes by Rickert (Painting, pp.173-5) but Turner was inclined to give them to an associate who also worked on the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (‘Bedford Hours and Psalter’, p.270 n.12). These contrary attributions and opinions all illustrate the extent of collaboration that went on during the production of these manuscripts.

77. It was Rickert (Painting p.248 n.89) who first noticed the importance of Rawlinson liturg. d.1 as a ‘link’ manuscript displaying the influences of Scherere and Johannes. The Clarence Hours and the Nevill Hours are equally important, while Richard III’s Hours is a minor example of the same phenomenon.

We are most grateful to Michael Orr for his opinion.

78. Initiate e.g.: Big Bible, ff.222, 234v illustrated Saunders, English Illumination, vol.2, p.120; 121; Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.7, 101; Gough Liturg. 6, ff.22v; Nevill Hours, ff.8 has the same initial as the Richard III Annunciation; Clarence Hours, f.15v; Gouville and Caius 148/198, ff.1, 56, 175.

79. Coiled acanthus centres e.g.: Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.11v 59; Clarence Hours, ff.22v, 23v, 40v (very common); Gough Liturg. 6, ff.30, 41v; Nevill Hours, ff.40, 51v, 6. Rennes Ms. 22, f.32; Bedford Hours and Psalter, f.185; Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, f.10v 100 and passim; Warwick Hours, f.29.

80. Scrolled borders enclosed in ‘masonry’ e.g.: Livre du Graum Caun, f.218; Clarence Hours, passim; Bedford Hours and Psalter, f.12v; Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, passim; Warwick Hours and Psalter, f.44v.

A magnificent example of a blue acanthus leaf folded back on itself four times in the centre of an initial. A composed of pink acanthus occurs in the Bodleian Ms. Gough Liturg. 6 (f.41v) by Hermann Scherere or his talented associate to whom the rest of the 178.

81. Very similar flowers to this one occur in pink and other colours, Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.57v, 103, 111 and Clarence Hours, ff.41v 68v.

82. An endless comparison might be made of such three-dimensional flowers and leaves in manuscripts of this period, but this study has focused exclusively on the varieties found in Richard III’s Hours.

83. Eg. 4- and 5-petalled flowers occur, Nevill Hours, f.62; Bedford Hours and Psalter, f.7, Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.40, Clarence Hours, f.32v, 115v, Hart Ms. 21018, f.7, 58v and passim, Graum Caun, f.218, 220, Rennes Ms. 22, f.32, 19v and Altenburg Hours.

84. Eg. Bedford Hours and Psalter, ff.9, 151v; Gouville and Caius 148/198, ff.254v, 276v; Clarence Hours, ff.22v, 53, 58, 100v (in orange and yellow). And compare Rennes Ms. 22, f.119v, illustrated by Rickert, ‘Beaufort Hours and York Psalter’, pl.11 (p.241). It has unfortunately only been possible to see a few photographs of this manuscript. Hart Ms. 21018 uses this device as well but there is no three-dimensional effect.

85. Eg. f.152. Compare Gough Liturg. 6, f.30 for collared trumpets, and Clarence Hours, passim, Rennes Ms. 22, f.32, 94.


Notes

84. Gonville and Caius 148/198, ff. 1, 56v, 139, 206v. Elizabeth the Queen, ff. 22, esp. 24v. Warwick Hours, ff. 12, 29.


86. All these devices have fourteenth-century English precedents, see n.87 below.

The Clarence Hours has subsidiary decoration in the same manner as Richard’s, e.g. compare the initial I in Richard III’s Hours, f.115v with Clarence Hours, ff. 30v, 79, 113. The fill of some of the larger initials of Gonville and Caius 148/78 (c.g. ff. 27v, 281) is similar to those of the Richard III ms., and the fill of the smaller initials in the Clarence Hours is often the same. The one-line initials and the line-fillers are the same in all three mss. Comparison may also be made with BL Stowe 16.


88. Illustrated Marks and Morgan, pls. 36, 38. It is to be noted that other borders in these manuscripts do not have such a marked similarity to each other.

89. Rickert. Painting, pp. 175-6 on the changes in style visible between the Bedford Hours and Psalter and the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen.


91. This is unusual, such a green border occurs round miniatures and initials in the Johanes group - Michael Orr.

92. This brownish or orange-toned pink is to be remarked in several of these manuscripts: the Great Cam, Clarence Hours, Richard III’s Hours and the Bedford Hours and Psalter.

93. Gonville and Caius 148/198 uses a lot of olive green like the Clarence Hours.


95. An echo of this effect can be seen in the Big Bible. BL. Royal 1.E.ix, f.72v.

96. James, Lambeth, p. 654.

97. ‘The book of the Master’ does not necessarily imply a great talent in this case.

98. It has been asserted that Richard was given the book by his wife and that it came to her from her Beauchamp mother. This is based on the fact that the illumination of Richard’s Hours is a copy of the later Warwick Hours (see the detailed examination of the Richard III Hours, ch. 3, above). This theory was originally put forward by Dr. Tudor-Craig, Richard III, pp. 27-8, and repeated in her ‘The Hours of Edward V’, pp. 354-5. She was followed by Jones, ‘A Study’, pp. 28-9.

99. See the discussion and notes of folios 9-14, 122-22v, 139v-140v, 156v-160, 164v-165 and 179v in ch. 5, Contents, below. The conclusion that the book was made for a woman, drawn by Dr. Tudor-Craig, Richard III, p. 27, was based on its lack of ‘grandness’.

100. See ch. 5, Contents, below (f.179v).


104. It is unlikely that the length or position of the note in the Calendar prevented its

erasure: the obliteration of the word pope has been consistently and meticulously executed, and at least one rubric of more than five lines was scrapped off completely in this

ms.


106. Jones, ‘A Study’, p. 29; see Testamenta Eboracensia, ed. J. Raine and J. W. Clay, Surtees Society, 6 vols., 1836-1902, vol. 5, p. 51. There is no evidence in Richard’s Hours that it ever included a psalter; the book is large as it is and the contents are unusually extensive.

107. See ch. 3.

108. Last page: now missing, but seen by James, Lambeth, p. 653.

109. The main analysis of the acquisition of the library is N. R. Ker’s Supplement to M. R. James’s Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace in A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library Miss. 1222-1860, by E. W. Bill, Oxford 1972, esp. pp. 1-5, 27, and see also Ann Cox-Wilson, ‘Lambeth Library Catalogue’ from 1563 to 1758’, Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. 2 (1954-5), pp. 105-107. The 1612 catalogue of Bancroft’s library refers to two Maria Horaria (Lambeth Records i.2, f. 85); their size is not mentioned. The catalogue of Abbot’s library contains a horae and an ‘office of the Virgin’ (Lambeth Records i.2, ff. 62, 98); their sizes are said to be quarto and 16mo respectively. See also M. R. James, The History of Lambeth Palace Library, Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. 3 (1959-63), p. 28. In H. J. Todd, Codicile of Archepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, London 1812, p. 60, the manuscript’s size is described as quarto, but this description appears to be used rather indiscriminately in this catalogue.

110. For the Anonymous or Fitzhugh chronicle see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, ‘Richard III’s Books: VII’. The passage on Ninian was copied from Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, book 3, ch 4, the earliest source on the saint.

111. Dowden, pp. 136-8: at Queen’s the collection of St. Ninian was to said every day and two masses of him in every three weeks (the text of this mass is printed in Arbuthnot Missal, . . . ed. A. P. and G. H. Forbes, Burndisland 1864, pp. 369-70); Dobson, pp. 142, 145-6 (York); Raine, pp. 161, 164-5, 169 (Middelham); Victoria County History of Dorset, vol. 2, London 1907, p. 287 (Barrow castle). See also The History of Queens, p. 89; D. H. Farmer, Dictionary of Saints, Oxford 1978. The same collection also occurs in the short hours of St. Ninian printed in E. S. Dewick, ‘On a MS. Book of Hours written in France for the Use of a Scottish Lady’, Transactions of the St. Paul’s Ecclesiastical Society, vol. 7 (1911-15), pp. 109-20.

112. An antiphon in the fifteenth century is a short devotional text introducing or ending, and more or less summarising, the contents of a psalter one, e.g. a hymn, psalm or prayer; it is often short but may run to several lines (of verse). Antiphons differ with the use. - A versicle is a short line of verse sung by the priest and answered by a response. – Some memorials (or suffrages), translated into English, are printed in Weick, The Book of Hours, pp. 165-6.

113. The scribe of these numerals also got confused when he added the dates for December, omitting 21 and putting in 29 twice.

114. For example, 7 October was called the Nones of that month, as was the seventh day of March, May and July, and the fifth day of the other months: 6 October was called ‘the day before Nones’ and numbered it (literally two days before, because both days were counted). 5 October is numbered in, etc. After the Rites of the dead in relation to the Ides, the fifteenth of March, May and October and the thirteenth of the other months, and when the Ides had passed, to the Kalends, that is, the first day of the next month. Thus on 16 October (here confusingly numbered 15) is written xvii kal. Novemberis: seventeen days before the Kalends of November, again including 1 November itself.

115. The Golden Number is found by adding 1 to the year’s number, dividing by 19 and taking the remainder (19 if the remainder is 0). In 1483 the Golden Number was 2 and the moon was new on 5 October. – The Dominical Letter indicates the relation of the
of the day to the calendar of the year, depending on what day the first Sunday of January fell. If this fell on the fifth (as it did in 1485), it was given the letter c since 1 January 1485 fell on a Saturday. Leavies years had all dates marked with e since 1 January 1485 fell on the Thursday. Leavies years had all dates marked with e since 1 January 1485 fell on the Thursday. Leavies years had all dates marked with e since 1 January 1485 fell on the Thursday. Leavies years had all dates marked with e since 1 January 1485 fell on the Thursday. Leavies years had all dates marked with e since 1 January 1485 fell on the Thursday.

116. Lioiselle, pp.195-253; Steele, pp.108-21 and references given there. Thes hymn in the present Calendar are those printed by Steele on p.117, beginning Prima dies mensis et septima trinitatis in ensis (The first day of the month and the seventh cut like a sword). These days were also called dies nuli (evil dies); whence desmall.

117. The present Calendar only differs from the standard Sarum Calendar printed in Worthsworth, Ceremonies, pp.3-14, in including St. Aldepho (25 May), St. Eustace and his companions (red., 2 November) and St. Clemens; and in leaving out St. Valentine (14 February) and St. Barnabas (11 June) in having St. Cuthbert in black instead of in red (20 March).

118. Edward's Translation (13 Oct., fig. 28) was left untouched. The erasure at 3 January was perhaps done because date also had the Octave of St. Thomas Becket, but other feasts of St. Thomas were left unaltered.

119. See the discussion of 'Richard III's prayer', ch.6, below.

120. See chapter on Ownership, ch.4 above.

121. For a complete Latin Text of the Hours of the Virgin with an English translation and introduction, see e.g. The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Master of Novices, Carmel of Epsom (Epsom 1953); for an English text of the Hours of and all the usual psalms in a book of hours of Sarum use, see Littellahes, vol.1, pp.1-89, where the text is identical to that of Richard's Hours except for the omission of a few prayers and minor details.

122. Nicholas Rogers informs us that the inclusion of a memoria to St. Sitha or Zita (of Lucca, feast day 27 April) is highly unusual before the sixteenth century. He has found only a few incipit instances and is still studying her cult in England.

123. RH, nos.14725-6; AH, vol.30, pp.32-5, item 13 (followed by similar texts); More, vol.1, pp.106-10; item 82; Daniel, vol.1, pp.337-8; Julian, p.886; lists translations e.g. Chambers, part 1, pp.168-70. Simmons, pp.82-7, has the text of the poem, the versicle, responses and the accompanying prayer Domine thes ehsrieh with an English translation, commentary on pp.346-52. See also Littellahes, vol.1, pp.15, etc. (a fifteenth-century translation); Searle, Fitzwilliam, p.xliii; Stadthuber, pp.307-9; notes 151-3; and passim on the Hours of the Passion in general; Bick, The Book of Hours, p.162; Woff, pp.235-6 on the English versions of Parvis sappertina, and on the influence of the hymn, and Barratt, pp.66-7, 272-3. In ML. Add. 37767, ff 96v ff the rubric of this text reads: The lord [John XXII] composed these hours and granted to all who say them devoutly 100 days of indulgence. It is sometimes ascribed to Giles of Viterbo (died 1316) at Rome (Aegidius Colonna, died 1316).


125. RH, no.29551; AH, vol.36, pp.106-7, item 47 (followed by similar texts); Horae Ebor., pp.xxxi-xcix and 47, n.1, 49, n.2, n.1, etc.; Searle, Fitzwilliam, p.xlv; English translation in Chambers, part 1, pp.170-3. The pity of Poor Har son's suffering was a popular object of devotion in the fifteenth century, see Wilmart, Auteus, pp.505-36; Stadthuber, pp.313-5; Woff, pp.239-73; Paff, pp.97-103.

126. The Hours of the Cross (or the Passion) are common in books of hours of Sarum use, those of the Compassion are rare (ibid., p.103, n.11); Nicholas Rogers informs us they are very rare before the middle of the fifteenth century. In the present ms. the quatrains of Passion are headed 'antiphon' and have initial capitals and only one-line initials at the other hours. The invariable prayer has a three-line initial in Laudis, one-line initials at the other hours. Each quatrains of Marius cor has a three-line initial, suggesting that this was felt to be the main part of these composite short hours. It has to be remembered that these very short offices contain no psalms or lessons and that they occur under various names and in various combinations.

126. Folio 52, the Sainte Sacrement, with verses, responses and the prayers Omnipeotens sancte domine qui glorte virginitate deuisimor moris morias corpore (ff.52v-53), and Famulo tuorum quiessemus (f.53r). Folio 53r, Guode virgo mater christi que par aurem concepisti (AH, vol.15, p.96, item 68; only the first three lines of each stanza are given in the present ms.; that was the original text, compare Meesemann, vol.2, pp.38-40, 206-8), with verses, responses and the prayer Omnipeotens sancte domine qui dirige piebtnltern salvacione. On f.54 are two very short prayers, In omni tribulatione and Meritis et precibus, with antiphons, verses and responses.

127. Psalms, 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142.

128. The Gradual Psalms were probably sung by pilgrims going up the fifteen steps (gradus) of the Temple in Jerusalem. Apocryphal medieval tradition had it that Mary dedicated herself as a girl to God's service, ascended these steps alone and sang the fifteen psalms as she went (Meesemann, vol.2, p.6 and references give there).

129. The saints invoked in the Litanies are listed below. Spelling and capitals follow the ms.; all individual saints are preceded by Sancte or Sancta in full in the ms. But these words have been here omitted; the vocative has been maintained, the few abbreviations extended: maria, dei genitrice, virgo virginum, michael, gabriel, raphael, omnes sancti angelii et archangeli, omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordinis, ioannes baptista, omnes sancti patriarchae et prophete, petre, paulus, curi, iacob, iohannes, thoma, iacob, philippo, bartholomei, matheo, symeon, thatac, mathia, barnabai, marce, luca, marcellia, omnes sancti apostoli et evangelistae, omnes sancti discipuli domini. In addition, omnes sancti innocentes, stephanie, lune, clete, omnes, xiste, corneli, cypriane, laurenti, vincenti, fabiane, sebastiani, cosma, damiane, prime, feliciane, potenciane, grigione, ypolote, lusina, sanctus iacobus taurus, georgius, sanctus iohannes et paule, iacripius christophere, albane, edmund, lambere, omnes sancti martires, silvester, leo, ione, numune, augustine, ysidore, hilari, nichola, marsea, ambrogi, graege, germane, romane, vedaste, taurine, juliane, ambri, eugide, leonarote, antoni, philiberte, audone, albine, amandre, ausbrite, simpson, patiere, remi, basili, brilive, pauline, mauchte, omnes sancti apostoli, omnes sancti monachi et heremites, aitna, maia, balio, gypciccia, felicitas, perpetua, petronilla, agathe, agnes, celecia, lula, scolastica, genovefa, margaretta, katerina, isabelthe, paschaleia, affra, barbarba, batilides, radegundis, tis, tecla, christiana, helena, praxed, sothiers, priscia, editha, osida, fides, spes, karitas, omnes sancte virigines, omnes sancti et sanctae.

129. 68v Deus cuius proprium est miserrimi semper et parcere propinque animabus tuis iuli.

129. 69v Preces populi tuorum est qusumus celebrare.

129. 69v Deus cuius proprium est miserrimi semper et parcere suspe de precatione meam.

129. 69v Omnipotent sancte divini qui hanus mirabilis magna solus.

129. 69v Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam sancti spirut.

129. Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia.

129. Omnipotens sancte divini qui dirige actus nostroris.

129. Pretende domum familias et famularibus tuis dexteram.

129. 70v Ure igne sancti spiritus renovare nostror.

129. Aecliones nostror qusumus domine.

129. Omnium sanctuarior tuorum qusumus domine intercessibus.

129. Ludi fabulum misericordiam tuam.

129. 70v Omnipotent sancte divini qui hanus misericordia qusumus.

129. 71v Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor.

129. 71v Absolue domine animas omnium fideliun defunctorum.

129. Petite tua qusumus domine.

129. These prayers occur at the end of the Litany in many books of hours, with endless variations in wording, number and selection. See, for instance, Littellahes, pp.30-1.
tarius, f.30 (with rubric); Meertens, vol.3, pp.7-8; Wilmart, Auteurs, p.378, n.1 (10); Robbins, p.139 and n.20. The text sometimes reads sanctissimum carmen. – The rubric in Richard III's Hours probably reads: Calitub et decem sanctorum sequentium inter sua et tertium agens deus per papan bonitius sanctum duum millia annorum indulgentiae conceduntur ad suppletionem filiphi regis francis. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and Philip IV, the Fair, are meant.

152. Lyell, pp.63-4 (rubric given), no.123; Hoskins, pp.112 (... pro perditio...!!), 121 (wrong rubric); Horae Ebor., pp.83, 177 (with a longer ending); Meertens, vol.1, pp.127-8 and notes; Antidotarium, f.38v; LH, vol.1, pp.44, 45, 172, 153; vol.2, pp.26, 106, 344; Darmstädt, f.33v, pp.28, 62, 105. The text is also ascribed to Boniface VIII or said to have been confirmed by 'John XXII. Alternative incipit are Domine Jesu Christe (fit Dei vivi qui... et Gracias tibi ago domine Jesu Christe qui...).

153. For this prayer see also the discussion of 'Richard III's prayer' ch.6, below. In many instances the text is connected with St. Michael, e.g. part of a memorial of him and/or illustrated by a miniature depicting him. LH, vol.1, pp.178, 299, 329; vol.2, pp.47, 219, etc.; Lyell, nos.93, 94, 95; Hoskins, pp.114, 124 (long rubric); Horae Ebor., p.125; Haimerl, pp.73, 91, 104 (called morning prayer of Segenspruch); Antidotarius, ff.30v-31 (two rubrics). Bennett, Devotional Pieces, p.247 (medieval English translation).


156. No other copy of this text has been found.

157. Though in many details this text is very similar to prayers to the cross printed in Gjerlow, p.128 and references given there; Wilmart, ‘Prières’, pp.23-4, 51-2 and ‘L'office’, p.422; Horae Ebor., no.114; LH, vol.2, pp.206, 299; Leroquais, Psautiers, vol.1, pp.140.

158. Hoskins, pp.135, 354; LH, vol.1, pp.258, 273; vol.2, pp.37, 39, 232; Antidotarius, f.1; Haimerl, p.80; 126; Wilmart, Auteurs, p.381, n.2 (1). The text is virtually identical to one of the prayers used in the preparation for the mass today. The rubric in the present ms. reads: This prayer should be said before seeing the sacrament and it is beneficial to say it daily'.

159. Hoskins, pp.145, 354; LH, vol.1, pp.156 (?), 182, 237, etc.; Haimerl, pp.126; Lyell, no.312. Wilmart, Auteurs, p.381, n.2 (2). According to Wilmart the prayer was not made by Aquinas. The beginning of the text varies but it is easily identifiable.

160. No other copy of this text has been found.


162. In other ms. these prayers occur as one: Lyell, no.152 and ms. referred to there. The text sometimes begins Domine or O Jesu.

163. For this and other 'bilingual' versions, see Mone, vol.2, pp.203-14, esp. p.208; Woolf, p.282; Julian, p.292. For this devotion: Lyell, no.358; Hoskins, p.133; RH, no.18318. For the Salve Regina thus: Thurston, pp.115-45.
NOTES


179. The text in Richard III’s Hours is virtually identical to *AH*, vol. 31, pp. 171-2, item 165, but the scribe omitted the last couple of lines of stanza 7. See also BL, Ms. Add. 37787, ff. 164v-165 and Ms. Harl. 2894, ff. 45-6. For the five ‘great sorrows’ see Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p. 513 and n.4; Woolf, pp. 268-71.

179. This text is frequently connected with the preceding one; for references see the preceding note.

180. Lyell, nos. 253, 254 and references given there; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, vol. 1, p. 18. A variant incipit is *O domina misericordissima*.

181. No other copy of the metrical prayer has been found. The prose text is very similar to twelfth-century prayers, used to conclude longer devotions to the Virgin, printed in Meersseman, vol. 2, pp. 178, 231, 240.

182. A great number of farced *Ave Maria* is printed in *AH*, vol. 30, pp. 190-281, and Mone, vol. 2, pp. 144-45, but the present one is not among them. See also Lyell, no. 47 and references given there; also BL Ms. Harl. 2341, f.143, a copy virtually identical to Richard III’s, and *L.H.*, vol. 1, p.252. Many similar prayers in vernacular languages are extant.

183. No other copy of this prayer has been found.

184. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp. 328 and n.4; only one copy of the text was known to Wilmart, in a psalter written for a religious at Shaftesbury towards the end of the twelfth century, BL Ms. Lansdowne 383, f.166. Barré, pp. 281-4, and Meersseman, vol. 2, pp. 162-3, add a few other twelfth- and thirteenth-century ms.s, with very similar melodies. The text was printed by Egerton Beck, ‘A Twelfth-Century Salutation to Our Lady’, *The Downside Review*, vol. 42 (1924), pp.184-5.

185. Lyell, no.366 and ms.s and references given there; *L.H.*, vol. 1, pp. 182, 356; vol. 2, pp. 145, 366; ms. no. 127, item 12, has all stanzas; *RH*, no.1286; Walther, no.12564. Also Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 40, f.41v (all stanzas).


187. Barré, pp. 185-93 and notes (‘La Prière de Théophile’); the text in Richard III’s Hours is virtually identical to the one printed by Barré, pp. 186-8. The prayer is based on the *Publica Theophili Penitentia*, a Latin translation of a Greek text, and dates from the eleventh century. See also *L.H.*, vol. 1, p.320; *Darmstäd*, vol. 3, p.83. For the Theophilius legend see e.g. H. S. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, vol. 2, pp. 595-7; de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, pp. 528-9, September 8, the Nativity of the Virgin.

Compare folio 170v, above, and n.183. This text does not occur in *AH* or Mone either.


189. Lyell, no.375, and ms.s and references to her. The text is printed in *Maudui Parisiensis Chronicarum Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series 1872-84, vol. 6 *Additamenta*, pp. 127-8, with a description of St. Edmund’s devotion to the virgin St. John. See also the *O intercessori*, ff. 156v-158, and n.166.

190. No other copy of this suffrage has been found.

191. *Salve sancte Joachim* is printed *AH*, vol. 2, p.302, item 123. No other copy of the collect has been found, but it is probably not rare.

192. Lydgate, p.264; the text occurs in the prayer book of Charles the Bald (died 877), where it is called ‘a prayer for the twelfth hour’, that is, the last hour of daylight, *PL*.

210. E.g. Missale Romano Mediolani 1474, ed. R. Lippe, Henry Bradshaw Society vol.17, London 1899, in the mass contra paganos; ibid. vol.33, London 1907, in the mass pro recuperatione terre sacre (for the recapture of the holy land); Hoskins, p.352, among Peces et orationes decernae post Liturias diversae temporum: Contra paganos; and p.363 for the same in similar collections.

211. E.g. Missale Romanum (see preceding note), vol.33, p.327, in the mass pro vitanda mortalitate. The prayer is in Edinburgh, University Library Ms. 309, f.23.


213. The Song of Roland, translated by Dorothy L. Sayers, Harmondsworth 1957, lines 3100-2; 3104-7; p.170.

214. Ibid., lines 2385-6; p.142.

215. Gauflart, La Chevalerie, pp.539-45; he also calls these prayers 'soldiers' prayers'. There are many instances of prayers using similar formulae in French epic poetry, see Koch, An Analysis, especially chapter 5. Sister Koehl's work is exhaustive; gives many quotations and references and discusses the origin of the formula.

216. The close association of these two lists of examples with death and the dying is clear from the situation in which the religious works use the formula, from the illustrations of the stories in the catacombs, from the prayers in which they are used and from their place in the modern Catholic liturgy: it is, therefore, in the Ordinale Romanum antiquum, the words spoken by the priest over the dying, commending the departing soul to God and asking, among others, St. Michael to receive it: Libera, Domine, animam servii tuæ (unciae tuae), scit liberasti Danielium de lacu leonem, . . . scit liberasti Susannam de falsa crimine, . . . These either go back to the very same old source, or the prayer was inspired by the well-known liturgical text, as other prayers were.

217. Fouquet, ‘Preparation of the Chaplet’, pp.10-27. In the version known as the Oratio Sancti Brandani, probably of the ninth century, it is effect in a long and detailed narration of biblical events, starting with the creation of the world and ending with the life of Christ. It calls on all the ranks of the angelic hierarchy, all the apostles and all the nameless faithful to save the person from death and the devil, from every kind of calamity, from fire and all natural dangers, from poison and from hell, and from all visible and invisible danger by day and by night. Even more than Richard III's prayer it obviously desires to cover every eventual. This 'prayer of St. Brendan' survives in several 15th Latin and vernacular copies on the continent and in England. See S. Bottini, 'L'Estoire', passim.

218. Fouquet, 'Preparation of the Chaplet', pp.10-27. In the version known as the Oratio Sancti Brandani, probably of the ninth century, it is, however, in a long and detailed narration of biblical events, starting with the creation of the world and ending with the life of Christ. It calls on all the ranks of the angelic hierarchy, all the apostles and all the nameless faithful to save the person from death and the devil, from every kind of calamity, from fire and all natural dangers, from poison and from hell, and from all visible and invisible danger by day and by night. Even more than Richard III's prayer it obviously desires to cover every eventual. This 'prayer of St. Brendan' survives in several 15th Latin and vernacular copies on the continent and in England. See S. Bottini, 'L'Estoire', passim.

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to list it among the ‘usual’ contents of books of hours. Salmon, ‘Oratio Brandani’, p.xxivii, mentions the prayer very briefly: ‘... una autre prière du même genre, attribuée à S. Augustin, mais n’ayant assurément rien à voir avec le grand Docteur’. In one case, probably through a scribal error, the text is attributed to St. Jerome. University-Uppsala Universitybibliothek Ms. C 80, ff.62-63. We are grateful to Mrs. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt for information and photocopies. See Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung, M. Andersson-Schmitt and M. Hedlund, vol.1, Stockholm 1988, vol.2 forthcoming. The ms. containing the prayer is fifteenth-century, made in Italy.

224. The text, with some unlikely readings, is printed PL, vol.101, col.476-9; it does contain some of the biblical example, but it is completely different after the first few words. It occurs in the collection De psalmorum usus, incorrectly ascribed to Aelius of York (PL, vol.101, col.465-508), and probably made in Italy c. 850 for monastic use; see Wilmart, ‘Le manuel’, pp.262-5 and notes. See also Die handschriftliche Überlieferung, 1 Italien, vol.1, p.404; II Grossbritannien und England, vol.11, pp.126-7; and de Vreeze, Over handschriften, p.93. The authors of these works appear to regard ‘Alex’ and Richard III’s prayer as one text or two versions of one.

225. See chapter 5, Contents, above (ff.180-181).

226. The prayer-book of Alexander is BL. Ms. Add. 3869; the prayer is on ff.57v-58, its main rubric is at the end. Alexander was born in 1461, became King of Poland in 1501 and died in 1506; he was a cultured man with a humanistic interest. Interesting rubries to the prayer are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Don. d.85, f.119v, and Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 10, f.46v.

227. Similar promises are made at the beginning of many prayers. Some will protect the faithful against evil on the day they are said, and others on the following day, if they are said. The guarantee that one will have foreknowledge of one’s death or not die unconfessed, others give protection against any conceivable human or diabolical evil or any disaster on sea or land. For example, another prayer sometimes attributed to St. Augustine and beginning Deus propitius est mihi peccator et eius causa meus omnibus diebus vitae meae Deus Abraham. Deus Isaac. Deus Jacob (‘God be merciful to me a sinner, and behold my salvation all the days of my life. God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob’) was held to be very effective in all kinds of physical trouble; in fire and in water, in battle and at trial, it would give ‘protection against a sudden and evil death. In the present ms. this text is only effectively printed and pp.201-3, where a primer of 1535 is quoted which faithfully reproduces the ‘main promises’ of two margins of this and other prayers. In one ms. (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 71) is later hand added: delevitur usus rubrica (‘this rubric must be deleted’) against the heading of Deus propitius est, but no such warning was given in the case of Richard III’s prayer in the same ms. The rubric is also in LH, vol.2, p.219, where it is claimed that the text was revealed to St. Augustine by the Holy Ghost and, apart from its other merits mentioned above, it also helped against robbery and in childbirth. Compare Harman, ‘A Medieval Scots merchant’s handbook’, pp.114-5, in which the text of a superstitious amalgam of this and other prayers is printed. This was jotted down in abibable Latin in the notes of a fifteenth-century merchant and shows to what level such texts and their users could descend. – For such prayers and their ‘power’ see also Gouguad, ‘La prière’, who quotes a ms. in which Deus propitius est is said to have been spoken by Charlemagne before battle.

228. The full (French) rubric reads: ‘St. Augustine made the prayer that follows; someone in trouble or distress let him say it or let it be said (for him) on thirty consecutive days in honour of God and Our Lady and he shall be uplifted in such a way that his sadness will turn to joy. And this has been prophesied so that it works for him who says it or has it said for him’. The Dukes of Burgundy’s text is the only one to have the third person singular. It reads, e.g.: ‘And so, Lord, deign to save him from all anxiety in which he is placed’, though towards the end it changes (back?) to the first person.

229. In one case Pope John XXII is said to have granted to whoever spoke the prayer Deprecium super salutem et liberazione fidelium (‘Lord Jesus Christ, salvation and deliverance of the faithful’) while passing through a churchyard, as many indulgences as there were people buried there (Hoskins, pp.123 and 128). The most extreme examples of up to 800,000 years are given by LH, vol.1, p.xxxi.

230. The senselessness of other erasures in the prayer itself in this ms. (BN, Ms. latin 1534) suggests a child may have been responsible.

231. For example, the same book can be found in a printed Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philologisch-historische Klasse, item 67, pp.104-6 and plate 88.

232. Frederick I (Federico) of Aragon, born 1451 or 2, crowned King of Naples 1497. Led a very active military life, fighting on land and sea; tried to prevent the French invasion of Italy. Deprived of his kingdom by Louis XII, he lived in exile in Tours, where he died in 1504. His book of hours was written in Italy and illuminated in Tours. LH, vol.1, p.xxv-xxxvi and 328-9; and in Minnebcher, München/Zürich 1980 (in progress), col.944; Wilmart, Autres, p.377.

233. Perhaps the addition was made when the book was rebound in the sixteenth century (the lines are untouched by the binder’s rigorous cropping). – Dulcitissime Domine Jesu Christe are the usual opening words of the prayer, with or without O. Dulcitissime is sometimes omitted, as in the hours of John the Baptist (LH, vol.1, f.193v); O dulcis Dominus (LH, vol.1, f.193v); (O) domine et dulcitissime iesus christe (Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 152, f.140 and Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 10, f.46v); Dulcitissime iesus christe dulcitissime (Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 220, f.138) An unusual variant is found in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 893, the Hours and Psalter of Henry Beauchamp, ff.237v-239v; the first lines are very similar to Richard III’s. O dulcitissima deus iesus christe in mandatum pecunia relaxare, peccatoris solvere, capitores in carceri positum redimere. These words are followed by Exaudi me miserum peccatorum ... and an entirely different prayer; see Warner, Descriptive Catalogue, vol.1, p.65, item 18; this is one of the items in the ms. said to have been added in Italy. – It is not unusual that parts of different prayers became attached to each other, or that segments of one text came to lead a separate life. It makes them very elusive.

234. Ex. L. O tres doux seigneur Jesuchrist, filz de Dieu vif qui du saing (sic) du Pere tout puissant envoys en ce monde ... (Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 22, f.158, quoted in Sonet, Répertoire, p.273, no.1561); O ale suestre here Jesu christe, gewuer god en gewuer gods soon, die uten schoen des almechtigen gods diips heiligen vaders in dese werel geselipt bier ... (Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catha. Hassisches Museum Haarlem 107, f.41); Sanfti modische here Jesu christe der von dem schois des almechtigen vaders komen bis in diere werelt ... (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Ms. 1899, f.159).

235. Ex inforamtion Dom Eligius Dekkers.

236. Once these errors have been realised ‘Richard III’s prayer’ becomes easier to trace, though confusion with the other text mentioned earlier as ascribed to St. Augustine is unavoidable when too short an incipit is given in catalogue or index.


238. In BN Ms. latin 575 between the lines and over the word positus the scribe neatly added in Latin in very small script ‘or posita if you are a woman’.

239. The presence of dolor here and on f.182 may have some meaning, far more than the use of the present tense emphasized by Tadros-Craig, Richard III, p.27. The present tense is in fact common usage in such prayers.
NOTES


241. cusudia became curiosa and posta incredulitate became (posto) posta incredulitate and prescripta incredulitate. Total confusion eventually reorganised and the standardised text reads: etsi pie tua, crudeli passione nobis paradisum . . . mercatus ex. – No conclusion can be drawn about the relation of the miss., there are too few data.

242. The separate mention of Esae and Jacob suggests the existence of a separate textual tradition with a different prayer, since they are pointedly mentioned again in the series as a whole. Abraham departs from the city of Ur (Gen.11:31); Isaac’s sacrifice (Gen.22:1-19); Jacob and Esau (Gen.25:19-34; 27:8-15); Joseph and his brothers (Gen.37); Noah (Gen.6:14-22; 7:1; 8:19-19); Lot (Gen.19:1-28); Moses and Aaron (Ex.); Saul on Mount Gilboa (I Sam.31); Saul died on Mount Gilboa and the description of this as a deliverance is inexplicable. The only possible solution is that the original text had David de marto Sact et Gole gigante and that de marto was corrupted to de monte and Gole to elopex, as well as surviving in the proper order; the standardised sixteenth-century text omits elopex altogether; David and Godoliah (I Sam.17:38-51); Susanna (Additions to Daniel 13, Apocrypha); Judith (Judith, Apocrypha); Daniel (Dan.6); the three young men in the burning furnace (Dan.3); in some copies of the prayer their names are given: Jonah (Jonah 2); the daughter of the Canaanite woman (Matt.15:21-8; Mark 7:24-30); Adam (i.e. the “Harrowing of Hell”, Christ’s traditional descent into hell after his crucifixion to overcome the devil and deliver the souls of Old Testament saints, confined there because they had not had the benefit of the Christian sacraments. The Medieval tradition is based on the Gospel of Nicodemus, retold in de Voragine, The Golden Legend, pp.221-3, (see note 267 below), has an interesting and apparently unique additional series of “deliverances” in which the prophet Elijah figures largely: how he was saved from Jezebel (I Kings 19:4-8), won thecontest with the priests of Baal (I Kings 18:17-40) and how he was saved from “common death” (II Kings 2:9-15). The series also includes David and Abigail (I Sam.25) and Job, apart from the “usual exempla”. 


244. Ex informatione Brother P. J. Berkhourt.

245. Compare Tudor-Craig, Richard III, p.27. Susanna is part of the series of Old Testament deliverances and as such occurs in most copies of the prayer: the story is not unique to Richard III’s text and tells us nothing about his guilt or innocence of the crimes he has at one time or another been accused of. The words may have had a special significance for him – as Achitophel and his evil counsel may have reminded him of the Duke of Buckingham’s rebellion in the autumn of 1483 (for Achitophel see 2 Sam.15; 16:17 and Ps.40, 5:9 and 54, 11:5). Compare David’s outburst in psalm 54 “But it is you, my compassion and close friend” to the lines added in Richard’s own hand to the letter about Buckingham: “the malady of hyn that hadde beste cause to be trewe” (printed in Hammond and Sutton, Richard III, The Road, p.145).
Another ms. of the same date that may contain the prayer is the Hours of John, Duke of Bedford, described in E. F. Bosanquet, The Personal Prayer-Book of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, K.G., The Library, 4th series, vol.13 (1932-3), pp.48-55. This ms. is in a private collection and cannot be consulted. We are, however, grateful to Nicholas Rogers for his part in this material.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 375, Sarum Hours, London calendar, made in London c.1460, artist under strong French influence. We are most grateful to Nicholas Rogers for pointing out this ms. and the possible identity of the lady.

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Ms. 37, Sarum Hours, produced in London in the last two decades of the 1460s, influenced by the Master of the Vesper Hours. On p.115a a woman is depicted kneeling before the Virgin. Her armorial mantle appears to have the leopards of England on red and a border of blue with the great lilies of France, which may be those of Anne Plantagenet, wife of Henry Holland, second Duke of Exeter (1349-1475/6). We are most grateful to Nicholas Rogers for pointing out this ms. and the possible identity of the lady.

Of Benedictus Mariae Virginis ... printed in Rome 1571 and The Primer and Office of The Blessed Virgin Maria, in Latin and English ... edited by Richard Verstegen, printed by Anthony Conings, Antwerp 1599. A number of copies survive of the latter, e.g. in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp (R. 49-39), Lambeth Palace, London (15994 and 1599-22) and several in the British Library. See Hoskins, nos.266 and 267, pp.355 and 361.

In this edition of the text of the prayer abbreviations have been silently extended. Punctuation and erased words and letters are in square brackets. The punctuation of the ms. has been printed as commas. Capitalisation follows the ms.

O dulcissem ... peccato ... is a reconstruction of the text based on comparison with other copies of the prayer made in the same decades. The original O probably filled a three-line or four-line inner space. The sixteenth-century addition reads: Clementissime domine Jesu Christe vere deus qui summi patris omnipotenti sedis missus es in mundum peccato relaxare, peccatores (for this and for the missing rubric that headed the prayer and explained its use and powers see the discussion of the text above).

Perpetua, struck through and restored by the scribe.

A petition which includes the errors and oddities of the Latin text (for details see the discussion of the prayer above). There is a short description of the prayer and a full medieval French translation in H. M. Rochais, Prières et moralités en vieux français, Ms. Ligugé 18', Mélanges de science religieuse, vol.14 (1957), pp.151-66 (154-5 and 157).

Some of the older general studies remain helpful: Manning, Hurndar, Huizinga and McFarlane. Studies on particular communities and individuals used are: Tanner (Norwich), Thompson (London), Vale (Yorkshire), Heath (Hull), Fleming (Kent), Armstrong (Cecily Neville), Rosenthal (Richard, Duke of York), Pantin (an unknown ladyman), Chesney (Margaret of York), Catto (Henry V), Underwood (Margaret Beaufort), Hicks (Hungerfords), Lovatt (Henry VI via Blacman), Goodman (Henry VII), and Stow (Henry VIII). There is no particular study on the piety of Edward IV; he has received some praise from the Crowland chronicler, but mainly criticism from both him (pp.150-3) and Ross, Edward IV, pp.268-9, 273-6, despite its lavish foundation of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Crowland chronicler resents Edward's taxing of the church.

For instance the very different conclusions about Richard III's religion, David Knowles and R. I. Storey, cited Goodman, 'Henry VII', p.115. Some statements about Richard III will be discussed below.

See e.g. Monitor, 'Frömmigkeit', passim, for the problems of research and how to define piety.

Mols, 'Emploi et valeur', passim. C. Burges, 'Late medieval wills', typescript lent by author.

For instance, Monitor, 'Frömmigkeit', p.6 on scepticism about visible acts of piety, an attitude prevalent since the Reformation (at least). Richard III, of course, is very much the subject of controversy and scepticism, e.g. Richmond, 'Religion', p.201, is 'unerved' by the fact that Ross (Richard III, p.128), calls Richard 'a genuinely pious and religious man', and says that this is 'like calling Joseph Stalin a genuinely devout man'.

Vale, 'Piety', p.28; Thompson, 'Piety and Charity', p.180 and passim.

An attractive contemporary pictorial example is the series of miniatures of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, performing the Acts of Mercy while Christ looks on (Nicolas Finet, Bonois seront les mistericordous, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9296,f.1). Some seventy earlier Langland wrote of Christ who 'in poor man's almsgiving without a giver', cited Bennett, Poetry, pp. 60-1. See also de Verginie, The Golden Legend, p.121, on St. John the Almoner, who carefully remembered how Christ might be anywhere.

Richard III's piety has only received more than a passing glance recently. For all aspects discussed and further references see Ross, Richard III, pp.128-38; Sutton, 'A Curious Searcher', pp.64-70; Dobson, 'Richard III and the Church', passim.

Richard's earliest friendly biographer, George Buck, included piety as one of the seven virtues of a king (and proceeded to show Richard possessed all seven), but scarcely distinguished between charity and piety and building works (Buck, The History, pp.201-4). Caroline Halsted actually acknowledged defeat and declined - perhaps wisely - to assess the piety of a bygone age (Halsted, Richard III, vol.1, pp.335-8, vol.2, pp.296-8). She had, in 1844, little information on such religious activities as the founding of Middleham College. Paul Murray Kendall (Richard III, p.320) was more courageous on the issue. He concluded Richard had a 'powerful and more private' religious experience than conventional piety, but he placed too much importance on his owning a 'Lollard' New Testament. His picture of Richard is flawed to a certain extent by his '1935' understanding of a virtually unresearched period, but nevertheless it is much repeated by novelists and historians, e.g. Lander, Government, pp.328-30.

A similar apparent incompatibility has been noted in the behaviour of other rulers, e.g. Henry V's noted piety compared with his ruthless refusal to succour the helpless people turned out to starve by the citizens of Rouen during his siege of that town. E.g. see more recently virus and Charles Ross, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. For discussion of making the charge of hypocrisy and reluctant to adopt Vergil's stance. The development of his argument is interesting when examined in detail. Vergil explained Richard's good government very simply: Richard found that the murder of his nephews made him unpopular; he became so fearful and anxious to appease God and his critics that he took up a 'new form of life' in order to be thought 'righteous', 'liberal', etc. He became 'suddenly good' (pp.191-2). Ross considered that Vergil was reporting the 'truth as he knew it' or as he was told it (Richard III, p.xxvi) and set out to examine this idea. He inclined to find hypocrisy in Richard's behaviour over the execution of Clarence and describes his sympathy to Desmond as 'tongue-in-cheek' (pp.32-4 and n.37). He finds Richard's piety genuine (pp.128-36), but his sexual virtu hypercitical (pp.134-5). In all these cases Ross is expressing his own opinion (not Vergil's). In the context of Richard's proposed marriage to his niece (and the King's denial of it) as told in the Crowland Chronicle, Ross finds the true reflection of contemporary opinion that Richard was a hypocrite and that Vergil was right (p.146). From this point on Ross is clear: the usurpation made Richard desperate to commend himself (pp.147-8), particularly by his administration of justice (pp.173-5) and in parliament (pp.187-9). Ross' presentation of the true revolution of the usurper is (p.190).


Aristotle, Politics, book 5, 9, 10-20. Greek tyrannis and medieval/modern 'tyrant' do not have exactly the same meaning. A tyrant is not necessarily a bad ruler - though Aristotle, who was interested in practical politics, knew from history and experience that he only too often was. What we are concerned with here is the influence of the
word-plus-image on later thinkers, and their interpretation. Neither Aristotle's nor his imitators' terms can be defined with mathematical precision, but his commentators had the advantage of the image's philosophical origins behind them. See also U. Baumann, 'Thomas More and the Classical Tyrant', Moreana, vol.22 (1985), pp.108-27, where, however, the intermediate period and the use of the word between classical times and the Renaissance are not discussed.


285. For Tacitus, see B. Walker, The Annals of Tacitus: A Study in the Writing of History, Manchester 1969, esp. ch.6, 'Fact and Impression'. Thomas More in his History of Richard III used such elements to great effect and Richard's reputation will probably never recover from this onslaught (as the Emperor Tiberius' image will always be coloured by the pictures given by Suetonius and Tacitus); see More, Complete Works, vol.2, pp.1xxxviii-xcvii. See also Buck, The History, pp.126-8, for an attempt to demonstrate against such methods.

286. Several other elements doubtless helped to make the picture of Richard III as it has prevailed since the accession of the Tudors. One is reminded of the ambitious tyrants staged by Seneca, the heathen kings who persecute Christians in medieval lives of saints and of King Herod, known to every churchgoer as the slaughterer of the Innocents. Richard's career was probably, even during his life time, seen as a modern exemplum. A king who loses his only son and his wife as well must have committed unspeakable crimes to deserve such a fate. His death in battle served to make this line of thought even more acceptable.

287. Ross, Richard III, pp.136-8; Lander, Government, p.329. The documents are both printed in Hammond and Sutton, Richard III, The Road, pp.146-7 and 189-90. It is intriguing that the identities of those who are the subject of the first document, are twice called 'traitors, adulators and bawds' (our italics). The reason lie in the fact that Miserable Shore and her supposed lover, the Marquis of Dorset, were among those named. The other document is an official injunction to bishops to do their duty as regards the morality of their flock.

288. Louis XI of France cast doubts on Margaret of York's morals to try to prevent her marriage to Charles the Bold. Charles himself was accused of homosexuality by former servants who had gone over to the King, and in his turn he accused Louis of murdering his (Louis') brother, the Duke of Guise, by poison and magic; and of attempting to murder Charles himself (Vauban, Charles, p.48, 229 and 77). John, Count of Armagnac, and James III of Scotland were said to have committed incest with their sisters.

289. Vale, Piety, pp.29-31; Carey, Devout Literate Laypeople, pp.361-81. And see Jolliffe, Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance: the mere existence of so many works of that nature is significant.

290. For the 'meddled life' see Pantin, Instructions; Bennett, Poetry, esp. pp.59-61; Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', pp.57-8; Weck, The Book of Hours, pp.40-4; Cheseaux, 'Notes on some Treatises', passim.


292. Olivier de La Marche in his État de la Maison du Duc Charles de Bourgogne (ed. Beaune and d'Aubanmont, vol.4, pp.2-3). La Marche in his discussion of the Duke's public piety evidently finds fault with this and other examples of an efficient and bureaucratic approach.

293. Raine, The Statute, p.160 (the relevant text is quoted in the discussion of 'Richard III's prayer' above). The preamble is quoted with approval by Ross, who perhaps over-emphasises its implications and uniqueness.

294. The 'jeopardies' and 'perils' Gloucester says God saved him from echo in a humber vein the 'great perils, dangers and difficulties' that Edward IV and Richard had survived to report officially to their brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy (Paris, BN Ms. franzais 3887, ff.114-116v).

295. See above, ch.5, the description of the contents of the hours (ff.1 and 180-184v), and ch.6, the discussion of 'the prayer of Richard III'.


298. Lander, Government, p.330; all his conclusions appear to be based on Tudor-Craig, Richard III, p.27.

299. Richard is traditionally held to have called Nottingham Castle his 'castle of care'; the place where he learnt of his son's death, anticipated his wife's death and waited for news of invasion in 1485. The 'castle of care' (despair) and the 'tower of truth' nearby are images used at the beginning of Langland's Piers Plowman, which it is possible that Richard was quoting. This is all conjectural, but the connections are not entirely to be dismissed. The progress from castle to tower is undoubtedly paralleled in the comfort offered by the prayer. See Sutton 'Richard III's Castle of Care', pp.303-6 and the possible rubrics of 'Richard III's prayer' discussed above.

300. Bennett, Poetry, esp. chs.2, 3 and 4.

301. E.g. Bossy, Christianity, pp.11-23, on saints as mediators.


304. For the Holy Oil see Sutton and Hammond, The Coronation, pp.5-10, and references given there. For the reburl of Henry VI see White, 'The Death', pp.110-3.

305. Richard's well known remark on crusading, made to a visitor from Germany in 1484, is quoted by Ross, Richard III, p.142; a better and more literal translation of the German (and only surviving) version of Richard's words would read: 'I would certainly with my people alone and without the help of other princes, easily drive away not only the Turk but all my enemies' (our italics). Biographers of Richard III have so far literally repeated C. A. J. Armstrong's translation (in his edition of Dominic Mancini, The Usurpation of Richard III, Gloucester 1984, p.137) and missed out on the King's evident self-confidence in the matter; there is also a note of naivety in his remark. – Further evidence of Richard's involvement may perhaps be found in one of the devotions added later to the present ms., 'the litany' of Richard III'. If this was added for Richard it suggests that he was concerned about the international situation and the threat from the East and was happy to have his concern expressed in purely conventional devotional terms in a composite prayer. The evidence about the original contents of this prayer, its purpose and connection with the King, is tenuous, however, and no conclusions will be drawn from it concerning his piety. See above, ch.5, Contents, the description of the last folio of the ms.

306. For the King's Evil see Sutton and Hammond, The Coronation, pp.6-7, and references given there.

307. Bennett, Poetry, esp. ch.2; and see Catto, 'Henry V', pp.107-15.


311. See the series of articles on Richard's books by the present authors, and the concluding article on his 'library' as a whole to be in The Ricardian 1991.


313. Vegetius De Re Militari.

THE HOURS OF RICHARD III

50001, Hours of Elizabeth the Queen
65001, Hours of Katherine de Valois
   prayers
Ms. Harl. 211, 2341, hours and prayers
   2887, hours
2894, prayers
Ms. Royal 2 A xvii, Beauchamp Hours (with additions that were once part of the
   psalter that is now Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 22)
   2 B v, Psalter of ‘Princess Joan’
Ms. Sloane 2863, hours
Ms. Stowe 16, hours
Lambeth Palace
   Ms. 459, hours
   474, Hours of Richard III
University College
   Ms. 19, prayers
University of London
   Ms. 519, hours
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
   M. 815, Hours of Henry VII
   M. 893, Hours and Psalter of Henry, Duke of Warwick
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 113, hours
   264, Livre du Graunt Cam
Canon. Liturg. 16, psalms and prayers
   25, prayers and hymns
   116, hours
   220, hours
   251, hours
Canon. Pat. Lat. 10, theological miscellany
   Don. d. 85, psalter
   Douce 8, offices and prayers
   Gough Liturg. 6, hours
   Lat. liturg. f. 2, hours (and Marbod, ‘On precious stones’)
   Lyell 82, prayers
   Rawl. liturg. d. 1, hours
   Rawl. liturg. e. 28, hours
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
   Ms. Lat. 757, hours and missal
   921, hours
   1281, breviary
   1354, hours
   1426 A, hours
   1428, hours and prayers
   1430, hours and prayers
   10532, Hours of Frederic of Aragon
   10565, hours

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   IV 95, Hours of Paul Deschamps

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms. 537, prayers
   Gonville and Caus College Ms. 148/198, psalter
   Fitzwilliam Museum
   Ms. 60, hours
   71, hours
   152, hours
   156, hours
   375, hours
   40–1950, Hours of John Talbot
   41–1950, Hours of Margaret Beauchamp
   3–1954, Hours of Philip the Bold
   Maclean Ms. 72, hours
   Sidney Sussex College Ms. 37, Hours of Anne Plantagenet, Duchess
   of Exeter (?)

Cardiff, Public Library Ms. 1373, hours

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Blairs College Ms. 7, hours
   Advocates Ms. 18.6.5, psalter and
   hours

University Library
   Ms. 39, hours
   42, hours
   43, hours
   309, hours

Estate of Late Major J. A. Abbey Ms. JA 7398, Hours of the Duchess of Clarence
   (photographs held by the Conway Library)

Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. A 184, breviary

   16998, prayers and offices
   22720, prayers
   37787, prayers
   38603, prayers of Alexander, Prince
   of Poland
   42131, Hours and Psalter of John, Duke of Bedford

THE HOURS OF RICHARD III

50001, Hours of Elizabeth the Queen
65001, Hours of Katherine de Valois
   prayers
Ms. Harl. 211, 2341, hours and prayers
   2887, hours
2894, prayers
Ms. Royal 2 A xvii, Beauchamp Hours (with additions that were once part of the
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   251, hours
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