

RICHARD III

1452 - 1485

His Book of Hours



Leicester
Cathedral

RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

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RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

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by Anne F. Sutton & Liva Visser-Fuchs -
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RICHARD III - His Book of Hours



G 23
9^{no}

capit id.
allo K.
am cu
re vte

omium parat unum nomen
et hinc est lat
benedicam
angelus dei abraham de cel
cia in ant di cent. H. se

40.

No 474

Date 15th Century

Title Hora Beate Virginis

The Capital letters are
extremely beautiful.

a capital letter has been cut out - p. 41. 55

Study

Deus qui populos pictos et brito
num per doctrinam sancti et immam con
fessionis tu ad fidei tue noticiam convertisti
concede precibus. ut animis eruditione verita
tis tue luce profundissimi eius intellentione ac
lectis vite gaudia consequamur. Per christum
dominum nostrum. Amen.

Study

De sancto epoforo

Quoniam tu sancte epofore martir ihu
 xpi. Qui pro eius nomine
 penas protulisti. O pan confer misericordie. ac
 qd munitis mlti. Qui celestis glie. regna
 manisti. Epoforu sancti speciem. qui aq
 tuetur. Illo nonpedie. nullo languore
 grauetur. Martir epofore. pro saluatoris
 honore. fac nos meritefore. dignos de
 tatis amore. P. omisso xpi. quia quod
 petis optinuisti. Da p. lo mlti. bona que
 mouando petisti. Confer solamen. et m. m.
 tolle grauamen. Judias examen. fac mite
 sit omnib; amen. **V.** Glorie et honore. **R.**

Quoniam tu sancte epofore martir ihu
 xpi. Qui pro eius nomine
 penas protulisti. O pan confer misericordie. ac
 qd munitis mlti. Qui celestis glie. regna
 manisti. Epoforu sancti speciem. qui aq
 tuetur. Illo nonpedie. nullo languore
 grauetur. Martir epofore. pro saluatoris
 honore. fac nos meritefore. dignos de
 tatis amore. P. omisso xpi. quia quod
 petis optinuisti. Da p. lo mlti. bona que
 mouando petisti. Confer solamen. et m. m.
 tolle grauamen. Judias examen. fac mite
 sit omnib; amen. **V.** Glorie et honore. **R.**

BIBLIOTHECA
 LAMBETHANA

ADRIANUS
 LAMBETHANA

pus intercessionibus a morte subitanea per
 te fame et timore et paupertate et ab omnibus
 insidiis inimicorum liberemur. pro te ihesu christe
 que ipse meruit in brachiis suis portare. et cum
 deo patre et spiritu sancto vivas et regnis. **oratio.**

Qua nobis quis domine beati episcopi
 fori nostris tui intercessio nos adiu
 uet eius que suffragiis pietatis tue clemen
 tia nos ubique defendat. pro christum dominum. n.

De sancto georgio. antiphona. Sancte georgi episcopi mi
 les mane nos pro peccatis protegere et ab omni malo
 defende. **versus.** Gloria et honore. **Responsum.** et constituti cum. **oratio.**

Qui nos beati georgii mar
 tyris tui meritis et intercessione
 defendas concede propitius ut que
 eius beneficia possumus dono gratie tue
 consequamur. pro christum dominum nostrum.

Amen



KL Prima dies mensis: et septima trinitat ut mensis.

iii	A	Januarius: Circumcisio dni.	1
	b	iiij D Octava sancti stephani	2
ii	c	iii D Octava sancti iohannis	3
	d	ii D Octava scorum iunocentii	4
iiii	e	Nonas	Vigilia 5
viii	f	viii id Epiphania domini.	6
	g	vii id	7
xvi	H	vi id Sa lunam p biteri sonox q: eius mks	8
v	b	v id	9
	c	iiii id	10
xiii	d	iii id	11
ii	e	ii id	12
	f	idibus id Octava epiphanie. De scis hillano	13
x	g	ix kl sebuani. Sa fchas in pinas epi et mns	14
	A	viii kl Sancti maun abbis et ceteris.	15
xviii	b	vii kl Sancti mantli mns.	16
vii	c	vi kl Sancti sulphur epi et ceteris.	17
	d	v kl Sancte pulcr uirg et mns	18
xv	e	iiii kl Sa wolstani epi et ceteris.	19
iiii	f	iii kl Scis fabiani et scastiani mks.	20
	g	ii kl Sancte agnetis uirg et mns	21
xii	H	i kl Sa vincenij mns.	22
i	b	x kl	23
	c	ix kl	24
xix	d	viii kl Conuasio sa pauli apli.	25
	e	vii kl	26
xvii	f	vi kl Sa juliani epi et ceteris.	27
vi	g	v kl Sa agnetis secundo	28
	A	iiii kl	29
xiiii	b	iii kl Sa kauldis regine uirg et mns	30
iii	c	ii kl	31

Non habet horas xvi. Dies viii.



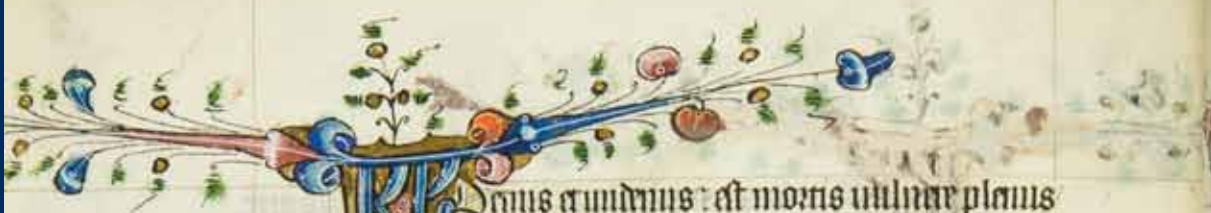
		L	Quarta subit mortui: p'stuit t'ma forain.	
			Febriuanus. S'c' brigide uirgis	1.
XI	c	iii	Quintiano b'e mane uirg'	2.
ix	f	iii	S'anti blasii epi et m'is	3.
viii	g	ii		4.
			Donas S'ande agathe uirg' et m'is	5.
xvi	b	viii	S'c' conf'lor' ualenti tamandi epor'	6.
v	c	viii		7.
				8.
xiii	e	v		9.
ii	f	iiii	S'c' scolastice uirg' non m'is	10.
				11.
x	g	iii		12.
				13.
xviii	c	xvi	Mamy. S'anti ualcentini m'is	14.
vii	d	xv		15.
			S'c' juliane uirg' et m'is	16.
xv	f	xiiii		17.
iiii	g	xiii		18.
				19.
xii	b	x		20.
i	c	ix		21.
			Cathedra s' petri	22.
xix	e	viii		23.
			S'c' mathe apli	24.
xvii	g	v		25.
vi	h	iiii		26.
				27.
xiiii	c	iii		28.
				29.

Post haec horas: viij. Dies x.



		L	Quinta manducati: distinguat q'nta bibente.	
			Mamy. S'anti dauid epi et cf.	1.
x	c	vi	S'anti edre epi et cf.	2.
ix	f	v		3.
				4.
xv	g	iiii		5.
viii	h	iii		6.
			S'c'c' p'p'ue et filianis uirg' et m'is	7.
xvi	c	xviii		8.
v	e	xvii		9.
				10.
xiii	f	xvi		11.
ii	g	xv		12.
			S'anti gregory conf' et doctous	13.
x	h	xiiii		14.
				15.
xviii	c	xiii		16.
vii	d	xii		17.
			Aprilis	18.
xv	e	xvi		19.
iiii	f	xv		20.
			S'anti edwardi regis et m'is	21.
xii	g	xiiii		22.
i	h	xiii		23.
			S'anti anthony epi et cf.	24.
xix	c	xii	S'anti leodegundi abbis	25.
viii	d	xi		26.
				27.
xvi	e	x		28.
v	f	ix		29.
			Annunatio b'te marie uirg'.	30.
xiii	g	viii		31.
ii	h	vii		
			Resurrexio domini.	
x	c	v	Istodie obit Thomae h'erm'ud	
ix	d	iiii	conf'rat' ann' dom' 1642.	
xvii	e	iii		
vi	f	ii		

Post haec horas: viij. Dies xi.



	K	crucis et uindictis: et mortis uulnarum plauis	1.
		<i>Apulis</i>	2.
<i>xi</i>	F	<i>mi id</i>	3.
	b	<i>mi id</i>	4.
<i>xix</i>	c	<i>ni id</i>	5.
<i>xviii</i>	d	<i>nos id</i>	6.
	e	<i>viii id</i>	7.
<i>xvi</i>	f	<i>vii id</i>	8.
<i>v</i>	g	<i>vi id</i>	9.
	h	<i>v id</i>	10.
<i>xiii</i>	i	<i>iiii id</i>	11.
<i>ii</i>	k	<i>iii id</i>	12.
	l	<i>ii id</i>	13.
<i>x</i>	m	<i>idibus</i>	14.
	f	<i>xviii kl</i>	15.
<i>xviii</i>	g	<i>xvii kl</i>	16.
<i>vii</i>	h	<i>xvi kl</i>	17.
	b	<i>xv kl</i>	18.
<i>xv</i>	c	<i>xiiii kl</i>	19.
<i>iiii</i>	d	<i>xiii kl</i>	20.
	e	<i>xii kl</i>	21.
<i>xii</i>	f	<i>xi kl</i>	22.
<i>i</i>	g	<i>x kl</i>	23.
	h	<i>ix kl</i>	24.
<i>xix</i>	i	<i>viii kl</i>	25.
	k	<i>vii kl</i>	26.
<i>xvii</i>	l	<i>vi kl</i>	27.
<i>vi</i>	m	<i>v kl</i>	28.
	e	<i>iiii kl</i>	29.
<i>xiiii</i>	f	<i>iii kl</i>	30.
<i>iii</i>	g	<i>ii kl</i>	31.
<i>x</i>	h	<i>idibus</i>	

Sancti nardi epi et conf.
 Sancti ambrosii epi et doctoris.
 Sancti alphegi archiepi et mris.
 Sancti georgii mris.
 Sa mam aung.
 Sancti uitalis mris
 Sa ckaivaldi epi et ef.

Not habe horas x. Dies xiiij.



	K	crucis et uindictis: et septimus hora mhidit.	1.
<i>xi</i>	l	<i>napus</i>	2.
	c	<i>vi id</i>	3.
<i>xix</i>	d	<i>v id</i>	4.
<i>xviii</i>	e	<i>iiii id</i>	5.
	f	<i>iii id</i>	6.
<i>xvi</i>	g	<i>ii id</i>	7.
<i>v</i>	h	<i>idibus</i>	8.
	b	<i>xviii kl</i>	9.
<i>xiii</i>	c	<i>xvii kl</i>	10.
<i>ii</i>	d	<i>xvi kl</i>	11.
	e	<i>xv kl</i>	12.
<i>x</i>	f	<i>xiiii kl</i>	13.
	g	<i>xiii kl</i>	14.
<i>xviii</i>	h	<i>xii kl</i>	15.
<i>vii</i>	i	<i>xi kl</i>	16.
	k	<i>x kl</i>	17.
<i>xv</i>	l	<i>ix kl</i>	18.
<i>iiii</i>	m	<i>viii kl</i>	19.
	e	<i>vii kl</i>	20.
<i>xii</i>	f	<i>vi kl</i>	21.
<i>i</i>	g	<i>v kl</i>	22.
	h	<i>iiii kl</i>	23.
<i>xix</i>	i	<i>iii kl</i>	24.
<i>xviii</i>	k	<i>ii kl</i>	25.
	l	<i>idibus</i>	26.
<i>xvi</i>	m	<i>idibus</i>	27.
<i>v</i>	e	<i>idibus</i>	28.
	f	<i>idibus</i>	29.
<i>xiiii</i>	g	<i>idibus</i>	30.
<i>iii</i>	h	<i>idibus</i>	31.

Sancti philippi et iacobi
 Inuentio s'anas
 Sa iohannus ante portam latianam
 Sancti gordiani et epimachi mris
 Sancti nardi adulla et paucaay mris
 Sancti dunstani archiepi et conf.
 Sancti aldelm epi et conf.
 Sa augustini epi et ef. Primi anglos apli.
 Sancti germani epi et conf.
 Sancte petronille uny. non mris

Not habe horas viij. Dies xviij.



	K	denus palleat: quidnus fiteri uelat.	
		iiiius. Sā nichomedis mīs.	1.
xix	f iii id	Sōrum mamellui et petri.	2.
viii	g iii id		3.
xvi	H ii id		4.
v	v Nonas	Sā lonifacii epi et mīr. sonoz et eius	5.
	c viii id		6.
xiii	d vii id		7.
ii	e vi id	Sōrum medardi et gildardi conf.	8.
	f v id		9.
x	g iiii id		10.
	H iii id		11.
xviii	v ii id	Sōr lasilidis anni natalis et nazarij.	12.
vii	c idibus		13.
	d viii kl	July. Sā lasili epi et conf.	14.
xv	e vii kl	Sōr uiti et modesti mīs	15.
iiii	f vi kl	Emiliano s ximidi epi et conf.	16.
	g v kl		17.
xii	H iiii kl	Sōr mam et mamelliani frū mīs	18.
i	b ii kl	Sōr genasii et pthasii frū mīs	19.
	c xi kl	Emiliano s edwardi regis et mīs	20.
xix	d x kl		21.
viii	e ix kl	Sā allani pthomīs anglox.	22.
	f viii kl	Sā etheldreie uirginis	23.
xvi	g vii kl	Nanutas sā iohis bapt.	24.
v	H vi kl		25.
	v vi kl	Sōr iohannis et pauli mīs	26.
xiii	c v kl		27.
ii	d iiii kl	Sā leonis ipe et conf.	28.
	e iii kl	Aplōr petri et pauli.	29.
xix	f ii kl	Commemoratio sancti pauli.	30.
viii	g kl		31.

Por haur horas vi. Dies viii.



	K	ridimus matar: uili deus labifacat.	
xix	g	July. Oct sā iohannis baptiste	1
viii	H vi id	Sōr passi et martini mīs.	2
	b v id		3
xvi	c iiii id	Translacio et ordinacio sā martini epi et cf.	4
v	d iii id		5
	e ii id	Oct aplōr petri et pauli.	6
xiii	f Nonas	Translacio sā thome mīs	7
ii	g viii id		8
	H vii id		9
x	b vi id	Sōr septem fratrum mīs	10
	c v id	Translacio sā imediti abbis	11
xviii	d iiii id		12
vii	e iii id		13
	f ii id		14
xv	g idibus	Translacio sā sicutiunū sonoz et eius	15
iiii	H vii kl	August. epi et cf.	16
	b vi kl	Sācti karolū reg et mīs	17
xii	c v kl	Sācti annulphi epi et mīs	18
i	d iiii kl		19
	e iii kl	Sācti margarete uirg et mīs	20
xix	f ii kl	Sācti praxedis uirg.	21
viii	g kl	Sācti marie magdalene	22
	H vi kl	Sācti apollinans epi et mīr	23
xvi	b v kl	Sācti epine uirg et mīs	24
v	c iiii kl	Sācti iacobi apli. De sō epoforo	25
	d iii kl	Sācti anne maris marie.	26
xiii	e ii kl	Sōr septem dominianū mīs	27
ii	f v kl	Sā sampsonis epi et conf.	28
	g iiii kl	Sōr felias simplici et atre mīs	29
xix	H iii kl	Sōr abdon et sannen mīs	30
viii	b ii kl	Sācti germani epi et conf.	31

Por haur horas viii. Dies viii.

Kuma venit fortiter: p[ro]dit[ur] s[an]c[t]a co[n]hor[um].

	A ugustus	Id u[n]iu[er]sa s[an]c[t]a p[er]t[inet].	S 1.
vi	d m n	S[an]c[t]i stephani m[ar]t[is]	2.
v	e m n	Inu[er]sio s[an]c[t]i stephani loc[us] eius m[ar]t[is].	3.
	f n n		4.
viii	g nonas	S[an]c[t]i osibaldi reg[is] & m[ar]t[is].	5.
ii	A viii id	S[an]c[t]i suti felixsimi & agapiti m[ar]t[is].	6.
	b vii id	S[an]c[t]a donata epi & m[ar]t[is]	7.
x	c vi id	S[an]c[t]a g[er]man[us] sonor[is] eius m[ar]t[is].	8.
	d v id	S[an]c[t]i romani m[ar]t[is]	Vigilia 9.
xiii	e iii id	S[an]c[t]a laurina m[ar]t[is]	10.
vii	f m id	S[an]c[t]a t[ri]bunij m[ar]t[is].	11.
	g ii id		12.
xv	A idibus	S[an]c[t]a p[ro]p[er]ta sonor[is] eius m[ar]t[is].	13.
iiii	b xii kl	S ep[te]mber. S[an]c[t]a c[ir]c[um]sc[ri]pti p[re]s[bi]t[er]i. Vigilia	14.
	c xi kl	Assump[ti]o b[e]ate marie uirg[is].	15.
xvi	d x kl		16.
i	e x kl	Octa[ua] laurina.	17.
	f x kl	S[an]c[t]i agapiti m[ar]t[is]	18.
xviii	g x kl	S[an]c[t]i magni m[ar]t[is]	19.
	A x kl		20.
xvii	b vii kl		21.
vi	c vi kl	Octa[ua] s[an]c[t]e marie	22.
	d v kl	S[an]c[t]i timothei & appollinans Vigilia	23.
xiiii	e iiii kl	S[an]c[t]i i[er]osoloma apli.	24.
iii	f ii kl		25.
1548	g nonas	I[er]o die obiit. A .	26.
x	A vi kl	S[an]c[t]i k[ri]stophori m[ar]t[is]	27.
	b v kl	S[an]c[t]i augustin[us] epi & doctoris	28.
xviii	c iii kl	Decollatio s[an]c[t]i ioh[ann]is bapt[iste].	29.
viii	d m kl	S[an]c[t]i felix & audaci m[ar]t[is].	D 30.
	e n kl	S[an]c[t]e ar[h]iburge uirg[is].	31.

Non halt horas x. Dies xiiij.

Kuma septembris: et denu[er]o fiet mala manibus

vi	f m n	S ep[te]mber S[an]c[t]i egidij conf[essor]is & abbis.	1
v	g m n		2
	A m n		S 3
xiii	b n n	Emulatio s[an]c[t]i ar[h]ib[ur]ge epi & cf.	4
ii	c nonas	S[an]c[t]i l[er]m[an]i abbis	5
	d viii id		6
x	e vii id		Vigilia 7
	f vi id	Sanctitas b[e]ate marie uirg[is]	8
xviii	g v id	S[an]c[t]i gorgonij m[ar]t[is]	9
vii	A iiii id		10
	b iii id	S[an]c[t]i p[ro]p[er]ti & iacobi m[ar]t[is].	11
xv	c ii id		12
iiii	d idibus		13
	e xiiii kl	O ctobr.	14
xii	f xiii kl	Octa[ua] s[an]c[t]e marie	15
i	g xii kl	S[an]c[t]e edithe uirg[is]	16
	A x kl	S[an]c[t]a laurentij epi & m[ar]t[is]	17
xviii	b x kl		18
	c x kl		19
xvii	d ix kl		Vigilia 20
vi	e viii kl	S[an]c[t]a matha apli & eu[ang]el[ist]e.	S 21.
	f vii kl	S[an]c[t]i maurici sonor[is] eius	22
xiiii	g vi kl	S[an]c[t]e n[ic]ole uirg[is] noni m[ar]t[is]	23
iii	A v kl		24
	b v kl	S[an]c[t]i finnini epi & m[ar]t[is]	25
x	c iii kl	S[an]c[t]i g[er]manij epi & uirg[is] uirg[is]	26
	d ii kl	S[an]c[t]i coline & daniani m[ar]t[is].	27
xviii	e m kl		28
viii	f m kl	S[an]c[t]i michaelis archanacli.	29
	g n kl	S[an]c[t]i rotonini p[re]s[bi]t[er]i & doct[oris].	30

Non halt horas x. Dies xiiij.

		R amus et deus: et signat mors alienus.	
xvi	a	S ociet. S. cor. epi. minig. germani loc.	
v	b	S. v. n.	S. sancti leodigani epi et mris h. g. d. n. o. n. a. t. y.
	c	v. n.	erat. v. d. d. n. s. a. l. o. r. y. d. n. s. m. g.
iiii	d	iiii. n.	Apud. f. f. d. e. r. m. e. g. a. y. d. n. s. d. p. i. d. e. o.
iii	e	iii. n.	4.
	f	ii. n.	S. ante fidis iurg. et mris 5.
ii	g	Donas	S. cor. nam marcell. et apul. min. 6.
	A	viii. id.	7.
viii	b	vii. id.	S. sancti dyonisi nista m. 8.
vii	c	vi. id.	S. a. geronis loc. q. et m. 9.
	d	v. id.	S. a. nicalij epi loc. q. aus m. 10.
vi	e	iiii. id.	11.
v	f	iii. id.	Translato in edwardi m. et ef. 12.
	g	ii. id.	S. sancti kalen mris 13.
iiii	A	idibus	S. sancti wolhanni epi et ef. 14.
iii	b	xvii. kl.	Novemb. S. a. nichis in monte nila 15.
ii	c	xvi. kl.	16.
	d	xv. kl.	S. sancti luce euig. 17.
xv	e	xiiii. kl.	18.
xiiii	f	xiii. kl.	19.
xiii	g	xii. kl.	S. m. undam milia iurg. 20.
	A	xi. kl.	21.
xii	b	x. kl.	S. sancti romani epi et ef. 22.
xi	c	ix. kl.	23.
	d	viii. kl.	S. cor. aspini et aspinani m. 24.
x	e	vii. kl.	25.
ix	f	vi. kl.	S. ymonis et iude aplor. Vigilia 26.
viii	g	v. kl.	27.
	A	iiii. kl.	28.
vii	b	iii. kl.	29.
vi	c	ii. kl.	S. sancti quintani mris. Vigilia 30.
			31.

Por her horas viii. Dies i.

		R ampus est quinnis: et ramus est uer antus.	
		Novemb.	
		istitutio oim cor.	1.
xiiii	a	iiii. n.	Comemoratio aiaz. S. a. eustachij locor. 2.
xiii	b	iii. n.	q. aus m. 3.
xii	c	ii. n.	4.
	A	Donas	D. 5.
x	b	viii. id.	S. a. leonardi abbis et ef. 6.
ix	c	vii. id.	7.
viii	d	vi. id.	S. cor. un. quatio. coronator m. 8.
	e	v. id.	S. sancti theodori mris 9.
vii	f	iiii. id.	10.
vi	g	iii. id.	S. sancti martini epi 11.
	A	ii. id.	12.
v	b	idibus	S. sancti brigi epi et ef. 13.
iiii	c	xviii. kl.	Donat. S. sancti ethanvaldi epi et ef. 14.
iii	d	xvii. kl.	S. sancti machun epi et conf. 15.
ii	e	xvi. kl.	S. sancti edmundi archiepi et ef. 16.
	f	xv. kl.	S. sancti hugonis epi et conf. 17.
xv	g	xiiii. kl.	et sancti martini. 18.
xiiii	A	xiii. kl.	19.
xiii	b	xii. kl.	S. sancti edmundi regis et m. 20.
xii	c	xi. kl.	21.
xi	d	x. kl.	S. a. cencie ungis et m. 22.
	e	ix. kl.	S. a. demetris m. 23.
x	f	viii. kl.	S. a. gnlogoni mris 24.
ix	g	vii. kl.	S. a. katherine iurg. et m. 25.
viii	A	vi. kl.	S. a. hui mris 26.
vii	b	v. kl.	27.
vi	c	iiii. kl.	S. cor. satini atq. silini m. 28.
v	d	iii. kl.	S. sancti andree apli. Vigilia 29.
	e	ii. kl.	30.

Por hater hos xvi. Dies viii.

		K	Septuagesima et angulus: uirginis dñi et angulus.	1.
iiii	g	iiii	id.	2.
iii	f	iii	id.	3.
ii	e	ii	id.	4.
x	d	x	id.	5.
ix	c	ix	id.	6.
viii	b	viii	id.	7.
vii	a	vii	id.	8.
vi	z	vi	id.	9.
v	y	v	id.	10.
iiii	x	iiii	id.	11.
iii	w	iii	id.	12.
ii	v	ii	id.	13.
x	u	x	id.	14.
ix	t	ix	id.	15.
viii	r	viii	id.	16.
vii	q	vii	id.	17.
vi	p	vi	id.	18.
v	o	v	id.	19.
iiii	n	iiii	id.	20.
iii	m	iii	id.	21.
ii	l	ii	id.	22.
x	k	x	id.	23.
ix	j	ix	id.	24.
viii	i	viii	id.	25.
vii	h	vii	id.	26.
vi	g	vi	id.	27.
v	f	v	id.	28.
iiii	e	iiii	id.	29.
iii	d	iii	id.	30.
ii	c	ii	id.	31.

Post hanc hora vii. Dies vi.

Hoc modo dicitur in parte et matutine per
aduentum domini. **A**mplius predictum erit
nata saluatore: em de uirgine maria. **psalmus ut s.**
Et uirgo concipiet in **caplin.**
Eutero et pariet filium et uocabit
nomen eius emanuel bitrum
et mal comedet ut sciat reprobare malum et
eliger bonum. **ymptus** **H**uc mans stel
la. **v.** Diffusa est grana in labijs tuis **x.** **P**ra
benedixit te dñs in eternu. **a.** **Q**ue tuncas maria
inuenti gram apud dñm esse concipies et panes
filium alla. **ps.** **M**agnificat **o.** **C**onue
de nos famulos. **ut s.** **A**nto de sco spu. **s** **a** **d**
reliquis postea in co dromib: las p adue
nm nñ a. **E**re dominus uenit et omis sa a
cum eo et erit in die illa lux magna alla **v.** **E**re
apparet dominus sup nubem candidam **x.** **E**t
cum eo sancto: um miha. **Oratio.**

Study

Quoniam in uisitatione tua dñe ui
sitando purifica ut uenies illic tpe
filius tuus dominus nr cum

omnibus sanctis patam sibi in uobis inue
niat mansionem. Qui tecum uiuit **anna**
ut sup. **Ad completorium ant.** **B**eata

es maria que credidisti pficere in te que dicta st
tibi a domino alla **psalmi capitulum. ymnus.**
v. ut s. a. **E**cce ancilla domini fiat michi

secundum uerbum tuu **ps.** **N**unc dimittis

Racham matrem quam dñe **oro**
Quoniam in uisitatione tua dñe **oro**
mentibus nris infunde ut qui

angelus nuntiante xpi filij tu
incarnationem cognouimus per passio
nem eius et uocem ad resurrectionis glori
am pducamur. Per eundem. **Ad matu**

nas de sm maria per aduanti. iuuuatoium
ymnus. ac si uasidi ut s. lomo prima

Quod dicitur uirga de radice iesse
et flos de radice eius ascendit. et
impunctor super eum spūs dñi.

spiritus sapientie et intellectus. spc consilij
et fortitudinis. spc scientie et pietatis et imple
bit eum spc timoris dñi. **Hec dicit dñs. R.**

Quod dicitur gabriel angelus ad mariam uirgi
nem disponatam ioseph nuntians ei uerbum et
expansat uirgo de lumine. nec timeas maria inue
niat gratiam apud dñm. **Ecce concipies et paries**

et uocabitur altissimi filius **v** Dabit ei dñs dñs
sedem dauid patris eius et regnabit in domo iacob

in eternu. **Ecce concipies. Inno sancta.**
Quod dicitur secundum uisionem oculi
lorum iudicabit. nec sedem au

ditum aurum arguet sed iudicabit in ius
ticia pauperes et arguet iniquitate p man
suetis terre. **Et pariet terram uirga os sui**

et spiritui labiorum suorum interficiet impi-
um. et erit iusticia angulum humerū eius
et fides nictorum nūm eius. **Hec dicit. R.**

Aue maria gratia plena dñs tecum. spūs sctūs
superueniet in te et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit ti-
bi quod enim ex te nascet sanctum uocabit filius
dñi **V** Quomodo fiet istud quā uirū non cognos-
co et respondens angelus et dixit ei. Spūs sctūs **V**
Sancta dei genitrix. sit uobis auxiliatrix. **lāo iii.**

Dominus est dominus ad achaz
dicens pete tibi signum a dño
do tuo in profundum inferni
sive in excelsum supra et dixit achaz non
petam et non temptabo dñm. Et dixit.
Audite ergo dominus dauid. Numquid par-
uobis est molestos esse hominibus. quia
molesti estis et deo meo propt̄ hoc dabit do-
minus ipse uobis signum. Ecce uirgo cō-

cipiet et pariet filium et uocabit nomen eius emma-
nuel. Butirū et mel comedit ut sciat replare
malū et eligeret bonū **R.** Suscipe uirgū uirgo
mana qd tibi a dño per angelū mīssū est et api-
es per aurē dñi patris et hoīum. Ut benedicta dicaris
int̄ om̄s muliēs. **V** Pies quidē filiū sed uirginita-
tis nō p̄ncipis detinentū efficiens gūida et eis mat̄
sēp intacta. Ut benedicta. Gloria p̄. Ut h̄i. **V** Sctā
dei genitrix uirgo sēp mana. **In laudibz a.** Phete p̄.

Cap. Ecce uirgo et pariet **a** Spūs sctūs in te descendet
mana ut nuncias h̄is i uirō filiū dei alla **or.** **Q**ui
con-
cedit nos fa. **Mē res sctō spū. ut s. et de reliq̄is. et**
de oibz sctis. a. Ecce dñs ueniet. **ut s. et pro pace.**
Ad p̄mā a. Phete p̄dicauerit. **pi et sicut. Caplin**

Ecce uirgo de radice Jesse et flos de
radice eius ascendet et misceat sup̄ eū spūs
dñi. **R.** Ave mar̄. **V** Benedicta tu. **V** Diffusa ē grā
Propterea benedixit te deus in eternū. **Oratio.**

Deus qui de bte mane uirginis utro
uerbu tuu angelo nunaante car
nan susape uoluit: pna supliab; tuis
ut qui uer ea genitrici dei esse credim' eius
apd te intationib; adiuuam. *P. aude. r.*

A. Nullus est gabriel angel' ad maria uirginē
disponsatā ioseph. *psalmi ut sup. Caplm.*

Non scdm uisionē oculor iudicab.
Nec scdm auditū aurū arguet s
iudicabit in iustia paupes et arguet in eqta
te p mansuetis tē. *R.* Diffusa ē grā. *V.* pna
benedunt. *Gla. p. Diffusa. V.* Spene tua. *R.*
Intende. *Deus qui de bte ma. Ad vi. an.*

Angel' dñi nunaat mane et cepit de spu scō. *Alla. ca.*

Et pauer trā uiga oris sui et spu labi *pl.*
Hor suor infiaet ipū et ait iustia sin
gulu uulor ei et fides auctorū uūū ei? *R.*
Spene tua. *V.* Intende. *Et pulc. Gla pū. Spe. V?*

Admirabit eā d's uultu suo *R.* D's in medio ei nō
rōmouebit. *Deus qui de bte mane. Ad v.*
A. Aue maria grā. p. d. t. b. t. in mulierib; *Alla. Cap.*

Dominus est dñs ad achaz dñs pte
tibi signū a dño dno tuo i pfundū
infernū sine i exellū sup et dixit achaz non
petā et nō tēptabo dñm. *R.* Admirabit eā d's
uultu suo. *V.* D's in me. D's uultu. *Gla p. Admirab.*

V. Elegit eā. *Deus qui de. Anar dō usq ad*
Apūfic. ad m's. Inuit. ut sup. ympu?

Quasi paminis uiscra celestis intrat grā
nent puelle laulat scerta que non nouerat

Domi' pudia pectoris tēplū rponente fit de
itacta uiscerū uūū u lo cepit filiū *Gla t.*

aure pi. et v'simil. Ic. i. Sca maria uirgo.
lc. ut s. R. iii. Et laudant angli scā dei genitricē que

uūū nō rgnouisti et dñm in tuo utro laulasti cōce
pisti per aure dñm uūū. *Et benedicta dicaris inter*

omnis mulieris **V** Ipse genuisti et in p[re]sepe posuisti
que adorat multitudo angeloy. **Vt lmedra.** **G**loria
patri. **Vt lmed. ps.** **G**loria d[omi]ni laudamus. **In**
laudibz her sola a. **D** admirabile. **ps ut sup**

Capitulum **M**ana uirgo semp. **ps.**
Emera est puropa que gabriel p[re]dicat
rat que matris alio gestis d[omi]ni iohes
semrat **G**audet chorus celestiu + angeli
canunt deo palam q[ui] sit pastoribz pasto
rator omniu **G**loria tibi d[omi]ne. **Vt legit ca.**

A beatus uentit qui te portauit x[rist]e et leata uetera
que te lactauerit d[omi]ni et saluatore[m] mundi. **alla.**

ps **B**enedictus **or** **C**oncede nos famulo
meo ut sup. **de omnibz s[an]c[t]is. a.** **Exultabunt sa.**

Ad prima. a. **D** admirabile. **Capitulum**
Panuit gracia d[omi]ni saluatoris
nostri omnibz hominibz au
dicis nos ut abnegantes impietatem

et scilicet desideria sobrie et iuste et pie ui
uamus in hoc seculo. **R.** **A**uemana **V** **S**ca

Dei genitrix. **Oratio.**
Deus qui salutis eterne beate
mane uirginitate firma da hu
mano generi premia prestasti: tribue q[ui]s.
ut ipam pro nobis intrinsece sciamus
per quam inuenimus auctorem uite sus
cipere. **d[omi]ni n[ost]ri ih[esu]m x[rist]um filium tuu.**

Heroidi ad omnes hos. Ad. m. aut.

Quando natus. Capitulum
Panuit benignitas et huma
nitas saluatoris n[ost]ri d[omi]ni non
ex operibz iusticie que fecimus nos sed se
cundum suam misericordiam saluos nos fecit. **R.**

Sca dei genitrix. Ad vi. a. Rubi. Capitulum.

Gloria d[omi]ni angeli sca dei genitrix
que uinum non cognouisti et

dominum in tuo utero laulasti. & Post
partum. **Ad i^r ant** Seminauit. **Caplin.**

Ango uato concepit uirgo per
mansit uirgo peperit regem
omnium regum. & Spetiosa

facta **v** Dignare melaudare. **Ad v^s ant.**

post partum **ps** **H**ereditas sum in his.

In fons iij. dñr psalmi **Q**uare dñs et
ati psalmi de s^a maria. **Caplin** **S**tā

es maria. **ymnus** **S**ueta est puerpa.

v Diffusa est grā. **ant** **R**eficiens mater uirgo

uunum peperit sine dolore saluatorem seculor
ipsum regem angelor sola uirgo lactabat ule

ra de celo plena. **ps** **M**agnificat. **Oratio.**

Quoniam nos famulos **meo ut s.** **Ad cō**

platuū a' **C**ompleti sunt dies mane ut pare

ret filium suum primogenitū. **ps.** **Q**uare

quo **Caplin.** **S**icut gynamomū. **v** **E**legit

eam deus. **ant** **E**cce completa sunt omnia que
dicta sunt per angelum de uirgine maria. **ps**

Quare dicitur seruū. **Oratio**
Quare quiescimus misericors
deus fragilitati nre profiduum

ut qui sancte dei gratias mane manori

am agimus eius auxilio a nris iniquita

tibus resurgamus. **Per dñm nrm ihm**

xpm filium tuum qui tecum uiuit et reg

nat in unitate spiritus sancti deus. **Per**

omnia secula seculorum. **Amen.**

Ihesus
 ihesu xpi fili dei qui natus ex
 de uirgine maria p salute ho
 minu. Et crucifixus ex i uinc
 roquis in celo i in terra miserere mei
 ihesus & lumen. Deus ppius esto mi
 du pccoru i qui placuisti me i redimisti
 me miserere mei & lumen

Study

Hic incipi
 unt matu
 ne de sancta
 maria



Domine la
 bia mea a
 peries. **E**t
 os meum
 annuncia
 bit laudem tuam. **D**eus in adiutoriu
 meum intende. **D**omine ad adiuuan
 dum me festina. **G**loria patri et filio et
 spiritui sancto. **S**icut erat in principio et
 nunc et semper et in secula seculor amen.
 Alleluia. **Q**uando danda. Alla de v.
Hans tibi domine rex et regie. **I**nnitatoriu.
Auemana gra plena dñs mmu p.
Enter exultemus dño iubilemus

do salutem nro precipimus faciem eius
in confessione et in psalmis iubilemus ei.

Auemana gratia plena dominus tecum.

Qui deus magnus dominus et rex mag-
nus super omnes deos quoniam non re-
pellit dominus plebem suam quia in ma-
nu eius sunt omnes fines terre et altitudi-
nes montium ipse conspiciat. **D**ñs tecum.

Quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit
illud et arcum fundauerunt manus ei
uente ad orientem et proccidimus ante dñi
ploramus coram domino qui fecit nos
quia ipse est dominus deus noster nos autem
populus eius et oues pascue eius. **A**ue-
mana gratia plena dominus tecum. **H**odie
si uocem eius audieritis nolite obdurare
corda uestra sicut in exactione secundum
diem temptationis in deserto ubi tempta-

uerunt me patres uestri prolaucunt et
uiderunt opera mea. **D**ominus tecum.

Quadragesima annis primus fui gene-
rationi huic et dies semper huius erant corde
ipsi uero non cognouerunt uias meas qui-
bus mirabilia mea si introibunt in mentem

meam. **A**uemana gratia plena dominus
tecum. **G**loria patri et filio et spiritui sancto

sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et
in secula seculorum Amen. **D**ñs tecum

Auemana gratia plena dominus tecum. **Imprimus.**

Quoniam terra pontus ethera colunt
adorant predicant tuam regnum
maximam claustrum mare laulat.

Qui luna sol et omnia deseruiunt per te
pora profusa celi gratia gestant puella uis-
cera

Santa mater muner cuius sup-
mus artifex mundum pugillo continens

uincis sub archa clausus est. **B**eata ce-
li nuncio fronda scō spiritui desideratis grē-
tibus cuius per aliuū filius est. **G**loria
tibi domine qui natus es de uirgine cum
patre et scō spiritui in sempiterna secula.

Amen. *ant.* Benedicta tu. **Ps.**

Domine dominus noster. quā
admirabile est nomen tuum in vniuersa
terra. **Q**uoniam deuota est magnificē-
tia tua super celos. **E**x ore infantium
et lactantium p̄fessi laudem propter in-
micos tuos: ut destruas inimicū et ultorē.

Quā uideo celos tuos et opera digitorū
tuorum: lunam et stellas que tu fundas

Quid est homo qd̄ memores es eius aut
filijs hominis quoniam uisitas eum.

Multi enim paulo min⁹ ab angelis
gloria et honore coronasti eum et constitu-

17.
isti enim super opera manū tuarū. **O**m-
nia submisisti sub pedibus eius oues et boues
vniuersas in super et pecora campi.

Coluas celi et pilas mans qui per ambulat
semitas mans. **D**omine dominus noster
quā admirabile est nomen tuū in vniuersa
terra. **G**loria patri et filio et spiritui scō.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in secula seculorum. Amen. **Psalmus.**

Qui enarrant gloriam dei et opera
manuum eius annuntiat firma-
mentum.

Quies diei eructat uerbum et
nox nocti indicat sacramentum. **N**on sunt
loquere neq; sermones quorum non audi-

antur uoces eorum. **I**n omnem terram
eruit sonus eorū et in fines orbis terrę uata-
eorum.

In sole posuit tabernaculū suū:
et ipse tanquam sponsus, p̄drens de thala-

mo suo **E**xultavit ut gigas ad curren-
dam viam a summo celo egressio eius.

Et occulus eius usque ad summum eius:
nec est qui se abscondat a calore eius **H**er-

edmini immaculata conuertris animas:
testimonium domini fidele sapientiam pre-

stans paruulis **I**ustitiae domini recte le-
tificantes corda propterea domini lucidum

illuminans oculos **G**loria domini semper
permanet in seculum seculi: iudicia domini

uera iustificata in semet ipsa **D**esidera-
bilia super aurum et lapidem preciosum

multum: et dulciora super mel et fauam.

Et enim seruus tuus custodit ea in aus-
todiendis illis retribuo multa **D**elic-

ta quis intelligit ab occultis meis munda-
me: et ab alienis parte seruo tuo **S**i
mei non fuerint dominati tunc in macula

18.
tis eo et mundabo: a delicto maximo **E**t
erunt ut complacent do quia oris mei et

meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo sem-
per **D**omine adiutor meus et redemptor
meus **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **Ps.**

Dominus est terra et plenitudo
eius orbis terrarum: et vniuersi

qui habitant in eo **Q**uia ipse
super maria fundauit eam et super flumina

parauit eam **Q**uis ascendit in montem
domini. aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius.

Innocens manibus et mundo corde. qui
non accepit in uano animam suam nec

iurauit in dolo proximo suo **H**ic accipi-
et benedictionem a domino et misericordiam a deo

salutem suam **H**ec est generatio querentium
eum quem querentium faciem dei iacob

Et tollite portas principes uestras et de-

namini porte eternales et introibit rex glie

Quis est iste rex glorie dominus fortis et
potens. dominus potens in plio **E**t tol
lit portas principes ueltras et etiam in
porte eternales et introibit rex glie **Q**uis
est iste rex glorie dominus uirtutum imple
est rex glorie **G**loria patri **S**icut erat.

ant Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus
fructus uentris tui. **v** Sancta dei genitrix uir
go semper mana. **R.** Intende pro nobis ad do
minu deum nrm **P**ater noster. **Itina iii.**

et scita. hii sunt psalmi

Exultauit cor meum uerbum
domini: dico ego opera mea
regi **L**ingua mea calamus scilicet: ue
loater scribentis **E**phemorus forma pre
filijs hominu: diffusa est gracia in labijs
tuis propterea benedixit te deus in eternu.

19.
Accinger gladio tuo super femur tuum:
potentissime **E**peret tua et pulchritudine
tua: intende prospere proce et regna **P**rop
ter ueritatem et mansuetudinem et iusticia
et deducet te mirabiliter dextra tua **S**a
gitta tue acute: populi sub te cadunt in cor
da inimicorum regis **S**cds tua deus in
seculum scilicet: uirga ditionis uirga reg
ni tui **A**lexisti iustitiam et odisti iniqui
tatem: propterea uenit te deus deus tuus. o
leo lenae precor soribus tuis **M**ina et
gutta et calia a uestimentis tuis a domibus
eburneis ex quibus delectauerunt te filie regu
in honore tuo **A**stiter regina a dextis
tuis in uestitu de aurato circumdata uane
tate **A**udi filia et uide et inclina aurum
tuam: et obliuiscere pplm tuum in domu
patris tui **E**t concupiscet rex deorem

tuum: qui ipse est dominus deus tuus et
adorabunt eum. **E**t filie tuas in munera-
bus: nuptiarum tuarum deprecabuntur omnes
diuites plebis. **O**mnis gloria eius filie
regis abintus: in fimbrijs aureis circum-
amicta uanitatibus. **A**dducentur regi
uirgines post eam: proxime eius auferen-
tur tibi. **A**uferentur in leticia et exulta-
tione adducentur in templum regis. **P**ro-
pateribus tuis non sunt tibi filij consili-
es eos principes super omnem terram.

Memores erunt nominis tui domine:
in omni generatione et generatione.

Propterea populi confitebuntur tibi:
in eternum et in seculum seculi. **G**loria

Pater **E** ianet erat. **Psalmus**
Deus noster refugium et uirtus:
adiutor in tribulationibus que

20
ueniunt nos nimis. **P**ropterea non
timebimus dum turbabitur terra: trans-
ferentur montes in cor maris. **R**onuerunt
et ciuitate sunt aque eorum: conturbata sunt
montes in fortitudine eius. **L**uminis
impetus lenificat ciuitatem dei: sanctificauit
calceamentum suum altissimus. **D**eus in
medio eius non commouebitur: adiuua-
bit eam deus mane diluculo. **C**onturbate
sunt gentes et inclinata sunt regna: dedit
uocem suam in terra. **D**ominus
iuramentum nobiscum susceptor: noster deus
iacob. **U**enite et uidete opera domini que
posuit prodigia super terram. **A**uferens
bella usque ad finem terre: antrum con-
tere confringet arma et scuta comburet igni.
Uacate et uidete qui ego sum deus: exal-
tabor in gentibus et exaltabor in terra. **D**eus

mutatum nobiscum: suscepto: nolite deus
iacob **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **Ps**

Fundamenta eius in montibus
sanctis: diligit dominus portas
sion: super omnia tabernacula

iacob **G**loriosa dicta sunt de te civitas
da **Q**uoniam: ex raab et babilonis sacra
um me **E**t ex alienigenis et gibus et po
pulus ethiopum: hi fuerunt illic **Q**uoniam
quid sion dicit homo: et homo natus
est in ea et ipse fundavit eam altissimus

Dominus narrabit in scripturis plor
et principum hominum qui fuerunt in ea.

Sicut letantium hominum habitatio in

te **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **A.** **S**peran
tia et pulchritudine tua intende prospera pax et
regna **V** Diffusa est grana in labijs tuis **R**

Propterea benedixit te deus in eternum **P**a

21
nostris. **Psalmus iii. et salutaris huius sunt psalmi**

Antate domino cantate **Q**uoniam
omni nouum: cantate domino
omnis terra **C**antate do

mino et benedicite nomini eius: annun
ate de die in diem salutare eius **A**nnun
tate inter gentes gloriam eius in omnibus

Populis mirabilia eius **Q**uoniam magnus
dominus et laudabilis nimis: terribilis est
super omnes deos **Q**uoniam omnes dii gentium
idola domini autem celos fecit:

Confessio et pulchritudo in conspectu eius:

sanctimonia et magnificentia in sanctifi
cacione eius **A**fferte domino pacem ge
num: afferte domino gloriam et honorem:

afferte domino gloriam nominis eius. **C**ollite
hostias et introite in atria eius: adorare

dominum in atrio sancto eius **D**omino

ueantur a facie eius vniuersa terra: dicitur i
gentibus: quia dominus regnauit. **E**t tunc
corruerit orbis terrarum: qui non commouebit
iudicabit populos in equitate. **E**t erunt
caeli et exultet terra commouebantur mare et
placiditas eius gaudebunt campi et omnia
que in eis sunt. **G**loria exultabunt omnia
ligna siluarum a facie domini quia uenit quoniam
uenit iudicare terram. **I**udicabit orbem
terre in equitate: et populos in ueritate sua.

Gloria patri. **E**t ait erat. **Psalmus.**

Dominus regnauit exultat terra
letentur insule multe. **Q**uoniam
lucis et caligo in circuitu eius:
iustitia et iudicium coram sedis eius.

Ignis ante ipsum praecedet: inflammabit
in circuitu inimicos eius. **A**llucenunt
fulgura eius orbi terrae: uidit et commota

22.
est terra. **M**ontes sicut cera fluxerunt a fa
cie domini: a facie domini omnis terra.

Fluminis auerunt ad iustitiam eius: et
iudicant omnes populi gloriam eius. **Q**ui
fundantur omnes qui aduertunt scilicet scilicet
et qui gloriantur in similitudinis suis. **A**d

orate cum omnes angeli eius: auduit et
letata est syon. **E**t exultauit filie
iude: propter iudicia tua domine. **Q**uoniam
tu dominus altissimus super omnem ter
ram: nimis exaltatus es super omnes deos.

Qui diligens dominum odit malum: iusto
dit dominus animas sanctorum suorum: de ma
nu peccatoris liberauit eos. **E**t exorta est
iusto: et iustus corde letitia. **E**t exultauit
iusti in domino et confitebuntur in memorie

Sanctificationis eius. **G**loria patri.
Auctate domino sancti. **Ps**

novū: quia mirabilia fecit **S**alvavit
sibi dextram eius: et brachium sanctū eius.

Notum fecit dominus salutare suū: in
conspectu gentium revelavit iusticiā suā.

Fecundatus est misericordie sue: et iustitias
sue domini israel **A**udierunt omnes termini

in terra. salutare dei nūc iubilare deo omnis
terra: cantate et exultate et psallite **P**sal-

lite domino in cythara. et cythara in voce
psalmi: in tubis ductilib; et uocā tūbe cor-

nic **I**ubilare in conspectu regis domini
moueatue mare et plenitudo eius orbis terrar;

et uniuersi qui habitant in eo **E**thiopia
plaudunt manu simul montes exultauerūt

a conspectu domini quū uenit iudicare ter-

ram **I**udicabit orbem terrarum in iusticia:
et populos in equitate **G**loria patri &

Sicut erat **amē.** Gaude uirgo maria sancta

23.
hactenus sola interuisti in uniuerso mundo **V** Spere
tua et pulchritudine tua **R.** Iugiter prospera pcedere

et regna **P**ater noster **E**t uenit nos **S**ed
ultra nos **I**ultra domine benedicere. **V** Alma

uirgo uirginū: intercede pro nobis ad dñm. **1. a. o.**
Sancta maria uirgo **P**rima.

Singulū matrem et filia regis
regum omnium tuum nobis

impende solacium. ut electis regni per te
mereremur habere premium. ut cum electis

dei regnare impetium. Tu autem dñe
misere nūc. Deo gratias **R.** Sancta et

innoculata uirginitas quibus re laudib; refe-
ram nescio. Quia quem celi capere non poterant

inno gremio contulisti **V.** Benedicta tu in muli-
eribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui. Quia

quam celi. **I**ultra domine benedicere. **V.** Ora
maie pia pro nobis uirgo maria. Amen. **1. ii.**

Sancta mana piatim pulcherrima int
cipit pro nobis sanctarum sanctis
sima ut per te uirgo nra sumat p
rimina qui pro nobis natus regnat super
caelura. ut sua caritate nra dilectur peccami
na. Tu autem. **R.** Sancta es uirgo mana q
domini portasti aratorum mundi. genuisti qui
te fuit et in eternum pmanes uirgo. **V.** Ave mana
gratia plena dominus tecum. Genuisti qui te.

Inter domine in meditare. **V.** Sancta dei genitrix
sit nobis auxiliatrix. Amen. **Teo nra**

Sancta dei genitrix que digni me
misti conaper quem totus or
bis nequitur comprehendere tuo
pio interuentu culpas nras abluere ut per
hominis sedem glorie per te redempti ualea
mus scandere ubi manes cum filio tuo si
nem in pace. Tu autem. **R.** felix namq es sacra

24.
uirgo mana et omni laude dignissima. quia ex te
oritur et sol uisitat xps deus nra. **V.** Ora pro poplo
interueni pro clero interueni pro diuoto firmius scilicet
famaant omnes tui ierusalem quicunq celebrant
tuam commemorationem. Quia ex te. Gloria
patri et filio et spiritui sancto. xpus deus nra. **Ps**

Quoniam laudamus te diuini con
firmur. **G**loriam patri:
omnis terra ueneratur. **G**loria tibi

omnes angeli: tibi celi et uniuerse potestates
Gloria cherubin et seraphim: incessabili uo
ce proclamant. **S**anctus **S**anctus

Sanctus **D**ominus deus sabaoth.
Pleni sunt celi et terra: mandantes glorie tue.
Se gloriosus aploium choris. **G**loria p
phetarum laudabilis numerus. **G**loria mar
tium candidatus laudat exercitus. **G**loria
per orbem terrarum: sancta refertur ecclesia.

Patrem in mensa maiestatis **V**enerandum tuum uerum: et unicum filium
Sanctum quoque: paracletum spiritum
Tu rex glorie epi **T**u patris sempiternus es filius **T**u ad liberandum suscepimus hominem: non horruisti uirginis uterum **T**u duncto morns a uero aperuisti ceteris: regna celorum **T**u ad dexteram dei sedes: in gloriis patris **I**nde ceteris esse uenturus **T**u ergo quis famulis tuis subueni: quos pro solo sanguine redemisti **E**terna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria numerari **S**aluum fac populum tuum domine: et benedic hereditati tue **E**t regre eos et extolle illos usque in eternum **P**er singulos dies benedicimus tibi **E**t laudamus nomen tuum in seculum: et in seculum seculi **D**ignare domine die

25
isto sine peccato nos custodire **M**isere
nri domine: misere nri **E**rat inia tua
domine super nos: quemadmodum spera
uimus in te **I**n te domine speraui: non
confundar in eternum. **V** **O**ra pro nobis
sancta dei genitrix **R.** Ut digni efficiamur pro



missionibus epi.
In laudibus
Eus in adiu
torium meum
intende **D**o
mine ad adiu
uandum me
festina **G**loria
patri **S**icut erat. **Alla a.** **O** admirabile.
Dominus regnauit de **P**s
coronatus est: indutus
est dominus fortitudinem et

Dominus regnauit de **P**s
coronatus est: indutus
est dominus fortitudinem et

preuenit se. **E**t terram firmavit orbem terrarum:
qui non commouebitur. **P**arata sedes
tua deus ex tunc a seculo tuus es. **E**t leuaue-
runt flumina domine: eleuauerunt flumina
uocem suam. **E**t leuaerunt flumina fluc-
tus suos: a uocibus aquarum multarum.

Mirabiles operationes manus: mirabilis in-
altas dominus. **T**estimonia tua audi-
bilia facta sunt nimis: domum tuam dicit
sanctitudo domine in longitudinem dierum.

Gloria patri. **S**icut erat. **Psalmus**

Jubilate domino omnis terra: seruite domino in
leticia. **I**ntroite in conspectu eius in ex-
ultatione. **S**ciote quoniam dominus ipse est
deus: ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos. **P**o-
pulus eius et oues pascue eius: introite
portas eius in confessione. anima eius in
iymnis confitemini illi. **L**audate no-

men eius quoniam suauis est dominus: in eternum
miserationis eius et usque in generatione et generatio
non ueritas eius. **G**loria patri. **S**icut

Deus dominus meus: ad **Ps** **S**icut
te deluce iugulo. **S**icut in te
anima mea: quam multiplica-

ter tibi caro mea. **I**nterna deserta in uita
et in aquosa sicut in sancto apanu tibi: ut
iudicem uirtutem tuam et gloriam tuam.

Quoniam melior est misericordia tua super uitas la-
bia mea laudabunt te. **S**icut in medicam
te in uita mea: et in nomine tuo laudabo
manus meas. **S**icut ad ipe et pingue
dine repleatur anima mea: et labijs exul-
tationis laudabit os meum. **S**icut memor
fui tui super stratum meum: in matutinis
meditabor in te quia fuisti adiutor meus.

Et in uelamento alax tuarum exultabo.

adhæsit anima mea post te me suscepit ter-
ra tua. **I**psi vero in vanum quiescunt
animam meam introibunt in inferna
mors: traduntur manus gladii pariter uul-
pium erunt. **E**t ex vero letabitur in deo
laudabunt omnes qui uiuant in eo: quia
obstructum est os loquentium iniqua. **Ps**

Deus miseratur nō et benedicit
nobis: illuminet uultū suum
super nos et miseratur nostri.

Ut cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam:
in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi populi deus: confite-
antur tibi populi omnes. **L**etentur et
exultent gentes: quoniam iudicas populos in
equitate et gentes in terra dirigis. **C**on-
fiteantur tibi populi deus: confiteantur ti-
bi populi omnes. terra dedit fructū suum.

27.
Benedicat uos deus deus noster benedicat
uos deus: et merentur ei omnes fines terre.

Gloria patri. **S**icut erat. **Psalmus**

Benedicite omnia opera domini do-
mino: laudate et super exaltate
eum in secula. **B**enedicite
angeli domini domino: benedicate ei domino

Benedicite aque omnes que super celos
sunt domino: benedicate omnes uirtutes
domini domino. **B**enedicite sol et luna
domino: benedicate stelle celi domino. **B**ene-

Benedicite iherusalem et ierosolima domino: benedicate om-
nis spiritus dei domino. **B**enedicite ig-
nis et estus domino: benedicate frigus et
caliditas domino. **B**enedicite rores et pru-

Benedicite uis et pruina domino: benedicate gelu et frigus domino.
Benedicite glacies et nives domino: be-
nedicite noctes et dies domino. **B**enedicite

luc et tenebre domino: benedicate fulgura et
nubes domino. **B**enedicat terra domino: lau-
det et super exaltet eum in secula. **B**enedi-
cite montes et colles domino: benedicate vni-
uersa gremium in terra domino. **B**enedi-
cite fontes domino: benedicate maria et flu-
mina domino. **B**enedicate riuos et omnia
que mouentur in aquis domino: benedia-
te omnes uolucres celi domino. **B**ene-
dicate omnes bestie et pecora domino: benie-
dicate filij hominum domino. **B**enedicat
israhel dominum: laudet et super exaltet eum
in secula. **B**enedicate sacerdotes domini
domino: benedicate serui domini domino.
Benedicate spiritus et anime iustorum
domino: benedicate sancti et humiles corde
domino. **B**enedicate anania azana
misael domino: laudate et super exaltate

28.
eum in secula. **B**enedicamus patrem et
filium cum sancto spiritu: laudamus et super
exaltamus eum in secula. **B**enedictus es
domine in firmamento caeli: laudabilis et
gloriosus et super exaltatus in secula. **Ps**
Laudate dominum de caelis: laudate
eum in excelsis. **L**audate eum
omnes angeli eius: laudate
eum omnes uirtutes eius. **L**audate eum
sol et luna: laudate eum stelle et lumen.
Laudate eum caeli celorum: et aq^e que
super caelos sunt. laudant nomen domini.
Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt. ipse man-
dauit et creata sunt. **S**tatuit ea in eternum
et in seculum seculi: preceptum posuit et
non preteribit. **L**audate dominum de terra:
tracones et omnes abyssi. **L**ignus gra-
do in excelsis spiritus pellarum: que fa-

nunt uerbum eius. **M**ontes et omnes colles
ligna fructifera et omnis arbor. **S**ilue et omni
uersa pecora sapientes et uolucres pennate.
Reges terre et omnes populi: principes
et omnes iudices terre. **I**uuenes et uirgi
nes scilicet cum iunioribus laudent nomen
domini: quia exaltatum est nomen eius so
lus. **C**onfessio eius super celum et terra:
et exaltauit eorum populi sui. **I**mpu
bus sanctis eius: filijs israel populo app
pinquanti sibi. **Psalmus.**

Laudate domino cantum nouum:
laus eius in eterna seculorum. **E**rat
israel in eo qui fecit eum: et filie
sion exultant in rege suo. **L**audate nomen
eius in choro: in tympano et psalterio psal
lant. **Q**uia triplex placuit est domino
in populo suo: et exaltauit mansuetos in

29.
salutem. **E**xultabunt sancti in gloria:
letabuntur in cubilibus suis. **E**xultabo
nes dei in gutture eorum: et gladij accipites
in manibus eorum. **A**d faciendam iudicia
in nationibus: in arpeones in populis.
Ad alligandos reges eorum in compedi
bus: et nobiles eorum in manus ferreis.
Ut faciant in eis iudicium conscriptum:
gloria haec est omnibus sanctis eius. **Ps**

Laudate dominum in sanctis eius
laudate eum in firmamento u
itatis eius. **L**audate eum in
uirtutibus eius: laudate eum secundum multi
tudinem magnitudinis eius. **L**audate
eum in sono tulle: laudate eum in psalterio
et cythara. **L**audate eum in tympano et
choro: laudate eum in cordis et organo.
Laudate eum in quilibet instrumentum

bis: laudate eum in similibus iubilacōis
omnis spiritus laudet dominū. **G**loria
patris. **S**icut erat. **Ant** **V** admirabile cō
mentum creator generis humani aīatum cor
pus sumens de uirgine nasci dignatus est et
procedens homo sine semine largitus est no
bis suam datam. **Capitulum**

Maria uirgo semper letare que
meruisti xp̄m portare. celi et
terre conditorum. quia de tuo utero pro
tulisti mundi saluatorem. Deo grās.

Gloriosa dñā **ymnus**
Orata supra sidera qui te
trauit prouide lactasti sacro
ulne. **Q**uod ena tristis abstulit tu red
dis almo gamine. intrent ut astra fle
biles celi fenestra facta es. **S**u regis al
ti ianua et porta luns fulgida uitam

30
datam per uirginem genitrix redempte plau
dite. **G**loria tibi domine qui natus ē.
V **E** legit eam deus et p̄elegit eam. **R** **H**abita
re facit eam in tabernaculo suo. **A** **V** gliosa.

Benedictus dominus **Ps**
deus israel: quia uisitauit et
fecit redemptionē plebis sue.

Et erit cornu salutis nobis: in domo
dauid pueri sui. **S**icut locutus est p̄ os
sanctorum qui a seculo sunt prophetarum.

Salutem et munus unis: et de manu
dominum qui oderunt uos. **A**d facien
dam misericordiam cum patribus unis: et memo
ran testamenti sui sancti. **I**n iurandis
quod iurauit ad abrahā p̄m unum:
daturum se nobis. **Q**uod sine timore de ma
nu inimicorum nostrorum: libera seruam
illi. **I**n sanctitate et iustitia coram ip̄o

omnibus diebus nris **E**t tu puer ppheta
altissimi uocalis pabis cum ante fanē
domini parare uias eius **E**t dauidam
sanciam saluis plebi eius: in uisione
pcedum eorum **P**er uisera mie dei nri:
in quibus uisitauit nos dicens ex alto.

Illuminare hys qui in tenebris et in um
bra mortis sedant: ad dirigendos pedes nos
nos in uiam pacis **G**loria patri **E**n
cui erat. **ant** **D**ignosa di genitrix uirgo sem
per maria que dominū omnium meruisti portare

regni angelorum sola uirgo lactare nris pabus
pre memorare et pro nobis semper xpm depicere
ut tuus suffula patronus ad celestia regna me
ramur pauente. **D**omine exaudi oronem
meam. Et clamor meus ad te ueniat. **Oratio**

Quare nos famulos **ORATIO**
tuos quesumus domine deus p



penia mentis et corporis salute gaudere. et
gloriosa hanc mane semper uirginis uir
nitione a p'senti libran tristitia et omnia p
fui letitia. Per dñm nrñ ihm xpm filium
tuum qui tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate
spiritus sancti deus per omnia sc̄la secula.

Amen **B**enedicamus dño. Deo grās.

Memoria de sancto spū ant. **U**eni sc̄e
spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris
in eis ignem accende. **U** Emitte spm tuum et crea
buntur. Et mouabis faciem teae. **Oratio.**

Deus qui corda fidelium sancti
spiritus illustratione docuisti
da nobis in eodem spū uita sa
pore et de eius sc̄p sc̄a consolacōe gaudere.
Per xpm dñm nrñ. **Amen**

Memoria de
sancta trinitate ant. **S**alua nos salua nos
iustifica nos o hata trinitas **U** Sit nomen dñi



31
benedictum **R.** Et hoc nunc et usque in seculum. **Oratio.**

Dominus omnipotens sempiternus **oratio.**
Deus qui adisti nobis famulis
tuis in confessione uere fidei eter-
ne trinitatis gloriam agnoscere. et in potentia
am magistans adorare unitatem. quibus ut
eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper
muniamur aduis. **Per xpm dñm nr̄m. A.**

Memoria de uice auct. **Q**uos autem gloriam
oportet in uice dñi nri ihu xpi. **V.** Dominus terra
adorat te deus **R.** Et psallat tibi psalmum dicat

nomini tuo. **Oratio.** **Oratio.**
Deus qui sanctam uicem tuam
ascendisti et mundi tenebras
illuminaisti tu corda et corpora nra illuina-
re dignare. **Per xpm. Memoria de anglis.**

auct. **M**ichael archangeli ueni in adiutori-
um populo dei **V.** In conspectu angelorum

32
psallam tibi deus meus **R.** Adorato ad templum
sanctum tuum et confitebor noi tuo. **Oratio. oratio.**

Deus qui nullo ordine angelorum
ministra hominum et dis-
pensas concedere propius: ut qui
bus tibi ministrant tibi in celo semper assis-
tantur ab hys in terra uita nra muniat. **Per xpm.**

Memoria de sancto iohanne baptista auct.
Inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior iohanne
baptista **V.** sicut homo missus a deo **R.** Qui
nomen erat iohannes. **Oratio. Oratio.**

Deprecemur nos domine sancti iohannis
baptiste. tuere presidere
et quanto fragiliores sumus
tanto magis necessarijs attolle suffragijs.
**Per xpm. Memoria de scto iohne euangelis-
ta. auct.** **I**ohes aples euangelista uirgo est electus
a domino atq; uir ceteros magis dilectus **V.** Val

de honorandus est beatus iohannes **R.** Qui sapi patre
domini in omnia retribuit. **Oratio.** **Oratio**

Eccliam tuam quis domine le
nignus illustra ut beati iohannis
apoli et euangeliste illuminata
doctrinis ad dona pueniat sempiterna. **P**
epm. **Memoria de sco patre auct.** **P**rimus
apoli et paulus doctor gentium ipi nos docuerunt
legem tuam domine. **V.** In omnem terram exiit
sonus eor. **R.** Et in fines orbis tunc uita eor. **Oratio.**

Deus cuius dextera beatum **Oratio.**
petrum apolin ambulanti
in fluctibus ne mergant erat
et quo apolin eius paulum terro naufra
gantem de profundo pelagi liberauit et au
di nos propitius et concede. ut amboz meritis
et meritatis gloriam consequamur. **Per xpm**

Memoria de sco andrea auct. **A**ndreas

33.
xpi famulus dignus deo apolis germanus petri et
in passione loans **V.** Dilat andream dominus

R. In odorem suauitatis. **Oratio.** **Oratio**
Agrestatem tuam quis domine
suppliciter exoramus: ut sicut
ecclesie tue beatus andreas apolis tuus ex
stitit predicator et interor. ita apud te sit pro
nobis perpetuus intercessor. **Per xpm.**

Memoria de sancto thoma auct. **C**on
nobis o thoma porrige reger stantes iacentes erige
mores actus et uitam corunge. et in pacis uiam
nos dirige. **V.** Ora pro nobis beate thoma. **R.**

Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus xpi. **Oratio.** **Oratio.**

Deus pro cuius ecclesia gloriosus
pontifex et uir thomas gla
dus impiorum occubuit pra
quesumus ut omnes qui eius implorant
auribus precationis sue salutarem conse

quantur affectu. Per ep̄m. **M**emoria de sc̄o
stephano aūt. **S**tephanus uidit celos ap̄tos
uidit et inuouit tratus homo cui celi patebunt.

V Gloria et honore coronasti eum domine **R** Et
constituisti eum sup̄ opera manuū tuarū. **Orem?**

A nobis quesumus dñe **O**ro
Dimittan qđ colimus. ut discam̄
et inimicos diligere quia eius
natalicia celebramus. qui nouit enim pro
suis p̄scentibus exorare dñm nr̄m ih̄m
ep̄m filium tuum. Per ep̄m. **M**emoria
de sancto laurenno aūt. **L**auenanus bonū
opus operatus est qui per signū crucis ceos illu
minauit **V** Dispersit dedit pauperib; **R** Iusticia
eius manet in seculum seculi. **Oremus.** **O**ro

A nobis quīs om̄ps deus maior
nr̄orum flammās extinguer
ut qui beato laurenno tribuisti

34
tormentorum suorum incendia superare. **P**
ep̄m. **M**emoria de sancto nicholao. aūt.

Secundus nicholans ad huc puerulus multo ie
iunio macerabat corpus **V** Ora pro nobis beate
nicholae **R**. Ut digni efficiam̄ p̄missionib; ep̄i.

A nobis quesumus dñe **O**ro **O**remus.
Eius qui beatus nicholaum piūm ponti
ficem tuum. in numeris decoral
n̄ miraculis. tribue quīs ut eius meritis et
preibus a iherenne incendijs liberem̄. **P** r̄.

Memoria de sancta maria magdalene. a.

Maria ḡm̄erat pedes ih̄i et exersit capillis suis. et
domus īpleta est ex odore unguenti **V** Dimissa s̄t
a peccata multa **R**. Dñi dilecti multū. **Oremus.**

Argur nobis damentissime **O**ro
pater. qđ sicut beata maria
magdalena unigenitum tuū
super omnia diligendo suos. optinuit ut

miam peccaminū ita nobis apud mīam tu
am sempiternam impetrat beatitudinem. **P**

Memoria de sancta katherine aūt. **V**irgo

sancta katherine grece gemma in alexandria costi
ngis erat filia. **V** Diffusa est grana in labijs tuis

R Propterea incedit te deus in ceterū. **Oramus.**

Quip̄s sempiternus deus qui **Or**
corpus beate katherine gloriose

uirginis et martiris tue ad mō

tem syriac ab angelis defem iussisti concede

ppius tuis optanti. nos ad auxm uirtu
tum prouehi ubi uisionis tue claritatem

meramur intueri. **P**er xpm. **M**emoria
de sancta margareta aūt. **E**rat autē mar

gareta annorum quindam cum ab impio olibno
naderet in carcerem. **V** Adiuuabit eam deus uultu

tu suo. **R** Deus in medio eius non commouebi
tur. **Oramus. Oratio.**

Deus qui beatam uirginē mar
gantam ad celos per martiri
palmam uenire fecisti tribue
nobis quesumus: ut eius exempla sequen
tes ad te puenire mereamur. **P**er xpm.

Memoria de sancta sitha aūt. **Q**ue scā

famula sitha ihu xpi. **Q**ue cum tota anima. deo
placuit. **E**gnos et flebiles. de alio paruiti. **E**ros

mutos debiles. et dauidos uiuisti. **S**emper demo
sinam. dare quesuisti. **D**eum et etiam. uirgo di

lexisti. **I**stinuam et nequiam. tu nimis odisti.
Para nobis gliam. quam tu meruisti. **V** **Or**

pro nobis beata uirgo sitha. **R** **U**t mundemur
ab omnibus malis in hac uita. **Oramus. Or.**

Deus qui beatam sitham famu
lam et uirginem tuam in ipius

multis miraculis uita deuorasti
te supliater exoramus. ut omnes qui in tuo

nomine ab ea postulant auxilium eius op
tentu sibi sciant oportuuum. Per xpm

Memoria de reliquijs ant. **Q**uorū
sanctorū in pace sepulta sunt et uiuent noīa
eorū in eternū. **V** Beati qui habitant in domo
tua domine. **R.** In secula seculorū laudabunt te.

Dextera quīs om̄ **oīo**. **O**remus.
Impotens deus ut scōrū tuorū
quorū corpora uel reliquie
in uniuersali continentur etiā merita glō
sa quatinus eorū p̄abus tranquilla pa
ce in tua uigiter laude letemur. **P**er xpm.

Memoria de omnib; sanctis a. **S**ancti
in omnes qui cōs̄ consorts superiorū quū inter
cedite pro nobis ad dñm. **V** Et exultate in dño et ex
ultate uultu. **R.** Et gl̄iamini om̄s uultu cordis. **O**remus.

Diffinitatem nr̄am quīs domine **oīo**.
propicius respice et mala omnia que uis

36.
te moramur sanctissime dei genitricis marie
et omnium sanctorū intercessione auerte
Per xpm. **P**ro pace ant. **Q**uia pacem do
mine in diebus nr̄is quia non est alius qui pugnet
pro nobis nisi tu deus nr̄. **V** Domine fiat pax in
uirtute tua. **R.** Et habundantia in turrib; tuis.

Deus aucto: **oīo**. **O**remus.
pax et amato: quem nosce
uiuere ac seruire regnare est
protege ab omnib; impugnationib; supph
cis tuis. ut qui in defensione tua confidi
mus. nullius hostilitatis arma timeam?
Per dñm nr̄m ih̄m xpm filium tuum qui
tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate sp̄s sc̄i deus
per omnia secula seculorū. Amen. **Ad uel**

Deus a quo sc̄a **pax** tm̄. **oīo**.
Desidera nr̄a consilia et iusta
sunt opera dei seruis tuis illam

quam mūd' dare nō potest pacem. ut t corda
nostra mandatis tuis cōdita et hostium sub
lata formidine tempora sint tua pro tēmo
ne tranquilla. Per dñm nrm̄. **B**enedica
mus domino. Deo gr̄s. **Oratio.**

Domine sapientia ueritas diuina. deus
homo captus est hora matutina. a no
tis discipulis nō derelictus. a iudeis traditus uen
ditus afflictus. **V** Adoramus te xpe et benedicim' **R.**
Quia per scām crucem tuam redemisti mū

dum misere nobis. **Oratio.**
Domine ih̄u xpe fili dei uiri
pone passionem crucem et mor
tem tuam inter iudicium tuum et aīas
nostras nunc et in hora mortis nr̄e. lar
gin digneris uisus misericordiam et gratiam.
defunctis ueniam et requiem eccl̄ie regno
q̄ pacem et concordiam t nobis p̄coribz

37.
uitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui cum
deo patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas de
us per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Gloriosa passio mors et resurrectio dñi
ih̄u xpi libera nos a morte m̄sti et pdu
cat nos ad gaudia paradisi. Amen.

Domine uirginem. terra totum
munt. quando suum filium nocte
captum sanit. ductum ad p̄to
rium. mane cum audiuit: firmens dans suscipi
um. sepe singulauit. **V** Te laudamus et rogam'
matr ih̄u xpi. **R.** Ut intendas et defendas nos a

morte m̄sti. **Oratio.**
Domine sancte ih̄u xpe dulcis
fili uirginis qui pro nobi mor
tem in cruce tollerasti fac nobis scām miseri
cordiam tuam. et da cunctis compassionē
tue matris deuote colentibz. cuius amore

uitam in presenti granosam et tua pietate glo
riam in futuro sempiternam. Qui cum patre
et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus per omnia
secula seculorum. Amen. **B**enedicamus
domino. Deo gratias. **C**lementia compas
sio dulcis dei matris ducat nos ad gaudi
a summi celi patris. **Ad primam.**

Deus in adiu
torium meum
intende. **D**omi
ne ad adiu
uandum me
festina. **G**loria
patri. **S**icut
erat. Alleluia.

Agni creator spiritus **impugnus.**
mentes tuorum uisita imple
superna gratia que tu creasti

38
pectora. **M**emento saluus auctor: quod
nostri quondam corporis et illibata uirgine
nascenti formam sumpseris. **M**aria
plena gratie mater misericordie tu nos ab
hoste protege in hora mortis suscipe. **G**lo
ria tibi domine. **ut sup. a.** **O** admirabile. **Ps**

Deus in nomine tuo saluum
me fac: et in ueritate tua uidi
ca mea. **D**eus exaudi oran
tionem meam: ambus peruenit ore
meum. **Q**ui alieni insurrexerunt aduersum
me: et fortes quiesierunt animam meam
et non proposuerunt deum ante conspectum
suum. **S**ecum enim deus adiuuat me: et
dominus susceptor est anime mee. **H**ic
mala inimicis meis: et in ueritate tua dis
pedit illos. **S**oluitane sacrificabo tibi:
et confitebor nomini tuo quoniam bonum est.

Quoniam ex omni tribulatione eripisti
me: et super inimicos meos despecti oculis
meis **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **Ps.**

Laudate dominum omnes gentes:
laudate eum omnes populi **Q**uia
confirmata est super nos mise
ricordia eius: et ueritas domini manet in
eternum **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **Ps.**

Confirmumini domino quia **Ps.**
dominus: quia in seculum misericordia eius
Dicat nunc israel quia bonus:
quoniam in seculum misericordia eius **D**icat
nunc domus aaron: quia in seculum misericordia
eius **D**icat nunc qui timet dominum: quia
in seculum misericordia eius **D**e tribulatione
innocentium dominum: et exaudivit me in latitu
dine dominus **D**ominus michi adiutor: non
timebo quid faciat michi homo **D**ominus

39.
michi adiutor: et ego despiciam inimicos
meos **B**onum est confidere in domino:
quam confidere in homine **B**onum est
sperare in domino: quam sperare in prin
cipibus **O**mnes gentes circumueniunt me: et
in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos
Circumdantes circumdederunt me: et in no
mine domini. quia ultus sum in eos **Q**uia
circumdederunt me sicut apes et exaruerunt sicut
ignis in spinis et in nomine domini quia ultus
sum in eos **I**mpulsus circumsum ut ca
derem: et dominus suscepit me **F**ortitudo
mea et laus mea dominus et factus est michi
in salutem **U**pe exultationis et salutis:
in calumaciis iustorum **D**extera domini
fecit uirtutem dextera domini exaltauit me:
dextera domini fecit uirtutem **N**on morar
sed uiuam: et narrabo opera domini **C**asti

gran' castigavit me dominus: et mori non
tradidit me. **A**perite michi portas iusti-
cie et ingressus in eas confitebor domino: hec

porta domini iusti intrabunt in ea.

Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me:

et factus es michi in salutem. **L**apidem

quem reproba verunt edificantes: hic factus

est in caput anguli. **A**d domino factum est

istud: et est mirabile in oculis nostris. **H**ec

est dies quam fecit dominus exultemus et

letemur in ea. **O** domine saluum me fac

o domine in prospera: benedictus qui

venit in nomine domini. **B**enediximus

vobis de domo domini: deus dominus et il-

luat nobis. **C**onstitu te diem solemp-

nen in condentis: usque ad cornu altaris.

Deus meus es tu et confitebor tibi: deus

meus es tu et exaltabo te. **C**onfitebor tibi

40
quoniam exaudisti me: et factus es michi
in salutem. **C**onfirmum domino quoniam bonus:

quoniam in seculum misericordia eius. **G**loria

patri. **S**icut erat. **ant.** **D**admirabile com-

memum creator generis humani animatum cor-

pus sumens de virgine nasci dignatus est et pro-

natris homo sine semine largitus est nobis suam

omnibus requiem. **C**apitulum. **V**eritatem.

quesivi et in hereditate domini morabor.

nunc precepit et dicit michi creator omnium

et qui creavit me requiescit in tabernaculo

meo. **D**eo gratias. **R.** **A**uemana gratia

plena dominus tecum. **A**uemana. **V.** **B**enedicta

tu in mulieribus: et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

Dominus noster. **G**loria patri et filio et spiritui

santo. **A**uemana. **V.** **S**ancta in genitrix

virgo semper mana. **R.** **I**ntercede pro nobis ad

dominum deum nostrum. **O**remus. **Oratio.**

Quoniam nos famulos tuos quoniam domine.

Benedicamus domino. Deo gratias. **Antiphona**

Hora prima ductus est ihesus ad pilatum. falsis testimonis multum accusatum. in collo percussus manibus ligatum. uultum dei conspuunt lumen celi gratiam. **V. Benedicamus tibi. R. Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum miserere nobis. Oratio.**

Domine ihesu christe fili dei ueni. **Oratio.**

Antiphona. Ora prima domine iudens flagellatum. suum unigenitum turpiter nactatum. colaphis et alapis spiritus deformatum. manus torquens grauiiter. nunc inploratum. **V. Laudamus et rogamus. R. Ut intendas et defendas. Oratio.**

Domine sancte ihesu christe dulcis fili.

Benedicamus domino. Deo gratias.

Cernosa compassio. **A. Dominum.**

Gratiosa compassio. **A. Dominum.**



Deus in adiutorium meum intende. **Do**mine ad adiuuandum me festina. **G**loria patri. **S**icut erat. **Alleluia. Impu?**

Oratio. Memento salutis. Ma

na plena gratie. Gloria tibi domine **ut sup**

Antiphona. Quand natus. Psalmus

Ad dominum cum tribulante

clamauit: et exaudiuit me.

Domine libera animam meam: a labi

is iniquis et a lingua dolosa. **Q**uid det

tibi aut quid apponatur tibi: ad lingua

dolosam. **S**agitte potentis acutae cum

carbonibus desolatorijs. **S**icut michi quia

incolatus meus prolongatus est: habitam
num habitantibus cedat multum incola fuit
anima mea. **C**um hijs qui odierunt pacem
eram pacificus: cum loquerer illis impug
nabant me gratis. **G**loria patri. *Ps.*

Auavi oculos meos in montes:
unde ueniat auxilium michi.

Auxilium meum a dño: qui
fecit celum et terram. **N**on det in commo
tionem pedem tuum: neque dormitet qui cus
todit te. **E**cce non dormitabit neque do
muet: qui custodit israel. **D**ominus cus
todit te dominus protectio tua super manum
dextram tuam. **P**er diem sol non urit te
neque luna per noctem. **D**ominus custo
dit te ab omni malo: custodiat animam
tuam dominus. **D**ominus custodiat
introitum tuum et exitum tuum ex hoc nunc

42.
et usque in seculum. **G**loria patri. *Ps.*

Tertatus sum in hijs que dicta
sunt michi in domum domini ibi
mus. **E**cce tantes erant pedes
nostri: in atrijs tuis ierusalem. **I**erlm
que edificatur ut ciuitas: cuius participatio
no eius in idipsum. **I**lluc enim ascende
runt tribus tribus domini: testimonium
israel ad confitendum nomini domini:

Quia illuc sederunt sedes in iudicio: se
des super domum dauid. **R**ogate
que ad pacem sunt ierlm: et habundantia
diligentibus te. **F**iat pax in uirtute
tua: et habundantia in tumbus tuis.

Propter fratres meos et proximos me
os: loquar pacem de te. **P**ropter do
mum domini dei nri: quesui bona tibi. **G**lo
ria patri. **S**icut erat. *ant.* Quando natus

es ineffabiliter ex uirgine nunc implere sunt scriptu-
re sicut pluuia in uellus descendisti ut saluum face-
res genus humanum te laudamus deus noster.

Annuo et ante **Capitulum.**
secula creata sum et usque ad fu-
nium seculum non desinam
et in habitatione sancta coram ipso mi-
nistraui. Deo gratias. **R.** Sancta dei ge-
mitte uirgo semper maria. Sancta dei genitrix. **V.**
Intercede pro nobis ad dominum deum nostrum. Virgo semp-
per maria. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. **R.**
Sancta dei genitrix. **V.** Post partum uirgo inui-
olata permansisti. **R.** Dei genitrix intercede pro no-
bis. **Oratio.** Domine exaudi. Et clamor. Oremus
Condono nos famulos tuos quoniam. **Oratio.**
Quasi fige clamitant hora tertiaum.
illusis induitur ueste purpurarum. caput eius
pingitur corona spinarum. auram portat hu-

43
mens ad loca perianum. **V.** Adramus te xpe.
R. Quia per sanctam uirgine. Oremus. **Oratio.** Domine
ihesu xpe. **Oratio.** Gloriosa passio mors

Anis uirgo uirginum hora tertiaum.
caput punctum filii corona spinarum.
auram sine scapulis loca ad perianum.
hinc dolore strimur luto platearum. **V.** **Oratio.** Glau-
damus et rogamus. **R.** Ut intendas et def. Oremus.
Oratio. Domine sancte ihesu xpe dulcis fili uirg-
inosa compassio dulcis **Ad sextam.**

Deus in adui-
torium manum
intende. **Oratio.** Do-
mine ad adui-
uandum me
fistina. **Oratio.** Glo-
ria patri. **Sicut erat.** Alla.

impnis. **Q**ui orato: **M**anento sa-
luis **M**ana plena gr̃a **G**loria tibi
domine. **ut sup̃. aut.** Rubum que uiderat. **Ps̃**

Adrexiui oculos meos: qui
habitas in celis **E**arsit
oculi sanctorum: in manibz do-
minorum suorum **S**icut oculi anille
in manibz domine sue ita oculi nostri:
ad dñm dñm nr̃m donec miserat nr̃m.

Miserere nr̃i domine miserere nr̃i: quia
multum repleti sumus desperatione **Q**uia
multum repleta est anima nr̃a obproba-
rum habundantibz et despecto superbis.

Gloria patri **S**icut erat. **Psalmus**

Asi quia dominus erat in nob̃
dicat nunc israel: nisi quia do-
minus erat in nobis **Q**ũ
conuergerent homines in nos forte uinos

44.
deglutissent nos **Q**um irasceretur fu-
ros eorum in nos forsitan aqua obso-
buit nos **Q**uoniam orientem p̃transiit aia
nr̃a forsitan p̃transiit anima nr̃a aqua
in collarabilem **B**enedictus dominus
qui non dedit nos in capone dentibz eor̃.

Anima nr̃a sicut passer crepta est: de la-
queo uenarum **H**aqueis contritus
est et nos liberati sumus **A**d iudicium
nr̃m in nomine domini: qui fecit celum
et terram **G**loria patri **S**icut erat.

Qui confidunt in dño **Ps̃**
Sicut mons syon non com-
mouebitur in eternum qui
habitat in ierusalem **M**ontes in circuitu
suis et dominus in circuitu populi sui
et hoc nunc et usq; in seculum **Q**uia nō
derelinquet dominus uirgam p̃cedentem sup̃

sortem iustorum ut non erubescant iusti ad
iniquitatem manus suas. **B**ene fac dñe
bonis et rectis corde. **M**eritantes autem in
obligationes adducit dominus cum operan-
tibus iniquitatem par sup israel. **G**loria
patris. **S**icut erat. **an̄t** Rubum quem uide-
rat moyses incombustum conseruatam agno-
uimus tuam laudabilem uirginitatem de ge-
nere intemerat pro nobis. **Capitulum.**

Et sic in syon firmata sum et in
ciuitate sanctificata similiter re-
quiem et in ierusalem potestas
mea. **D**eo gratias. **R.** Post partum uir-
go. inuolata p̄mansisti. Post partum. **V.** De
genere intemerat pro nobis. Inuolata. **G**loria
patris et filio et spiritu sancto. Post partum. **V.**
Sperosa facta es et suauis. **R.** In delictis tuis
sancta de genere. **D**omine exaudi. Et clamor.

45
Domine nos famulos tuos. **B**enedicam?

Hora facta ih̄c est mic̄ condauanis. et est cū
latronibus pendens deputatus. p̄tormentis sin-
cus felle saturatus. agnus cūmen dicitur sic iudifi-
catus. **V.** Adramus terpe. **R.** Quia per. **O**ram?

Domine ih̄i x̄pi. **G**loriosa passio mors.

Hora facta respicit mater suū natū
oblitum uulnere; qua condaua-
nim. inter fures positum felle q̄po-
tatum. illa sc̄um sensus reddit euilatum. **V.**

Telandamus et roga. **R.** Urinidas **O**ram?

Gloria sc̄i ih̄i x̄pi.

Gloriosa cōpassio.

Donnam.

Deus in adiutoriu

meū intende.

Domine ad ad-
iuuandum me

festina **G**loria patri **S**icut erat. **A**lla
impnius **T**u qui orato: **M**emento sa
lutis **M**ana plena gratie **G**loria tibi
domine. **ut supra. ait.** **V**erminavit **Ps.**
Convertendo dominus captivitatem sy
on: facti sumus sicut consolati **T**unc
repletum est gaudio os nrm: et lingua
nrâ in exultatione **T**unc dicunt inter
grites: magnificavit dominus facere
cum eis **M**agnificavit dominus facere
nobiscum: facti sumus letantes **C**on
verte domine captivitatem nrâ: sicut
torrens in austro **Q**ui seminant in
lacrimis: in exultatione metent **S**un
tes ilant et flectant: mittentes seminâ sua
Venientes autem venient cum exulta
tione portantes manipulos suos **G**lo
ria patri **S**icut erat. **Psalmus.**

46.
Nisi dominus edificavit domum:
in vanum laboraverunt qui edi
ficant eam **N**isi dominus cus
todierit civitatem: frustra vigilet qui cus
todit eam **Q**uamvis sit vobis ante lucem
surgite: surgite postquam sederitis. qui man
ducatis panem dolores **C**um dederit di
lectis suis sompnum esse hereditas dñi:
filii matris fructus ventris **S**icut sagit
te in manu potius: ita filii exaustorum.
Beatus vir qui implet desiderium suum
ex ipsis: non confundetur cum loquerit
ur in manus suas in porta **G**loria patri.
Sed an omnes qui timent **Ps**
dñm: qui ambulant in vjs
eius **H**aberes manuum
manum qua manducabis: btis es et hinc
tibi **C**ro: tua sicut vms habundans

in lateribus domus tue **H**ilij tui sicut
nouelle oliuari: in omni mense tue.

Ecce sic inuenitur homo: qui timet do-
minum **B**enedicat tibi dominus ex sy-
on: et uideas bona ierusalem omnibus diebus

uite tue **E**t uideas filios filiorum tuorum:
pacem super israel **G**loria patri **E**i

aut erat. **ant** Seminauit radix iesse orta est
stella ex iacob uirgo peperit saluatorem te laudamus
deus noster. **Capitulum**

Et radicaui in populo honori-
ficato et in patris dei mei her-
editas illius et in plenitudine sanctorum
detinere mea. **Deo gratias** **R**eposa fra-
es et suauis. **R**eposa **V** In delicijs tuis sancta
dei gaudere. **E**t suauis. **G**loria patri et filio et
spiritui sancto. **R**eposa **V** **S**ignare me lau-
dare te uirgo sancta **R**. **D**a michi uirtutem contem-

47
plures tuos **D**omine exaudi. **E**t clamo: **D**omi-

Concedere nos famulos tuos quis dñe. **oratio**

Hora nona dominus ille expirauit. hodie clamans
spiritum patri commendauit. latus eius lancea miles
profurauit. terra tunc contremuit et sol obscurauit **V**

Adriamus te ipse **R**. **Q**uia p scām. **D**iximus. **oratio**

Domine ihu xpe. **G**loriosa passio

Thora nona flebilis eruit expirante.

Tra dante spm. hodie clamantem.

Tra militem cum lancea latus profurante.

Tra cadit tunc in etasim dolor stetit stante. **E**rgo

Tra mater misere misere misis. **P**ro quibus compatis

Tra presso loto uitis. **N**os a peste fumis salua fuga

Tra dicit. **U**t nos uingas superis uita redimatis. **V**.

Tra te laudamus et rogamus **R**. **V**irtutibus et de.

Diximus **oratio** **D**omine sc̄ ihu xpe. **C**irca

Circa sa compassio dulcis dei matris. **D**ucat nos ad gau-

Dia summi celi patris. **A**men. **A**d uesperas

Deus in adiu-
torium meum
intra. **D**o-
mine ad ad-
iuuandum
me festina.
Gloria patri
Sicut erat
illa. **ant** Post partum. **ps.** **E**t
status sui in hunc.
ps. **N**on releuavi oculos meos **ps.** **N**isi
quia dominus **ps.** **Q**ui confidunt in do-
mino **ps.** **I**n conuertendo dominus **ut s.**
ant Post partum uirgo inuoluta pmanisti
in gremio matris pro nobis. **Capitulum**
Berata es maria que dominum
portasti creatorem mundi ge-
misti qui refert et in eternum
permanes uirgo. Deo gras **ymnus** ?

48.
Mare mans stella dei mat' alma
atq' semper uirgo felice celi porta.
Sumens illud aue gabrielis
ore funda nos in pace mutans nome' tue.
Solue uinda mis profer lumen cecis ma-
lia nra pelle lona cuncta posce **M**onst-
re esse matrem sumat per te patre qui p no-
bis nat' uult esse tuus **O**rgo singula-
ris inter omnes mitis nos culpis solutos
mites fac et castos **U**itam presta pura
iter para tutum ut uidentes ihm semper
colletemur **E**t laus deo patri summo
epo deus spiritu sancto tribus honori-
bus Amen. **v.** Diffusa est gna in labys
tuis **R.** Propterea inuenerit te deus in eternum
ant **S**ancta maria. **Psalmus**
Magnificat anima mea dium.
Et exultauit spiritus meus

in deo salutari meo. **Q**uia respicit humili-
tatem ancille sue: erit enim ex hoc tratam
medicant omnes generationes. **Q**uia fe-
cit michi magna qui potens est: et san- no-
men eius. **E**t misericordia eius a progenie in p-
genies timentibus eum. **E**rat potentiam
in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cor-
dis sui. **D**eposuit potentes de sede: et exal-
tauit humiles. **E**sumentes impleuit bo-
nis et diuites dimisit inanes. **R**escepit
israel puerum suum: rediditque eum matri sue.
Erat loquax et ad patrem nostrum abra-
ham et semini eius in secula. **G**loria patri.
Erat erat. **an** **S**ancta maria summe misere-
ris unia pusillanimes refoue flebiles ora pro po-
pulo interueni pro clero intercede pro diuoto fratri
nostro seruo. **D**omine exaudi. **Et clamor.** **Oratio.**
Omnis concede nos famulos tuos.

49.
Benedicamus domino. Deo gratias.
Et ante deponitur hora uespertina. formido
latuit mente diuina. talem mortem subit uite
mediana. hanc corona glorie. iacuit supina. **V.**
Adoramus te xpe. **R.** Quia per sanctam. **Oramus.**
Domine ihu xpe fili dei.
Et ante depositum hora uesperarum.
mantram aspiciat eius natum carum.
osculans amplectitur pignus caritatis. corpus
xpi madidans stillis lacrimarum. **V.** **G**loriam
R. **Trinitas.** **D**omine ihu xpe. **G**loriosa
compassio dulcis.
Ad complendum.
Domine nos deus
salutans noster
Et auctorem
nam a nobis
Deus in adiu-

corium meum intende. **D**omine ad ad
iuuandum me festina. **G**loria patri.

Sicut erat. **Alla. ant.** cum iocunditate.

Quarequo domine ob
iuramentis me in finem: usque
quo auertis faciem tuam a

me. **Q**uam diu ponam consilia in
anima mea: dolorem in corde meo per
diem.

Sperquo exaltabitur inimicus
meus super me: respice et exaudi me do
mine deus meus. **I**llumina oculos

meos ne unquam obdormiam in mor
te: nequando dicat inimicus meus pre
ualui adversus eum.

Qui tribulant me
exultabunt si motus fuero: ego autem in
misericordia tua speravi.

Exultabit cor meum
in habitaculo tuo: cantabo domino qui bo
na tribuit michi et psallam nomini do

mini altissimi. **G**loria patri. **S**icut erat.

Vodica me deus et discerne causam meam. **P**s
alm de gente non sancta: ab homine iniquo
et doloso eue me.

Quia tu es deus formi
tudo mea: quare me repulisti et quare mis
tis in cecum: dum affligit me inimicus.

Emitte lucem tuam et civitatem tuam:

ipsa me deduxerunt et adduxerunt in mo
tem sanctum tuum et in tabernaculum tuum.

Et
introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui lenificat
iuuentutem meam.

Confitebor tibi in
githara deus deus meus: quare tristis es
anima mea et quare conturbas me.

Spe
ra in deo quoniam ad hoc confitebor illi saluta
re vultus mei et deus meus. **G**loria patri.

Sepe ex
Ps **S**icut erat in
pugnauerunt me a iuventute
mea: dicat nunc israhel. **S**epe

expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea: et
enim non potuerunt michi **S**upra
dorsum meum fabricauerunt pedes:
prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam.

Dominus iustus concidet ceruices peccatorum:
confundantur et conuertantur retro: sicut omnes
qui oderunt sion. **F**iant sicut fruum
terrorum quod priusquam euellatur ex
aruit. **D**e quo non impleuit manum
suam qui metet et sinum suum: qui ma
nipulos colliget. **E**t non dixerunt qui
percutiunt in medio domini super uos: inue
diximus uobis in nomine domini. **G**loria patri.

Dominus non est exalta **Ps.**
tuum cor meum: neque elati sunt
oculi mei. **Q**uia ambulau
in magnis: neque in mirabilibus super me.

Et non humiliter sentiebam: sed exalta

57.
in animam meam. **S**icut ablactatus
super matrem suam: ita rembuo in anima
mea. **S**perauit israel in domino: et hoc nunc
et usque in seculum. **G**loria patri. **S**icut erat.

an. **Q**um iocunditate manoniam leate ma
ne celebramus ut ipsa pro nobis intercedat ad do
minum ihesum christum. **Capitulum.**

Sicut gynamomum et balsamum
aromatizans odorem dedi qui
mucha decta dedi suauitatem odoris. **D**e
gras **ymprus** **V**irgo singularis.

Matam presta **S**ic laus deo. **ut s. v.**
Quia analla domini. fiat michi secundum uerbum tuum. **a.**

Mandati **Ps.** **G**lorificamus.
mittis seruum tuum domine. se
cundum uerbum tuum in pace.

Quia uiderunt oculi mei: salutare tuum.
Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populo.

Humili ad iudaeonem genium et glo-
riam plebis tue israel. **G**loria patri **ant**

Glorificamus te dei genitricem quia et tenans
est xpc salua omnes qui te glorificant. **V** **D**is-
tinde nobis dominemiam tuam. **R.** Et salu-
tariuum da nobis. **O** domine exaudi orone
meam. **Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Deum?**

Regnam tuam. **Oratio.**

Quis domine mentibus nostris
infunde. ut qui angelo nun-
tiant epi filij tui incarnationem cog-
nouimus per passionem eius et auam
ad resurrectionis gloriam perducam. **P** **o**nde
dum nrm. **H**ora completorii datur sepul-
ture. corpus xpi nobile spes uite future. condit
aromate completur scriptur. iugis sit memoria
mors her michi cur. **D**as horas canonicas
cum deuotione tibi xpc. recolo pia in aone. ut qui

pro me passus es amoris ardore. sis michi solaci-
um mortis in agone. **V** **A**drainus te xpc. **R.** **Q**ua
per scam. **Oratio.** **O** domine ihu xpc.

Honosa passio dñi nri ihu.
Dia completorii mater prope rat.
ut lugeret filium ubi tumultatur. nec
uult uertere sed ibi morat. usq; dum ad filium.
tandem exaltatur. **E**rgo mater misere. **D**e
laudamus. **U**t intendas. **D**ne scilicet ihu xpc.

Seriosa compassio dulcis dei.
Mater regina mater misericordie
uita dulcedo et spes nra salue ad te
clamamus exules filij eue. ad te suspiramus ge-
mentes et flentes in hac lacrimarum ualle. **E**ya er-
go aduocata nra illos tuos misericordes oculos
ad nos conuerte et ihu benedictum fructu uentris
tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende. **V** **V**irgo
mater ecclesie. muna porta glorie. esto nobis refu-

gum. apud patrem et filium. **O** demens. **V**

Virgo demens uirgo pia uirgo dulcis o ma
na exaudi preces omnium ad te pie clamantium.

O pia **V**irgine unde preces tuo nato crucifixo uul
nerato et pro nobis flagellato spinis puncto fel
le potato **O** misis **V**irgine **G**loriosa dei mater au
uatus et at pater ora pro nobis omnibus qui tu
manoriam agimus **O** felix **V**irgine **O** de culpas

misadorum. terge sordes peccatorum dona nobis
lucorum uitam tuis precibus. **O** uirgine **V**irgine **O** de
nos soluat a peccatis pro amore sue matris et
ad regnum claritatis ducat nos rex pietatis **O**

demens **O** pia **O** dulcis mana. **S**alue **V**irgine
mana gratia plena dominus tecum **R**. Bene
dicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus uentris

O tu illic **O** demens. **O** demens. **O** demens. **O** demens.
O demens sempiternus deus qui gl
ose uirginis ac matris marie

53.
corpus et animam ut dignum filij tui hūta
culum effia merent spū scō cooperante nū
rabilitate iparasti. da ut cuius commemo
raone letamur eius pia intercessione ab uisita
tibus malis et a morte perpetua atq; subita
nea liberamur. **P**. **V**irgine celorum aue
domina angelorum salue radix scā ex qua mūdo
lux est orta aue gloriosa super omnes speciosa
uale ualde deuota et pro nobis semp xpm exora.

Virgine celorum mater regis angelorum
o mana flos uirginum uelud rosa uel lilium sū
de preces ad filium pro salute fidelium **V**irgine

Ave **R**. **B**enedicta tu. **O** demens
Amulorum tuorum quibus dñe **O** demens
delictis nris ignosce ut qui tibi
placere de actibus nris non ualemus genita
ris filij tui dñi nri intercessione saluemur.
Pater noster dñm nrm. Amen.

Gaudete uirgo mater xpi que per aurem
concepisti gabriele nuntio. **G**audete
quia deo plena peperisti sine peccato
cum pudoris lilio. **G**audete quia tu nati. que
dolebas mortem pati. fulget resurrectio. **G**au-
det xpo ascendente. et in celum te uidente. motu
fertur proprio. **G**audete quod post ipsum san-
ctis. et est honor tibi grandis. in celi palatio.
Ubi fructus uentris tui. per te datur nobis frui.
in partu gaudio. **V** Exaltata et coronata est scilicet
dei genitrix. **R.** Super choros angelorum ad celestia
regna. **Oratio.**
Domine sempiternus deus qui diuina
gabriele salutacione sancti filii
tui natiuitate gloriosa eius resurrectione et
ad miranda eius ascensionem et ueneranda
uirginis assumptionem sancte marie mater sue gau-
dia contulisti. prece quaeris ut pro eius amore

54.
ab omni specie peccati liberemur in tuis et partu
gaudio partu meremur in tuis. Qui uirtus
et regnas deus. Per omnia secula seculorum Amen.
ant. Sancta marie uirgo intercede pro toto mu-
do quia genuisti regem orbis. **V** Post partum. **R.**
Dei genitrix intercede pro nobis. **Oratio.**
Quoniam in tribulatione temptatione neces-
sitate scandalo et in angustia succurre no-
bis piissima uirgo marie. Amen. **ant.**
Mater ora filium ut post hoc exilium nobis
donet gaudium sine fine. **V** Aue marie gratia
plena dominus tecum. **R.** Benedicta tu in muli-
eribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui ihesu. **Oratio.**
Quoniam et precibus sue pie **Oratio.**
matris benedicat nos filius dei
patris. Amen.

Hec oratio dicitur ante septem psalmos penitentiales

Sapientia sancta trinitas **Oratio.**
vniuersus deus hos psalmos conse-
cratos quos ego indignissimum
propter iniquitatem accipio in honore sanctissimi no-
minis tui beate marie uirginis omnique sanctorum
angelorum. archangelorum. patriarcharum. pro-
phetarum. apostolorum. euangelistarum. monachorum. confes-
sorum. uirginum. et omnium sanctorum et sanctarum. pro me
misero peccatore accipio sanctis animas et in-
mias et consanguineis meis. pro quibus nec
non pro illis qui in me fiduciam habent
accipio sanctis uinis et defunctis concede do-
mine ihesu christe ut huius psalmi omnibus pro-
ficiant ad ueram penitentiam faciendam
et emendationem uite et ad uitam eternam
perueniendam. Amen.

Study

Inueniuntur septem psalmi penitentiales. a.

Pro hac oratione Deum supplicans. **Ps.**
in tempore oportuno Domine ne in furore
ui diluuius aquarum. et tuo arguas me neque
appropinabunt. **T**empe uia tua corripias
a tribulatione que conuenit. **M**iserere mei do-
mine. **M**iserere mei domine quoniam infirmus
sum. **L**ana me domine quoniam conturbata est
omnia ossa mea. **E**t anima mea turbata
est ualde sed tu domine usquequo. **Q**uoniam
uenerit domine et eripe animam meam saluum
me fac propter misericordiam tuam. **Q**uoniam non est
in morte qui memor sit tui in inferno au-
tem quis confitebitur tibi. **H**abebam in
gemitu meo lauacrum per singulas noctes
lacrum meum lacrimis meis stratum meum
rigabo. **Q**uoniam iratus est a furore oculus me-
us inueneram inter omnes inimicos meos

os **D**ilcedite a me omnes qui operamini
in iniquitate quoniam exsancta trinitas **Ps.**
omni fletus meus **Q**uius hos psalmos conse
nonem meam dominus ego indignissim
suscepit **E**rubescant in honore sanctissimi no
menar omnes in unum uirginis omnes scilicet
et erubescant ualde uel gregor. patmanthar. pro

Beaati quorum in mille sunt iniqui **Ps.**
tates: et quorum terra sunt peccata.

Beatus uir cui non imputauit dominus
peccatum nec est in spiritu eius dolus **Q**uoniam
cui inuenerunt ossa mea dum clama
rem tota die **Q**uoniam die ac nocte grauata
est super me manus tua conuersus sum
in erumpna mea dum configitur spina

Quod dictum meum cognatum tibi feci et inuis
tiam meam non abscondi **Q**uoniam con
fitebor aduersum me in iustitiam meam

56.
domino: et tu remisisti impietatem peccati
mei **P**ro hac orabit ad te omnis sanctus
in tempore oportuno **U**erumptamen
in diluio aquarum multarum ad eum non
appropinabunt **T**u es refugium meum
a tribulatione que circumdedit me exultatio
mea erue me a circumdantibus me **I**ntel
lectum tibi dabo et instruam te in uia hac
qua gradiens firmabo super te oculos me
os **N**olite fieri sicut equus et mulus: in
quibus non est intellectus **I**n chamo et
feno mandibulas eorum constringe qui non
appropinquant ad te **M**ulta flagella pec
catoris sperantem autem in domino misericordia
circumdabit **E**xtremum in domino et ex
ultate uultu: et gloriamini omnes recti corde

Gloria patri. **Psalmus**
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas

me neque in ira tua corripas me. **Q**uoniam sagitte tue infere sunt michi et confirmasti super me manum tuam. **N**on est sanitas in carne mea a facie ire tue non est pax ossibus meis: a facie irae tuae. **Q**uoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum et sicut onus graue grauatae sunt super me.

Pertinuerunt et corrupte sunt cogitationes meae a facie insipientiae meae. **M**iser factus sum et curuatus sum usque in finem tota die conturbatus ingredieris. **Q**uoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus et non est sanitas in carne mea. **A**fflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei. **D**omine ante te omne desiderium meum et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus. **C**or meum conturbatum est in me dereliquit me uirtus mea et lumen

57
oculorum meorum et spiritum non est in meum. **A**nima mea et proximi mei aduersum me appropinquauerunt et steterunt. **E**t qui uerba me erant de longe steterunt et uim faciant qui querelant animam meam. **E**t qui inquerelant mala michi locuti sunt uanitates et dolos tota die meditantur. **E**go autem tanquam surdus non audiveram et sicut mutus non aperiens os suum. **E**t factus sum sicut homo non audiens et non habens in ore suo reuerentiam. **Q**uoniam in te domine speravi tu exaudies me domine deus meus. **Q**uia diu nequando supergaudeant michi inimici mei et dum commouentur pedes mei super me magna locuti sunt. **Q**uoniam ego in flagella percutus sum et dolor meus in conspectu meo semper. **Q**uoniam iniquitatem meam annuntiabo et co-

gitalo pro peccato meo **I**nimiam autem in-
venerunt et confirmati sunt super me et multi-
plicati sunt qui oderunt me inique **Q**ui
retribuunt mala pro bonis detrahebant in-
quam sepelias bonitatem **E**t deridit me
domine deus meus ne discideris a me

Intende in adiutorium meum domine
deus salutaris meus **G**loria patri **P's**

Domine deus secundum magnam mi-
sericordiam tuam **E**t secundum mul-
titudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquita-
tem meam **S**implius lava me ab iniqui-
tate mea et a peccato meo munda me **Q**uia
iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum
meum contra me est semper **T**ibi soli pec-
caui et malum coram te feci ut iustificaris
in sermonibus tuis et vincas cum iudicaris
Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum

58.
et in peccatis concepit me mater mea **E**cce
enim veritatem dilexisti in ora et omnia sa-
pientiae tuae manifestasti michi **S**perges
me domine hyssopo et mundabor lauabis me
et super niuem dealbabor **A**uditum meo
dabis gaudium et letitiam et exultabunt
domino ossa humiliata **A**verte faciem
tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates
meas dele **C**or mundum crea in me deus
et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis
Ne proicias me a facie tua et spiritum sanctum
tuum ne auferas a me **R**edde michi leti-
tiam salutarem tuam et spiritu principali con-
firma me **D**ocato iniquos vias tuas
et impij ad te convertentur **Q**uia me de
sanguinibus deus deus salutis mee et exulta-
bit lingua mea iustitiam tuam **D**omine
labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit

laudem tuam **Q**uoniam si uoluisses sacrificium
dedissem unquam holocaustis non delictalis.

Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus:
cor contritum et humiliatum deus non des-
picies. **Requie** fac domine in bona uo-

luntate tua syon: ut edificentur muri ierusa-
lem. **T**unc acceptabis sacrificium iusticie obla-
tiones et holocausta tunc imponent super
altare tuum utulos. **Gloria patri. Ps**

Domine exaudi orationem meam: et
clamor meus ad te ueniat. **N**on
auertas faciem tuam a me in quacumque
die tribulor: inclina ad me aurem tuam.

In quacumque die inuocauero te uelociter
exaudi me. **Q**uia defecunt sicut fumus
dies mei et ossa mea sicut cinis auerunt.

Permissus sum ut fruum et aurum cor meum
quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum.

59.
Iuocor gemitus mei adhesit os meum car-
ni mee. **S**imilis factus sum pellicano so-
litudinis factus sum sicut mactuarum in do-
mulo. **A**ngelorum et factus sum sicut pas-
ser solitarius in tecto. **T**ota die exprobra-
bant michi inimici mei et qui laudabant me
aduersum me uocabant. **Q**uia cinerem
tanquam panem manducaui et potum meum
sicut fletum miseraui. **F**ac facie ue indigna-
tionis tue quia delictans abiecasti me. **D**ies
mei sicut umbra declinauerunt et ego sicut
frum anni. **T**u autem domine in eternum per-
manes et memo reale tuum in generatione
et generatione. **T**u exurgens domine mi-
serere syon quia tempus miserandi eius
quia uenit tempus. **Q**uoniam plauerunt seruis
eius lapides eius et cineribus miserunt. **E**t
timebunt gentes nomen tuum domine et omnes

reges in gloria tua. **Q**uia edificauit do-
minus syon et uidebitur in gloria sua. **R**es-
pexit in orationem humilium et non spreuit
preces eorum. **S**cribantur haec in generatione
altera: et populus qui creabitur laudabit
dominum. **Q**uia prospexit de caelo sancto suo
dominus de caelo in terram aspexit. **U**t audi-
ret gemitus compeditorum et solueret filios in-
terruptorum. **U**t annuntient in syon nomen
domini et laudem eius in ierusalem. **I**n conue-
niendo populos in unum et reges ut seruiant
domino. **R**espondit ei in uia uirtutis sue
pauitatem dierum meorum munera michi.
Quere uoces me in dimidio dierum meorum in
generatione et generatione anni tui. **I**n
ino tu domine terram fundasti: et opera ma-
nuum tuarum sunt caeli. **I**psi peribunt tu au-
tem permanes et omnis sicut uestimentum uere-

60
tascant. **E**t sicut oportuerit mutabis eos
et mutabuntur tu autem idem ipse es et anni
tui non deficiant. **F**ilius seruorum tuorum habi-
tabunt et semen eorum in seculum dirigetur.
Gloria patri. **S**icut erat. **P**s
Et profundis clamauit ad te domine:
domine exaudi uocem meam. **A**uant au-
res tue intendentes in uocem supplicationis
meae. **S**i iniquitates obseruaueris domine
domine quis sustinebit. **Q**uia apud te
propitius es et propter legem tuam sustinui-
te domine. **S**ustinuit anima mea in uerbis
eius sperauit anima mea in domino. **A**u-
stodia matutina usque ad noctem sperat israel in
domino. **Q**uia apud deum misericordia et copiosa
apud eum redemptio. **E**t ipse redimet is-
rael ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius. **G**loria
Domine exaudi orationem meam. **P**s

ambus prope obsecra nonne meam in iustate
tua exaudi me in tua iusticia. **E**t non intro
in iudicium cum seruo tuo quia non iusti
ficabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens.
Quia persecutus est inimicus animam meam
humiliavit in terra uitam meam. **C**ollocauit me
in obscuris sicut mortuos seculi et amiratus
est super me spiritus meus in me turbatum
est cor meum. **M**emor fui dicitum antiquorum
meditatus sum in omnibus operibus tuis in fac
tis manuum tuarum meditalar. **E**xpandi
manus meas ad te anima mea sicut terra
sine aqua tibi. **A**eloatir exaudi me dñe
deficit spiritus meus. **N**on auitas facie
tuam a me et similis tuo descenditibus in
lacrimam. **A**uditam fac michi manam
tuam quia in respexisti. **N**otam fac michi
uiam in qua ambulam quia ad te leuaui

61.
animam meam. **E**xpe me de inimias meas
domine ad te confugi: dōr me facere uoluntate
tuam quia deus meus es tu. **S**piritus tuus
bonus adducet me in terram uitam propter nome
nūm domine uiuificabis me in equitate tua.
Educas de tribulatione animam meam: et in
misericordia tua disperdes omnes inimicos meos.
Et perdes omnes qui tribulant animam
meam quoniam ego seruus tuus sum. **G**loria patris.
Hic incipiunt quindecim psalmi.
Ad dominum animam tribulauer. **P**s
Exiui in montes ut clamarem. **P**s
Eratatus sum in hys **P**s **A**d te leuaui.
Ps **N**isi quia dñs **P**s **Q**ui confidunt **P**s
Qui conuidero **P**s **N**isi dñs edificauit **P**s
Eran omnes **P**s **E**xpe expugnauerunt **P**s
Ex profund. **P**s **D**ñe non est exaltatum. **P**s
Cinquo domine dauid: et omnis **P**s

mansuetudinis eius **S**icut iuravit dño:
notum novit dō iacob **S**i introiero in tabi-
naculum domus mee: si ascendero in lectum
strati mei **S**i dedero sompniū oculis meis
et palpebris meis dormitacionē **E**t requi-
am tempore: mas donec inveniam locum
domino tabernaculum dō iacob **E**cce au-
divimus eam in effusa: invenimus eam
in campis silue **I**ntroibimus in taber-
naculum eius adorabimus in loco ubi ste-
terunt pedes eius **S**urge domine in requie
tuam tu et archa sanctificationis tue **S**a-
cerdotes tui induant iusticiam et sancti tui
exultent **P**ropter dauid servū tuū: non
auitas faciem xpi tui **I**uravit dominus
dauid iusticiam et non frustrabit eum de fructu
tu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam.
Si custodierint filij tui testamentū meū

62.
et testimonia mea hec que dō dō eos **E**t
filij eorum usq; in seculum sedebunt super
sedem tuam **Q**uoniam degit dominus syon:
degit eam in habitacionem sibi **E**t requi-
es mea in seculum seculi hic habitabo quoniam de-
git eam **Q**uidam eius benedicens benedi-
cam pauperes eius saturabo pambis **S**a-
cerdotes eius induam salutari et sancti eius
exultacione exultabunt **I**lluc producam
vinum dauid paravi lucernam xpo meo
Innimicos eius induam confusione:
super ipm autē efflorescit sanctificatio mea.
Et gloria patri **E**cce erat. **P**s
Ecce quoniam tonū et qui iocundum ha-
bitare fratres in vniū **S**icut unguentum
in capite quod descendit in lachrima lactam
aaron **Q**uod descendit in oram uestimē-
ti eius sicut ros hermon qui descendit in mo-

tem syon **Q**uoniam illic mandavit dominus
benedictionem: et vitam usque in seculum.

Gloria patri **F**iat fiat. **Ps**

Ecce nunc benedixit dominus: omnes

servi domini **Q**ui statis in domo domini in

atque domus dei nostri **I**n noctibus extollite

manus vestras in sancta et benedixit dominus

Benedicat tibi dominus ex syon: qui fe-
cit celum et terram **G**loria patri. **ant**

Rememiscaris domine delicta nostra vel panem

num nostrum neque vindictam sumas de peccatis

nostris. parce domine parce populo tuo quam

dimisti pro solo sanguine tuo ne in eternum

rememiscaris nobis **Itama.**

Respice domine **X**pice domine **X**pice au-

di nos **P**ater de celsis deus miserere nobis.

Filius omnipotens mundi deus miserere nobis.

Spiritus sancte deus miserere nobis

Sancta trinitas unus deus miserere nobis

Sancta maria ora pro nobis

Sancta dei genitrix **or**

Sancta uirgo uirginum **or**

Sancte michael **or**

Sancte gabriel **or**

Sancteraphael **or**

Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli **or**

Omnes sancti tractores spirituum ordines **or**

Sancte iohannes baptista **or**

Omnes sancti patrum et prophetarum **or**

Sancte petre **or**

Sancte paulo **or**

Sancte andrea **or**

Sancte iacobe **or**

Sancte iohannes **or**

Sancte thoma **or**

Sancte iacobe **or**

Sante philippe or
Sante bartholomee or
Sante matthee or
Sante symon or
Sante thade or
Sante mathia or
Sante lamala or
Sante marce or
Sante luca or
Sante mamalis or
Oms sancti apli et euuangeliste or^{re}
Oms sancti discipuli domini or^{re}
Oms sancti innocentes or^{re}
Sante stephane or
Sante linc or
Sante clere or
Sante demens or
Sante sere or

Sante cundi or
Sante cipriane or
Sante laurenti or
Sante uinceni or
Sante fabiane or
Sante scathiane or
Sante rosina or
Sante damiane or
Sante prime or
Sante feliciane or
Sante potruane or
Sante gulo gone or
Sante ypolite cum socijs suis or
Sante georgi or
Sante gemali or
Sante prothasi or
Sante iohannes or
Sante mandline et petre or^{re}

Sancte iohannes i paulo or
Sancte cyprian et cypriane or
Sancte eusebio or
Sancte allane or
Sancte edmund or
Sancte lambert or
Omnes sancti martires or
Sancte silvester or
Sancte leo or
Sancte ieronime or
Sancte augustine or
Sancte ysidore or
Sancte hylan or
Sancte nicholae or
Sancte martine or
Sancte ambrosi or
Sancte gregori or
Sancte germane or

Sancte romane or
Sancte uedaste or
Sancte raunne or
Sancte iuliane or
Sancte cuthbert or
Sancte benedict or
Sancte egidi or
Sancte leonard or
Sancte antoni or
Sancte philberte or
Sancte andree or
Sancte albine or
Sancte amande or
Sancte ausbert or
Sancte sampson or
Sancte patrice or
Sancte patua or
Sancte unig or

Sancte lafili or
Sancte bria or
Sancte wulfride or
Sancte pauline or
Sancte machute or
Sancte dunstane or
Omnes sancti confellores or
Omnes sancti monachi et heremite or
Sancta anna or
Sancta maria magdalena or
Sancta maria egypaaca or
Sancta felicitas or
Sancta pepernia or
Sancta peronilla or
Sancta agatha or
Sancta agnes or
Sancta cecilia or
Sancta lucia or

66.
Sancta scolastica or
Sancta grioueta or
Sancta margareta or
Sancta katherine or
Sancta disabry or
Sancta paschaha or
Sancta affia or
Sancta lactara or
Sancta huldys or
Sancta margundis or
Sancta fidis or
Sancta trela or
Sancta epina or
Sancta helena or
Sancta praxedis or
Sancta sotheis or
Sancta pulca or
Sancta cutha or

Sancta solida, or
Sancta fides, or
Sancta spes, or
Sancta karitas, or
Omnnes sancte uirgines, or
Omnnes sancti et sancte, or
Propterea esto pariter nobis domine
Libera nos domine
Abs omni malo libera nos domine
Abs insidijs dyaboli
Abs dampnatione perpetua
Abs imminentibus patris nostri periculis
Abs infestationibus demonum
Abs spiritu fornicationis
Abs appetitu inanis glorie
Abs omni immundicia mentis et corporis
Abs ira et odio et omni mala uoluntate
Abs immundis cogitationibus
Abs contumacia cordis

67.
Abs fulgure et tempestate
Abs subitanea et impuulsa morte
Propter multum sancte incarnationis tue
Propter sanctam natiuitatem tuam
Propter sanctam circumuersionem tuam
Propter baptismum tuum
Propter ieiunium tuum
Propter crucem et passionem tuam
Propter preciosam mortem tuam
Propter gloriosam resurrectionem tuam
Propter admirabilem ascensionem tuam
Propter gratiam sancti spiritus paradisi
In hora mortis succurre nobis domine
In die iudicij libera nos domine
Propterea quesumus te rogamus audi nos
Quod pacem nobis domine
Quod misericordia et pietas tua nos semper custodi
ant. **U**t misericordiam tuam regere et defendi

sancti dignens **De.** **U**t
gradus anime in sancta religione
conservare dignens **De.** **U**t regi
nostro et principibus nostris pacem
et veram concordiam atque victoriam do-
nare dignens **De.** **U**t repositos
et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta
religione conservare dignens **De.** **U**t con-
gregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo loco
conservare dignens **De.** **U**t unctum po-
pulum christianum precioso sanguine redemp-
tum conservare dignens **De.** **U**t omnibus
humiliter precor utis sempiterna bona retribu-
as **De.** **U**t animas nostras et parvulum nos-
trum ab eterna damnatione eripias **De.**
Et fructus mundare et conservare dignis
De. **U**t oculos misericordie tue super nos induat
dignens **De.** **U**t obsequium servitutis
nostrae rationabile facias **De.** **U**t mentes

68.
nostras ad celestia desideria erigas **De.** **U**t re-
gularibus disciplinis nos instruere digni.
De. **U**t miseris pauperibus et captivorum
intueri et relevare dignis **De.** **U**t iracundias
et voluntates famulorum tuorum in salutis
nostrae prosperitate disponas **De.** **U**t omnibus
fidelibus defunctis impetrem clementiam donec
De. **U**t nos exaudire dignens **De.** **E**li-
am invocamus audi nos **A**gnus dei qui
tollis peccata mundi pacem nobis domine
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi ex-
audi nos domine **A**gnus dei qui tollis
peccata mundi miserere nobis **Christe** au-
di nos **Christe** **Christe** **Christe** **P**ater
noster. Et venos **O**stende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
Et veniat super nos misericordia tua domine.
Salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum.

Peccauimus nun patrib; nris. In iuste cogimus iniquitatem framus. **D**omine non secundum peccata nra facias nobis. Neq; secundum iniquitates nras retribuas nobis.

Sacerdotes tui induantur iusticiam. Et sancti tui exultent. **D**omine saluum fac regem. Et exaudi nos die qua inuocauimus te.

Saluos fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas. Deus meus sperantes in te.

Saluum fac populum tuum domine et benedictionem tuam tue. Et regre eos et extolle illos usq; in caelum.

Domine fiat pax in uirtute tua. Et abundantia in tumb; tuis. **A**nime famulorum famularq; tuar. Inquietant in pace. Amen.

Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te ueniat. **Oratio.**

Deus au propitius est miserum semper et paucis propitius animabus famuli tui.



D famule tue et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum eorum q; omnia peccata dimitte ut in omni uinculis absoluti transire mereant. ad uitam.

Oratio. Per dnm nrm ihm xpm. **Oratio.** Rex ppli tui quis domine dementi exaudi ut qui iuste pro peccatis nris affligimur pro tui nois gloria misericorditer libremur.

Oratio. Deus au propitius est miserum semper et paucis propitius. **Oratio.** Per xpm. miserum semper et paucis propitius. **Oratio.** Per xpm. canonem nram et quos delictorum cathena constringit misericordia tue pietatis absoluat.

Oratio. Tempus sanctissime d's. **Oratio.** Per xpm qui facis mirabilia magna solus p'tende super famulos tuos pontifices et super sanctas congregationes illas conuillas spiritum gratie salutans et ut in uirtute tibi complacant. perpetuum eis uicem tue benedictionis infunde. **Oratio.** Per xpm dnm nrm. **Oratio.**

Deus qui cantatis dona per gratiam sancti spiritus tuorum cordibus fideliu in fundis. da famulis et famularibus tuis fabricatoribus nostris pro quibus tuam deprecamur clamorem salutem mentis et corporis ut et tota uirtute diligant et quibus planta sunt tota dilectione proficiant. *per christum. oratio.*

Deus a quo sancta desideria iusta consilia et iusta sunt opera. da seruis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem ut et uerba nostra mandatis tuis dedita et hostium sublata formidine tempora sit tua promone tranquilla. *per christum. oratio.*

Domine sempiternus deus dirigere actus nostros in templato tuo ut in nomine dilecti filii tui mereamur bonis operibus abundare. *per christum dominum. oratio.*

Retende domine famulis et famularibus

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tuis diuinam celestis auxilij. ut te toto corde persequantur et qui digne postulant assequantur.

Quere igne sancti spiritus te *oratio.* Per nos nos et uerba uerba domine ut tibi talis corpore seruamus et mundo corde placere.

Acciones nostras *oratio.* Accipimus per nos et adiuuando persequere ut cuncta nostra operando a te semper incipiat et per te accepta

Remittit scorum *oratio.* Confirmatur per nos et adiuuando persequere ut cuncta nostra operando a te semper incipiat et per te accepta

Interabilem misericordiam tuam nobis *oratio.* Domine clamenter extende. ut simul nos

a peccatis omnibus et a penis quas pro
his meremur benignus excipias. Per. **oratio**

Quoniam sempiternus deus respice propitius
ad pacem nostram et da nobis famulis
tuis fidem rectam spem rectam humilitatem
veram concede domine ut te donante fiat
in nobis simpliciter affectus. paciencia for
tis obedientia perscrutans. pax perpetua.
mens pura. rectum cor et mundum. volun
tas bona conscientia sancta. compunctio spiri
talis. vita immaculata consummatio irrepre
hensibilis quatenus in mandatis tuis cur
rentes. eternum meritum feliciter intueri reg

num dei. Per christum dominum nostrum. **oratio**
Adium deus omnium conditor et re
demptor animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum
remissionem auctorem tribue precor ut indul
gentiam quam semper optaverunt pijs

supplicia omnibus consequantur. Per christum.

Ad solue domine animas omnium **oratio**
fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo
delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos
et electos tuos resuscitati respirant. Per. **oratio**

Quoniam tu quis domine nostrum
solue vincula omnium delictorum et
interdente leata et gliosa semperque iugue
di gratia mana cum omnibus sanctis tuis

nos famulos tuos atque
loca nostra in omni sanctitate custodi omnes
que consanguinitate ac familiaritate vel con
fessione et oratione nobis iunctos seu omnem po
pulum catholicum a vicijs purga vituti
bus illustra pacem et salutem nobis tribue.
hostes visibiles et invisibiles remoue pestem
repelle. animas et innumeras caritatem atque iustitiam

nis sanitatem languorū et actus famulo-
rum in salutis tue prosperitate dispone et
omnibus fidei viuis ac defunctis in terra
uiuendi uitā et requiē eternam concede. P
sp̄m dñm n̄m. Amen.

Study

Hic incipiunt uigilie mortuorum. añt.

Placito dño. **Psalmus**
Alia qm̄ exaudiat dñs:
uocem orōnis mee.

Quia indinauit au-
rim suam michi: et in-
dub̄ meis inuocato.

Quoniam dolores mortis: et pe-
nula inferni inueniunt me. **S**tribula-
tionem et dolorem inueni: et nomen dñi

inuocaui. **D**omine libera animā meā:
misericors dominus et iustus. et dñs nost̄

misertur. **C**ustodias paruulos dñs:
humiliatus sum et liberauit me. **C**onuertere

anima mea in requiem tuam: quia dñs
benefecit tibi. **Q**uia cepit aiam meam
de morte: oculos meos a lacrimis pedes me-
os a lapsu. añt. Placito domino in regione

mittitur in terram suam: in illa die peribunt
omnes cogitationes eorum. **B**eatus cui
uis deus iacob adiutor: cuius spes eius in do-
mino deo ipsius qui fecit celum et terram: mare
et omnia que in eis sunt. **Q**ui custodit
vitam in seculum: facit iudicium iustitiam
pauperibus: dat escam esurientibus. **D**ñs sol-
uit compeditos: dominus illuminat caecos.

Dominus erigit adylos: dñs diligit iusto.

Dominus custodit aduenas pupillum
et uiduam suscipiet et uias pauperum disperdit.

Regnabit dominus in secula deus tuus
syon: in generatione et generationem. **V**

Requiem eternam dona eis domine. **R.** Et lux per-
petua luceat eis. **V** A porta inferi. **R.** Erue dñe a-

nimas eorum. **V** Erue uidere bona dominum. **R.** In finem
iumentum. **V** Dñe exaudi. Et clamor. **R.**

Quis auersum est miserum semper

74.
et pante te supplices deprecamur pro anima
famuli tui quam de hoc seculo migrare uul-
sisti ut non tradas eam in manus inimica-
nae obliuiscans in finem sed ultras illam
ab angelis sanctis suscipi atque ad regionem
iuuorum perducas. et quia in te sperauit et ar-
didit seculum tuorum miratur societate letari.

Deus qui inter apostolicos sa-
crandus famulos tuos pontificali
fcasti dignitate senen. presta quibus ut quor-
uam ad horam grediant in terris eorum
perpetuo consorcio letentur in celis. **Per.**

Deus uenue languito: et humane
salutis aucto: quibus clemenciam tu-
am ut nostram congregacionum fratres et so-
rora qui ex hoc seculo transierunt intercedente
lata et gloriosa semper que uirgine dei genitri-
ce mana cum omnibus sanctis ad perpetue

manudinis viscerum pueri conatus p.

Aiduum dñs oim conditor ut s̄. Requiescant in pace. Amen. **In primo n̄. a.** Dirige.

Mita mea aumb; pape **Dñs** domine: intellige clamorē meū **I**ntende uocā orōnis mee: deus meus et deus meus.

Quoniam ad te orabo domine: mane et audies uocē meam **M**ane altabo tibi et iudabo: quoniam non deus uolens iniquitatem tuam **N**eq; habitabit iuxta te malignus: neq; permanebunt iniusti ante oculos tuos.

Quidisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem: perdis omnes qui loquuntur mendacium.

Animi sanguinū et dolosum abhominabitur dominus: ego autē in multitudine misericordie tue **I**ntroibo in domū tuam: ad uisualo ad templum sanctū tuum in timore tuo.

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Domine deduc me in uisualo tua propter inimicos meos dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam **Q**uoniam non est in ore eorū ueritas: cor eorum uanū est **S**epulcrum patens est guttur eorum lingua sua dolose agitant iudica illos deus **Q**uidant a cogitationibus suis sed in multitudine impietatum eorum expelle eos: quoniam irritauerunt te dñe **E**t letentur omnes qui sperant in te: in certum exultabunt et habitabis in eis **E**t gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum: quoniam tu benedixisti iusto **D**omine ut saluolone uoluntatis tue coronasti nos. **ant.**

Dirige domine deus meus in conspectu tuo uiam meam **a.** Coniter **ps.** **D**omine ne in fueretuo. **a.** Coniter domine et cape animā meā quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui. **ant.**

¶ Quando inpiat. **Psalmus**

Domine deus meus in te speravi:
saluum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus
me et libera me. **Q**uando rapiat ut
leo animam meam: dum non est qui redi-
mat neque qui saluum faciat. **D**omine deus
meus si finis istud: si est iniquitas in mani-
bus meis. **S**i reddidi retribuentibus mihi
mala: eradam merito ab inimicis meis in
anis. **P**ersequatur inimicus animam
meam et comprehendet et conculcet in terra
vitam meam: et gloriam meam in puluere
deducat. **E**xurge domine in ira tua: et ex-
altare in finibus inimicorum meorum. **E**t exurge
domine deus meus in precepto quod manda-
sti: et synagoga populorum circumdabit te.
Et propter hanc in altum ingredietur dominus
iudicet populos. **I**udica me domine
secundum iustitiam meam et secundum iuro

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antiam meam super me. **C**onsumetur
nequitia pedum et dinges iustum: scru-
tans corda et renes deus. **I**ustum adiuto-
rum meum a domino: qui saluos facit
uitos corda. **D**eus uider iustus fortis et
paciens: nunquid ualatur per singulos
dies. **Q**uasi conuulsi fueris gladium suum
uibrabit: animum suum tendit et parat
illum. **E**t in eo parauit uasa mortis sa-
gittas suas ardentibus efficit. **E**cce prouit
iniustitiam: et concepit dolorem et peperit
iniquitatem. **L**acum aperuit et effodit eum:
et incidit in foueam quam fecit. **C**onui-
ntur dolor eius in caput eius: et in uentrem
ipsius iniquitas eius discindit. **C**onfitebor
domino secundum iustitiam eius: et psallam
nomini domini altissimi. **A.** **Q**uando ra-
piat ut leo animam meam dum non est qui re-

dimat neq; qui saluū faciat. **V** A porta inferi.

Ecce domine animas eor: Pater n̄r. **Incipit**

Dixit michi domine nichil enim sūt
dies mei. Quid est homo quia mag-

niticas eum: aut quid apponis erga eum
cor: tuū. Visitas eum diluauo: et subito
probas illum. Vis quo non pams michi
neq; dimittis me: ut gloriā saluam me
am: Percaui. Quid faciam tibi oculos
hominū: Quare posuisti me contra eum
tibi: et factus sum michi in capiti grauis:

Cur non tollis peccatum meū: et quare
non auferis iniquitatem meam: Ecce nūc
in puluere dormio: et si mane me q̄sieris nō
subsistam. **R.** Quid q̄ inemptor: meus vi-

uit et in nouissimo die de t̄ra surrexiturus sūt. et
in carne mea uideo deum saluatorem meū. **V**

Quem uisurus sum ego ip̄e et non alius et

oculi mei conspectum sunt. Et in carne mea.

Ecce anima mea uite mor: **It. ij.**

Dimittam aduersum me eloquiū
meum. Loquar in amaritudine anime
me: dicam deo non me condempnat.

Indica michi cur me ita iudicas. **N**ūquid
bonum tibi uidet si calumpniens me et
opprimas me opus manū tuar: et con-
siliū impiorum adiuues: **N**ūquid o-
culi carni tibi sunt aut sicut uidet homo
et tu uidet: **N**ūquid sicut dies hoīs dies

tui: et anni tui sicut humana sunt tem-
pora: **U**t querat iniquitatem meam et pec-
catum meū sciat: et scias quia nichil
impium fecerim cum sit nemo qui de ma-
nu tua possit auare. **R.** Qui lazari resus-

citasti a monumento fendum. Tu es domine
dona requiem et locum indulgentie. **V** Qui

uenturus es iudicare uiuos et mortuos et scdm
per ignam. Tu es domine. **Imo mia**

Manus tue fecerunt me. et
plasmauerunt me totum in amni
tu. et sic repente p̄cipitas me. Et auerito q̄
sicut lutum feceris me: et in puluerē
reduces me. Nonne sicut lac nullisti me:
et sicut casum me coagulasti: Pelle et car
nibus uestisti me: ossibus et nervis compe
gisti me. Vitam et misericordiam tribuisti michi:
et uisitatio tua custodiunt sp̄m meū. **R.**

Domine quando uenis iudicare terram ubi
me abscondam a uultu ire tue. Quia peccavi
nimis in uita mea. **Commisera mea** pauel
ro et ante te erubescō dū uenis iudicare nolime
condempnare. Quia per. **In i. ii. a. In loco Ps**

Dominus regit me et nichil michi
aduenit in loco pascue ibi me collocauit.

78.
Super aquam refectiois eduxit
me: animam meam conuertit. **D**educit
me super semitas iusticie: p̄pter nomē
suum. **N**am et si ambulauero in medio
umbre mortis: non timedo mala qm̄ tu
meum es. **U**nga tua et laculus tuus
ipsa me consolata sunt. **P**arasti in cōsp̄ct
u meo mensam: aduersus eos qui tribulāt
me. **I**mpinguasti in oleo caput meū:
et calix meus inebrians qm̄ p̄datus est.
Et misericordia tua subsequetur me: omnibus
diebus uite mee. **E**t ut inhitem in do
mo domini: in longitudinem dierū. **ant.**

In loco pascue ibi me collocauit. **a. Delicta. Ps**
Ad te domine lauaui animam meam:
deus meus in te confido non erubesci
am. **N**ep̄ uideant me inimici mei: et
enim uniuersi qui sustinent te non confu

antur. **C**onfundant omnes iniqui agentes
super uanie. **V**ias tuas domine demon-
stra michi: et sanctas tuas edoce me. **D**i-
rige me in iustate tua et doce me: quia tu
es deus saluator meus et te sustinui tota
die. **R**eminiscere miserationum tuarum
domine: et misericordiarum tuarum que a seculo sunt
Benedicta iuuentutis mee et ignorantias
meas: ne memineris. **S**ecundum
misericordiam tuam mandata mea sunt: propter
bonitatem tuam domine. **V**ultus et ver-
tus dominus: propter hoc legem dabit dilec-
tionibus in uia. **D**irige mansuetos in
iudicio: dabit misericordias suas. **Q**uise-
me domini misericordia et ueritas: requiruntibus tes-
tamentum eius et testimonia eius. **P**ro-
pter nomen tuum domine propitiatus peccato
meo: multum est enim. **Q**uis est homo

79
qui timet deum: legem statuit ei in uia quam
elegit. **A**nima eius dimorabitur: et se-
men eius hereditabit diem. **S**ignamen-
tum est dominus timentibus eum et testamen-
tum ipsius ut manifestetur illis. **O**culi
mei semper ad deum: quoniam ipse euellet de la-
queo pedes meos. **R**espice in me et misere-
re: quia inuisus et pauper sum ego.
Tribulationes cordis mei multiplicatae
sunt: de necessitatibus meis erue me. **Q**uade-
humilitatem meam et laborem meum: et
dimitte uniuersa delicta mea. **R**espice in
inimicos meos quoniam multiplicati sunt: et odio
unquo oderunt me. **C**ustodi animam
meam et erue me: non erubescam quoniam spe-
raui in te. **I**nnocentes et recti adhererunt
michi: quia sustinui te. **L**ibera deus israel
ex omnibus tribulationibus suis. **A** Delicta

uidentibus meis et ignorantias meas ne memi-
neris domine **ait** Credo uidere. **Psalmus.**

Dominus illuminatio mea et sa-
lus mea quam timeo. **O**mnis pro-
tecto: uita mee a quo turbato. **Q**um ap-
propiant super me nocentes: ut edant car-
nes meas. **Q**ui tribulant me uinosa mei
ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. **S**i con-
sistant aduersum me castra: non timebit
cor meum. **S**i erigat aduersum me pre-
lium: in hoc ego sperabo. **Q**uia in petra
a domino hanc iniquitatem: ut inhiem in
domo domini omnibus diebus uite mee. **U**t
uideam uoluntatem dñi et uisitem templū
eius. **Q**um abscondit me in tabernaculo
suo in die malorum: protegit me in abscondi-
to tabernaculi sui. **I**n petra exaltauit me
et nunc exaltauit caput meū: super inimicos

80
meos. **Q**um uiui et immolauit in taberna-
culo eius hostiam uociferationis: cantabo
et psalmū dicam domino. **E**xaudi do-
mine uocem meam quia clamavi ad te:
misere mei et exaudi me. **T**ibi dixit cor
meum exquisiuit te facies mea faciem tu-
am domine inquiram. **N**e auertas fa-
ciem tuam a me ne dedines in ira a seruo
tuo. **A**duerter misere esto ne deliquis me neque des-
picias me dñs salutaris misere. **Q**um pater me-
us et mater mea dereliquerunt me: dñs
autem assumpsit me. **R**egem pone
in die domine in uia tua et dirige me se-
mita recta: propter inimicos meos. **N**e
tradideris me in manus tribulantium
me: qui insurrexerunt in me testes iniqui
et mentata est iniquitas sibi. **C**redo uide-
re bona domini: in terra uiuentium. **E**xpecta

dominū uuliter age: et confortetur cor
tuum et sustine dñm **ait.** Quid uidebo
na domini in terra uiuentium **v** In memoria
eterna erunt iusti **v** Ab audicione mala non

timebūt. **Pater noster. Iteuo iij**

Quāntas habeo iniquitates et peccā
tela mea atq; delicta ostende michi. Cur
faciem tuam abscondis et arbitraris me
inimicum tuum: Contra folium quod
uento rapitur ostendis potentiam tuam:
et stipulam siccam psequaris. Scabis enī
contra me amantidines: et consumer
me uis peccatis adolescentiae mee. Posuisti in
nauo pedem meum et obseruasti omnes
sanctas meas: et uestigia pedum meorum
confidisti. Qui quasi putredō consume
dus sum: et quasi uestimentum quod co
meditur a tinea. **R.** Hui michi domine q;

81.
peccati uini in uita mea. Quid faciam miser
ubi fugiam nisi ad te deus meus miserere mei.

Dum uenis in nouissimo die **v** Anima mea
turbata est ualde sed tu domine succurre ei. **Dñ.**

Quāto natus de muliere **ic quinta**
breui uiuens tempore: repletur mil
tis malis. Qui q̄ flos egreditur et conte
ntur et fugit uelut umbra. et nunquā in eo
dem statu pmanet. Et dignum duas sup
huiusmodi aperire oculos tuos et adduc
am team in iudicium: Quis potest face
mundum de imundo conceptum seruire.
Nonne tu qui solus es: Breues dies hoīs
sunt numerus mensium eius apud te est.
Constituisti terminos eius: qui peccata nō
poterunt. Recede ergo paululum ab eo ut
quiescat donec optata ueniat: et sicut mer
catorū dies eius. **R.** Recordans peccata mea

domine Dum ueniis iudicare seculum per igne.

V Digne domine deus meus in conspectu tuo iu-
dica meam. Dum ueniis. **Psalmus sextus.**

Quis michi tribuat ut in inferno pro-
nygas me et abscondas me donec pertransie-
at furor tuus et constituas michi tempus
in quo iroratus mei. Putas ne mortuus
homo rursus uiuat. Cunctis diebus quibus
nunc milito: expecto donec ueniat inuita-
tio mea. Vocabis me et ego respondebo ti-
bi. Operi manuum tuarum porriges dextram.
Tu quidem gressus meos dinumerasti:
sed parte peccatis meis. **R.** Domine secundum actum
meum noli me iudicare nichil dignum in con-
spectu tuo egi. **I.** deo deprecor: misericordiam tuam ut
tu deus deleas iniquitatem meam. **V.** Amplius
laua me domine ab iniustitia mea: a delicto meo
munda me. quia tibi soli peccaui. **I.** deo deprecor:

Psalmus nocturnus a. Complacet.

Qui peccatus expectaui dominum: et **Ps**

intendit michi. **E**t exaudiuit preces meas
et eduxit me de laqueo miserie et de luto feras.

Et stetit super petram pedes meos: et
durant gressus meos. **E**t inmisit in os

meum canticum nouum: canticum deo nro.

Quidem multi et timebunt: et sperabunt
in domino. **B**eatus uir cuius est nomen

domini spes eius: et non respicit in uani-
tates et in sanias fallas.

Multa fructu-
tu domine deus meus mirabilia tua: et co-
gitationibus tuis non est quis similis tibi.

Ammuniam et loquens sum: mul-
tiplicati sunt super numerum.

Sacrificium et
oblationem uoluisti: auribus autem precepsi mihi.

Holocauftum et pro peccato non postulasti:
tunc dixi ecce uenio. **I**n capite libri scripti

tum est de me: ut facerem uoluntatem tuam
deus meus uolui et legem tuam in medio
cordis mei. **A**mmunam uultuam tuam
in terra magna: ecce labia mea non pro-
hibito domine tu salu. **I**ustitiam tuam
non abscondi in corde meo: ueritatem tuam
et salutare tuum dixi. **N**on abscondi misericordiam
tuam et ueritatem tuam: a consilio multo. **Q**uia
autem domine ne longe facias misericordias tuas a
memoria tua et ueritas tua semper susceperunt me.
Quia circumdederunt me mala quorum
non est numerus: circumdederunt me ini-
quitates mee. et non potui ut uiderem. **M**ul-
tiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei:
et cor meum dereliquit me. **C**omplacere
tibi domine ut eruas me domine ad adiu-
uandum me respice. **C**onfundantur et
irascantur simul: qui querunt animam

83.
meam ut auferant eam. **C**onfundantur
irascantur et irascantur: qui uolunt michi
mala. **I**rauerunt confectum confusionem
suam: qui dicunt michi euge euge. **E**x-
ultant et letentur super te omnes querentes
te: et dicant semper magnificetur dominus qui
diligunt salutare tuum. **E**go autem mendicans
sum et pauper: dominus solatus
est me. **A**duerari meus et peritor meus
tuus: deus meus ne tardaueris. **ant** Com-
placere tibi domine ut eruas me domine ad adiuuandum
me respice. **ant** Sana domine. **Ps.**
Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et
pauperem: in die mala liberauit
eum dominus. **D**ominus conseruet eum
et uiuificet eum et letatum faciet eum in terra
et non tradat eum in animam inimicorum eius.
Dominus operam suam faciat illi super lectum

doloris eius: universū stratū eius iustitiam
in iniquitate eius. **E**go dixi dormire mi-
serere mihi: sana animam meam quia pecca-
vi tibi. **I**nimiam mei dixerunt mala michi
quando mouetur et peribit nomen eius.
Et si ingredietur ut iudicet uana loque-
latur cor eius congregabit iniquitatē sibi.
Egredietur foras: et loquetur in id-
ipsum. **A**dūsum me susurrabant omnes
inimiam mei: adūsum me cogitabant ma-
la michi. **V**erbum iniquū constituerunt
adūsum me nūquid qui dormit non ad-
iurat ut insurgat. **E**t tū hō panes meos in quo-
spam quod edat panes meos magnificauit super
me in plantatione. **C**ui autem domine
miserere mei: et resuscita me et tribuam
eis. **I**n hoc cognoui quoniam uoluisti me quoniam
non gaudebit inimicus meus super me.

84.
Me autem propter inuocacionem suscepisti
et confirmasti me in conspectu tuo in eternū.
Benedictus dominus deus israel a seculo
et usque in seculum fiat fiat. **A.** Sana dñe
animam meam quia peccaui tibi. **A.** Sicut
desiderat arbor **P**s
Sicut desiderat arbor ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat
anima mea ad te deus. **S**icut anima
mea ad deum fontem uitę: quando ueni-
am et apparebo ante faciem dei. **E**uenit
michi lacrimę meę panes die ac nocte dū
dicitur michi quondie ubi est deus tuus.
Heruidatus sum et effudi in me animam
meam: quoniam transiit in locum tabernaculi
admirabilis usque ad domū dei. **I**n uoce
exultationis et confessionis: sonus epu-
lantis. **Q**uare tristis es anima mea: et
quare conturbas me. **E**spera in deo quoniam

ad huc confitebor illi salutare uultus mei
et deus meus. **A**d me ipsum anima mea
conturbata est: propterea memor ero tui de tra-
iordanis et hermony a monte modico

Abysus abyssum inuocat: in uoce ca-
thartatum tuarum. **O**mnia excelsa tua
et fluctus tui: super me transierunt. **I**n
die mandauit dominus misericordiam suam: et
nocte cantatum eius. **A**pud me oratio
deo uite mee: dicam deo susceptor meus es

Quare oblitus es mei et quare conturbatus
incedo dum affligit me inimicus. **D**um
confringuntur ossa mea exprobrauerunt
inimici qui tribulant me inuimiam meam. **Q**ui
dicunt michi per singulos dies ubi est deus
tuus. **Q**uare tristis es anima mea: et
quare conturbatus me. **S**pera in deo: quoniam
ad huc confitebor illi. salutare uultus mei

85.
et deus meus. **A**nt. Simul anima mea ad
dum uinum quando ueniam et apparet ante
faciem domini. **V** Requiem etiam dona eis domine. Et
lux perpetua luceat eis. **P**ater noster. **I**no vij.

Spiritus meus attenuabitur dies
mea breuiabuntur: et solum michi
super est sepulchrum. Non perauit: et in a-
mantidibus moratur oculus meus. **A**-
trahit me domine et pone me iuxta te: et au-
uis uis manus pugnet contra me. **D**ies
mea transierunt cogitationes mee dissipa-
te sunt torquatus cor meum. **N**octem iure
runt in diem et uisum post tenebras spe-
ro lucem. **S**i sustinuerit infirmus domus
mea est in tenebris stratum lectulum meum
Quardam die. **P**ater meus es mater mea
et soror mea ueritibus. **U**bi est ergo nunc pro-
tolano mea et pacencia mea: tu es domine

deus meus. **R.** Peccantem me cotidie et non
penitentem timor mortis conuincit me. Quia
in inferno nulla est redemptio miserere mei deus
et salua me. **V.** Deus in nomine tuo saluum
me fac et in uirtute tua libera me. Quia in if.

Qui me consumpsit car **Ino viii.**
Quibus adhesit os meum et delicta
sunt tantummodo labia mea dentes meos.
Miserrimum mei miserum mei saltem
uos amara mea: quia manus domini te-
nuit me. Quare persequimini me sicut deus: et
caribus meis saluamini. Quis michi
tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei: Quis
michi det ut exarent in libro stilo ferreo aut
plumbilamina uel atre salpant in illic
Suo enim quod redemptio: mis vult et non ulli
mo die a terra surrecturus sum. Et nudum
circumdabo pelle mea et in carne mea uide

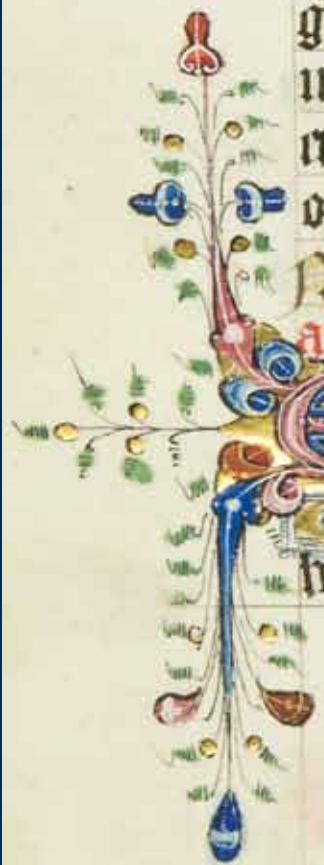
86.
bo deum saluatorem meum. Quem uisurus
sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspectum sunt et
non alius. Reposita est haec spes mea: in
sinu meo. **R.** Requiem eternam dona eis do-
na eis domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis. **V.**
Qui lazarium resuscitasti a monumento feni-
dum tu eis domine dona requiem. Et lux per-

petua luceat eis. **Ino nona.**
Quare diuulsa eduxisti me: qui
uitam consumpsit esse ne oculus me
uidat. Fuissem quasi non essem: de uero
translatus ad tumulum. Numquid non
paucitas dierum meorum finietur breui. Di-
mitte ergo me domine ut plangam pau-
lulum dolorem meum aut quoniam uadam
et non uitar ad terram tenebrosam et opor-
tam mortis caligine. Terram miserie et
tenebrarum: ubi umbra mortis et nullus os

do: sed sempiternus horror inhabitans. **R.**
Iuxta me domine de morte eterna in die illa ter-
mina. Quando celi mouendi sunt de terra.
Dum uenis iudicare seculum per ignem. **V.**
Dies illa dies ire calamitatis et miserie dies
magna et amara ualde. Quando celi. **V.** Ad
ergo miserum quid dicam uel quid faciam
dum nil boni proferam ante tantum iudicium.
Dum uenis. **V.** Nunc ipse te petimus miserare
quis qui uenisti redimere perditos noli dampna-
re redemptos. Quando celi. Dum uenis. **V.** Cre-
ator omnium rerum deus qui me delinquentem for-
masti et mirabili sanguine proprio redemisti cor-
pusque meum licet modo putrescat de sepulchro fac-
as in die iudicii resuscitatum. exaudi exaudi me
ut animam meam in sinu abrahe patriarche
tui iuxta collocaui. **R.** Iuxta me domine. Re-
quiescant in pace Amen. **In laudibus ant.**

87.
Exultabunt. **ps.** **M**iserere mei deus. **ant.**
Exultabunt domino ossa humiliata. **A.** Exaudi.
Fecerit impius deus in sion: **ps.**
Et tibi reddatur uotum in ierusalem.
Exaudi deus orationem meam: ad te omnes ca-
eli ueniet. **V.** Uerba iniquorum proualuerunt
super nos: et impietates nostras tu propitiabitur
gratis quem elegisti et assumpsisti: in-
habitabit in atrijs tuis. **R.** Replebimur in bo-
nis domus tue: sanctum est templum tuum mi-
rabile in equitate. **E**xaudi nos deus sa-
lutaris noster: spes omnium finium terre et in man-
longe. **P**reparans montes in uirtute tua
amictus potentia: qui conturbas profundum
mans sonum fluctuum eius. **G**audabuntur
gentes et timebunt qui habitant terminos a-
signis tuis: erunt matutini et uesper delect-
tabis. **V**isitasti terram et inebriasti eam:

multiplicasti locupletare eam. **F**lumen
dei repletum est aquis parasti cibum illos
quoniam ita est ipsa mensura eius. **R**iuos eius in-
ebrians multiplicata gremmina eius: in stil-
licidijs eius letabitur gremians. **C**ue-
dies corone anni benignitatis tue et cam-
pi tui replebuntur ubertate. **P**inguetant
speciosa deserti: et exultatione colles acin-
guntur. **I**nduta sunt antris ouium et
ualles habundabunt fumento: clamabit
ceterum impium dicitur. **Ant** Exaudi domine
oracionem meam ad te omnis caro uenit. **Ant**
Me suscepit **ps** **D**eus deus meus ad te.
Ant Me suscepit dextera tua domine **A** porta.
Ego dixi in dimidio dierum **ps**.
meorum: uadam ad portas inferi.
in diuini residuum amor meorum dixi non uide-
bo deum: deum in terra uiuentium. **N**on aspia-



88.
am hominem ulam et hinc uocari quibus
Generatio mea ablata est et conuoluta
est a me: quasi tabernaculum pastorum
Prossa est uelud a terrene uita mea dum
ad huc ordire suadit me. **D**e mane usque
ad uesperam finies me. **S**peram usque mane qui-
leo sic contuit omnia ossa mea. **D**e
mane usque uesperam finies me: sicut pul-
lus hyemidinis sic clamabo in meditalor
ut columba. **E**struam sunt odi mei:
suspirantes in celo. **D**omine uim pati-
or: responde pro me: quid dicam aut quod
respondet michi cum ipse fuerint. **R**e-
rogabo tibi omnes annos meos: in am-
nitudine anime mea. **D**omine si sic ui-
uitur et in talibus uita spiritus mea corrip-
es me et uiuificabis me cum in pace ama-
ritudo mea amantissima. **T**u autem cu-

isti animam meam ut non peccat proie-
cti post tergum tuum omnia peccata mea

Quia non infirmus confitebitur tibi
neque mors laudabit te: non expectabunt
qui descendunt in laqueum ueritatem tuam

Quia uicis uicis ipse confitebitur tibi
sicut et ego hodie pater filiis notam faciet
uirtutem tuam **D**omine saluum me fac

et psalmos nostros cantabimus cunctis die-
bus uite nostre in domo domini. **ant.** A porta in-
ferni erue domine animas eorum. **ant.** Omnis. **ps.**

Laudate dominum de caelis. **ant.** Omnis spiritus lau-
dat dominum. **v.** Requiem eternam. **x.** Et lux per-
petua luceat eis. **ant.** Ego sum. **ps.** **B**enedic-
tus dominus. **ant.** Ego sum resurrectio et uita
qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuit uiuet
et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur
in eternum. **Spiciat.** **X** **pel.** **R** **mel.** **P** **i** **n** **r** **e**.

Deprecabor te domine quoniam susce- **Ps.**
pisti me: nec delictasti inimicos me-
os super me. **D**omine deus meus clama-
ui ad te: et sanasti me. **D**omine eduxisti
ab inferno animam meam: saluasti me

a descensibus in laqueum. **P**salte domino
sancti eius: et confitemini memorie sancti-
tatis eius. **Q**uia in ira indignatione eius: et
uita in uoluntate eius. **A**d uesperum de-

morabitur fletus: et ad matutinum letitia.
Ego autem dixi in abundantia mea:
non mouebo in aeternum. **D**omine in uo-

luntate tua: prestasti deo meo uirtutem.
Fuisti faciem tuam a me: et factus sum
conturbatus. **A**d te domine clamabo: et
ad deum meum deprecabor. **Q**ue utilitas
in sanguine meo: dum descendo in corrupta-

onem. **Q**uoniam quid confitebitur tibi puluis

aut annūciabit uirtutem tuam **A**udi
uit dominus et misatus est ira dñs fr̄s
est adiutor meus **C**onuitisti planctum
meum in gaudium michi: consolidisti sc̄m̄
maum et circumdodisti in leticia **U**t can
ter tibi glia mea et non compungar dñe

deus meus in eternū confitebor tibi. **V** Requ
em eternam dona eis domine **R** Et lux p̄petua.

V A porta inferi **R** Erue domine aīas eor. **V** Er
do uidere bona dñi **R** In terra uiuentiu **V** Dñe ex
audi oronem meam. Et clamor. **Oramus** **or**

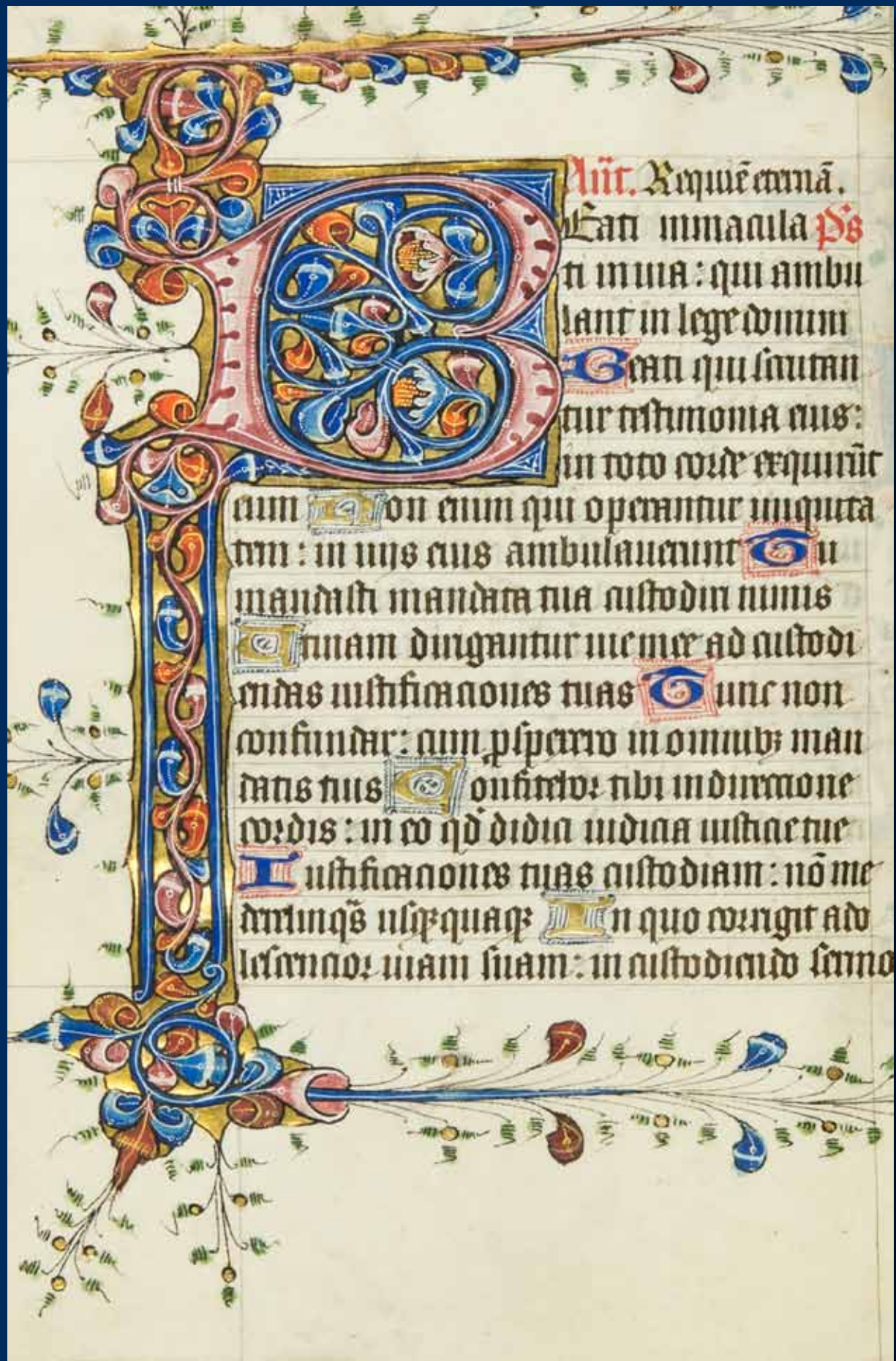
Quis au p̄prium est miserū semp. **orō**

Quis sempiternus deus au nunquā
sine spe meū supplicatur p̄prie
animab; famulor; famular; q; tuar; ut
qui de hac uita in tuū noīs confessione dñi
seruunt sc̄orum tuorū munero facias aggre
gan. **Per xpm dñm nrm. Oratio.**

90.
Deus cuius mie non est numerus
sine spe pro animab; famulor; tuor;
sacrdotum p̄ces uas et luas eis q; leticie
in regionem sc̄orum tuor; soactate p̄ced.

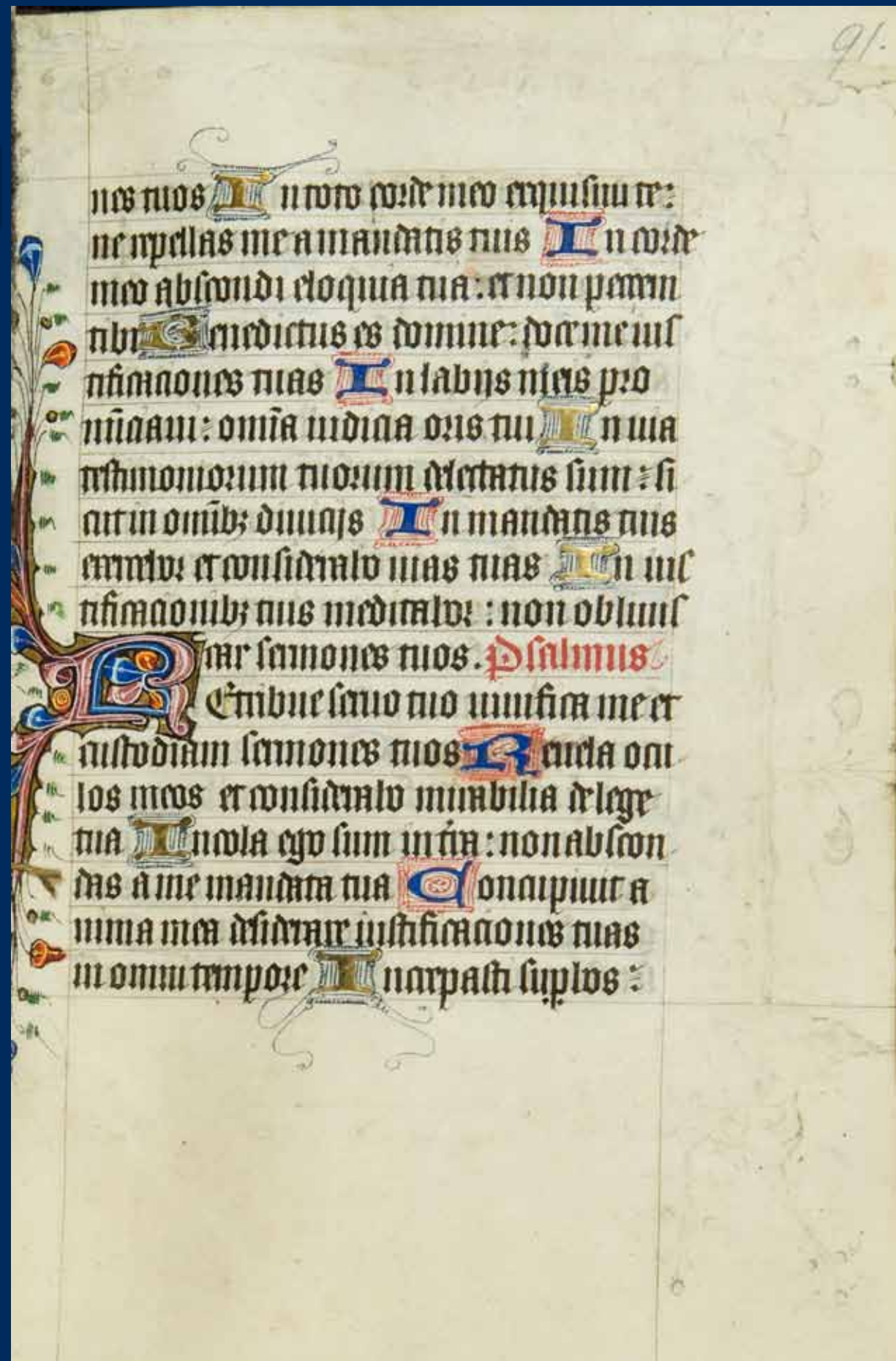
Ite dñe domine auctm **orō** **P**er xpm
niam ad p̄ces uas quib; miam tuam
supplicat; dep̄camur ut animas famulor;
famular; q; tuar; q; de hoc seculo migrare
uulisti in pacis ac luas regione constituas
et sc̄orum tuor; ultras esse consortes **Per r̄.**
Oramus. Pater nr̄. Aue maria sine pro

Annunacione. Et ne nos. **Oratio.**
Annunabus q̄is domine oīm fidelū
defunctor; oratio p̄ficiat supplicanū ut eas
et a peccatis omnib; seuias et tue redemp
onis facias esse p̄ncipes. **Qui cum deo p̄ce.**



Ant. Requie eterna.
Bati immacula **Ps**
ti in uia: qui ambu
lant in lege domini
Bati qui scutan
tur testimonia eius:
in toto corde requirunt
eum **N**on enim qui operantur iniquita
tem: in uis eius ambulauerunt **C**u
mandasti mandata tua custodiri nimis
Coniam diligantur uenire ad custodi
endas iustificationes tuas **C**unc non
confundar: cum perspexero in omnibus man
datis tuis **C**onfitebor tibi in directione
cordis: in eo quod didici iudicia iusticie tue
Iustificationes tuas custodiam: non me
derelinques usquequaque **I**n quo conuertit ad
leserunt uiam suam: in custodiendo sermo

Study



nes tuos **I**n toto corde meo expulsiu te:
ne repellas me a mandatis tuis **I**n corde
meo abscondi eloquia tua: et non pertran
sibit **B**enedictus es domine: doce me ius
tificationes tuas **I**n labijs meis pro
nuntiaui: omnia iudicia oris tui **I**n uia
testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum: si
cut in omnibus diuicijs **I**n mandatis tuis
exercebo: et considerabo uias tuas **I**n ius
tificationibus tuis meditabor: non obliuif
car sermones tuos. **Psalmus**
Retribue seruo tuo iuuifica me et
custodiam sermones tuos **R**ardas oculos
meos et considerabo mirabilia de lege
tua **I**ncola ego sum in terra: non abscon
das a me mandata tua **C**oncupiuit a
nima mea desiderare iustificationes tuas
in omni tempore **I**n arpeasti supelos:

maledicti qui declinavit a mandatis tuis

Aufr a me obprobrium et contemptum: quia
testimonia tua exquisivi. **E**t cum sede-
runt principes: aduersum me loquebantur
seruus autem tuus exultatur in iustifica-
tionibus tuis. **N**am et testimonia tua me-
ditatio mea est: et consilium meum iustifica-
tiones tue. **A**dhesit pauperum animam
mea: uiuifica me secundum uerbum tuum.

Vias meas muneraui et exaudisti me:
docere me iustificationes tuas. **Q**uam iusti-
ficationum tuarum instrue me: et exultabo in
mirabilibus tuis. **D**ormitauit anima
mea in periculo: confirma me in uerbis tuis.

Quam iniquitatis ammone a me: et de-
legit tua miserere mihi. **Q**uam iustitias de-
gisti: iudicia tua non sunt oblitus. **A**dhe-
si testimonijis tuis domine: non me confu-

92.
dit. **Q**uam mandatorum tuorum diligam: cum
dilatasti cor meum. **Psalmus**

Afirmam pone michi domine uiam ius-
tificationum tuarum: et requiram eam
semper. **D**ona michi intellectum et scientiam
legem tuam: et custodiam illam in toto
corde meo. **D**educ me in sententia manda-
torum tuorum: quia ipsam uolui. **I**ndi-
na cor meum in testimonia tua: et non in
auaritia. **A**uerte oculos meos ne uide-
ant uanitate: in uia tua uiuifica me.

Stanie seruo tuo eloquium tuum: in timo-
re tuo. **A**mputa obprobrium meum quod
suscepimus: quia iudicia tua iocunda.

Ecce concipimus mandata tua: in equita-
tate uiuifica me. **E**t ueniat super me
misericordia tua domine: salutare tuum secundum eloqui-
um tuum. **E**t respondebo reprobian-
tibus

michi uerbum: quia speravi in sermonibus
tuis. **E**t ne auferas de ore meo uerbum
uitae usque: quia in iudicijs tuis super
speravi. **E**t custodiam legem tuam sem-
per: in seculum et in seculum seculi. **E**tambu-
lavi in latitudine: quia mandata tua
exquisiui. **E**t loquar in testimonijs tuis
in conspectu regum: et non confundar.
Et meditabar in mandatis tuis: que di-
lexi. **E**t leuaui manus meas ad manda-
ta tua que dilexi: et exultabo in iustificatio-
nibus tuis. **Psalmus**
Memor esto ubi tu seruo tuo: in
quo michi spera dedisti. **H**ec me consola-
ta est in humilitate mea: quia eloqui-
um tuum uiuificauit me. **S**uperbi uique
agitant usquequaque: a lege autem tua non
declinaui. **M**emor fui iudiciorum tuorum a se-

culo domine: et consolatus sum. **D**efectio
remittit me pro peccatis: delinquentibus
legem tuam. **Q**uanta uero michi erant
iustificationes tue: in loco peregrinatio-
nis mee. **M**emor fui nocte nominis tui
domine: et custodiui legem tuam. **H**ec
facta est michi: quia iustificationes tuas
exquisiui. **P**ortio mea domine: diu cul-
todire legem tuam. **D**eprecatus sum fa-
ciam faciem tuam in toto corde meo: mi-
serere mei secundum eloquium tuum. **C**ogita-
ui uias meas et conuerti pedes meos in tes-
timonia tua. **P**aratus sum et non sum
perturbatus: ut custodiam mandata tua.
Funes pedum amplexi sunt me: et
legem tuam non sum oblitus. **M**edia
nocte surgentem ad confitendum tibi: super
iudicia iustificationis tue. **P**articeps

ego sum omnium timensium te: et custodien-
tium mandata tua. **M**isericordia tua domine
plena est terra: iustificationes tuas doce me.

Bonitatem fecisti cum seruo
tuo domine: secundum uerbum tuum

Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce
me: quia in mandatis tuis erraui. **P**ro-
prium humiliasti ego deliqui: propterea eloquium
tuum ego custodiu. **B**onus es tu et in uer-
itate tua doce me iustificationes tuas.

Multiplicata est super me iniquitas super
labium: ego autem in toto corde meo scrutabor man-
data tua. **C**oagulatum est sicut lac cor meum:
ego uero legem tuam meditatus sum.

Gloriam michi quia humiliasti me: ut discam
iustificationes tuas. **B**onum michi lex oris
tui: super milia aurum et argenti. **M**anus
tuas fecerunt me et plasmauerunt me: da

michi intellectum ut discam mandata tua.

Qui timant te uidebunt me et letabuntur
quia in uerba tua super speraui. **C**ognoui
domine quia equitas iudicia tua: et in-
uinitate tua humiliasti me. **F**iat misericordia tua
ut consoletur me: secundum eloquium tuum seruo

tuo. **V**eniant michi miserationes tue
et uiuam: quia lex tua meditatio mea est.

Confundantur superbi quia iniuste ini-
quitatem fecerunt in me: ego autem exere-
bor in mandatis tuis. **C**onuertantur in-
timeantes te: et qui nouerunt testimonia tua.

Fiat cor meum immaculatum in iustifi-
cationibus tuis ut non confundar.

Detent in salutare tuum anima mea
et in uerbum tuum super speraui. **D**e-

fecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: di-
cens quando consolaberis me. **Q**uia frater su-

sicut uter in pruna: iustificaciones tuas
non sum oblitus. **Q**uot sunt dies serui
tui: quando facies de p[er]sequenti[bus] me uidi
cum. **M**anauerunt michi iniqui fabu
laciones: sed non ut lex tua. **O**mnia ma
data tua uitas: iniqui persecuti sunt me
adiuuia mihi. **P**aulominus consummaue
runt me in terra: ego autem non dereliqui ma
data tua. **S**ecundum misericordiam tuam ui
uifica me: et custodiam testimonia oris
tui. **I**n eternum domine: uerbum tuum
p[er]manet in celo. **I**n generatione et g[en]e
ratione uitas tua: fundasti terram et p[er]manet
in ordinatione tua p[er]seuerat dies: quoniam omnia
seruiunt tibi. **N**isi quod lex tua medita
tio mea est: tunc forte p[er]issem in humili
tate mea. **I**n eternum non obliuiscar ius
tificaciones tuas: quia in ipsis uiuificasti

95
me. **D**ominus sum ego saluum me fac: quoniam ius
tificaciones tuas exquisiui. **Q**uod expectaue
runt patres ut p[er]derent me: testimonia tua intel
lexi. **O**mnis consummationis uidi finem
latum mandati tui inuis. **Psalmus.**
Quomodo dilexi legem tuam domine:
propterea die meditatio mea est. **S**uper
inimicos meos prudentiam me fructu man
dato tuo: quia in eternum michi est. **S**uper
omnes docentes me intellexi: quia testimonia
tua meditatio mea est. **S**uper senes intel
lexi: quia mandata tua quesiu. **A**d omni
ua mala prohibui pedes meos ut custodiam
uerba tua. **A**uidias tuas non derelinxi:
quia tu legem posuisti michi. **Q**uoniam dul
cia fauab[us] meis eloquia tua: super mel ori
meo. **A**mandatis tuis intellexi: propterea
odui omnem uiam iniquitatis. **E**uar

na pedibus meis uerbum tuum: et lumen
sententiarum mearum. **I**uravi et statui custodire
iudicia iustitiae tuae. **H**umiliatus sum usque
quaque domine: inuifica me secundum uerbum
tuum. **V**oluntaria oris mei beneplacita
fac domine: et iudicia tua doce me. **A**nima
mea in manibus meis semper: et legem tuam
non sum oblitus. **P**osuerunt patres laqueum
mihi: et de mandatis tuis non ex-
traui. **H**ereditate adquisiui testimonia tua
in eternum: quia exultatio cordis mei sunt.
Indinaui cor meum ad faciendas iustifi-
cationes tuas: in eternum propter retributionem.
Dignos odio habui et legem tuam dilexi. **P**s
Aduitor et susceptor meus es tu: et in uerbum
tuum super speraui. **D**ecline a me ma-
lignum et scutabor mandata dei mei. **S**usa-
pe me secundum eloquium tuum et uiuam: et non

96.
confundas me ab expectatione mea. **A**d-
iuua me et saluus ero et meditabor in iustifi-
cationibus tuis semper. **S**i praeuisti omnes
discordantes a iudicijs tuis quia iniusta cogi-
tatio eorum. **P**ermanentes reputaui
omnes patres tui: ideo dilexi testimonia
tua. **C**onfige timore tuo carnes meas:
a iudicijs enim tuis timui. **F**erua iudicium
et iustitiam: non tradas me calumpniantibus
me. **S**usape seruum tuum in bonum
non calumpniantur me superbi. **O**di mei
defecerunt in salutarem tuum et in eloquium ius-
tiae tuae. **F**ac cum seruo tuo secundum misericordiam
tuam: et iustificationes tuas doce me. **S**er-
uus tuus sum ego da mihi intellectum: ut
sciam testimonia tua. **T**empus faciendi
domine: dissipauerunt legem tuam.
Ideo dilexi mandata tua super aurum.

et topazion **P**ropterea ad omnia man-
data tua dirigat: omnem viam iniqui-

Abominabilia testis **Ps.** Odio habui.

Quia tua domine: ideo sanctata est

ea anima mea. **O** claritas sermonum tu-

orum illuminat: et intellectum dat parvulis

Os meum aperui et aures spiritus: quia man-

data tua desiderabam. **A**spice in me et mi-

serere me: secundum iudicium diligentium nomen

tuum. **S**ensus meus dirige secundum eloqui-

um tuum: et non dominetur mihi omnis

iniquitas. **R**edime me a calumpniis

hominum: ut custodiam mandata tua.

Faciem tuam illumina super servum

tuum: et doce me iustificationes tuas.

Eritus aquarum dedurentur oculi mei:

quia non custodierunt legem tuam. **I**us-

tus es domine: et rectum iudicium tuum.

Mandasti iustitiam testimonia tua: et

veritatem tuam nimis. **G**alitare me fecit

zelus meus: quia obliti sunt verba tua ini-

qua mei. **I**gnitum eloquium tuum uel-

enter: et seruus tuus dilexit illud. **A**d-

ulescens sum ego et contemptus: iusti-

ficationes tuas non sum oblitus. **I**usti-

cia tua iustitia metum: et lex tua veritas.

Gabulatio et angustia inueniunt me:

mandata tua meditatio mea est. **E**qui-

tas testimonia tua metum: intellectum

verba michi et uiuam. **Psalmus.**

Clamavi in toto corde meo exaudi

me domine: iustificationes tuas requiram.

Clamavi ad te saluum me fac: ut custodi-

am mandata tua. **P**erueni in maiestate

te et clamavi: quia in uerba tua super speravi.

Perueniunt oculi mei ad te diluculo:

ut meditarer eloquia tua **V**ocem meam
audi scdm misericordiam tuam domine: et scdm
iudicium tuum uiuifica me **A**ppropinqua
uerunt persequentes me iniquitatem: a lege
autem tua longe facti sunt **P**rope es tu do
mine: et omnes ueritatis uitas **I**uua cog
nouit de testimoniis tuis: quia in certum
fundasti ea **V**ide humilitatem meam et
eripe me: quia legem tuam non sum oblitus
Iudica iudicium meum et redime me:
propter eloquium tuum uiuifica me **L**onge
a peccatis salus: quia iustificationes tuae
non exquisierunt **Q**uod die tue multe do
mine: scdm iudicium tuum uiuifica me
Multa qui persequuntur me et tribulant me:
a testimoniis tuis non declinavi **V**idi
peruicaces et talis factam: quia eloquia
tua non custodierunt **V**ide quoniam manda

98.
ta tua dilexi domine: in misericordia tua uiuifica
me **P**rimarium uerborum tuorum uitas: in cer
tum omnia iudicia iustitiae tue. **Ps.**
Primaries persequuti sunt me gratis:
et a uerbis tuis formidauit cor
meum **H**ortabor ego super eloquia tua:
sicut qui inuenit spolia multa **I**niquitatem
odio habui et abhorreo: et legem tuam dilexi.
Seruaes in die laudam diem tibi: super iu
dicia iustitiae tuae **P**ar multa diligentibus
legem tuam: et non est illis scandalum.
Serpetalam salutare tuum domine: et
mandata tua dilexi **C**ustodiuit anima
mea testimonia tua: et dilexit ea uelociter
Seruaui mandata tua et testimonia tua:
quia omnis ueritas mea in conspectu tuo **A**p
propinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo
domine: iuxta eloquium tuum da michi intel

lectum **I**nter postulatio mea in conspu
tu tuo: scdm eloquiū tuum eripe me **E**t
tabunt labia mea in p̄p̄nū: cum dixeris
me iustificaciones tuas **P**ronūciabit
lingua mea eloquiū tuum: quia omnia
mandata tua equitas **F**iat manus tua
ut saluet me: qm̄ mandata tua elegi **Q**
ui p̄p̄nū salutare tuum domine: et lex tua me
ditatio mea est **Q**uies anima mea et lauda
bit te: et iudicia tua adiuuabunt me **E**t
erant sicut ovis que perit: quer seruuū tuū dñe
quia mandata tua non sum oblitus. **ant**

Requiem eternam dona eis domine et lux per
petua luceat eis. Kyrie. xpc̄. p̄. n̄. ps
Domine prolaxi me et cognouisti
me tu cognouisti sessionē meam et refuam
tionem meā **I**ntellexti cogitaciones me
as de longe: senitā meam et fumiailū meū

99.
inuestigasti **E**t omnes uias meas p̄ui
disti: quia non est sermo in lingua mea.

Ecce dominetū cognouisti omnia nouis
sima et antiqua: tu formasti me et posuisti
super me manū tuam **Q**uabilis facta
est scientia tua ex me: confortata est et non

potero ad eam **Q**uo illo a spiritu tuo: et
quo a facie tua fugiam **S**i ascendero in ce
lum tu illic es: si descendero ad infernū ad es

Si sumptero penas meas diluulo: et
habituero in eternis mans **E**t enim il
lic manus tua adducet me: et tenebit me dex
tera tua **E**t die forsitan tenebre conuola
bunt me: et nox illuminatio mea in delicijs
mas **Q**uia tenebre non obscurabuntur
a te: et nox sicut dies illuminabitur sicut te
nebre eius ita et lumen eius **Q**uia tu pos
sediti renes meos: suscepisti me de utero ma

tus mee **C**onfitebor tibi quia subtiliter magnificatus es: mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscat nimis. **N**on est occultatum os meum a te quod fecisti in occulto: et substantia mea in inferioribus tere. **I**mpertum meum uiderunt oculi tui et in libro tuo: omnes scientur: dies formabunt et nemo in eis

Michi autem nimis honorificati sunt amica tui deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum. **D**enumerabo eos et super arnam multiplicabunt: et super et ad huc sum tuum. **E**t occidens deus peccatores: in sanguinem declinate a me.

Quia dicatis in cogitatione: accipiant in uanitate uirtutes suas. **N**onne qui oderunt te domine oderam: et super inimicos tuos tabescam.

Perfido odio oderam illos: inimica facti sunt michi. **P**rola me deus et saluo cor meum.

interroga me et cognosce sanitas meas. **E**t uide si uia iniquitatis in me est: et deduc me in uia eterna. **V** Requiem animam dona eis domine. **R** Et lux perpetua luceat eis. **V** Aperta inferi. **R** Erue domine animas eorum. **V** Circo uide bona domini. **R** In terra uiuentium. **V** Domine exaudi orationem meam. **R** Et clamor. **D**icimus. **oro**

Deus au propitius est miserem. **oratio**
Qui domine commendamus animas famulorum famularumque tuarum pariter fratrum sororum amicos et benefactorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum: ut defuncti scilicet tibi uiuant et que per fragilitatem mundane consuetudinis peccata admiserunt tu uenia misericordissime pietatis abstrige. **P. or**

Quam tuam domine sancte pater omnipotens et eterne deus pietatis affectu per alios rogare cogimur. qui pro nobis supplicare

peccatis nequaquam sufficimus tamen de tua
confili gratuita pietate et in solita bonitate
clemenciam tuam deposamus. ut animas
famulorum famularumque tuarum ad te uidentes
cum pietate suscipias. assistit eis angelus tes-
tamenti tui michael et permanens sanctorum
angelorum tuorum inter sanctos et electos tuos in simi-
bus abrahe ysaac et iacob patriarcharum tuorum
eas collocare dignus quatinus liberate de
penarum tenebrarum. et locus penarum nullis
iam prime natiuitatis uel ignorantiae aut
prope iniquitatis seu fragilitatis cuiuscumque
confundantur erroribus sed potius agnoscant
a tuis et sanctae beatitudinis inque proficiantur.
atque cum magni iudicii dies aduenit inter
sanctos et electos tuos resuscitate gloria manifeste
contemplationis tue perpetuo saeculorum. Per
christum dominum nostrum Amen **Ps de passione christi.**

Study

101
Deus meus
respice in me quia
me dereliquisti lon-
ge a salute mea u-
la delictorum meorum.
Deus meus da
malo per diem et
non exaudies et
nocte et non ad insipientiam michi. **S**u-
autem in sancto habitas laus uestra in te spera-
uerunt patres nostri sperauerunt et liberasti
eos. **A**d te clamauerunt et salui facti sunt
in te sperauerunt et non sunt confusi.
Ego autem sum uermis et non homo ob
probrum hominum et abiectio plebis.
Omnes uidentes me deriserunt me. locuti
sunt labijs et mouerunt caput. **S**pera-
uit in domino accipiat eum: saluum faciat

cum qui uult eum. **Q**uoniam tu es qui exinanisti me de uentre. spes mea ab ulnibus matris mee in te protectus sum et utero matris mee deus meus es tu: ne discessis a me. **Q**uoniam tribulatio prima est: quoniam non est qui adiuuet. **Q**uoniam circumdederunt me uiculi multi. tauri pingues obsederunt me. **A**peruerunt super me os suum. sicut leo in piceis et rugiens. **S**icut aqua effusus sum. et dispersa sunt omnia ossa mea. **F**actum est cor meum tanquam cera liquefactus in medio uentris mei. **A**ruit tanquam testa uentris mei et lingua mea adhesit faucibus meis et in puluerem mortis deduxisti me. **Q**uoniam circumdederunt me canes multi: conatu malignantiu[m] obsedit me. **F**oderunt manus meas et pedes meos: dirimerunt omnia ossa mea.

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Ipsi uero considerauerunt et in sperauerunt me: diriserunt sibi uestimenta mea et super uestem meam miserunt sortem. **Q**uoniam autem domine ne elongauis auribus tuis a me: ad defensionem meam conspice. **E**ne a fura mea deus animam meam: et de manu canis unicam meam. **S**alua me ex ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam. **A**nnuntia nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio ecclesie laudabo te. **Q**ui timeas dominum laudate eum: uirum sanctum iacob glorificate eum. **G**umescat cum omne semen israhel: quoniam non sperauit neque desperat deprecationem pauperis. **N**ec auertit faciem suam a me: et cum clamarem ad eum exaudiuit me. **A**putat laus mea in omnia magna uota mea reddam in conspectu ammirantium eum. **E**stent pauperes et saturabuntur: et laudabunt.

dominum qui requirit eum uiuent corda
eorum in seculum seculi. **R**eminiscantur
et conuertantur ad dominum: uniuersi fines terre.

Et adorabunt in conspectu eius: uniuerse
familie gentium. **Q**uoniam dominus est regnum et ipse
dominabitur gentium.

Quandocumque uenerit
et adorauerunt omnes pingues terre: in con
spectu eius cadent omnes qui descendunt in
terra.

Et anima mea illi uiuet. et semen
meum seruetur. **A**nnuntiabitur domino
generatio uentura: et annuntiabunt celi
iustitiam eius populo qui nascitur quem fecit

dominus. **Psalmus.**

Dominus regit me et nichil michi
derit in loco palacie ibi me collocauit. **S**u
per aquam infirmitatis educauit me aiam
meam conuertit. **Q**uediuit me super sanitatem
iusticie: propter nomen suum. **N**am et si am

bulauero in medio umbre mortis non time
bo mala quoniam tu mecum es. **A**uxilia tua et la
cilius tuus: ipsa me consolata sunt.

Parsisti in conspectu meo mensam aduersus eos
qui tribulant me. **I**n pingualisti in oleo
caput meum et calcei mei inebrians quoniam
perditus est.

Et misericordia tua subsequetur me
omnibus diebus uite mee. **E**t ut inhabitem in
domo domini: in longitudine dierum.

Psalmus. **D**ominus est terra et plenitudo eius
orbis terrarum: et uniuersi qui habitant in
eo.

Quia ipse super maria fundauit eam
et super flumina preparauit eam. **Q**uis
ascendet in montem domini: aut quis sta
bit in loco sancto eius.

Innocens manibus et mundo corde: qui non accepit in
uano animam suam. nec iurauit in dolo
proximo suo.

Hic accipiet benedictionem a

domino et misericordiam a deo salutari suo. **H**ec
est generatio querentium eum querentium
faciem dei iacob. **E**t tollite portas prin-
cipales vestras et elevamini porte eter-
nales et introibit rex glorie. **Q**uis est iste rex glorie
dominus fortis et potens dominus potens
in principio. **E**t tollite portas prin-
cipales vestras et elevamini porte eter-
nales et introibit rex glorie. **Q**uis est iste rex glorie dominus
virtutum ipse est rex glorie. **Psalmus**

Misereere domine levavi animam meam
deus meus in te confido non erubescam.
Non erubescam. **N**on erubescam me in universis
quia cum universi qui sustentant te non confu-
dentur. **C**onfundantur omnes iniqui
agentes superbiae. **V**ias tuas domine de-
monstra michi et semitas tuas edoce me.
Dirige me in veritate tua et doce me quia

104.
tu es deus salvator meus et te sustinui tota
die. **R**emissit misericordiam tuam
domine et misericordiam tuam que a se-
culo sunt. **O**edicta iuventutis mee et ig-
norantias meas ne memineris. **S**ed mi-
sericordiam tuam memento mei: tu propter boni-
tatem tuam domine. **O**culas et veritas do-
minus: propter hoc legem dabit delinquenti-
bus in via. **D**irige mansuetos in iudicio
dabit vias suas. **Q**uia misericordie ve-
ritas et veritas requiruntur: testame-
ntum eius et testimonia eius. **P**ropter nome-
n tuum domine propitius esto peccato meo multum
est enim. **Q**uis est homo qui timet dominum
legem statuit ei in via quam elegit. **A**n-
ima eius in domus domino habitabit et semen eius
hereditabit terram. **A**mnamentum est
dominus timentibus eum et testamentum

ipsius ut manifestetur illis. **O**culi mei semper ad dñm: qm̄ ipse euellat de laqueo pedes meos. **R**espice in me et misere mei: quia inuis et pauper sum ego. **C**onbulaciones cordis mei multiplicatae sunt de necessitatibus meis erue me. **V**ide humilitatem meam et laborum meum: et dimitte vniuersa delicta mea. **R**espice inimicos meos qm̄ multiplicati sunt. et odio iniquo odierunt me. **C**ustodi animam meam et erue me. nō confundam qm̄ speravi in te. **I**nnocentes et recti adhererunt michi quia sustinui te. **P**s. **E**ultra deus israel. ex omnibus tribulationibus. **V**idua me domine qm̄ ego. **P**s. **S**piritus tuus. **I**n innocencia mea ingressus sum: et in dño sperans non infirmabor. **P**roba me dñe et tempta me: ut uires meos et cor meum. **Q**m̄ misericordia tua ante oculos meos est: et cō

105
placui in uitate tua. **N**on sedi cum cōsilio uanitatis: et cum iniqua gentibus non introibo. **C**onuiui etiam malignorum: et cum impijs non sedabo. **C**auabo inter innocentes manus meas. et amudabo altare tuum domine. **U**t audiam uocem laudis: et enarrem vniuersa mirabilia tua. **D**omine dilexi decorem domus tue: et locum habitacionis glorie tue. **N**e perdas cum impijs deus animam meam: et cum uinis sanguinū uitam meam. **I**n quorum manibus iniquitates sunt: dextera eorum repleta est muneribus. **E**go autē in innocencia mea ingressus sum: redime me et misere mei. **D**es meus stetit in directo: in ecclesijs benedicam te domine. **P**salmus. **D**ominus illuminacio mea et salus mea quem timedo. **D**ñs protector:

uite mee: a quo tripudabo. **D**um appropian-
t super me nocentes: ut edant carnes
meas. **Q**ui tribulant me uniuersa mea:
ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. **S**i con-
sistant ad usum me castra. non timebit
cor meum. **S**i erigat me preui in hoc ego
sperabo. **Q**uia in petra a domino hanc re-
quiram ut inhabitem in domo dñi omnibus
diebus uite mee. **U**t uideam uoluntatem
domini: et uisitem templum eius. **Q**uoniam
scandit me in tabernaculo suo in die malorum:
protegit me in abscondito tabernaculi sui.
In petra exaltauit me et nunc exaltauit
caput meum super inimicos meos. **Q**uia ui-
ui et imolauit in tabernaculo eius hostiam
uociferationis cantabo et psalmum dicam
domino. **E**xaudi domine uocem meam
qua clamauit ad te: miserere mei et exaudi

106.
me. **T**ibi dixit cor meum expulsi te fa-
cies mea: faciem tuam domine requiram.
Ne auertas faciem tuam a me ne deducas
in ira a seruo tuo. **A**ditor meus esto
ne derelinquas me neque despicias me deus sa-
lutans meus. **Q**uoniam pater meus et mater
mea dereliquerunt me: dominus autem assump-
sit me. **R**egem pone michi domine in uia
tua et dirige me in sancta terra propter inimi-
cos meos. **N**e tradideris me in manus
tribulantium me quoniam insurrexerunt in me
hostes iniqui et mentata est iniquitas sibi.
Quando uideris bona domini in terra uiuentium.
Expecta dominum ueriliter age et confor-
tetur cor tuum et sustine dominum. **Ps.**
Ade te domine clamabo deus meus
ne sileas a me nequando taceas a
me et assimuletur discendentibus in lacum

Exaudi domine uocem deprecationis mee
dum oro ad te. dum extollo manus me
as ad templum sanctum tuum. **N**e simi
litas me cum peccatoribus. et cum operantibus
iniquitatem ne perdas me. **Q**ui loquuntur
pacem cum proximo suo. mala autem in cor
dibus eorum. **D**a illis secundum opera eorum:
et secundum nequitiam ad inuentionem
iporum. **S**ecundum opera manuum
eorum tribue illis: et dæ remunerationem
eorum ipsis. **Q**ui non intellexerunt opa
domini. et in opera manuum eius distiterunt
illos et non edificabis eos. **B**enedictus
dominus: qui exaudiuit uocem deprecationis
meae. **D**ominus adiutor meus et
protector meus et in ipso sperauit cor meum
et adiutus sum. **E**t infloruit caro mea:
et ex uoluntate mea confitebor ei. **D**ñs

107.
fortitudo plebis sue et protector saluationum
epi sui est. **S**aluum fac populum tuum do
mine et benedic hereditati tue et regere eos et
extolle illos usque in eternum. **Psalmus.**

Afferte domino filii dei: afferte dño
filios arietum. **A**fferte domino
gloriam et honorem: afferte domino gloriam
nominis eius adorare dominum in anno scō
nis. **U**ox domini super aquas deus ma
iestatis intonuit: dominus super aquas mil
tas. **U**ox domini in uirtute: uox domini
in magnificentia. **U**ox domini confin
gatis cedros et confinget dñs cedros
libani. **E**t comminet eas tanquam uitulum
libani et dilectus quemadmodum filius
uicini. **U**ox domini intercedentis
flamma ignis: uox domini conuocantis de
sertum et commouebit dñs desertum caedes.

Aurum domini preparatis auros et reuelabit
condensa et in templo eius omnis dicit gli
am. **D**ominus diluuium in habitare fa
cit et sedebit dominus rex in eternum. **D**ñs
uirtutem populo tuo dabit dominus hinc
dicit populo suo in pace. **Psalmus**

Exaltabo te domine quoniam suscepisti me
neque dilexisti inimicos meos super
me. **D**omine deus meus clamavi ad te
et sanasti me. **D**omine eduxisti ab infer
no animam meam saluasti me a descen
dentibus in lacum. **P**sallicite domino sancti eius
et confitemini memorie sanctitatis eius

Quoniam ira in indignatione eius et uita in
uoluntate eius. **A**d uesperum demorabit
fletus: et ad matutinum letitia. **E**go
autem dixi in habundantia mea non mo
uebor in eternum. **D**omine in uoluntate

108
tua profectus deus meus uirtute. **F**uisti
filiam tuam a me et factus sum contumel
tus. **A**d te domine clamabo et ad deum
meum deprecabor. **Q**ue utilitas in san
guine meo dum delinquo in corruptione.

Nunquam confitebit tibi puluis aut an
nuntiabit ueritatem tuam. **A**udiuit do
minus et misertus est mei: dominus factus est
adiutor meus. **C**onuertisti planctum
meum in gaudium michi: consolasti lac
rum meum et amittidisti me letitia. **U**t can
ter tibi gloria mea et non compungar: do
mine deus meus in eternum estitabo tibi. **Ps**

Quoniam te domine speravi non confundar in
annum in iustitia tua libera me. **I**n
dina ad me auram tuam: accersa ut au
as me. **E**sto michi in deum protectorem
et in domum refugii ut saluum me facias.

Quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es
tibi: et propter nomen tuum deducas me et
eruties me. **E**ducas me de laqueo quem
absconderunt michi: quoniam tu es protector
meus. **I**n manus tuas commendo spiritum
meum: redimisti me domine deus ueritatis.

Gloria patri. **S**icut erat. **Antiphona.** **D**os autem
gloriam oportet in auge domini nostri ihesu christi. **V.** **D**is
nomina adoret te deus et psallat tibi. **R.** **P**saluum di
cat nomini tuo. **Oramus.** **Oratio.**

Deus qui sanctam ciuitatem ascendisti
et mundi tenebras illuminasti
tibi corda et uisus nostra illuminare uisitare
dignare et ab omni malo custodire. **Pr.**

Reddas tibi ago domine. **Oratio.**
Quoniam ihesu christe qui me indignum famu
lum tuum in hac die custodisti protexisti ui
sististi sanum et incolumem ad hanc horam.

109
pugnare fratres et pro uniuersis alijs beneficijs
tuis que michi tua sola bonitate contulisti.
n. Qui uiuis et regnas deus p. oia scda.

Ps.

Deus. secundum mag
nam misericordiam tuam
Et secundum multi
tudinem misericordiarum
tuarum. dele iniquitatem meam.

Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea:
et a peccato meo munda me. **Q**uoniam iniqui
tatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum
contra me est semper. **T**ibi soli peccaui
et malum coram te feci: ut iustificeris in ser
monibus tuis et uincas cum iudicaris.

Conuertere a me in iniquitatibus conceptus sum:
et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. **Et**

et enim ueritatem dilexisti in cunctis et omnia
sapientiae tuae manifestasti michi. **A**sparges
me domine ysaopo et mundabo: lauabis
me et super niuem dealtabo: **A**uditui
meo dabis gaudium et letitiam et exultabit
ossa humiliata. **A**uerte faciem tuam a
peccatis meis. et omnes iniquitates meas
dele. **Q**uod mundum ora in me deus et
spiritum rectum inuoua in uisceribus meis.
Ne proicias me a facie tua et spiritum sanctum tuum
ne auferas a me. **R**ede michi leti
tiam salutis tuae et spiritu principali confir
ma me. **D**onato iniquos uias meas et impij
ad te conuertentur. **E**xulta me de sanguinibus
deus deus salutis mee et exultabit lingua
mea iustitiam tuam. **D**omine labia mea
aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tu
am. **Q**uoniam si uoluisses sacrificium dedissem

110
unquam: holo caustis non delectaberis. **S**acifi
cium deo spiritus contribulatus cor contri
tum et humiliatum deus non despicies.
Congre fac domine in bona uoluntate
tua sion ut edificentur muri iherusalem.
Nunc acceptabis sacrificium iustitiae ob
lationes et holocausta tunc imponent
super altare tuum uitulos. **G**loria patri.
Dilexerit me deus quoniam conuulsa. **Ps.**
Dilexit me homo tota die impugnans
tribulauit me. **Q**uoniam conuulsa me
inimici mei: tota die quoniam multi bellatores aduersum
me. **A**bs altitudine diei timedo ego uero
in te sperabo. **I**n deo laudabo sermones
meos: in deo speraui non timedo quid fa
ciat michi caro. **G**loria die uicta mea ex
ultantur. aduersum me omnes cogitatio
nes eorum in malum. **I**n habitabunt

et abscondent ipsi calcaneum manum obser-
uabunt. **S**icut sustinuerunt animam meam
pro nichilo saluos facies illos: in ira po-
pulos confinges. **D**eus uitam meam
annunciaui tibi. posuisti lacrimas mea in co-
spectu tuo. **S**icut in promissione tua tunc
conuertent inimici mea retrorsum. **I**n qua-
cumque die inuocauero te. erit cognoui quoniam deus
meus es. **I**n deo laudabo uerbum in do-
mino laudabo sermonem. in deo speraui
non timebo quid faciat michi homo. **I**n
me sunt deus uota tua. que reddam
laudationes tibi. **Q**uoniam eripuisti animam
meam de morte: et pedes meos de lapsu. ut
placeam coram deo in lumine uiuentium. **ps**
Quoniam miserere mei deus: quoniam in te
confidit anima mea. **E**t in um-
bra alarum tuarum speraui donec transeat in-

quitas. **C**lamabo ad deum altissimum:
deum qui benefecit michi. **Q**uoniam misit de celo et
liberauit me: dedit in obprobrium conuulsa-
tes me. **Q**uoniam misit deus iram suam et irita-
tem suam. et eripuit animam meam de medio
catulorum leonum idcirco conturbatus. **F**ili-
um hominum dentes eorum: arma et sagitte. et
lingua eorum gladius acutus. **E**xaltare
super celos deus. et in omni terra gloria tua.
Flagellauerunt pedes meos: et
incurauerunt animam meam. **F**oderunt
ante faciem meam foueam et inaderunt
in ea. **P**aratum cor meum deus paratum
cor meum. cantabo et psalmum dicam.
Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cy-
thara erugam diluuium. **C**onfitebor ti-
bi in populis domine et psalmum dicam ti-
bi in gentibus. **Q**uoniam magnificata est usque

ad celos misericordia tua: et usque ad nubes ueritas
tua. **E**xaltare super celos deus: et super
omnium terram gloria tua. **G**loria patri. *Her*

Oratio dicitur per tres misere.
Domine sempiternus deus qui huma-
no corpori animam ad similitudinem tu-
am inspirare dignatus es. dum te uolente
puluis in puluerem reuertitur. tu ymaginem
tuam cum sanctis et electis tuis eternis se-
dibus precipias locare. eamque ad te reuer-
tentem blande leuiterque suscipias. et ange-
los tuos sanctos ei obuiam mittas uiam
que illi iusticie demonstra. et portas glorie
tue aperit. Repelle quoniam ab ea omnes prin-
cipes tenebrarum et agnosce depositum fi-
delle quod tuum est. suscipe domine creatu-
ram tuam non ex dijs alienis creatam. sed
a te solo deo uiuo et uero. quia non est ali-

112.
quod preter te domine. et non est secundum opera tua
iusticia clementissime deus animas seruo-
rum et clarifica eas in multitudine misericordie
tue. Ne memineris iniquitatum earum: aut quomodo
num et ebrietatum quas suscitauit feruor
mali desiderii. Non enim percauerunt. tamen te
non negauerunt. sed signo fidei insigniti.
te qui omnia et eas inter omnia fecisti fidenter
adhaeruerunt. Qui uiuus et regnas deus.

Beatissimus ieronimus in hoc mundo com-
posuit breuiter hoc psalterium ubi
angelus domini dicit eum per spiritum sanctum
propter eos breuiatum est hoc psalterium qui
in hoc seculo felicitatem habent uel qui
in infirmitatibus iacent. aut in operibus laborant
aut qui naufragii nauigant aut qui bel-
lum committunt contra hostes christianorum con-
stant et assidue. aut qui uocem uocant deo quo-

idie psalterium intyguum et minime potest
facere uel qui ieiunat fortit et debilitatem
habet et qui festa et solemnitates custodiunt
et non possunt psalterium psallere. Et qui
multam animam saluam facit. et uitam etiam
habet hoc psalterium assidue deantur.

Vita mea auribus
paupe domine. in
tellige clamorem
meum. **I**ntende
uocem orationis mee:
in iustis et deus me
us. **D**omine de
duc me in iusticia tua. propter inimicos me
os: dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam.
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me:
neque in ira tua corripas me. **M**isere mei
domine quoniam infirmus sum sana me domine

Study

113.
quoniam conturbata sunt omnia ossa mea. **E**t a
nima mea turbata est ualde. sed tu domine
usquequo. **C**onuertere domine et eripe animam
meam. saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam.

Domine deus meus in te speraui. saluum
me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me et libera me.

Nequando rapiat ut leo animam meam
dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum
faciat. **R**espice et exaudi me. domine deus
meus. **I**llumina oculos meos ne unquam

obdormiam in morte: nequando dicat ini
micus meus pro ualui aduersus eum. **E**r

audi domine iusticiam meam. intrude de
precationem meam. **R**esponde mihi de
precationem meam. non in labijs dolosis. **P**er

ficet guttus meus in sanctis tuis. ut non
moucantur uestigia mea. **E**go clama
ui quoniam exaudisti me deus. inclina aurem tuam

michi et exaudi uerba mea. **M**irifica miras
tuas qui saluos facis sperantes in te.

Resistentibus detrahe tue. custodi me ut pu
pillam oculi. **S**ub umbra alarum tuarum
protege me. a facie impiorum qui me afflixerunt.

Sub oculis meis munda me do
mine. et ab alienis patre seruo tuo.

Deus deus meus respice in me. quare me dereliquisti
longe a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum.

Ne autem domine ne elongaueris auxilium
tuum a me. ad defensionem meam con
spice.

Ecce a frama deus animam meam.
et de manu canis uincam meam.

Salua me ex ore leonis: et a cornibus unicornium
humilitatem meam.

Quia nomen tuum
fiatibus meis: in medio ecclesie laudabo te.
Quas tuas domine demonstra michi: et
sanctas tuas edoce me et dirige me in uita

114
tenua. **M**emento misericordiarum tuarum do
mine: et misericordiarum tuarum que a seculo sunt.

Quod dicta iuuentutis mee et ignorantias
meas ne memineris.

Secundum misericordiam
tuam memento mei. tu propter bonitatem tuam
domine.

Quoniam uisus dominus: propter
nomen tuum domine propitiabilis patris meo
multum est enim.

Uide humilitatem meam
et laborationem meam: et dimitte omnia peccata
mea.

Ne perdas cum impiis deus animam
meam: et cum uinis sanguinem uitam meam.
in quorum manibus iniquitates sunt.

Exaudi domine uocem meam qua cla
maui ad te. miserere mei et exaudi me.

Ne
auidas faciem tuam a me: ne declines in uiam
a seruo tuo.

Ad iutor meus esto domine
ne derelinquas me. neque despicias me deus
salutaris meus.

Regem pone michi

domine et constitue me in uia tua. et dirige
me in semita recta ppter inimicos meos.

Non tradas me in animas tribulantiū
me: qm̄ insurrexerunt in me. **A**d te do
mine clamabo deus meus ne sileas a me:
et ero similis descendentibus in lacum. **E**t
audi domine uocem dep̄cationis mee: dū
oro ad te dūm extollo manus meas ad
templum sanctum tuum. **N**e simul tra
das me cum peccatoribus: et cum operantibus in
iquitate ne perdas me. **S**aluū fac pplm̄
tuū domine. et l̄medic hereditati tue. et rige
eos et extolle illos usq; in eternū. **I**n te
domine speraui non confundar in eternū.
in iusticia tua libera me et eripe me. **I**n
clina aurē tuam ad me accelera ut au
das me. **E**sto michi in deum p̄torem
et in domū refugij ut saluū **ut** me facias

In manus tuas domine commendo spi
ritum meum. libera me et eripe me de manibus
inimicorū meorū. **I**llumina faciem tuam
super seruū tuū. et saluū me fac in m̄ia tua
domine non confundar qm̄ speraui in te.

Fiat m̄ia tua domine super nos. sicut
speraui in te. **B**enedicam dñm in
omni tempore. semper laus eius in ore meo

In domino laudabit anima mea. audi
ant mansueti et letentur. **M**agnificate
dominū meum. et exaltemus nomē eius
in idipsum. **I**udica domine nocentes
me. et pugna impugnantes me. **A**ppre
hende arma et scutum. et exurge in aduitorij
um michi. **N**e sileas domine ne discedas
a me. exurge domine intende iudicio meo de
us meus et dominus meus in causam me
am. **I**udica me domine scdm̄ m̄iam tuā

domine deus meus **I**ntende misericordiam tuam
sancitibus tuis. et faciem tuam hijs qui recto sunt
corde. **N**on ueniat michi pes superbie:
et manus peccatoris non moueat me. **E**x
audi orationem meam domine et deprecationem
meam. auibus prope lacrimas meas. **N**e
sileas quia aduena ego sum apud te. et
pergrinus sicut omnis pater meus. **R**e
mitte michi ut refugiam prouisquam abiam.
et amplius non ero. **Q**uam autem domine
ne longe facias miserationes tuas a me
misericordia tua et uitas tua semper susceperunt
me. **Q**uia circumdederunt me mala quorum
non est numerus. comprehenderunt me ini
quitates mee et non potui ut uiderem. **M**ul
tiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei et
cor meum deliquit me. **C**omplacere tibi
domine uteruas me domine in anellum

116.
manum respice. **E**go uero egenus et pauper
sum. dominus curam habet mei. **A**d iudicium
meum et peccatorum meorum deus meus ne tarda
ueris. **E**go dixi domine miserere mei: sa
ua animam meam quia peccavi tibi. **E**
rurge quare obdormis domine. et ne
repellas nos usque in finem. **Q**uare faciem
tuam avertis et obliuiscaris inopie nostre et tri
bulacionis nostre. **E**rurge domine adiuua
nos et libera nos propter nomen tuum.
Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam
tuam. **E**t secundum multitudinem mi
serationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam.
Amplius laua me domine ab iniquita
te mea et a peccato meo munda me. **F**aciem
tuam a peccatis meis. et omnes
iniquitates meas dele. **C**or mundum crea
in me deus et spiritum rectum innoua in uisceribus

meis. **N**e proicias me a facie tua et spm
sanctum tuum ne auferas a me. **R**edde michi
lenitiam salutarem tuam et spm principali con
firma me. **D**omine labia mea aperies et
os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. **D**eus
in nomine tuo saluum me fac: et in uirtute
tua libera me. **D**eus exaudi orationem meam
auribus pape uerba oris mei. **Q**uoniam alii
insurrexerunt aduersum me et fortes: quesie
runt animam meam et non proposuerunt dominum
ante conspectum suum. **E**xaudi deus ora
tionem meam et ne desperetis deprecationem
meam. intende michi et exaudi me. **I**n
deo laudabo uerbum in domino laudabo
sermonem in deo speraui non timedo quid
faciat michi homo. **I**n me sunt deus no
ta tua. que reddam laudationes tibi. **Q**uoniam
eripisti animam meam de morte oculos

117
meos a lacrimis pedes meos a lapsu. **U**t
placem coram deo in lumine uiuentium.
Miserere mei deus miserere mei quoniam in te
confidit anima mea. **E**t in umbra ala
rum tuarum sperabo: donec transeat iniqui
tas. **E**xipe me de inimicis meis deus mis
erere ab insurgentibus in me libera me. **E**x
ipe me de operantibus iniquitatem: et de uinis
sanguinum libera me quia aperuerunt
animam meam. **E**go uero orationem
meam ad te domine. tempus beneplacendi
deus. **I**n multitudinem misericordie tue exaudi
me in uirtute salutis tue. **E**xipe me de lu
to ut non infigar. libera me ab his qui ode
runt me et de profundis aquis. **N**on me
demergat tempestas aque: neque obsorbent
me profundum neque uigret. super me pu
trus os suum. **E**xaudi me domine quoniam

lingua est misericordia tua: secundum multitudi-
nem miserationum tuarum respice in me. **I**n-
tende animam meam et libera eam: propter
inimicos meos eripe me. **D**ominus in adiutorium
meum intende: domine ad adiuuandum me
festina. **E**go uero egenus et pauper sum:
deus adiuua me. **A**diutor meus esto:
domine ne moreris. **I**n te domine spera-
ui non confundar in eternum in iustitia tua
libera me et eripe me. **I**ncina aurem tu-
am ad me: accelera ut eruas me. **E**sto
mihi in deum protectorem et in locum muni-
timum ut saluum me facias et tu domine ad-
iutor fortis. **R**epleatur os meum laude
tua: ut possim cantare gloriam tuam tota
die magnitudinem tuam. **N**e proicias
me in tempore senectutis: cum defecerit uir-
tus mea ne derelinquas me. **D**eus ne don-

118.
gnis a me deus meus in auxilium meum
respice. **E**go semper in te sperabo: et ad i-
ustitiam super omnem laudem tuam. **O**s meum
pronuntiabit iustitiam tuam: tota die
salutem tuam. **N**e tradas listus aetas
confidentis tibi: et animas pauperum tuorum
ne obliuiscaris in finem. **R**espice in tes-
tamentum tuum quia repleti sunt: qui
obseruati sunt terre domibus iniquitatum.
Adiua nos deus salutaris noster. et propter
honoram nominis tui domine libera nos et pro-
picius esto peccatis nostris. **E**xalta domine
potentiam tuam et ueni: ut saluos facias
nos. **D**omine deus iudicium conuerte
nos: et ostende faciem tuam et salui erimus.
Conuertere nos deus salutaris noster. et aucte-
ritatem tuam a nobis. **Q**uoniam in eter-
num iudicaris nobis: neque extendes manum

tiam a generatione in generatione. **D**eus
tu dominus unificabis nos: et plebs tua
letabitur in te. **O**stende nobis domine
misericordiam tuam: et salutare tuum da nobis.

Indina domine aurium tuam et exaudi
me: quoniam egenus et pauper sum ego. **Q**ui

totam animam meam quoniam sanctus sum:
salvum fac servum tuum deus meus sperantem
in te. **M**isere mei domine quoniam ad te cla
maui: tota die lenificam animum servum tuum
quoniam ad te domine animam meam levavi.

Quoniam tu domine misericors et misericors:
pacis multum misericors et verax.

Respice in me et misere mei. da potesta
tem pueri tuo et salvum fac filium ancille tue.

Fac mecum lignum in bono: ut videat
qui odierunt me et confundantur. **D**omine
deus salutis mee in die clamavi et nocte co

ram te. **I**nter orationem meam in conspectu
tuo: inclina aurium tuam ad precem meam.

Ubi sunt micte antique domine. sicut
iurasti david in civitate tua. **M**emor esto

obprobrium servorum tuorum. quod contumini
sini meo multarum gentium. **C**onverte

domine aliquantulum. et deprecabilis esto su
per servos tuos. **E**t sit splendor domini dei nostri

super nos: opera manuum nostrarum dirige super
nos et opus manuum nostrarum dirige. **D**omine

exaudi orationem meam: et clamor meus ad
te veniat. **N**on auertas faciem tuam a me:

in quacumque die tribulor inclina ad me au
rium tuum. **I**n quacumque die invocavero

te velociter exaudi me. **E**t ne educas me
in dimidio dierum meorum: in generatione et

generatione animi tui. **E**t tu domine fac
meum propter nomen tuum: quoniam suavis est

120.
nua tua domine **D**ilera me domine qui
egenus et pauper sum ego: et cor meum co-
turbatum est ultra me **A**diuua me do-
mine deus meus: et salua me propter misericordiam
tuam **R**ecubue seruo tuo uiuifica me:
et custodiam sermones tuos **R**ecurda o-
culos meos. et considera mirabilia de le-
ge tua **I**ncola ego sum in terra non abscin-
das a me mandata tua **C**onfirma me
in sermonibus tuis domine. uiam iniquita-
tis amoue a me et de lege tua miserere mei.
Quam uirtutis degen. iudicia tua non sum
oblitus **R**educ me in sententia mandatorum
tuorum quia ipsam uolui **I**ndina cor me-
um in testimonia tua. et non in auaritia.
Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitate
in uia tua uiuifica me **S**tatue seruo tuo
eloquium tuum. in timore tuo **C**onuertere

et disciplinam et scientiam doce me. quia in
mandatis tuis credidi **B**onus es tu: et
in ueritate tua doce me iustificationes tuas.
Fiat misericordia tua ut consoletur me.
secundum eloquium tuum seruo tuo. **T**e-
niant michi miserationes tue et uiuam et
quia lex tua meditatio mea est **F**iat cor
meum immaculatum in iustificationibus
tuis. ut non confundar **H**umiliatus sum
usquequaque domine. uiuifica me secundum uerbum
tuum **V**oluntaria oris mei beneplacata fac
domine. et iudicia tua doce me **A**nima
mea in manibus meis semper. et legem tuam
non sum oblitus **R**esponde me secundum eloquium
tuum et uiuam. et non confundas me
ab expectatione mea **A**diuua me et sal-
uus ero. et meditabor in iustificationibus
tuis semper **F**ac cum seruo tuo secundum

miam tuam. et iustificaciones tuas doce
me. **S**eruus tuus sum ego da michi intel
lectum. ut discam mandata tua. **R**espice
in me et misere mei. scdm iudiciu diligenti
cum nomen tuu. **G**ressus meos dirige
scdm eloquiū tuum. ut non dñetur mei
omnis iniusticia. **R**edime me a calūp
nijs hominū. ut custodiā mandata tua.
Faciem tuam illumina super seruu tu
um. et doce me iustificaciones tuas. **V**ide
humilitatē meam et eripe me. quia legem
tuam non sum oblitus. **I**udica iudici
um meum et redime me. ppter eloquiū
tuum iuifica me. **A**ppropinquet depre
cacio mea in conspectu tuo dñe. scdm eloq
uiū tuū da michi intellectū. **I**nter pos
tulacio mea in conspectu tuo. scdm eloqui
um tuū eripe me. **A**mutabunt labia mea

121.
impnū. cum docuis me iustificaciones tu
as. **P**ronuntiabit lingua mea eloquiū
tuum. quia omnia mandata tua equitas
sunt. **F**iat manus tua ut saluet me. qm man
data tua elegi. **C**onspice salutarem tuū
domine. et lex tua meditacio mea est. **Q**ui
uēt anima mea laudabit te. et iudicia tua
adiuabunt me. **E**raui sicut ovis que
perit. quer saluū tuum dñe. quia manda
ta tua non sum oblitus. **M**isere nobis
domine misere nobis. quia multū repleti
sumus desperatione. **B**enefac domine.
bonis et iustis corde. **C**onuertere domine cap
tuitatem nrām. sicut torrens in austro.
In quacūq; die inuocauero te. cito exau
di me multiplicabis in aīa mea uirtutem
tuam. **P**one domine custodiam ori meo. et hos
tium amistanāe labijs meis. **N**e declines

cor meum in uita malicie: ad excusandas
excusationes in peccatis. **I**ntende deprecationem
meam. quia humiliatus sum nimis

Exipe me de persequentibus me. quoniam perualu-
erunt super me. **E**duc de carceribus animam
meam ad confitendum nomini tuo domine

Domine exaudi orationem meam aures
popule obsecrationem meam. in ueritate tua
exaudi me in tua iusticia. **E**t non intres
in iudicium cum seruo tuo quia non ius-
tificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens.

Quia persecutus est inimicus animam meam
humiliavit in terra uitam meam. **U**elociter
exaudi me domine. defraget spiritus meus. **N**on
auertas faciem tuam a me. et similis ero del-
udentibus in laqueum. **A**uditam fac michi
manum tuam: quia in te speravi domine.

Gloria patri. **S**icut erat. **E**pinela so

Study

122.
Xp̄i **E**pinela **P**ater noster. **E**t ne
nos **S**ed libera nos **D**omine exaudi.

Et clamor meus. **O**remus. **D**eo
Omnipotens et misericors deus demencia
tuam suppliciter deprecor. ut me famulum tuum.
D. tibi fideliter seruire concedas. et persueran-
tiam bonam et fidem consummationem
michi largiri dignus. et hos uisculos quos
in conspectu tuo cantavi ad salutem et ad re-
medium anime mee perficias sempiternam

Per xpm dnm nrm. **D**eo
Omnipotens sempiternus deus maiestatem
tuam suppliciter deprecor. ut me famulum
tuum. D. peccatorem peccare non permittas. quia
creatura tua sum. sed concede michi spacium
uite. ut ante diem exitus mei. per ueram pe-
nitentiam tibi placere merear. **P**er xpm.

Omnipotens sempiternus deus miserere **O**ro

famulo tuo. 12. et dirige eum secundum tuam de-
mendam in viam salutis eterne. ut te dona-
te tibi planta cupiat et tota uirtute proficiat
Per xpm dñm nrm. Amen.

In uicinis in libro bernardi qd diabolus
dicit qd sciat octo uersus psalms qd
qui dicit omni die saluare. Et ai in qui-
situs esset a hmo bñdico qui essent. nolu-
it eos manifestare. Respondit bernardus ber-
nardus qd quod die totum psalmum
dicit. Audiens hoc dyabolus statim mani-
festauit eos sibi. Et sunt isti.

Alumina oculos meos ne unquam obdormi-
am in morte. nequando dicat inimicus
meus preualui aduersus eum. **H**oc ait
sum in lingua mea. notum fac michi dñe
finem meum. **E**t numerum dierum meorum
quis est ut sciam quid desit michi. **I**n ma-

123.
nus tuas comendo spm meum redemisti me
domine deus ueritatis. **H**ac meum sig-
num in lono ut uideant qui me oderunt et
confundant qui tu domine adiuuisti me et
consolatus es me. **D**impisti dñe uincu-
la mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis et
nomen domini inuocabo. **Q**uoniam erit fuga
a me. et non est qui requirat animam meam.

Clamavi ad te domine. dixi tu es spes
mea porro me in terra uiuentium. **G**loria

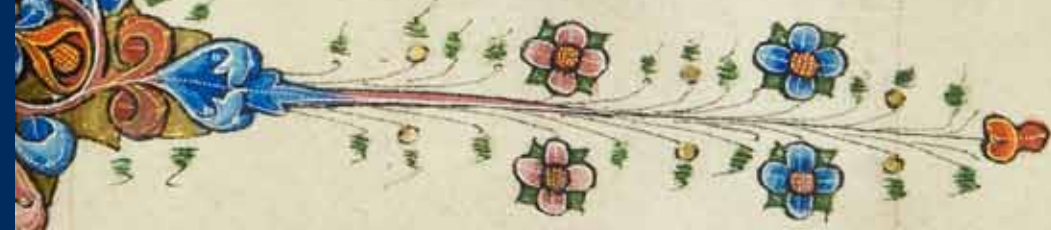
Patri. **E**iait erat. **O**raño.
Terra nos domine de morte ad uitam
de tenebris ad lucem. de inferno ad paradisu.
de malo ad bonu. de ignorantia ad scientia
am. de peccatis ad ueram penitentiam. de omni-
bus uicis ad perfectas uirtutes. de cunctis insidijs
uicinis ad medianam celestem et diuinam
promotionem per inuocationem trini nominis tui

patris et filij et spiritus sancti quia qui hūilit
et fideliter nomen tuum inuocauit saluus
erit. Per xpm dñm nrm. Amen

Study



Confiteor tibi pat
ri et fr ubiq; lone
et longissime ihu
cum spu sco corā
brata et gliosa se
per q; uirgine dei
gnituce maria
et coram anglis
tus et coram omnibus laudis tuis et corā
presenti altari tuo. Quia in peccatis con
ceptus natus et nutritus sum et post lapul
mū usq; ad hanc horam conuulsus sum.
Confiteor enim quia peccavi nimis in
supbia tam uisibili qm̄ inuisibili. in uana
gloria. In extollencia oculoy. In ornatu
uestium. In inuidiaa actiū meoy. In
inuidia in odio. In auaricia tam honoris
qm̄ pecunie. In ira. In acedia. In uentis



ingluuie. In comestationibus. In ebrietatibus.
In fabulis uanis In sermonibus otiosis.
In osculis. In amplexibus illicitis. In lasciuia
In luxuria. In multimodis generibus fornicationis.
In sacrilegijs. In iniurijs. In rapinis
In fide spectantate. Et super omnia hec
in accipiendo corpus dñi nri ihu xpi indig-
ne mea culpa mea maxima culpa. In exor-
tationibus et adulationibus malignis. In sub-
trahendo elemosinam pauperibus pegrinis
uiduis orphanis debilibus infirmis. In dis-
ipatione propinquoꝝ. In contemptu extrane-
oꝝ. Potari non uti uento elimentis. nõ
potando siccantes solampnitatibus sordium
dñias. ac festis diebus honorem non impen-
dendo. nec sobrie ac caste in eis uiuendo. nõ
seruando suadetibus in multis in malis
petentibus aliq̃. nocendo potius qm̃ adiu-

125
uando clamores pauperum. nec hilum nec mule-
norditer audiendo. manus detrahendo. a-
mias et benefactoribus meis fidem non seruã-
do. genitorum meoꝝ et gratuita mee. et omnibus
consanguineis meis honorem debitum non
impedendo. omnibus xpianis debita obse-
quia non exhibendo in emia dei supple intrã-
do stando sedendo et egrediendo colloquijs
turpibus in ea cum alijs insistendo uasa scã
et ministerium sanctum polluto corde et mani-
bus immundis tangendo. orationes in emia dei
negligenter faciendo et audiendo. In cogita-
tionibus pessimis. In meditationibus pũis
In iudicijs temerarijs. In consensu malo et
consilio iniquo. In concupiscentia carnali
et delectatione ac suggestione nec non fra-
gilitate seu immunda pollutione. In uerbis
otiosis superfluis et contumeliosis. In detrac-

nomibus. In suspicionibus. In murracionibus.
In uanis temptacionibus. In ambicionibus.
In rapula et ebrietate. In uana gloria
et dacone. In odio et mala uoluntate. In
insidijs. In perfidijs. In opprobrijs et contu-
melijs. In iuramentis multimodis. In
iris et discordijs seminandis. In dissena-
cionibus. In inuisionibus. In transgressionibus
propositi mei. In uolacione caritatis dei et
proximi. In uisu. auditu. gustu. odoratu.
et tactu. Quoniam in hijs et in alijs uicijs qui-
buscumque humana fragilitas contra deum
creatoris sui. aut cogitando loquendo ope-
rando delectando. aut concupiscendo pec-
care potest. In hijs peccasse uerum in consp-
ctu dei esse cognosco et confiteor. Itaque depre-
cor te uirga dei genitrix uirgo sempiterna
et uobis supplicat sancti dei omnes in quorum con-

126
spatu hec omnia confessus sum. quatinus
testes sint in die iudicij. contra diabolum
humani generis aduersarium hec omnia con-
fessionem fecisse. ut non gaudeat inimicus
super me. et non gloriatur aduersum me diabolus
peccata et scelera atque delicta mea. me ta-
cuisse et non confessus fuisse. Absit a me
Iesu bone. ihesu pie. ihesu sancte. ut malignus
spiritus gaudeat de me. sed sit gaudium in
celo de me. sicut promissisti esse super uno
peccatore penitentiam agente. De ipso lar-
giente. domino nostro ihesu christo qui cum patre
et spiritu sancto unus et magnus deus. per omnia
secula seculorum. Amen. **Inuocatio ad patrem.**

Pater deuotissime mundi-
ne factor machine. Celi terre ac
marium. quem in hijs et omnibus.
Datu fecisti specie. colorum cum uirtutibus

Solem lunam et sidera. annos dies et tempora.
Tu de celis luciferum. precipitans ad infernum.
Mor ut sensisti tumidum. quem frater pluvium.
Tumens quoque spiritum. sibi consensuatum.
In abissum precipites. dedisti frater demones.
Hoc stantibus dans premium. veniant impetum.
Redactor superbiae. et servator humilium.
Tu ad tuam imaginem. fecisti primum hominem.
Sathan fraude subdola. dempsit ex invidia.
Ut manducant venientem. vitale tollens premium.
Hunc exclusisti paradisi. omne genus mortalium.
A paradisi gaudiis. pro culpa primi hominis.
In huius vite miserum. quod patrum exilium.
Sed invocasti iterum. mittendo nobis filium.
Qui vitam sanans vulnibus. morte redemit pro peccato.
Reducens ad vitam perditam. vite celestis gaudia.
Te credo laudando. et te deum confiteor.
Dixit corde intimo. te amare desidero.

127
Laus tua confessio. sic meorum transmissio.
Pater et verba. spes et salus perpetua. Amen.
Oratio ad filium.
Pater unigenite. fili lumen
de lumine. Et omne ingenito.
pater sine initio. Pater imago propria
dies de die splendida. Splendor patris.
glorie et figura substantiae. Tu pater sapi-
entia. per quem facta sunt omnia. Qui mi-
seratus perditam. vitam sola demencia. Tu quoque
mundum illuminas. homines fugas tenebras.
Homo venis in tempore. de sacra natus vir-
gine. Hec tua incarnatio. mundi fuit salva-
tio. Que credentes iustificat. inardulos mor-
tificat. Non tantum nobis natus es sed mor-
tem tuam passus es. Infernum frangens. ia-
nuas electos inde liberas. Sic singis die ter-
ra fracta mortis potentia. Apparendus

discipulis thome palpatu digitis. Post
sani finem temporis hunc ad patre regred
ns. Viditibus aplis nule clara suscipis.

Uenturum spondit angeli ita in fine ldi.
Vniuersor iudice prauis ualde tremilan.
Vlmedite domine. fac me her ita credere.
Vt per fidi mentu huius uincat diabolū.
Per her tue humilia. humanitatis opera.
Istac me fuit perpetua. diuinitatis gloria.
Post huius uite finem nū iudicab seruilū
Me statuens ad dextram. uitā confer pepe
tuam. Amen. **Inuocatio ad spm sanctū.**

Quoniam spiritus padite. o ambrosū
almitine. Patris amor et fi
lii. casti doctor consilij.


Magistorum optime. illustrator eme.
Sacra xpi promissio. pcedum unissio.
Tu iordanus in flumine. fūo xpi baptisate.

128.
Dignatus es ostendē. te in columbe specie.
A postolorum pectora. tua distasti gracia.
In linguis uisus igneis. fiducia q; dās timidi.
Aque fontes scificas. et animas uiuificas.
In domo dei homines. facis esse unanimes.
Tu dicitis digitus. legē scribens in cordibz.
Quite carit in intinis. uer manet in tenebīs.
Tu es pfecta caritas. qui scās regis aīas.
Mestorum consolatio. pcedo purgatio.
Tu mer mentis horridas. depelle pcor tenebīs.
Mortificans carnalia. infundens spintalia.
Istac me pcedm ingruti. filiūq; unigruti.
Et tramloz spm. laudare unperpetuum.
Istac me uitare oīa. que sunt tibi conuana.
Ab inimico ptege. et in uia pcedis dirige.

Amen. **Inuocatio ad trinitatē.**
Quoniam adoranda trinitas: et predicā
da unitas. Tu es etna ditas.

qui seruit vniuersitas. Tu es deus ineffabilis
solus et laudabilis. Spes salus vita om
niū. cetera lux fidelium. Terna vni ma
china. vnum deum per senila. Laudat ad
rat predicat. te cor meum desiderat. Perso
nis sancta trinitas. sed ditatis unitas.
Adesto meis precibus. uotis fauens suppli
bus. Tibi deo confiteor. quia precatis im
pleor. Pare meis salentibus. uerbis factis
operibus. Auge fidem tu trinitas. spem
auge summa unitas. Ut te colendo ditas
me firmet tua caritas. Qui deus homo
dignus. et uerus homo uolens. Manē
to uia hominis. cum iudicare ueneris.
In hoc quod manes ditas. iras de te sar
anas. Ut hoc quod es humanitas. ad
me deflectat pietas. In me regnet humili
tas. fides spes et caritas. Qua possim

129.
hominem uincere. et uicini semper uiuere.
Esto ipse propitius. qua fundo fide genuis
Et quem creasti de terra. ab omni malo li
bra. Qui uasa in ore surgere. in celum uis
ascendere. Et sanctum mittis spiritum. me
sorde dele criminum. Iudex orbis cum uenis.
mendem dare famulis. Cum ouibus in
terra. non cum edis colloca. Agne dei
mitissime. qui mundum purgas crimine.
Erandi pater adiuua. miserere et libera.
Animabus fidelium. ista luce carnaum.
Ad laudem domini perpetuam presta requiem.
Espe lux uia iustas. dei splendor et caritas.
Soter simul uisyon. alpha et o. elyson.
Der meus demantissime. ~~Amor~~
noli me secundum peccata mea iudicare et quoniam
sum me ipso iudicatus mortis pro michi
qui non uis mortem patris confiteor me




omnibus mortalibus peccata confiteor: te
omnibus bonis inchoem. illa ergo mag
na bonitas tua attingat vniuersa mala
mea. ut post diem exitus mei sciam que
am suauitate uultus tui. Qui uiuis & r.
Dñi ihu misere mei. Ihu ihu obliuiscere
supercium. puocante et respice miserum
inuocantem nomen dulce. nomen delect
abile. nomen confortans peccator et leuante
spera. quid enim est ille nisi saluator. Ergo
bone ihu propter te met ipsum. esto michi ille
qui me plasmasti ne peccaram qui me me
misti. ne me condempnes qui me tua bo
nitate creasti. ne peccat opus tuum mea
iniquitate. Rogo te piissime ihu ne peccat
mea iniquitas quod fecit tua. omnis bo
nitas. Recognosce desideratissime ihu quod
tuum est et absterge quod alienum est.

130.

Misere dum tempus est miserandi ne damp
nos in tempore iudicandi que nam utilitas
tibi erit in sanguine meo si descendo in eter
nam damnationem neque enim mortui lau
dabunt te neque omnes qui descendunt in in
firmum et si ad miseris me infra latissimum
in te tue simi non erit ~~ante~~ angustior prop
ter me domine. Admitte ergo me desideratis
sime ihu intra numerum electorum tuorum
ut cum illis te laudem te gloriet inter omnes
qui diligunt nomen tuum. Qui uiuis
et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

**Qui hanc orationem in honorem filii dei
quotidie dicunt dum tamen in peccato mor
tali sciantur non fuerit eternaliter certissime
damnati non possunt. Oratio.**

Hic credo genitus. hic figuratus. hic missus
caelitus. hic mane natus. hic conformis pa



nibi. ilic magis monstratus. ilic submissus
legibi. ilic a nigro fugatus. ilic lapsus in
pidus. ilic ab hoste temptatus. ilic insigni
muntis. ilic transfiguratus. ilic pastor so
lucis. ilic fletu ngatus. ilic orbis agnitus.
ilic panis sanatus. ilic dolo uenundatus.
ilic a iuda fraudatus. ilic malis misatus.
ilic orans pstratus. ilic turba amudatus.
ilic a lapis matus. ilic uotis incognitus.
ilic unguis ligatus. ilic pilato maditus.
ilic morti dampnatus. ilic spretus ab oibz.
ilic munda uatus. ilic uinctus latronibz.
ilic felle potatus ilic sol morte pallidus.
ilic translocatus. ilic amore madidus.
ilic intumulatus. ilic triumphans mor
tuus. ilic surgens tratus. ilic ductor exen
tus. ilic celo locutus. ilic laudator spiritus.
ilic lacans uatus. ilic testis ueridicus.

131.
ilic uide uatus. ilic uictor magnificus. ilic
sponsus ornatus. ilic rex mitissimus. ilic
ficus optatus. Per hanc unificauit essen
tiam tuam q̄ p̄aetia. **V** ihu amantis
sime dulcissime ḡtissime supplicio tibi pul
sime de te meos et ab huc dimittendo uatus.
Vste uide ihu xpe rex regu et **A**men.
dne qui cum patre regnas semper et cum
sco flamine nunc dignaris precas meas
clementer suscipere. **T**u deus desandisti
uiguis in utero. uide sumens ueram
carnem uisitasti scdm. tuum plasma redi
mendo sanguine per p̄rium. **I**lla q̄so
deus meus gliosa pallio me defendat in
cessanter ab omni periculo. ut ualeam
p̄manere in tuo seruicio. **A**ssit in tua
uirtus semper et p̄tamo mentem meam ne
p̄tuler hostium inausio nec dampnetur

corpus meum fraudilem laqueo **D**er
tra forti qua fregisti adherentis ianuas
frangr meos inimicos nec nō et insidias
quibus uolunt occupare cordis mei san-
tas **A**udi xpe medamantē et p̄mis
miserum. et quanta pietatē porrige sola-
num. ne insurgunt inimici mei in obpro-
brium **D**estruant et tabescant qui me
uolunt p̄dere. fiat illis in nimiam laque-
us inuidie. ih̄u p̄re ih̄u bone nolite relinqui-
re **I**h̄u defensor et p̄tor: tu sis michi cu-
p̄eus. ut resistam tentore michi detrahē-
tibus. et eisdem superatis. gaudeam diu-
nus **M**itte san̄ de supernis sedib: para-
ditum. suo meum qui illustret splendore
consilium. odientis me repellat. et eorū
odium **A**ncte uas tue signū. sensus
meos nituat. et uexillo triumphali. me

132.
victorem faciat. ut ductus inimicis. uin-
bus d̄ficiat. **M**isere mei xpe uini de ge-
nite. misere deprecanti. angelorū domine
Esto semper memor: mei dator indulgencie
Pater pater deus fili. deus alme spiritus
qui es semper unus deus dicens et d̄ns. tibi
unus sit p̄ennis. honor et perpetuus. **A**-
men. **Ad ymaginē crucis dicit. oio.**

Omnibus consideratis. para-
ditus uoluptatis. es ih̄u
p̄yissime. In te fons patri-
tatis. omnis fructus suau-
tatis. plantauit plenissime. Passionis
tue fructus. et amoris tui fluctus. defluens
largissime. Inueni fecit n̄ luctus. per h̄uc
infernus destructus. gemit amarissime.

Triumphale **Ad crucem xpi.**
lignum crucis. tu seductos nos

induas. ad superna gaudia. Porris pan-
dis uaribus. fauces claudis hostis tu-
us. diuina potina. Te adoro propter
illum. qui per te gregem pusillum. redu-
it in patria. Confringens per hoc uellu.
orthi uertes et sigillum. signans infima
na. *Ad caput ihu xpi.*

Ad caput indinatum. disper-
tue coronati. spiritus infidelium.
Multis lons perforatum. animi quaque au-
entatum. exemplar humilium. Corona
preiosa. quam auous tenet uola. plac-
matoris omnium. Per te fiat speciosa. mors
humana mens spinosa. declinans in ui-

gum. *Ad uulnus dextre man-*
Sicut uulnus dextre manus.
uclut phison uisus planus.
similis scaturiens. Quod uidetur in hu-

133
manus. in honestus et in sanus. fodit dei
neciens. Te honoro te adoro. te requiro te
imploio. ut miseriam *no* mouens. Ut
in cantatorium choro. in quo sperando la-
loro. nuquam sum deficiens. *Ad uuln' sinis*

Ad uuln' sinis. *Armanus*
perforata tu fuisti. clauo pre-
dunissimo. Vclut gyon effu-
diti. nui tuum quo lausti. nos a ma-
lo pessimo. Te o uulnus adrianus. tibi
caput indinamus. ut font dulcissimo.
Per te dicitur uincamus. hostes et ut
gaudamus. in die nouissimo.

Quoniam aque paradisi. a quo
quatuor diuisi. dulces sunt
nui. Per quem demones in-
uisi. sunt contracti et elisi. et effecti terruili.
Dulce uulnus laterale. inter fontes nul-

lum tale uictar unqm̄ potu. Aue salue
gaude uale. omnia uenientū litalē. media
na populi. **Ad uulnus dextri pedis xpi.**

Sicut uulnus dextri pedis. tu
mors uulnus dextri pedis. tigni compa
bilis. Per hunc uulnus homo
indis. ad sup̄ne culmen sedis. ubi pax est
stabilis. Per hoc uulnus hoc foramen.
fudit mors libamen. deus impassibilis.
Ergo nudū sit solamen. istud uulnus et
uiuamen. cum mors adit flebilis. **Ad uul**

Beui pedis **uulnus sinistri pedis**
pforat. aue uulnus in quo
pat. deus homo uoluit. Cō
parandum est cūtra. per resimus libati.
nos quos umbra tenuit. Dulce uulnus
dulcis clamus. et mors dulcis fauus.
per istud effertur. Per te resurgat igna

134.
uis. emendatur homo prauus. in te qui spē
habuit. **Ad uirginem manā.**

Mana plasma nati. que ui
disti ihm pati. quis te dolor te
nuit. Non est hoc humanitati. datum
sare ulli nati. quia nemo potuit. Per do
lor pforatur. mea mors et auentur. que
dolor em meruit. Ne in fine condempnet.
sed per penas emendatur. quia salui paruit.

Ad iohannem euāgelistam
Iohannes euāgelista. tu sacra
tu sacista. in quo deus iacuit.

mundus fallit me sophista. per te in
ditur ista. que supra mens uoluit. Ob
seruo te per hunc fletum. per dolorem et per
metum. quo cor tuum tenuit. Dum
uides deum spiritum. ut me ducas ad
hunc actum. quem xpc cepit. Amen.

Vlpc factus est obediens usq; ad mortem. **R.**
Mortem autem annas **V.** Ora pro nobis scā
di genitric **R.** Ut digni efficiamur pmissio
nibus xpi **V.** Valde honorandus est traxis
iohannes **R.** Qui sup patris dñi in caua reu

Dñs sempiternus **ORATIO.** **D**ñs
quis unigenitum filium
suum dñm nrm ihu xpm an
nim coronam spineam. et quinq; vulnera
subire uoluit ut inuicia a nobis expelle
res potestatem qui et in auge pendis ma
trici suam uirginem beato iohi uirgini cō
mendauit. presta qñs ut qui passionem
eius ueneramur a pccōy nōy neribus lire
rimur. Per amē xpm dñm nrm. **ORATIO.**

Done ihu duo in me agnosco
naturam quam tu frasti. et pec
catum quod ego adiceo fateor:

135
me domine q; per culpam deformam naturā
inuenito mei domine q; sū spiritus uadens
et non rediens per me ipsum a pccō redire nō
possim. **ORA** **D**ne uirginissime ihu tolle a me qd
fecit et remaneat quod tu frasti ne peccat qd
proprio tuo sanguine redemisti. Amen. **ORATIO.**

Domine ihu xpe fili dei uiri te de
precor per sanctissimam carnē
quam assumpsisti ex immacula
ta uirgine maria per scām carnem eius in
qua nouem mensib; habitare uoluiti. et
per omnes grauas et miserationes miran
torum tuorum que unquā pro salute ho
minū frasti et per uindictam tuam. et
transitionē tuam. et compassionē tuam
alligationem et flagellationē et aculeationē
tuam. per spineam coronā. per septimum
num. per scām sitim et cinerem tuā per tēp

rationem triumphū q̄ passionis tue per au-
tem et scām humilitatem mortis et sepul-
cr tue et per quinque uulnē corporis tui et per
sanctissimū sanguinem tuum per sacros da-
uos fixos in tuo scō corpore et per illa uesti-
gia quando ad scām crucem ambulasti et
innocens in ea peccidisti. et per p̄iosum
sanguinem tuum quem super nos aspisti.
et per sanctissimas lacrimas tuas. et per
scām crucem tuam. et per sudorem tuū. et p̄
confortationem tuam qua ab angelis con-
fortari uoluisti in tua p̄turbatione. et per
omnes angustias tuas. et per scām ieiunū
tuum. et p̄iosam mortem tuam. et resur-
rectionem tuam per admirabilem a sana-
tionem tuam. et per aduentum scī sp̄c para-
disi. et per intercessionem scī simeonis
tue et omnium scōrum tuor. Exaudi me

136
D. famulum tuū et imple desiderium meū in
bonum et libera me de omnibus peccatis meis
p̄sentis p̄sentibus et futuris et ab omnib;
insidiis inimicorum meorum uisibilium
et inuisibilium corporalium et sp̄ualium
et ab inuisa morte et ab omni malo. A-

Oratio
Dn̄e concede michi domine sp̄cū
uite et grām bene uiuendi et
ante diem exitus mei ueram cordis contri-
tionem puram confessionem et ueram pe-
nitentiam habere merear et quando aīam
meam ab hoc seculo migre uillens concede
michi sanctissimū et p̄iosissimū corpus
tuum in cibum et p̄iosissimū sanguinem
tuum in potum unctonem q̄ olei scī felici-
ter papae et libera me in hora mortis mee
de horribili multo diaboli et de potestate ei

et ab omni angustia et colloca me in sinu ab
lie amica tu ut ibi tecum merear collocari.

Per xpm dñm nrm. Amen. **Oratio uir-**
rabilis hie p̄bitum de septem uerbis xpi in au-
re pendens quam oronauit quicunq; quon-
die deuote fletis quibus dixit nec diabolus
nec malus homo si nocte ponit nec sine cō-
fessione mouet et per triginta dies ante obi-
tum suum uidebit gloriosam uirginem ma-
riam in analium sibi preparatam. Oratio.

Domine ihu xpe qui septe
uicta die ultimo uictue
in aure pendens dixisti ut
semper illa sanctissima uir-
gine in manuum habeamus. Rogo te per
uirtute illorum septem uerborum ut michi peccas
quidquid peccavi aut commisi de septem pec-
catis mortalibus scilicet de superbia. Inuidia

137
ira. auaritia. auaritia gula et luxuria. Dñe si
aut tu dixisti. Pater ignosce mihi iniquitatibus
me. fac me amorem tuum ut peccata ego am-
tis michi malefactoribus. Et sicut tu dix-
isti. laetum. Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.
fac me ita uiuere ut in hora mortis mee.
dicas michi hodie mecum eris in paradiso.
Et sicut tu dixisti. mater tue. mulier ecce fili-
us tuus. Dauid dixisti discipulo. ecce ma-
ter tua. fac ut mater tue me sciat amor-
tuis et caritas tua. Et sicut tu dixisti. Hedy
lamazalathau. Quod significat.
Deus meus deus meus ut quid dereliquisti
me. fac me dicere in omni tempore tribu-
lationis et angustie mee. Pater mi dñe.
misere michi peccator. Adiuua me et dirige
me ut meus et deus meus qui me tuo proprio
sanguine redimisti. Et sicut tu dixisti. Sino

saluet salutem animarū scānū que in lim-
bo inferni fuerunt aduentum tuum expectā-
tes. fac ut ego semper sicam te diligendo
fontem aque uiuentis fontem eterni lumi-
nis toto desiderio cordis ad amandum et
sicut tu dixisti. Pater in manus tuas com-
mendo spm meum. fac me ita uiuere ut
in hora mortis me possim tibi dicere.
Pater in manus tuas commendo spm
meū. Respice me uenientē ad te quia nūc
constitisti tempus meum. Et sicut tu dix-
isti. Consummatum est. Quod significat
labores et dolores quos pro nobis mise-
ris suscepisti iam finisti. fac ut audire
merar illam dulcissimam uocem tuam
dicentem. Veni amica mea dilecta quia
quia iam disposui penationes tuas con-
summare. Veni mecum ut sedas cū ange-

138.
lis meis sanctis. in regno meo epulari iocū-
dā et commorari per infinita seculorum
secula. Amen. **In oratio.**

Respice te piissime domine ihu
xpe ppter illam caritatem q̄
tu ut celestis pendelas in cruce.
cum dulcissima caritate. cum inuicissima aīa.
cum tristissimo gestu. cum turbatis sensu-
bus. cum transfixo corde. cum transuete-
rato corpore. cum sanguineis uulnibus.
cum expansis manibus. cum extensis ue-
nis. cum clamoroso ore. cum rauca uoce.
cum pallida facie. cum mortali colore.
cum lacrimosis oculis. cum gremebundo
gutturē. cum inabundis desideriis. cum
amaro gustu felis. cum inclinato capi-
te. cum diuisione corporis et anime. cum
origine uiuentis fontis. In ea caritate

precor te amantissime domine ihu xpe qua tu
nim amorosum cor stringatur. ut sis michi
placabilis super multitudinem peccatorum meorum
bonum et sanctum finem. nec non gloriosa
haramque resurrectionem propter tuam mag
nam misericordiam michi tribuere dignaris Qui
vivas et regnas deus.

Oratio
Domine ihu xpe qui hanc
sacratissimam carnem tuam
et preciosissimum sanguinem
de gloriose virginis
marie utero assumpsisti. et eundem sanguinem
de sacratissimo latere tuo in aera quas

Domine ihu xpe qui hanc
sacratissimam carnem tuam
et preciosissimum sanguinem
tuum de gloriose virginis
marie utero assumpsisti. et eundem sanguinem
de sacratissimo latere tuo in aera quas

139.
pro salute nostra effudisti. et in hac gloriosa
carnem a mortuis resurrexisti et ad nos ascen
didisti. et iterum venturus es iudicare vi
vos et mortuos. in eadem carne libera nos
domine per hoc sacrosanctum corpus tuum quod
tractatur in manibus sacerdotum. ab omnibus
imundis mentis et corporis. et ab uniu
ersis malis et periculis presentibus

et futuris. Amen *Oratio*

Deus qui voluisti pro redemp
tione mundi a iudeis reproba
ri et a iuda traditore osculo tradi. unguibus
alligari. et sicut agnus innocens ad victi
mam duci atque conspectu. Aune aegiphe
pylari et herodes iudemiter ostium a fallis
aculis. flagellis. et obprobriis verari. spi
ritus coronari spiritus conspu. volaplus
ordi. clavorum aculis profu. in aera leuan

atq; inrellationes deputari felle et aceto po-
tan lancea uulnerari. Tu domine per has
sanctas passionis quas ego indignus
uolo. et per scām tuā meam libera me
de peccatis infirmi et p̄ducere me digneris
quo p̄duxisti tuum cruciatum latronem
nbi confitentem. Qui cum deo patre & spū.

Deus p̄picius **Deo inuoca**
sto michi p̄dū et sis custos
mei omnibus diebus uite
meae. Deus abraham. deus ysaac. deus ia-
cob. mitte in auxilium meum. michaē
archangelum tuum qui me custodiat
p̄longat uisitat et defendat ab omnibus
inimicis meis uisibilibus et inuisibilibus.
Sancte michaē archangele dei. defende me
hodie in p̄dio. ut non peram in timen-
do iudicio. archangele dei michaē. p̄ gra

140
tiam quam meruisti te deprecari. per unige-
nitum filium dei. ut cūpias me hodie. et
in omni tempore. a periculis mortis a sub-
itanea et in prouisa morte. S̄c̄ michaē.
S̄c̄ gabriel. S̄c̄c̄raphaē. omnes sancti
angeli et archangeli dei defendite et succu-
rite michi. Deprecor uos omnes uirtutes
celorum per summū regis potentiam ut
sitis michi in auxilium quod nullus in-
imicus me condempnare possit. nec in con-
nino. nec in domo. nec in igne. nec in aqua
neq; dormientem neq; uigilantem. Ete.

Ancora domini fugite peris ad uise-
untat leo de tribu iuda. stips dauid. radie
p̄sse. alla. Saluator mundi salua me.
qui per crucem et sanguinem tuum red-
uisti me. Auxiliare me. dñe deus meus.

Agios **A**gios **A**gios

Dne xpi salua me **D**ne xpi pte
ge me **D**ne xpi defende me. **A**n noie
patis **E**t filii **E**t sps sancti. Amen.

Splendens **Dei conuicta oio**
facies. nostra redemptoris.
In qua nitet species diuini
splendens. In pulsa panni
culo mucra candoris. Data q; uerone. sig
num ob amoris. Salus dnus simili. spe
culum sanctorum. Quod uidere cupiunt.
spiculis colorum. Nos ab omni macula
purga uiciorum. Atq; nos conserua. in
gratorum. Saluena gloria. in hac
uita dura. Labili et fragili. non transi
ra. Nos pduc ad patriam. o felice figura
Ad uidendum faciem. que est xpi pura.
Esto nobis quis. nimium adiuuamur.
Dulce refrigerium. atq; consolamen.

146
Ut nobis non noceat. hostile gnamai
Sed fruamur inque. omnes dicant ame.
Ps Deus miseratur nu. **G**loria patri.

Eius **X**pi **P**ater noster. Et neno?

V Signatum est sup nos lumen uultus tui dne.

R Dediti letitiam in corde meo. **V** Illumina

faciem tuam super seruum tuum. **R** Deus meus

spem meam in te. **V** Et fac meum signum in bono.

R Ut uideant qui me oderunt et confundant

qm tu domine adiuuisti me et consolatus es

me. **V** Dne exaudi. **R** Et clamor. **Oratio**

Deus qui nobis signasti lu

mine uultus tui memoria

te tuum. ad instanciam ue

rone p magnam tuam sudario unpu

lam relinquere uoluisti. per crucem et pas

sionem tuam. tribue quis ut nos ita nuc

in terris per speculum in enigmate uenera

n honorare adorare tripsum valeamus.
ut te tunc face ad faciem venturum sup
nos iudicium serui iudicamus. Dñm nos
trum ih̄m xp̄m filium tuū. Qui trum.

Que sancta **De sc̄a auce. orō**
que ad d̄o ut patris mei
nummas. corpus custodias.
mentem purificas. vitam sanctificas. mo
res emendas. cor meum celsi sapientia
illustres michi q̄ miser cum qui in te
passus est placatum facias. O lignum
vitalis et ara salutifera te ad d̄o salutem
uite eterne. suppliciter deprecans. ut per te
hostia salutifera et grata deo existam is
q̄ qui in te pepercit misericors totum
quod in me sibi contrarium est consumat
et carnalem estum temperet. iram extin
guat. linguam vaniloquio. et turpiloq̄o

142.
compescat et puritatis uerba in os meum
confirmet et omnem pollutionem mei
tis et corporis purificet et me a crimine p̄
gati in vitam honestam componet ip
so adiuuante cuius regnum et imperiū
p̄manet in secula seculorum. Amen.

Que sancta **Item alia Oratio**
te ih̄i xpe fili dei uiui. per sc̄am
gratiam tuam. ut diuinitas in
vniuersa dicta mea. et factura mea p̄
lecta aucte custodi caput meū. pro breue
dicta aucte custodi oculos meos. pro uene
randa aucte custodi os meum. pro dilecta
aucte custodi manus meas. pro sancta
aucte custodi uisera mea. pro gliosa aucte
custodi genua mea. pro honorabili aucte
custodi pedes meos. et omnia membra
mea ab omnibus adūsitatib; pro d̄di

cata quæ in corpore xpi custodi animam
meam et libera me in nouissimo die de oibz
insidus diaboli pro clavis sanctis qui in
corpore xpi confixi erant. tribue michi ui
tam eternam et misericordiam tuam et uisitatio ni
a illustret spiritum meum. sancte deus sanctifica
me. fortis deus confirma me. Immortalis
deus misere anime mee. Amen. *Her oio*

*dicatur ante passionem iherosolimiticam et quo
ndie dicitur prodit. oratio.*

A mensam dulcissimam com
muni tu domine ihu xpe.
ergo peccator depressis manibus
nil presumens. sed de tua confidens misericordia
et bonitate accedere uero: et contumescere.
Nam cor et corpus habeo multis criminibus
maculatum. mentem et linguam non
caute custoditam. Ergo o pia deitas. o ter

143.
menda maiestas ego miser inter angustias
deprensus. ad te fontem misericordie lauandus pro
curo. ad te sanandus festino. ad te confu
gio. Et quem iudicium sustinere nequeo. sal
uatorem habere suspico. Tibi domine pla
gas meas ostendo tibi uictimas meas
de te ro. uideo peccata mea multa etiam mag
na. et timedo. Uideo suauitatem tuam et
misericordiam quam non est numerus. et suspi
rare audeo. Respice ergo in me oculus tue
misericordie domine ihu xpe et ecce deus homo
confiteor propter hominem. Exaudi me spe
rantem in te misere mei pleni misericordie
et peccatis tui qui in fonte misericordie nunc
quam manare cessabis. Salue salutaris
uictima pro me et omni humano genere
in patibulo tuas oblata. Salue nobilis
et preciosissime sanguis de uulneribus qua

fieri domini mei profluens et p[er] tota[m] terram
mundi abluens. Recordare d[omi]ne creatur
tue quam tuo sacro sanguine redemisti.
Penitet me q[ui]a peccata[m] incipio emendare q[uo]d
male feci. Aufer ergo a me clementissime
ih[esu]m. omnes iniquitates meas. ut p[er] unifi
catus mente et corpore. degustare digne
merear sancta s[ac]ram[en]ta. et concede ut h[ab]ea[m] s[an]c[t]a
p[re]libatio[n]e[m] corporis et sanguinis tui quam
ego indignus suscipere intendo. sit peccat[orum]
meor[um] remissio. sit delictor[um] meor[um] p[er]fecta pur
gatio. sit turpium cogitacionu[m] effugatio.
honoru[m] que s[an]c[t]i sui regeneratio operum
q[ue] tibi placitum salubris efficatio. a[n]i[m]e
quoq[ue] et corporis cont[ra] inimicor[um] insidias
firma tuio. Am[en]. **Alia oratio**

Quipotentis et misericors d[omi]s
ecce ad sacramentu[m] corporis et

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sanguinis filij tui domini n[ost]ri ih[esu]m xpi. acc
do. tanqu[am] infirmus ad medicinu[m] vite. In
mundus. ad fontem vite. cecus ad lumina
claudatis stans. Egruus ad deum celi et
terre. Quidus ad regem gl[ori]e. Rogo ergo in
mensam clementiam tuam. quatinus me
am curare digneris infirmitatem. lauare
feditatem illuminare cecitatem. ditare pau
peritatem. uestire nuditatem. ut ipsum pa
ueri angelorum regem regum d[omi]ni domi
niantiu[m]. cum tanta reuerencia et honore
tanta suscipiam cont[ra]tione. et amore.
tali fide et pietate. tali p[ro]posito et humilita
te sicut expedit saluti anime mee. **D**a
mantissime d[omi]s. da michi suscipere corpus et
sanguine[m] unigeniti filij tui d[omi]ni n[ost]ri ih[esu]m
xpi. quod n[ati]uit de uirgine maria. ut cor
pori suo mystico merear incorporari. et

inter eius membra communerari. O pat
amantissime concede michi dilectissime di
lectum filium tuum. quem nunc quidem ue
latum suscipere ppono nudata tandem fa
cie contemplan. Per xpm. **In alia oratio.**

Sancte spiritus qui uterum cal
tissime semper uirginis mane
tua uirtute fecundasti eam q
di filium patre fecisti. uisita et imple cor
meum tua gratia salutar. et fac me sacri
corporis et sanguinis tui. misterium qd
de te conceptum. et ex uirgine semper uirgine
modo natum. tam sancte sumere. et inuola
biliter custodire ut per hoc peccatum ueniam
et carnis beatitudinis requiem ualeam op
tuer. Amen. **Kyrie** **Xp** **kyrie**
et **P**ater noster **E**t uenios Sed libera
nos a malo. **V** Ego dixi domine miserere mihi.

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R Sana dñe animam meam quia peccavi tibi.
V Cor mundum crea in me deus. **R** Et spm m
tum inuoca in uisceribus meis. **V** Domine ex
audi orationem meam. **R** Et clamor meus f. **oro**

Deus qui sacratissimam cenam
cum discipulis tuis celebrasti
ante passionem et in eadem
cena in panis fractione te ipsum dedisti tu
bue quis. ut quo quis hoc sacramenta su
mimus. in tuis meritis et corpore tibi panis
uini. et a peccatis omnibus absolui et
post hanc uitam eterno conuiuio uirtute
et penitencia diuinitatis tue pfrui merea
mur te prestante. Qui cum deo patre et spi
ritu sancto uiuus et regnas deus Per oia
secula seculorum. Amen.



Dñi xpe eterna
dulcedo te amā
aum iubilus
credens omne
gaudium et omne
desiderium. salus
et amator omni
pccatorum. uere
penitentium. qui delicias tuas testatus
es esse cum filiis hominum propt̄ hoīam
homo factus es in fine tempor. Memē
to omnis p̄meditacionis finis et ultimi
moris quem in humano corpore susti
nuisti. instante saluberrime passionis
tue tempore in diuino corde ab eterno p̄e
p̄ordinato. Memorato tristitiae et ama
ritudinis quas in animo tep̄so attul
tante habuisti. quando in ultima ora

Study

discipulis tuis. corpus tuū et sanguinem
tuum tradidisti pedis eorum lauisti. hūilit̄
ac dulciter eos consolando. imminente pas
sionem p̄dixisti. ut emento omnis trano
ris angustie et doloris quos in tuo dica
to corpore. antepassionem crucis tue per
tulisti. quando post orationem
et sanguinem sudorem tradidisti. ab det
ta gente capielatis. a fallis quoq; testib;
amulabans. a tribus iudicib; iniuste iudi
calans. in electa ciuitate. in paschali tē
pore. in florida corporis tui uicentate in
nocenter condemnalans. ueste pp̄ua ex
uelans. ueste aliena induelans. colaphi
Zalans. oculis et facie uelalans. alapis
ordelans. ad columpnam ligalans. flagel
lans. spinis coronalans. anudine in
capite fencelans. et innumerabilib; alijs

calumpnijs lacralans. Da michi queso
ob memoriam hanc ante crucem tuam esse
passionum. ueram ante mortem meam con-
tentionem. puram confessionem. dignam
satisfactionem. et omnium peccatorum meorum
plena remissionem. Amen. **Pater noster.**

Qui mundi fabricator quem nulla diuisio
uero in termino metit. qui ter-
ram palma concludis. recordare amarissi-
mi doloris quem sustineras cum suauissi-
mas manus tuas ad crucem obtulis. cla-
uis primo affixerunt. et ad perforandos
delicantissimos pedes tuos cum non essis
conueniens uoluntati eorum. dolorem super
dolorem uulneribus tuis addiderunt. et ita
audeliter te distrahunt. et extendunt in
longum et latum crucis tue. ut dissoluerentur

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compagnos membrorum tuorum. Deprecor te pro
huius sanctissimi et amarissimi in cruce do-
loris memoriam. ut des michi timorem et
amorem tuum. Amen. **Pater noster. Aue maria.**

Qui celestis medicus. recordare
doloris inuolens et doloris.
quos in alto crucis patibulo
laniatus passus es. in omnibus dilaceratis
membris tuis. quorum nullum in suo
statu recte permanserat. ita ut nullus dolor
similis tuo dolori inueniret. quia a plan-
ta pedis. usque ad uerticem capitis non fuit
in te sanitas. et tunc omnium dolorum in me-
moriam patrum pro inimicis per exaltati dicis.
Pater ignosce illis. quia nesciunt quid fa-
ciunt. Per hanc memoriam et ob memoriam
illius doloris. concede ut haec memoria pas-
sionis tue amarissime. sit omnium peccatorum meorum

plena remissio. Amen. **Pater noster. Ave maria.**

Domi nre vera libertas angelorum
paradisus deliciarum. Mane
to terrore et horrore quos sus
tineras. quando omnes inimici tui quasi
leones feroacissimi te circumsteterunt. et co
phizantionibus conspuantibus unguicula
nibus atrisque maledictis penis te mole
stauerunt. et per omnia contumeliosa
uetera dura uetera durissimaque tormenta
domine ihu xpe. per penas quibus te omnes
inimici tui afflixerunt. deprecor te ut liberis
me ab omnibus inimicis meis uisibilibus
et inuisibilibus. et dones me sub umbra a
larum tuarum. propter mercedem eterne salutis in
uenire. Amen. **Pater noster.**

Ave maria.

Domi nre speculum. **Ave maria.**
claustrum eterne. Memento il

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lius meritis quam habuisti. quoniam in speculo se
remississime mansuetudinis tue conspexisti. propter
mercedem detor tuorum per merita tue pas
sionis saluandum. et reprobandum ma
lorum in multitudinem dampnandum.
et per abyssum misericordie tue. qua no
bis perditis et desperatis peccatis tunc co
soluisti. et prope quam latroni in cruce
exhibuisti dicens. Hodie mecum eris in pa
radiso. Rogo te pie ihu xpe. ut facias mem
oriam tuam in hora mortis mee. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave maria.

Domi nre amabilis amantissimus
et desiderabilis. Memento me
ritis quam habuisti. quando nudus et mi
serabilis in cruce pependisti. et omnes ami
ci tui et uoti aduersum te steterunt. et nul
lum consolantem in uenetas. sed solo mo

dilectam genitricem tuam in amantudine
animum tibi fidelissime altante. quam dilec-
to discipulo tuo commendasti dicens. Mu-
lier ecce filius tuus. Rogo te pie ihu per gla-
dium doloris. qui tunc aus animam per-
transiuit. ut compans nudu in oibus
tribulationib; et afflictionibus meis cor-
poralibus et spualib; et da nudu consolati-
onem in omni tribulationis tempore.

Amen. **Pater noster. Ave maria**

S ihu fons inhaulste pietatis. qui
in intimo dilectionis affectu in-
uice dixisti. Sino. scilicet salutem huani
genens. accide que sumus nostrum deside-
rium ad omne opus perfectu. et sitim car-
nalis concupiscentie. et estum mundane
delectationis in nobis penitus refrigra et
extingue. Amen. **Pater noster. Ave maria.**

149.
D ihu dulcedo cordium. ingens q;
suauitas mentium per ama-
ntudinem aceti et fellis quam
pro nobis sustinisti. et degulstasti in hora
mortis tue. redde nob; corpus et sanguine
tuum. digne pape ad remediū et ad conso-
lationem animarum nostrarum. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave maria

D ihu regalis uirtus iubilus q;
mentalis. memento angustie
et doloris quem passus es. quando pre mor-
tis amantudine. et uideo; insultatione ai
magna uoce te a deo patre dicitum cla-
masti dicens Deus meus deus meus ut
quid dereliquisti me. Per hanc angustia
peto te ut in angustis mortis nostre ne
derelinquas nos domine deus nr. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave maria.

Domi alpha et omega et uictus
in omni medio mordare. quia
a summo capitis usque ad plan-
tam pedis. te pro nobis in aquam passio-
nis dimersisti. propter latitudinem et mag-
nitudinem uulnere tuorum doce me per-
uicram sanctitatem. latum mandatum tuum
in peccatis nimis dimersum. Amen. **Pater**

Domi abyssus **nr. Aue maria.**
profundissime mie. Rogo te
propter profunditatem uul-
nerum tuorum que transierunt tuam car-
nem medullam ossium ac uiscerum tuorum.
ut me submersum in peccatis emergas et ab-
scundas in foraminibus uulnere tuorum a facie
uirtute donec pertranscat furor tuus dñe. A-

men. **Pater nr. Aue maria.**
Domi uentatis speculum. uni-

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tatis signum. cantatis uinculum. amene
to innumerabilium uulnere tuorum quibus
a summo capitis usque ad summum pedis uulnat
fusti et ab ipsius uideri lacat fusti et sanguine scio
tuo rubricatus. quoniam magnitudinem dolo-
ris in unguinea carnetua pertulisti pro no-
bis. pie ihu quid ultra debuisti facere quod
non fecisti. Scilicet quid pro pie ihu omnia uul-
nera tua in corde meo primo assimo. sang-
netuo ut in illis legam dolorem et amore
tuum. ut in gratiam amone. usque in fine
uite mee iugiter perseruem. Amen. **Pater**

Domi leo **nostr. Aue maria.**
fortissime reuincibilis et uinc-
tissime. amone dolois que
passus es. cum omnes uires cordis et cor-
poris tui tibi percutis asserunt. et inclinato
capite dimisti. Consummatum est. per hac

angustiam et dolorem viscerum meorum in ultima
consummatione carnis meae spiritus. cum a
nima mea auerata fuerit. et spiritus meus
conturbatus. Amen. **Pater noster. Ave maria.**

Domi uigente altissimi patris
splendore et figura substance
eius. Memento subire com-
mendationis qua spiritum commendasti dicis.
Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum
meum. Et lacrimato corpore rupto et corde
cum ualido clamore perfectis uisceribus
meis tue pro nobis redimendis respirasti.
Per hanc preciosissimam mortem tuam.
prece terrene colorum conforta me ad resisten-
dum diabolo. mundo carni et sanguini.
ut mundo mortuus tibi uiuam et in nouissi-
ma hora carnis meae. suscipe ad te reuertente
spiritum meum exulem et peregrinum. Amen.

157.
Pater noster. Ave maria.
Ihu uis uera et femina. Me-
mento super effusiones et habun-
dantes effusiones sanguinis tui quem tu
sicut de uino expresso copiose effudisti. quoniam
in uita torcular solus calcasti. et ex lancra
militari profuso late nobis sanguine et aqua pro-
uasti ita ut ne minima gutta in te remaneret
et tunc dominum quoniam in uere fasciculatus in alio suspensus fuisti.
et delicata caro tua euasit et licet uiscerum
nostrorum exanuit. et medulla ossium nostrorum
exanuit. Per hanc amarissimam mortem
tuam. et preciosissimum sanguinis tui effusio-
nem. O dulcis ihu. uulnera cor meum ut
penitentie et amoris lacrimae sint michi pa-
nes die ac nocte. et conuerte me totaliter ad
te. ut cor meum tibi perpetuo sit habitabile.
et consilio mea tibi planta. et accepta sit

semp. ac finis uite mee ita laudabilis. ut
post huius uite terminū. te memar lauda
re cum omnib; sīs tuis meritiū. Amen

Pater noster. Ave maria. Credo in dñi. o. o.

Dñi nazarene respice ad meas miserias tu
bulaciones et angustias que circumdant me
p̄cor: te dñe conitudo corde et spū hūilitatis
et mente deuotissima. ut exaudias me p̄p̄
nomen s̄m̄ tuū ineffabile. et de ista tribula
tōe melibris unde in uoco te ad te p̄clamo
alpha et ω. ihū in uirgine ut liberes me ab
angustijs necessitatib; et periculis et p̄secu
torib; a p̄secutōe et p̄nitiōe. Amen **or:**

Domine ihū ep̄e patro oīm ordina
um et creaturaz. sicut tu uerā carne
te unigine maria accepisti. ita uerā ac
piam quod peto. ut tu me per omnia ad
iuues quia tu es benedictus in secula. Amē

Study

Has uidas laudis. qui sacra uirgine gau
dis. Et uenerando piam. studas laudare
mariam. Uirginis intacte. cum ueneris
ante figuram. Precor uide. ne tace
atur aue. Inuenies uocem. sic salutando
mariam. **Salue uirgine filata.**



Salue uirgo u
ginum. stella
matutina.
Sordidum
gammum. ue
ra medicina.
Consolatrix
hominū. qui
st in ruina.

Precibus precantium. mater te inclina.

Regina.

Regina regnanū. uirgo puellans.

Pependisti filium. mater singularis.
Sacrarium palacium. dei conuocans.
Diuinum auxilium. nobis largians.

Misericordie

Hons misericordie. dia meruisti.
Atq; mater gratie. quando concepisti.
Summum regni glie. quam post pepisti.
Largitorum uenie. mundo contulisti.

Uita

Uita ma uitas. est de terra nata.
Et semper uirginitas. uisat illibata.
Nam tua humilitas. fuit opata.
Quod in te diuinitas. esset incarnata.

Dulcedo

Dulcedo dulcedinis. fructus benedictus.
Dentis tui uirginis. agnus dei dicitus.
Cuius uida sanguinis. homo dicitus.
Totus labe criminis. est et demon uictus.

Et spes nostra.

Et spes nra solida. es uirgo mana.
Uirgo uelle florida. ut in ysaia.
Rore nri madida. dicit propheta.
Pulcra ut me candida. dei mater pia.

Salue

Salue hie fidium. fulgens ut aurora.
Queres supra liliu. pulcra et diuina.
Omne qd est noxium. tolle sine mora.
Et dei auxilium. pro nobis implorea.

Ad te

Ad te clamant miseri. multum desolati.
Nobis aures apert. pectoris sacrati.
Ut a fance miseri. per te liberati.
Consequamur libru. uiam tu uati.

Clamamus.

Clamamus deuocus. ad te suspirantes
Et affectuosius. te pie precantes.

De quod intus mala cogitantes.
Hesimus exterius opere penantes.

Exules

Exules exilio. omnes sumus dati.
Pro parentis uino. gloria priuati.
Paradisi gaudio. et exorbitati.
Tuo beneficio. sumus reparati.

Fili

Fili suspiria. prodire coguntur.
Mundi pro miseria. per quam inuoluuntur.
Ad dampnata uina. sepe dilabuntur.
Sed misericordia tua fulcuntur.

Que

Que lapsus intulit. dampnum despatum.
Et a nobis abstulit. gaudium iratum.
Quod post eam intulit. uerbum incarnatum.
Quando mortem sustulit. deleuit peccatum.

Ad te.

Ad te clamant iugiter. tui famulantes.
Et in te fidit omnes sperantes.
Iuuamenti humiliter tui implorantes.
Quos misericorditer audias clamantes.

Suspiramus

Suspiramus fletibus. nostris pro peccatis.
Et multis gemitibus. per nos perpetuis.
Sed in te confidimus. mater pietatis.
Vae peccantibus. ueniam da gratis.

Gementes

Gementes uolumus. mala retroacta.
Que inique gessimus. mente non coacta.
Sed in te confidimus. manna intacta.
Ut a te que petimus. sint in nobis facta.

Et fletus

Et fletus doloribus. mente uerecunda.
Lumen nostris cordibus. infunde serena.
Vicioz sordibus. nos benigne munda.

Iunge nos celestibus. mana iocunda.

In hac ualle

In hac ualle misera. multum tenebrosa.
Hominum sunt genera. plurimum ferosa.
Nam eorum corpora. sunt contagiosa.
Propter facta scelera. et obprobriosa.

Lacrimarum

Lacrimarum uulsi. non sunt uel aque.
Quin senes et pueri. et plebs unaquaque.
Lincant quod amuli querant omniquaque.
Et fraus huius seculi. trahat usque quaque.

Ergo

Ergo ergo dinge. ad terrās mentes.
Atque lapsos erige. conforta mentes.
Et errantes conge. te pie querentes.
Ut scros nos dinge. in te confidentes.

Aduocata

Aduocata libera coram saluatore.

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Postulare propera tu consueto more
Ac progente misera. trugno fauore
Natum tuum mitiga materno amore.

Rostra

Rostra spes fidelium. semper furtalis
Est et erit omnium. mater uingialis.
Ut nobis non noceat. demon infernalis
Prongat et nutrit. ac foueat sub aliis

Illos tuos misericordis odos ad nos

Illos pios odos et misericordis uir.

Conuerte ad famulos. in bono discordis

Et ad malum sedulos. foras et cordis

Vir carnis stimulos. delicias et cordis.

Et ilium benedictum fructum.

Ilium uirginium. fructum benedictum

Monstra nobis inditum. pium et non fictum

Per que genus perditum. a demone deuctum

Datum in intantum. uixit inuictum.

Ventris tui

Ventris tui visera. ihm portauerunt
Et trata ultra. ipsum lactauerunt
Cui uidi uulnera. dura intulerunt
Et cum post uetera. omnia tradiderunt.

Nobis post hoc exilium ostende.

Nobis post exilium: benignū ostende.

Isium tuum filiū. et nobis impende
Verum patro amū. et manū extende.
Quando ad iudiciū erimus defende.

Odianis

Odianis clemencia sūme bonitatis
Adonaj filia. flos uirginitatis
De plena gracia. fons humilitatis
Virginum lenia. scala salutatis.

Opia

Opia pulcherrima. regina celorum
Camera dignissima dei seculorum

156.
Virgo prudentissima. gemma confessor
Atq; ioandissima laus apostolor

Odulas

Odulas dulcissima sup fauo melle
Columba castissima. carnis omni felle
Mater benignissima uicta nōn uelle
Tu cuncta firmissima a nobis repelle.

Mana

Mana erimia natum deprecare

Ut quicumq; omnia hec uult uentare

In tui memoria et te collaudare

Dignetur in gloria sua collocare. Amen.

V. Ora pro nobis sancta dei genitrix. **R.** Ut
digni efficiamur promissionib; xpi. **Oro**

Eus qui de teate mane uirginis
inter uerbum tuū angelo nuna
ante camen suscipere uoluisti p̄a sup
pliabus tuis ut qui uere eam dei genitricē

ordinis eius apud te intercessionibus
adiuuenur. **P**ro xpi dñi nrm. **Oratio**

Quatenus et in eternum
benedicta singularis et in
comparabilis dei genitrix
uirgo maria. gratissimū
dei templum spiritus sancti sacramentum ia
nuā regni celorū. per quam post deum
totus uiuit orbis terrarū. Audiamā matrem
mē aures tue pietatis indignis supplica
tōib; meis. et esto michi miserimo pec
catori pia in omnib; auxiliatrix. **O** iohā
nes beatissime xpi familiaris et amice
qui ab eodem dño ihu xpo uirgo es elec
tus et inter ceteros magis dilectus atq;
iustissimus celestibus ultra om̄s imbutus
ap̄tus eius et euāgelista factus es p̄da
rissimus. Te etiam inuoco cum maria

157.
matre eiusdem salūtoris nri ut michi opē
tuam cum ipsa conferre digneris. **O**
due gemine celestes maria et iohes. **O**
duo luminaria diuinitus ante deum
lucerna uestris radijs scelerū meorū effu
gate nubila. **V**os enim estis illi duo
in quibus deus pater per filiū suū sp̄cia
liter edificauit sibi domū. et in quibus
ipse filius dei ob sincerissime uirginitatis
meritum dilectionis sue confirmauit p̄
uilegiū in cruce pendens uui uestrum ita
dicens. **M**ulier ecce filius tuus. **D**einde
ad alium. **E**cce mater tua. In huius ergo
tam sacratissimi amoris dulcedine. q̄
tunc ore dominico uelut mater et filius
ad inuicem coniuncti estis uobis duob;
ego miserimus p̄corū comendo hodie
corpus meum et animam meam ut in

omnibus horis atq; momentis uite mee
interius et exterius firmi custodes et pñ a
pud dominū intercessores michi existere dig
nissimi. Credo enim firmiter. et indubitā
ter factū: quia uelle uestrum uelle dei est.
et nolle uestrum nolle dei est. unde quid qd
ab illo petitis sine mora obtinebitis.
Per hanc ergo tam potentissimam uestrę
dignitatis uirtutem poscite michi queso
peccatorū corporis et aīę salutē. Agite que
so agite uestris sanctis orationibus. ut cor me
um inuisere et in habitare dignetur sp̄s
almus gr̄arū largitor optimus qui me
a cunctis uiciorū sordib; et purget uirtu
tibus sanctis illustret et erodiet in dilectio
ne dei et proximi p̄ferte stare et p̄seuerare
me faciat. Et post huius uite cursum ad
gaudia me ducat electorū suorū benignissi

158.
mus paraditis granarum largitor op
timus. Qui cum patre et filio uenerunt
et consubstantialis cum eis et in eis uiuit
et regnat deus per infinita seculorū secula.

Amen. **Item alia oratio.**

Dico te domina sancta
mana mater dei pietate
plenissima summi regis
filia mater gloriosissima. mater orpha
norum. consolatio desolatorū. uia erran
tium. salus et spes omnium in te speran
tium. uirgo ante partum. uirgo in partu.
uirgo post partum. fons misericordie. fons sa
lus et gr̄arū. fons pietatis et lenitatis. fons
consolationis et indulgentie. Per illā
sanctam ineffabilem leticiam qua exul
tauit spiritus tuus in illa hora quando
tibi per gabrielem archangelum annū

natus et conceptus filius dei fuit. Et per illud
diuinum misterium quod tunc opera-
tus est spiritus sanctus in te. Et per illam
sanctam ineffabilem pietatem gratiam
matrem amorem et humilitatem per quam
filius dei descendit accipere humanam
carnem in uenerabilissimo utero tuo. Et
in quibus te respexit quando te commendauit
sancto iohanni aplo et euangeliste. Et quando
te exaltauit super choros angelorum. Et per
illam sanctam ineffabilem humilitatem
in qua respondisti archangelo gabrieli.
Ecce ancilla domini fiat michi secundum uer-
bum tuum. Et per illa sanctissima quon-
dam gaudia tua. que habuisti de filio tuo
domino ihesu christo. Et per sanctam maximam
compassionem et acerbissimum cordis dolo-
rem quem habuisti quando filium tuum dominum

159.
nostrum ihesum christum ante crucem nudatum et
in ipsa leuatum uidisti. pendentem crucem
fixum uulneratum. sumentem. fel apponi.
clamantem audisti et morientem uidisti.
Et per quinque uulnera filii tui. et per con-
tractionem uiscerum suorum premium dolo-
re uulnerum. Et per dolorem quem habuisti
quando uidisti eum uulneratum. et per
fontes sanguinis sui. et per omnem pas-
sionem eius. et per omnem dolorem cordis
tui. Et per fontes lacrimarum tuarum. ut cum
omnibus sanctis et electis dei. ueni et festina
in auxilium et consilium meum in omnibus
oracionibus et requestis meis et in omnibus an-
gustis et necessitatibus meis. Et in omnibus
rebus illis in quibus ego sum facturus lo-
cuturus. aut cogitatus omnibus diebus
noctibus horis atque momentis uite mee.


Et michi famulo tuo. **R.** impetres a dilecto
filio tuo complementum. omni misericordia et con-
solatione. omni consilio et auxilio. omni
adiutorio. omni benedictione et sanctifica-
tione. omni salutatione pace et prosperi-
tate. omni gaudio et alacritate etiam ha-
bundantiam omnium bonorum spiritualium et
corporalium et gratiam sancti spiritus qui me te-
ne per omnia disponat animam meam cus-
todiat. corpus meum regat. mentes erigat
cursum dirigat. sensus protegat. mores cor-
ponat. actus prohibet. vota et desideria perficiat.
cogitationes sanctas instituat. Preterita
mala indulgeat presentia emendet. futura
moderat vitam honestam et honorabilem
michi tribuat. Et victoriam contra omnes
adversitates huius mundi. beatam pacem
spiritualem et corporalem michi tribuat. to

160.
nam spem caritatem fidem castitatem hu-
militatem et patientiam. Quinque sensus
corporis mei regat et protegat. septem opa
miserie. complere me faciat. duodecim articulos
fidei. Decem precepta legis firmiter credere
et tenere me faciat. Et a septem peccatis mor-
talibus me liberet et defendat usque in finem
vitae mee. Et in novissimis diebus meis os-
tende michi faciem tuam et annuncia
michi diem et horam obitus mei. Et habeat
orationem meam simplicem suscipias et ex-
audias et vitam eternam michi tribuas.
Audi et exaudi medullissima maria ma-
ter dei et misericordie. Amen. **Item alia Oratio.**

R. ego te precissima dei genitrix
Quingo maria per amorem vir-
ginis filii tui intercedas pro me
peccatore. Ut digneris me exaudire in omnibus

in necessitatibus meis. ut non derelinquas me
sine adiutorio tuo. in illa hora et in die
iudicii. ut seminis ueniam ad portas pa-
radisi ante conspectum dei. ut merear uidere
dei filium. et leticiam sempiternam sine fi-
ne habere cum illo. **O dulcissima** maria
ornamentum seculi. **O pia** domina. **O** margari-
ta celestis sponsi. **O gloriosissima** sancta
maria. tu porta paradisi. Tu ianua celi.
Tu templum domini. Tu palacium christi.
Per te uirginissima dei genitrix uirgo maria
porte paradisi aperte sunt. Per te pariter inter
angelos et homines facta est. Per te mun-
dus restauratus est. Per te porte inferni
fracte sunt. Et te saluator mundi natus
est. Per te omnia bona facta sunt in celo et
in terra. Tu gloria ierusalem. Tu leticia in israel.
Tu exultatio in omnem mundum. Tu es etiam

161.
ante mundi constitutionem et permanens
sine fine in regno filii tui. ubi seruiunt tibi
angeli et archangeli. Creditores sunt tibi
patriarche et prophete. Obediunt tibi aposto-
lici et confessores. uirgines et omnes uir-
tutes celorum. Ideo precor te beatissima et
gloriosissima sancta maria per uirgini-
tum filium tuum. qui talem honorem tibi pre-
parauit. ut non derelinquas me sine tuo
adiutorio in omnibus angustiis et necessi-
tationibus meis. **O dulcissima**. **O sanctissi-
ma**. **O piissima**. **O misericordissima**. **O**
sanctissima. **O pulcherrima**. **O filia** dei.
O sponsa christi. **O scala** dei. **O mater** di-
uina uirgo maria comendo tibi corpus meum
et animam meam omnesque sensus meos
ut me famulum tuum ab omnibus malis
prestantis presentibus et futuris custodias. Amen.



O sanctissima et mitissima spes
omnium in te sperantium scā
maria domina et matrona
nostra. Cū hora illa qua terra mortis
caligine oculi mei in tanto p̄grauabunt
ut lucem huius seculi uidere non ualeāt
et linguam meam mouere non possim
ad inuocandum te. Et meū miserum cor
et ualde fragile. anxia trepidatione pre in
mundorū spūum inuasionē. ita palpitāt
et stupescat. ut omnia officia membrorū
meorū contremescant et in strage moribū
di sudoris pre mortua apparant. Adueni
tunc michi dñā mea cum omni choro
angelorū et succurre michi cum omni
militia celorum et suscipe egredientem ani
mam meam. in tuam benedictam fidem.
et sub tua p̄tione et p̄senta ram ante


Study

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tribunal filii tui ubi celsi uestre indui me
ratur. et ibi laudibus et fithis angelorū ac
sonatur. Per xpm dñm n̄m. Amen. **V.**
Post partum uirgo inuolata permansisti. **R.**
De genitrici intercede pro nobis. **Oratio.**



O Deus qui beatissimam uirgi
nem mariam in conceptu. et
in partu uirginitate seruata
dupliā gaudio letificasti quiq; eius gau
dia filio tuo resurgente et ad celos ascen
dente multiplicasti. presta quīs ut ad illd
ineffabile gaudium quo tuum assumpta
gaudet in celis eius meritis et intercessio
nibus mererem puenire. Per xpm



Ad dñi n̄i ihū xpi regina celi. domina
mundi impatris inferni. miserere mei et co
aus populi xpiani. Amen.

Quicumque huiusmodi septem gaudia in honore
la. et mane uirginis sanctae in die dixerit.
Cunctis dies indulgentiarum obtinebit a
domino demerito qui hoc septem gau-
dia proprio sermo composuit.

Virgo templum trinitatis. deus summe bonitatis. et misericordie. Qui tue humilitatis. dulcoris suauitatis. uidit et firmatae. De te nasci nuntiatur. cum per angelum mandat. tibi salus gratia. Modum queris demonstratur. dum consentis in carnatur. confestim rex glorie. **P**er hoc gaudium precamur. quod hunc regem mereamur. habere propitium. Et ab eo precamur.

De portu impiam. in terra uiuentium. Et secundo gratularis. cum tu

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solen stella pans. uelut luna radium.
Panendo non grauians. uirgo manens
nec mutans. propter puerperium. Sicut
flos propter odorem. suum non perdit de-
orem. cum odor emittitur. Sicuti propter
creatorum. uirginitatis candorem. non per-
dis cum nascitur. **Q**uonia manna mater pia.
esto nobis iuxta uia. apud tuum filium.
Ans pro tua gratia. depelle nostra uia.

Per hoc sanctum gaudium.
Et primo gratulari. stella mo-
net quod morari. uidet super filio.
Quia a magis adrian. ipsum cernis et
ditari. muner tam uario. Stella notat
unitatem. tres quod reges trinitatem. in pre-
dicto filio. Annum mentis puritatem. mir-
ra carnis castitatem. et thus est oratio.
Quonia stella mundi. a patris sumus

mundi. parte uirgo mania. Et uirtutibus;
fructibus. leti tunc et uocandi. letamur in

Dantur uirgo tibi panna.
datur. cum a morte suscitatur.
rpe die terra. Per hoc fides
roboretur. ipse redit et mors fugatur. p
te plena gracia. Homo captus liberatur.
et ab ymo subleuatur. sursum ad celestia
Hostis uictus captiuatur. dolet gemit
annatur. amissa potentia. **E**rgo mir
ratoris. fide pax uirtutis houis. ut per
istud gaudium. Post cursum huius la
loris. lraus iungamur thouis. supnoe

Dantur uirgo **T**antum.
concepisti. ascendit cum
uidisti. filium in gloria. Tunc
a pte cognouisti. q tu mater erant. au
cras filia. In ascensu demonstratur. uia

164
per quam ascendatur. ad celi palatia. Et
go surgat et sequatur. istam uiam qui mo
ratur. in mundi miseria. **P**er hoc gau
dium rogamus. ne subit ualeamus. de
monis impio. Sed ad celos ascendam
ubi semper gaudamus. tui et cum filio.

Seruum gaudium ostendit. de
supnis qui descendit. in lin
guis paradisi. Dum co
firmat et defendit. replet mundat et accen
dit. a plos parit. In linguis est ignis
datus. ut per lingua sit sanatus. homo
linguis pditus. Et per ignem auerdat
qui fuerat maculatus. p pccm puitus.

Per hoc gaudium lraum. ora uirgo
num natum. ut in hoc calio. Delet
nostum ratum. ne sit nobis in peccati
in magno iudicio.

Ad septimū inuitauit. cum de
mundo te uocauit. xpc ad cel-
na. Super thronos exaltauit.
exaltatā honorauit. speciali grā. Honor
tibi sic prestatur. quod nemini referatur.
nisi per te uia. Nec uirtutibus ditat. nisi
per te au datur. uirtutum custodia.

Uirgo mater pietatis. sanctissimus lo-
catus. tuel misticum. Et nos seues a
petatis. et pducas cum leatis. ad eternū
gaudium. O maria tota munda. a per-
catis nos emunda. per her septē gaudia.
Et frunda nos frunda. et ducterū ad io-
nunda. paradisi gaudia. Amen.

Que dicitur sanctissima maria
mater gracie dei pietate plenif-
sima. summi regis filia. mater gloriosif-
sima. mater orphanor. consolatio desola-

165
torum. uia emanatū. salus et spes in te spe-
ranonum. uirgo ante partum. uirgo in partu.
uirgo post partum. fons miē. fons salu-
tis et gracie. fons pietatis et lenae. fons co-
solationis et indulgentiae. Intercedas pro
me peccāte. **Q**. famulo tuo ante conspectū
filij tui dñi nri ihu xpi. ut per suam mag-
nam misericordiam tuam q̄ sacratissimam
intercessionem concedat michi ante tempus
et diem mortis mee puram confessionem
de peccatis meis. ac contritionem et ueram peni-
tentiam. et post mortem cum sanctis et electis
suis uitam eternam ac omnibus fidelibus
uiuis et defunctis requiem sempiternā. Amen.

Siquis singulis diebus sablatiis cum
septem. Aue maria coram ymagine scē
marie genuflexus deuote penitendo legit
de eiusdem uisibili p̄sencia in eternis gaudebit.

Digna uirgo flos **ORATIO.**
multis regina theatros theo
tra impatit pacifica. di ge
nitrix uirginata dña pia
theoma grana. ortus fons puteus uia
sonita aurora. luna. solans. aces. porta
tellus. domus templum. brata gliosa. au
la tubus sola stella. analla. malagra
nata. uua. uinea. tunis. nauis redim
tre libratit. archa thalamus. synamo
mum lallanum. generaco homo. frã.
annica. uallis columba. tutur. tula. liler
pulcra phanna. sponsa mater. alma for
mosa. benedicta. rosa lilium. ianua ani
tas. talma oculi mulier. magna alipna
mana. **O** uirgo uirgini. o. uirgo regia.
sola spes hominũ. sola fiducia nostror
caminũ. purga uua. et patri luminum

166.
nos uonilia. **V.** Ora pro nobis sancta
di genitrix **R.** Ut digni efficiam pmissiomb;

At michi que **ORATIO** **Trp.**
so domine per intercessionem sal
sime di genitricis et uirginis
mane firma fides. et timor di in corde ga
lor salutis in capite. signum cruce in
fronte. illuminaco di in oculis. uerbũ
uitans in ore. uoluntas bona in mente
dilectio di et primi in pectore panno cal
titatis in amitu. honestas in amone so
britas in conuisione. humilitas in pl
peritate. pacencia in tribulacione. spes
in oratore amor uite eteme. pseuerancia
q̄ in bonis opibus usq̄ in finem. Per

ORATIO **Trp.** **Item alia oratio.**
Alitua mater mana que re
demptoris humane origine

edidisti. intemerata res per secula ualde ad
miranda uirginito tuo mea offer pueramina
di genitrix uirgo immaculata. Gaude q̄
gaudium ab angelo suscepisti. Gaude que
genisti eterni luminis claritatem. Gaude
mater. Gaude sancta di genitrix uirgo. tu
sola mater inuupta. te laudat omnis filii
tui creatura. te dñā mea deuotissima.
ego indignus p̄ccōr et negligens et sceleratus
famulus tuus pro modulo mee fragi
litate et ignorantie. laudo. glorifico. inue
dico. uenero. et in tuam custodiam me co
mendo. et omnes sensus meos cogitatio
nes desideria conuicia uoluntates. et om̄s
actus meos. totam q̄ uitam meam. et fi
nem uite mee et miseriam aiā meam ab
eterna dampnatione redimendam. Comē
da tu in me quod tuo uirginito tibi q̄ pla

167.
atum et acceptabile sit operari et p̄ficere dig
nare sensus conuicia cogitationes. actus
omnem uitam meam et finem sedem tuam
sanctam uoluntate et pietatem dignare
dirigere et disponere et in om̄i tempore in me
tuam laudem p̄ficere et uirtutione tue ser
uitutis augere. et uitam meam finem faci
as in tua laude ac seruitute ut in eternum
te inuener laudare et pro innumerabilibus
criminibus sceleribus p̄ccōis delictis negligentis
angustis et tribulationibus meis. pia sem
per apud filiū tuum interuenire digna
re di ore. Pater pater. Pater fili. uice
dilecte misere p̄ccōr et da a spaciū pau
tendi et studium conuertiendi et uitā eternā
p̄merendi. Amen. **Item alia**
de quinque gaudis mane.
De cuius conuicio solenni

plena gaudio. Ecclesia tristitia noua implet
leticia. **H**ue omnis natiuitas. nra fuit
solemnitas. Ut lufer lux oriens. uerum
solem puauens. **H**ue pia humilitas.
sine uirg fecunditas. Cuius annuatio.
nra fuit redemptio. **H**ue sancta uirgini
tas. immaculata castitas. Cuius purifica
tio. nra fuit purgatio. **H**ue preclara oi
bus. angustias uirtutibus. Cuius fuit assump
tio. nra glorificatio. **V** Post partu uirgo
inviolata permansisti. **R** Dea genitrix inter
cede pro nobis. **Oratio.**
Quius qui nos conuocauis.
natiuitatis. annuatiois.
purificatiois et assumptionis beate ma
rie uirginis gaudia reuolentes letificas
concede quibus sic eius laudibus et seruitio
digne insistere eamque uenerari et amare

168.
in tuis uicem in omni necessitate et angus
tia. et propter in hora mortis nre presentem
auxilia tuam sciamus et tuam post mor
tem per ipsam et cum ipsa gaudere meriam
in celis. Per xpm. **Q**uamque quinq
tribulationes beate marie uirginis singu
lis seculis fecerunt cum uno pi nre. et uno aue
maria deuote digneque puro corde dicunt
ab omnibus tribulationibus seculi liberabitur.

Maria dulcis misericors nos
audi loquentes. Quin
queque tristitias tibi refe
rentes. Primum fers tris
tiam templum te intrante. Dum p
phetat symeon. de ense uulnerante. Se
cundus luctus dicit. quando redisti.
Natum de ierusalem quando perdidisti.
Dum ipsum captum papis tenuis do

lo: ansat. Dum matris sanctas subue
nir nefat. Quanto tuo animo. ualde
lauans. Hunc pendentem publice. dū
mice sperulans. Quanta sit tristitia. dū
ipse defunctus. Cunctis brachis natis
est conuinctis. Per has quinque tristitias
ablue merorem. Et quia statū mundi.
nescimus meliorem. Post hanc uitam a
nimas. duc summū ad honorem. **Oratio**
pro nobis sancta dei genitrix. **Et** digni ef
ficiamur promissionibus xpi. **Oratio.**

Mana uirgo uirginū con
solatrix miserorum precamur
te per istas quinque tristitias
et angustias tuas quas in hoc mundo
una cum filio tuo dilectissimo pro nrā
salute patienter sustinisti quatinus om
nes tribulationes et angustias nrās a

169
more tuo et filij tui domini nrī ihū xpi pa
aciter ualeamus sustinere et humiliter
supare ut tibi et filio tuo hinc et in eternum
seruire mereamur et conregnare. **Oratio.**

Domina **Item alia oratio.**
gloriosa uirgo mana digna
re meis precationibus indignis
simis annuere quas effundere psumo co
ram dulcissimo filio tuo dño nrō ihū
xpo. et coram te p omnibus xpianis uiuis
ac defunctis. in omni serui etate et ordine
et pro animabus patris et matris mee. et
omniū parentum et affinium meorū. le
nefactorum et malefactorū. et ipsorū pro qui
buscumque fui sinu et eo debitor ac uolū
tarius orator qui fiduciam habent in
meis orationibus indignis ut pro eis de
precis pssimū filium tuū dñm nrām

ilim xpm ut eius precibus placatis
omnibus dare dignetur spacium uite pe
nitentie. et uoluntatem uniuersa mala p
tenta emendandi et nunquam ulterius repe
tendi et in bonis opibus usque in finem perse
uerandi et defunctis omnibus remissionem
omnium peccatorum suorum et uitam eternam
cum electis suis. Amen **Item alia oratio**

Que regina poli perantem tu
querere noli. Da michi tua do
na. dulcissima uirgo maria.

Da spacium uite. da diuitias sine lite.

Regnum celeste. post mortem da manifeste.

Ad te uirgo pia demens suspiro maria.

Tu miserere mei. mater et aula dei. Om
nia que torquent quorum iam pondere pressus.

Quo cupio nequius. proos extendere gressus.

Ergo precare dei. quod me compuncto digna

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Cōpungat. nec nō confessio ualde benigna
Dus succedat. satis et de famo plenum
Huc operi finem. precibus semp amenū.
Virgo maria dei precibus magnificauit
Dum concepit eam qui uelociter cuncta orauit
Confortans fragiles ergo aliter esuientes.
Exaltans humiles saluet sua festa colentes.

Virgo maria gracia plena dñs tecum **R**. Be
nedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus

uicinis tui ih̄s. **Oratio.**

Que regina poli perantem tu
querere noli. Da michi tua do
na. dulcissima uirgo maria.

Da spacium uite. da diuitias sine lite.

Regnum celeste. post mortem da manifeste.

Ad te uirgo pia demens suspiro maria.

Tu miserere mei. mater et aula dei. Om
nia que torquent quorum iam pondere pressus.

Quo cupio nequius. proos extendere gressus.

Ergo precare dei. quod me compuncto digna

Per xpm dñm nr̄m. Amen

A

ve maria mitis et pia grana
plena conserva me a peccata. do
minus tecum semper sis in
benedicta tu conforta me in exitu in mulie
ribus in tuis me duc manibus virgo vir
tutis ad portam salutis et benedictus et glo
rius fructus ventris tui ih̄s Amen. **V.**

Oratio pro nobis beata virgo maria. **R.** Ut ad
celum festinemus in via. **Oratio.**

D

eus qui beatam virginem ma
riam super choros angelorum
eraltasti et a dextis tuis super
omnem creaturam reginam coronasti fac
nos in tua gloria tecum collocari et una cum
virgine te semper contemplari. Per christum.

S

ilape dignis **Item alia oratio.**
Domine deus omnipotens laudes et oratio
nes quas ego indignus orare

171
desidero pro me misero peccatore et famulis et
famularibus tuis et illis qui se commendaverunt
in meis orationibus. ut orationes meae proficiant
vobis ad veram penitentiam faciendam
et ut vitam eternam consequi mereamur
Imitator cordium deus exaudi precas quas ego
in honore et commemoratione beatissime
de gratias semper que virginis marie et omnium
sanctorum tuorum petro. Ave maria grana
plena de gratie super solam et lunam pul
cherrima. Ave gloriosa et nimis gloriosa cu
ius sperem rex celi terre que concipit.
Ave salutata ab angelo. Ave obumbrata
a spiritu sancto. Ave pregnantis de deo. Ave
que ex tuis sanctis visceribus meruisti fili
um dei generare. Ave que filium dei in cu
nabulis natiuisti. Ave que filium dei lactas
ti. Ave que filium dei dedidisti in presepio.

Aue que filium dei presentasti in templo. Aue
que filium dei uidisti in carne secundum ueram
carne[m]. Aue que filium dei audisti predicam
tuam ueram salutem. Aue que filium dei ui
disti in cruce suspensum pro redemptione
nostra. Aue que filium dei uidisti mortuum
et sepultum pro nobis. Aue que filium dei
uidisti resurrexisse a mortuis per gratiam
patris. Aue que filium dei uidisti ad celos
ascendentem et ad patrem uenientem carne[m]
nostram assumentem qui de te uirginata
uigine assumere dignatus est. Aue domina
angelorum atque archangelorum. Aue regina
celorum. Aue laus omnium sanctorum. Aue ex
ultatio iustorum. Aue recuperatio perditorum.
Aue spes miserorum. Aue spes nostra. Aue
omnium honorum nostrorum uirtus. Aue per mi
sericordiam domini nostri ihesu christi saluatricem. Aue

172.
gloriosa pennis uirgo angelorum dignissi
ma nimis ueneranda. per omnia secula
seculorum. Amen. **Item alia oratio**

Sancta maria mater domini nostri ihesu
christi in manus eiusdem filii tui
et in tuas. commendo corpus
meum et animam meam. uisum meum sensum
meum labia mea et pedes meos oculos
meos. et manus meas totumque corpus
meum. et omnia membra mea hodie omni
que tempore. Custodi me domine ihesu christe
ab ira tua et ab ira gratias tue sancte mane
omniumque sanctorum tuorum. ab ira et odio et ab
omni mala uoluntate. a fulgure et tem
pestate a subitanea et eterna morte. ab
omni periculo corporis et anime ab omni
mala tribulatione et angustia a labijs
iniquis et a potestate eorum. a uicis et a per

canis et a temptatione diaboli et a penis
infirmi. da michi dñe pfectam uitam in
hoc seculo et eternam uitam in futuro. Et
in hora exitus mei sanctum corpus et san
guinem tuum michi tribue ad remissionē
omniū delictorum meorum et accipe sani
tatem corporis et anime michi da et illūa
re meum de spū sancto et de tua sancta g
na fac me per omnia tuis semper obdure
mandatis et a te nūquā sepeari. P ep̄m.

Runctis exilio: angulo: chori:
Hos hūani gūis liliū pudus
Rosa patientie mat saluatoris:

Audi queso domina uocem peccatoris.

Deus te pre omnibus collocauit sanum
Cum primatum tenas piū est et equū
Vr tu pre facias pietatem meam
Tu es plena gracia dominus est tūm.

173.
Ipse te constituit thronum regni sui.

Per in mulieribus est in uenta tu.

Data privilegio tam exilio tui.

Quia imeditus est fructus uentris tui.

Scā uirgo uirginū sancta mater xpi.

Per quam lumen humanū mūdo fulasti.

Per te fons lenae quem tu protulisti.

Per te fundat gaudium michi uere tristi.

Non per sacrificiū leuis aut ueruens.

Sed per efficaciam tue sancte prenis.

Detormentis amara sempiternis.

De lacu miserie et de luto fecis. Amen.

Salat mater dolerosā uita
mūm lacrimosa. dum pen
detat filius. Cuius aiā
gementē. consternatā et dolē
m. ptransiuit gladius. O qm̄ nullis et
afflicta. fuit illa imedita. mater unigeniti.

Que mentat et doletat. et timebat dum ui
delat. nati penas uidit. Quis est homo
qui non fleret. xpi matrem si uideret. in tan
to supphio. Quis non posset contistan.
piam matrem contemplan. dolentem ai
filio. Pro penans sue genis. uidit ihm
in tormentis. et flagellis subditu. Vidit
suum dulcem natum. morientem desola
tum. dum emisit spm. Eya mater fons
amoris. me sentire vni doloris. fac ut te
cum lugram. Ifac ut amrat cor meum in a
mando xpm dnm. ut sibi complaciam.
Sancta mater istud agas. quafixi fige
plagas. cordi meo ualide. Qui nati uul
nerati. iam dignati pro me pati. peto pe
nas diuide. Ifac me tecum uere flere. qua
firo condolare. donec ego uireo. Iuxta cu
cem tecum stare. te libenter socare. in plac

174
tu desiderio. Virgo uirginu preclara. michi
iam non sis amara. fac me tui plangere.
Ifac ut portum xpi mortui. passionis ei
sortem. et plagas reuolere. Ifac me plagis
uulneran. aut hac inebriari. ob amore
filij. Inflammatus et accensus. per te uir
go sum defusus. in die iudicij. Ifac me cu
te custodiri. morte xpi p muniti. confoueri
gracia. Quando corpus morietur. fac ut
anime donetur. paradisi gloria. Amen.

Gloriosissima **oio de sca maria**
et pcellantissima dei genitrix uir
go maria. sancta et immacula
ta perpetua. sancta et laudissima. Ego
miser et sceleratissimus ex toto corde et ex to
ta anima a iudicij q; medullis cordis. te p
humanitatem filij tui dñi nri ihu xpi depre
cor. ut pro me intercedere dignis. quatinus

per eius ineffabilem pietatem et tuam sanctam
intentionem inueniam in die iudicii mi
sericordiam. Sed qualibus labiis deprecare te
triam. summam benignitatem tuam. domina
mea nescio. Scio quia ego miser transgres
sus sum preceptum domini meo ihesu christi. Quale
igitur exordium confessionis mee faciam
Quali uerbo. uel quali conscientia con
fiteus impiam linguam et polluta labia
mouere temptabo uel de quibus peccatis pri
mi remissionem deprecabor. Ego miser et
peccator quid faciam. ad quem ibo quid
respondeto in die iudicii. quando omnia
apparbuunt. aut quali fiducia. astabo re
gali illi terribili tribunali. Quem roga
bo in illa tribulatione forti. Quis michi
miserbitur. quis michi subueniet. quis
michi proteget. quis me ponit a uentura ira

175.
ultrare nisi ipse iudex iustus pius. et mise
ricors deus qui propriam non despicit crea
turam. sed saluat et adiuuat. Ad quale
nam confugiam portum. uel ad quale
confugiam remedium misericordissima ma
ria. nisi ad te. et ad eum qui natus est ex
te creatorem et redemptorem meum. Scio
domina mea quia ualde peccaui in te. et in
filium tuum dominum nostrum ihesum christum. et non sum
dignus misericordiam impetrare. sed habuis ex
emplum ex hijs qui ante meruerunt pec
catorum indulgentiam. Ideo ad te accedere pre
sumo. uenerabilis domina dei genitrix ma
ria. sola casta. sola sancta. anima et corpore
benedicta. tribulancium fortitudo. afflictorum
compassio. Puerum uentum. senectu
tis laculus. Conueniam ad te uera prece
no postulans benignam misericordiam tuam. ut

dextram michi digneris concedere indulgē
tiam peccatorum dilectionem amorem. timorē
dei uerionem et liberationem de eterna tribula
tione et de demonica potestate impetrare
digneris. apud filium tuū dñm nr̄m. Nō
est enim alia p̄tatio hominibz. nisi tu se
per benedicta. Quis in te dñia mea. spera
uit et derelictus est. Unde ego miser et pec
cator: peccō p̄hemem fontem benignitatis
tue. et uisera miē michi impendas. et in ho
ra exitus mei ex hac p̄senti uita ne p̄mit
tas me in p̄tate diaboli tradi. Quia hoc
est quod p̄tulit miseram aiām meam
Ego igitur. credo. adoro. laudo. et glorifico
unū in trinitate deum dñm nr̄m filium
di uiri. ante secula a patre ineffabiliter
natum nouissimis autē temporibz des
cendentē de celis. et incarnatum. et natū

176
de spū sancto. et ex te sancta et immaculata
semper uirgine ipsum confiteor esse p̄fer
tum deum. et p̄fctū hominem. qui p̄pter
nos hoīes pati dignatus est. et super ui
uificabile lignū manus extendere. sicut pas
tor: bonus animam suam ponens pro
ouibus suis. sepultus est et resurrexit a sc̄
ditqz in celum cum carne quam ex te sc̄a
suscepit. et uenturus est iudicare uiuos et
mortuos. hec confiteor: anima corpore et
cordē uolo adoro amplector: et oro. ut hāc
meam deprecationē offeras. sancta et im
maculata uirgo dei genitrix filio tuo do
mino nr̄o. et ne aborris neqz despicias de
precationem meam. Sed libera me ab in
iquitatibz que me apprehenderunt et pro cel
lis turpitudinis que me possident. quia
condamatus. et iniquitatibz repletus sum.

Te cum sancta dei genitrix. spes et obstacu-
lum gravis humani xpiano: redemptio. pu-
sillamino:um consolatio et afflicto:um
refugium. obsecro te ut precationes meas
filio tuo dño nro offeras et accipias per
catorum meorum indulgentias simul
q̄ impetres in p̄petuam consolationem.
Te cum et cum qui extenuatus est saluto.
adoro. laudo. et glorifico ipsi soli sic hono:
laus et iubilatio. uirtus et potestas forti-
tudo et imperium. nunc et semper et per imor-
talia secula seculorum. Amen.

Mater gratie uirgo q̄ per
pura. Maria tu dicitis ad-
iutrix secura. Gracia p̄ditu
per te diffusura. Plena suafiq̄ corda nra
dura. **D**ñs altissimi in te cū descendit.
Te cum manens iugiter. in te ascendit

177
Benedicta plantula de qua flos ascendit.
Tu per eum nos adiuua qui ante pepedit.

In mundo que filium tuum genuisti.
Mulieribus in hoc datum ut rupisti.
Et cunctis precoribus gracia fuisisti.
Benedictus per quem tanta meruisti.

Fructus tam saluificus tu paratus.

Veneris de sacroano diluat ratis.

Tu mater menti uirtute placatus.

Ilic nos saluificor felix aduocatus.

Amen om̄s dicimus p̄ tremouati.

Qui per culpam fuimus nequit q̄llati.

Per nomen dulcissimi ih̄u tui nati.

Cum sc̄s in patria sumus complantati.

Amen. **Oratio de archangelis.**

Obesero uos O sancte michael.

Sancte gabriel. Sancte raphaël.

cum sociis uestris qui astatis

casti contere propius. cunctis ipsius comme-
morationem celebrantibus. in uita p̄senti
gratiam et in futuro cum omnib; sanctis
et electis dei gloriam sempiternā. Amen.

Alue De iohannem et anna

Sancte iohannem uirginis dans
esse. et hoc per miraculum. de
radice Jesse. Anna sancta concepit. uita
mia misit. Synagoga auit. ecclesia
uirsat. Vos ego deo sius. diuinitus roga-
re. p̄senti nr̄as ois. mane presentare.

Ut ipsa de filio uelit impetrare. Nos pa-
tris palano. simul conregnare. *V. Ora p̄*
nobis beate iohannem et anna. R. Ut digni et

finamur p̄missionib; xpi. orō.
Deus qui beatos iohannem et an-
nam pena sterilitatis afflictos
mira mane gratia fecundare uoluisti. concede.

179.
quibus ut eorum suffragiis domino tue gratie
fruidamur in terra ac in translatione sancte
uirginis eis allonemur in gloria. *P̄ xpm.*

Secundo ad arbitrium. orō.

Dominato: domine omnium
protector: qui separasti lucem
a tenebris te supplices exoramus. ut per
hanc uentur noctis caliginem. nos tua
protegat dextra. ut in lucis auroa cuncti
surgamus gaudentes. Amen. *Oraio.*

Ad bonum angelum.

Angle qui es sanctus esto
mihi propicius intus et foris
et doce me facere uoluntatem dei mei et in
omni hora me consolare nocte ac die sero
et mane et ostende mihi. quo uadam et
quo patrem ponam et quid agam quo pos-
sum xpo placere. *O mi p̄dare angelo esto*

michi fortis adiutor pius socius. et uerus
medicus et confusus meus per illum qui
te constituit in ad custodiam et defensorem
contra inimicos meos omnes uisibiles
ac uisibiles. Per dñm. **De brato**

Deus qui **Joseph. Oratio.**
Prudenciam brato ioseph in
domo domini sui et coram
pharaone didisti et eum a fraterno odio
et inuidia non solum liberauisti. sed in ho
nore sublimasti. **Prece:** te domine deus
omnipotens ut me famulum tuum. **R.**
ab insidiis inimicorum meorum libera et in
conspatu aduersariorum meorum et omnium xpi
anorum gratiam inuenire concedas. **P. xpm.**

De xpi qui exsuperat **Oratio.**
Domine scilicet comitat cor
meum cum uera pace et uera

180
concordia atq; dilectione. **Deprece:** te dñe
per illam pacem quam in scā ciuitate fe
cisti inter te et matrem tuam scām mariā.
et per illam pacem quam confirmasti in
ter angelos et hoīes. fac p̄ pacem int̄ me
et. **R.** et per illam pacem quam confirmau
isti inter bratum iohannem ap̄lin et euāgelistā
et matrem tuam quando in cruce reconsi
liatio humani generis facta est. fac pacem
inter me et. **R.** et per illam pacem. quam
ap̄lis didisti quando uictor celum ascendis
didisti. Pacem meam do uobis. pacem
meam relinquo uobis. **Oro domine** ut irā
et indignationem et furorem. **R.** a me
auertas et cor illius replacere et pacificare

S dignis. Amen. **Pater noster.**
Aue maria.
saluum me fac domine ihū xpe

qui solus saluare potes. Da michi posse
scire. uelle operari. et perficere que tibi placita
sunt. et mihi expediunt. Da michi in perturbatione
consilium in persecutione auxilium
in tribulatione solacium in ira modestiam
in omni temptatione uirtutem et gratiam
Fac michi queso domine deus meus firma
fides in corde. galea salutis in capite. uerbum
uitas in ore. Signum crucis in fronte. di
lectio dei et proximi in pectore. premissio
castitatis in amitu. honestas in actione.
sobrietas in affectione. sanctitas in consa
cientia. amor et desiderium uite eterne. et per
seuerantiam boni usque in finem. presentante
domino nostro ihesu christo unico ac redemptore
nostro. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et
regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen

De beato iuliano. **Q**um uoluis par

Clementis pape. Eius ihesu christo uere deus qui
a pater omnipotens. Deus in se et in
mundo. Peracta relaxare. Peractos
relinere. 181

res afflictos captiuos redimere. in carcere
positos dissolueret. dispersos congregare. pri
uos in suam patriam reducere. contritos
corde medicare. tristes confortare. dolen
tes et lugentes consolari. dignis me ab
soluere de afflictione temptatione dolore in
firmitate et paupertate seu periculo in quibus
positus sum et consilium in dare. Et tu
domine qui genus humanum cum pre
mi concordia restitisti. ac illam prescriptam
hereditatem a paradiso cum proprio proprio
sanguine mercatus es. et ut homines
et angelos pacem fecisti. dignare ut me
et inimicos meos stabilire et firmare con
cordiam. gratiam et gloriam tuam super me
ostendere et effundere. ac omne illorum o
dium quod contra me habent dignis
uitigare delinere extinguere et ad in

chilare. sicut extirpisti — odium & iram
quod habuit esau adversus iacob fratrem suum .
brachium tuum extentum et gratiam super
me ostende. et me liberare dignus ab om-
nibus angustiis & doloribus in quibus po-
situs sum. sicut liberaisti abraham de
manibus caldeoꝝ et Isaac de immolatio-
ne parietis. Jacob de manibus fratris sui e-
sau. Joseph de manibus fratrum suorum .
Noe per arcam ab aquis diluvii. Loti
de civitate sodomorum. et famulos tuos
moysen & aaron et populum israel de ma-
nu pharaonis & de servitute egypti. et
simuliter saul de monte gellie. David
regem de manu saul et goliath gigantis .
Et sicut liberaisti susannam de falso cri-
mine & testimonio. et Judith de manu
olofernis. danielem de lacu leonum. et

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tres pios de camino ignis ardentis. Jo-
nam de ventre ceti. filiam mulieris cha-
nanee a diabolica vexatione & adam de p-
fundo inferni cum tuo proprio precioso sanguine.
ac petrum de mari. paulum de vinculis.
Ita domine ihu xpe fili dei vni liberare
dignus me famulum tuum regem
ab omni tribulatione dolore &
angustia in quibus positus sum & ab om-
nibus insidiis inimicorum meorum et mittere
dignus in adiutorium meum micha-
el archangelum contra eos. & eorum mala con-
silia que contra me faciunt vel facere vo-
lunt dignus domine ihu xpe evadere.
sicut evadisti consilium achitofel qui
consolatus est absalon contra david re-
gem. ita me liberare dignus per sancta be-
neficia tua. per incarnationem tuam. per

uauitatem tuam . p. laptifium tuum .
p. ieiunium tuum . p. famem et situm . per
frigus et calorem . p. laborem et afflictionem .
p. spina et calophia . p. alapas et danos .
p. coronam spinicam . p. lanceam . p. pota
tionem aceti et felis . p. scissimam et tur
pissimam mortem tuam crucis et p. uerba
que cum pridisti in cruce dixisti p. no pa
trem deprecans domine pater ignosce illis .
quia nesciunt quid faciunt dixisti dñe
latroni pendenti in cruce . hodie metum
eris in paradiso . dixisti domine matri tue .
mulier ecce filius tuus et discipulo . Ecce
mater tua . dixisti domine heloy heloy la
masalatham . quod interpretatur deus
meus deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me
dixisti domine . siao . saluet salutem ani
marum sanctarum dixisti domine . Pater

183.
in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum .
dixisti domine consummatum est . Signi
ficans labores et dolores quos p. nobis
miseris suscepisti . iam finisti . Propter
hec omnia rogo te dulcissime domine ihu
xpe ut custodias me famulum tuum Re
gnum tuum et defendas ab omni malo
atque ab hoste maligno et ab omni periculo
presenti preterito et futuro et libera me ab om
nibus tribulationibus doloribus et angustiis
in quibus pressus sum . et me consolari dig
nis . p. descensionem tuam ad miseros . p.
resurrectionem tuam . p. frequentem
discipulorum tuorum consolationem et visita
tionem p. admirabilem ascensionem tuam .
p. gratiam sancti spiritus paradisi . p. aduen
tum tuum in die iudicii domine exau
di me p. omnia beneficia tua p. quibus

tibi gr̃as ago ⁊ refero et ꝑ omnibꝫ beneficis seu bonis michi collatis quia tu me fecisti ex nichilo et redimisti me ex tua benignissima pietate ⁊ uia ab etna damnatione ꝑpetua uitam etiam ꝑmittendo. **P**ropter ista ⁊ alia que oculus nō uidit nec auris audiuit. nec in cor hōis ascendit. **R**ogo te dulcissime domine ihu xꝑe ut ab omnibꝫ peccatis corporis ⁊ aīe ꝑ tua pietate me adiuues. et me semp delectare digneris ⁊ succurrere. et post huiꝫ uite cursum ad te deum uiuam et uerū me ꝑducere dignis. **Qui unus ⁊ regis deus. P xꝑm d. n. Amen.**

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optimū nos serues a languore. ihu ꝑ tuo nomine sublimi glioso. expurga nos a crimine omniquꝫ delicto. **V. Ne memineris iniquitatum nꝫ antiquarꝫ. R. Cito anticipent nos tūc tūc qꝫ paupes sū sumus. V. Adiuua uos deus salutaris nꝫ. R. Et ꝑt gliam nominis tui dñe libera nos ⁊ ꝑpicius esto ꝑcis nꝫ ꝑpter nomen tuum. V. Laudate dñm ihu omnes angeli eius. R. Laudate eum omnes uirtutes eius. V. Domine saluum fac regem. R. Et exaudi nos in die qua inuocauimus te. V. Dñe exaudi orōnem m. R. Et d. **Oratio.**
Exaudi nos domine ihu. omnipotens sempiternus deus et mittere dignis scōs tuos de cōis qui custodiant foueant ꝑtegant uisitent ⁊ delectent omnes habitātes in hoc habitaculo. **P xꝑm d.****

Quoniam omnipotens semper **D**ominus.

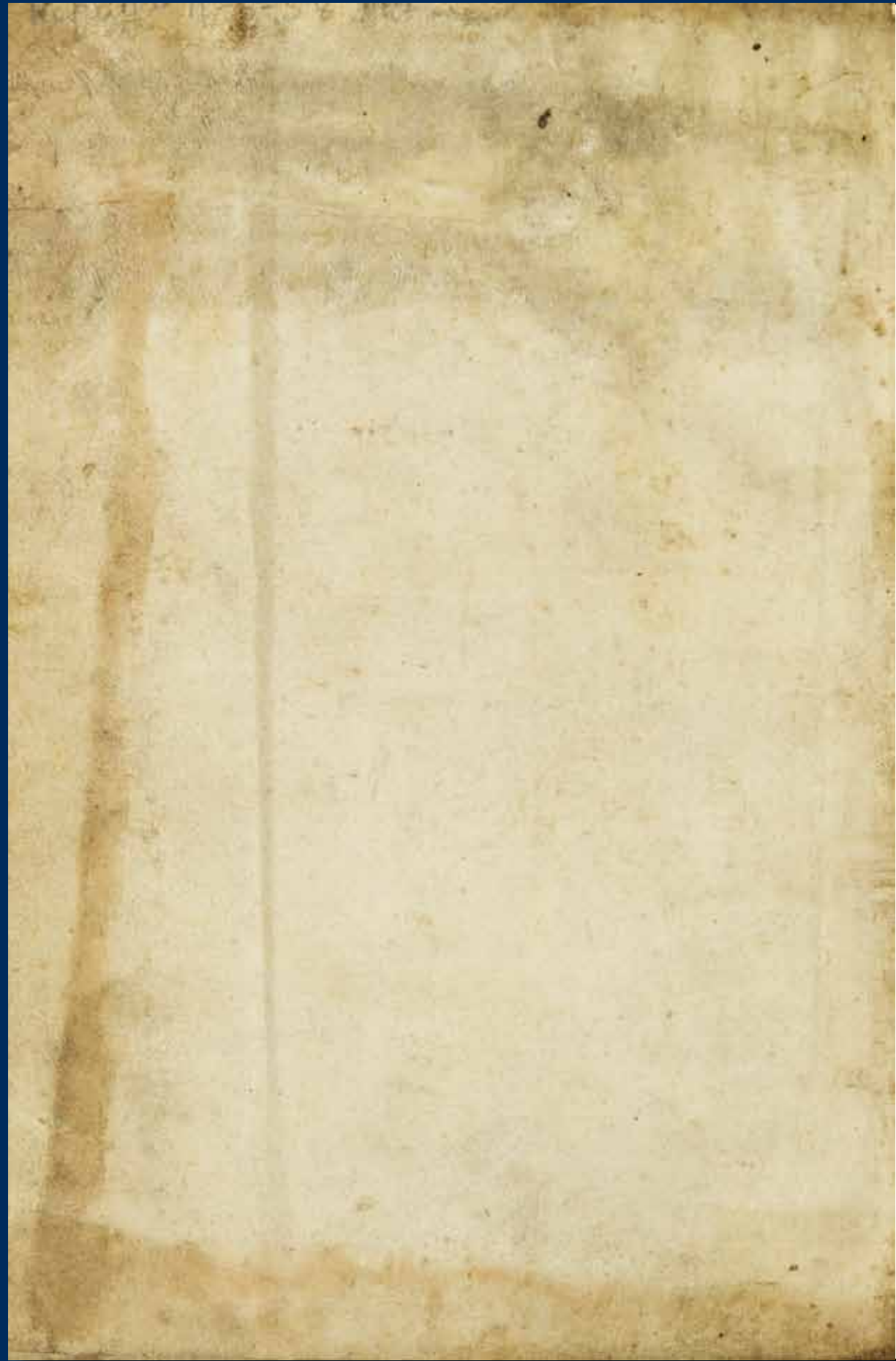
tunc deus in cuius manu sunt omnes
potestates ac omnia iura regnos respicit
in auxilium christianos ut gentes paganos
qui de sua feritate confidunt dextera tue
potencia conterantur. **P**ro christi dñi. **A**men
Kyrieleyson. **K**yrieleyson. **D**omine ihu mi
serere. **V**enie ihu misere. **D**omine ihu misere.

Spiritus dñs fr̄is est p̄ nob̄ oledicus usq; ad mor
tem mortem autem crucis. **P**ater n̄r. **Oratio**

Respice domine sup̄ hanc familiã
tuam p̄ qua dñs n̄r illic xp̄us non
dubitavit manib; tradi nocentium et cr
ucis subire tormentum. **R**ecordare dñe
testamenti tui p̄ die anglo p̄iacenti cesset iam
manus tua. et non desoleatur terra et ne p̄das
an̄tes aiam vinam. **V.** Quiescat dñe iam
p̄ tua a p̄lo tuo. **R.** Et a civitate sc̄a tua ut
n̄ desoleatur. **P**ater n̄r.

BIBLIOTHECA
LAMBETHANA.





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Manu-
script

domine dele iniquitatem meam. **M.**
Exviii. **D**eus meus es tu & confite-
bor tibi deus meus es tu & exaltabo te.
Confitemini. **Exviii.** **D**eo te de luce in

cia resur
Sicut sa
iericho

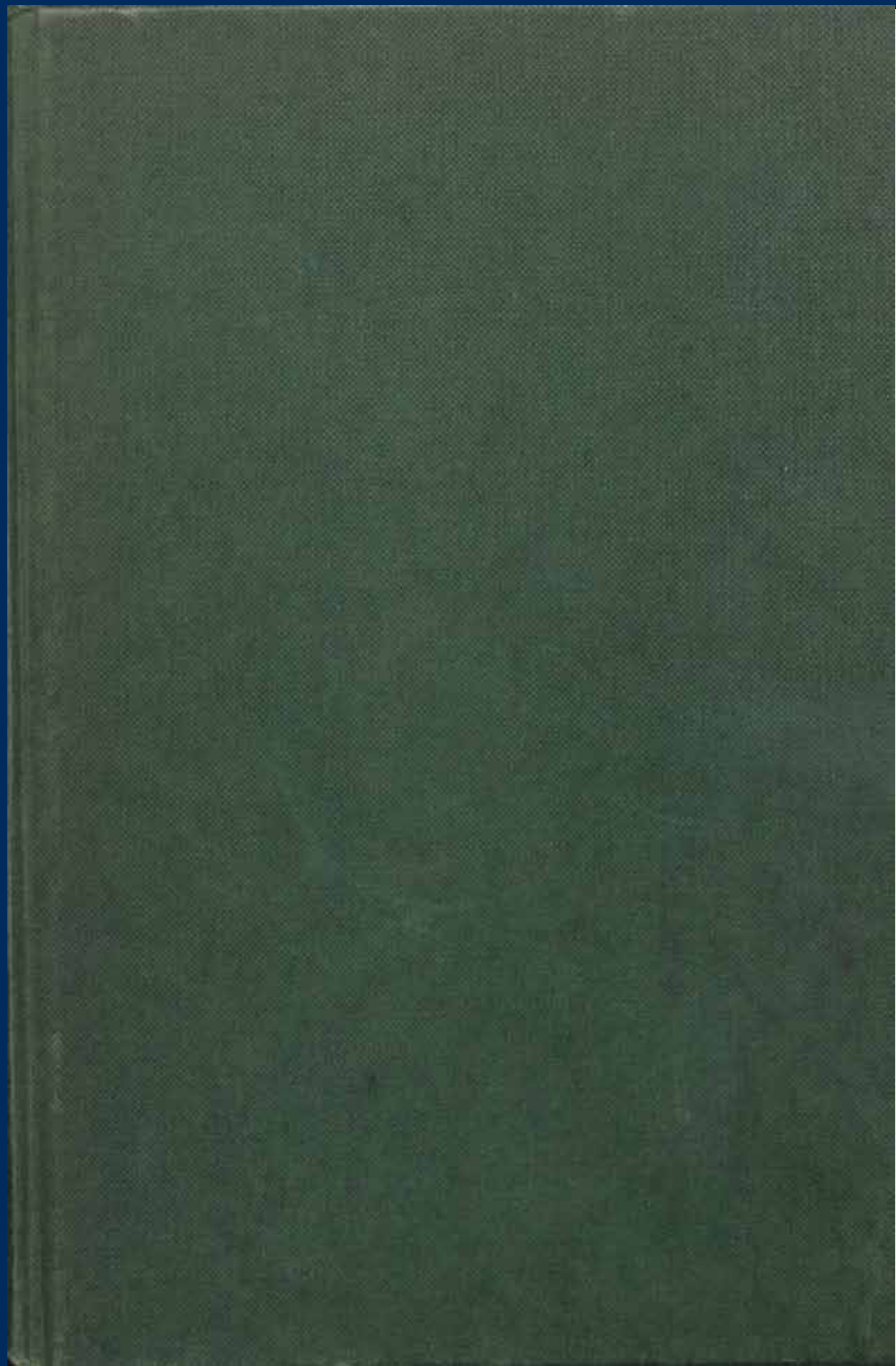


RICHARD III - His Book of Hours

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THE HOURS OF RICHARD III
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9. British Library, Additional Ms. 65100, f.27v. Annunciation.
10. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.893, f.12. Annunciation.
11. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.29. Annunciation.
12. Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. liturg. f.2, f.79v. Funeral.
13. Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1., f.59. Funeral.
14. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, f.49. Funeral.
15. British Library, Additional Ms. 42131, f.46. Funeral.
16. Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.75. Requiem mass.
17. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.893, f.60. Requiem mass.
18. British Library, Additional Ms. 65100, f.193v. Requiem mass.
19. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.80. Funeral.
20. Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.40. Christ in Judgement.
21. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, f.35v. Christ in Judgement.
22. Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.57. Christ in Judgement.
23. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York M.893, f.44v. Christ in Judgement.
24. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.68. Christ in Judgement.
25. Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.110v. Portrait Heads.
26. Lambeth Ms. 474, f.1. Collect of St. Ninian.
27. Edinburgh University Library Ms. 42, f.72v. St. Ninian.
28. Lambeth Ms. 474, f.7v. Calendar page: October.
29. Lambeth Ms. 474, f.181. First page of 'the prayer of Richard III'.

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

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 cleric. 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 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, unflamboyant 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,³ but also came to lead a separate life by about 1400.⁴

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*).⁵ 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 (*matutine*, 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 (*vespere*, 'evensong') started at sunset or earlier. Compline (*completorium*) completed the cycle and was said before going to bed.⁶

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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ These additional devotions, however, can also provide evidence of sincerity and faith. Some are very old and may be found in collections 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹

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 rebaked. The binding was executed in the workshop of the King Edward and Queen Mary Binder which was active in the 1540s and '50s doing work for Henry VIII, Edward and Mary as well as less illustrious customers.¹² 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 unruled flyleaves at the end, blank except for some erasures; several leaves are missing and there are no unruled 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 concluding two flyleaves. All gatherings and all folios have been numbered in pencil, presumably by M. R. James when he collated the manuscript.¹³ 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 only one careful cropping, an original size of at least 236 by 173mm. is arrived at.¹⁴ 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 reseeded the manuscript because some letters of the addition of Richard III's birthday in the October Calendar now disappear into the spine.

The text is in one column throughout and is in what M. R. James described as a 'tall narrow English hand,' a *gothica textualis quadrata formata*. A full page has eighteen lines ruled in brown ink, the text space measuring 83–83.5mm. by 117–117.5mm.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ There are no other pictures in the book; the rest of the decoration is composed of elaborate, formal foliage patterns of demi-vinets and champs (initials decorated in colour on a gold ground with ornamental sprays in the margin).¹⁷

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 intemerata* (f.156v), the *Obsecro te* (f.158), the Five Sorrows of Mary (f.168), and the *Stabat mater* (f.173). The status of the initial I 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 Animarum* 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.¹⁸ 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, champs, all unelaborate and with little gold.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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 commentators²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.²⁶

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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ Apart from the particular hand of the unknown Master in this manuscript, the hand of Herman Scheerre has been detected.²⁹

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.³⁰ 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).³¹ 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.³² 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.³³ 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 Nevill, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, who married first Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick (died 1446) and then John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, whom she predeceased in 1450.³⁴

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.³⁵

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.³⁶ With such a limited range of possibilities in the iconography, the smallest detail has to be



Figure 1. Psalter and Hours made for Eleanor de Bohun, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, *circa* 1395. National Library of Scotland, Advocates Ms. 18.6.5., f.9v. Annunciation, with an early English representation of the Virgin with her arms crossed.

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, fig. 1). The Annunciation is a simple one: a kneeling angel with scroll; Mary standing, her head draped in her mantle, and with her arms crossed over her bosom; her book of hours is forgotten behind her on a barely visible lectern; neither God nor the dove is present, and no attempt has been made at a realistic background. The artist of this manuscript is thought to have collaborated earlier on the Litlington Missal, made at Westminster *circa* 1384–5, which contained a similar Annunciation (f.235v), but with the Virgin resting one hand on her prayer book and the other raised, palm outward towards the angel. Later this artist worked on the Carmelite Missal throughout its production, painting another Annunciation (BL. Add. Ms. 29704–5, f.99) with



Figure 2. Book of prayers and offices, bearing the name of the painter Herman Scheerre, *circa* 1405–10. British Library, Additional Ms. 16998, f.17. Annunciation.

similar iconographical details including a Mary with crossed arms.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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 1432.³⁹

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 Scheerre.⁴⁰

Two of the earliest and finest renderings in England were one by John Siferwas in the Sherborne Missal,⁴¹ and another by Herman Scheerre for a psalter made for



Figure 3. Book of hours, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. liturg. f.2, f.13. Annunciation. This manuscript is in poor condition.

John Beaufort the elder (died 1410) and his wife Margaret Holand (died 1439) about 1404–7.⁴² 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 Scheerre and the other by an associate. Scheerre'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 Scheerre has added the restful, accepting hands, a detail which it has been suggested was English. He and his associates were to make the motif their own.⁴³ 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 Scheerre and his associates.⁴⁴ 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 ungainly though they are. Like Scheerre's small version, it has all the component elements of an Annunciation scene.

To Scheerre 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.⁴⁵ This version (fig.4), however, again shows the Virgin with one upraised hand.⁴⁶

The model reoccurs in three other manuscripts painted by artists from both the Scheerre and the Johannes groups: the Nevill Hours, the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, and a less pretentious hours, now Hart 21018, 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 Scheerre 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.

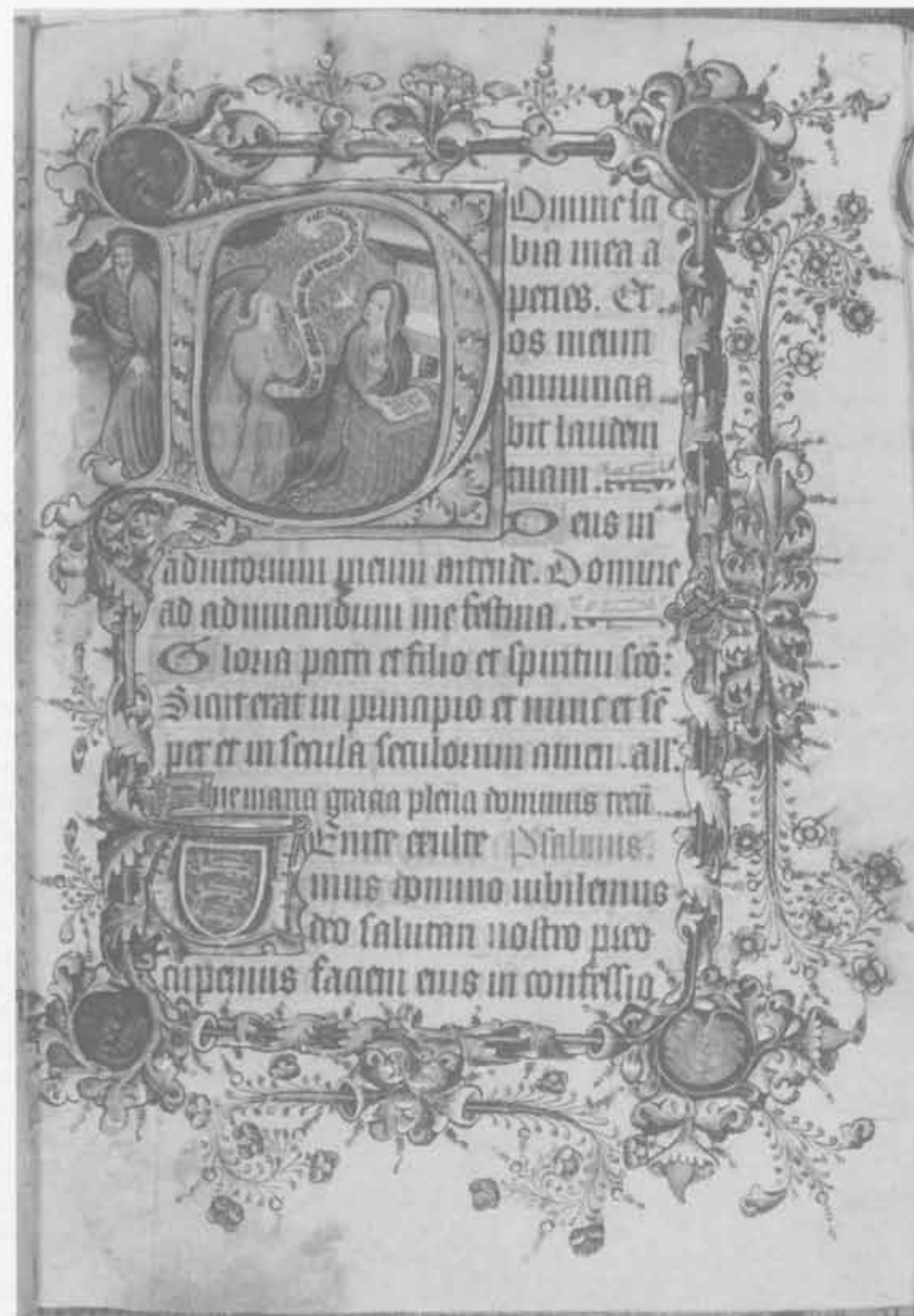


Figure 6. Hours of Margaret Holand, wife of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V and John, Duke of Bedford. Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.15. Annunciation.

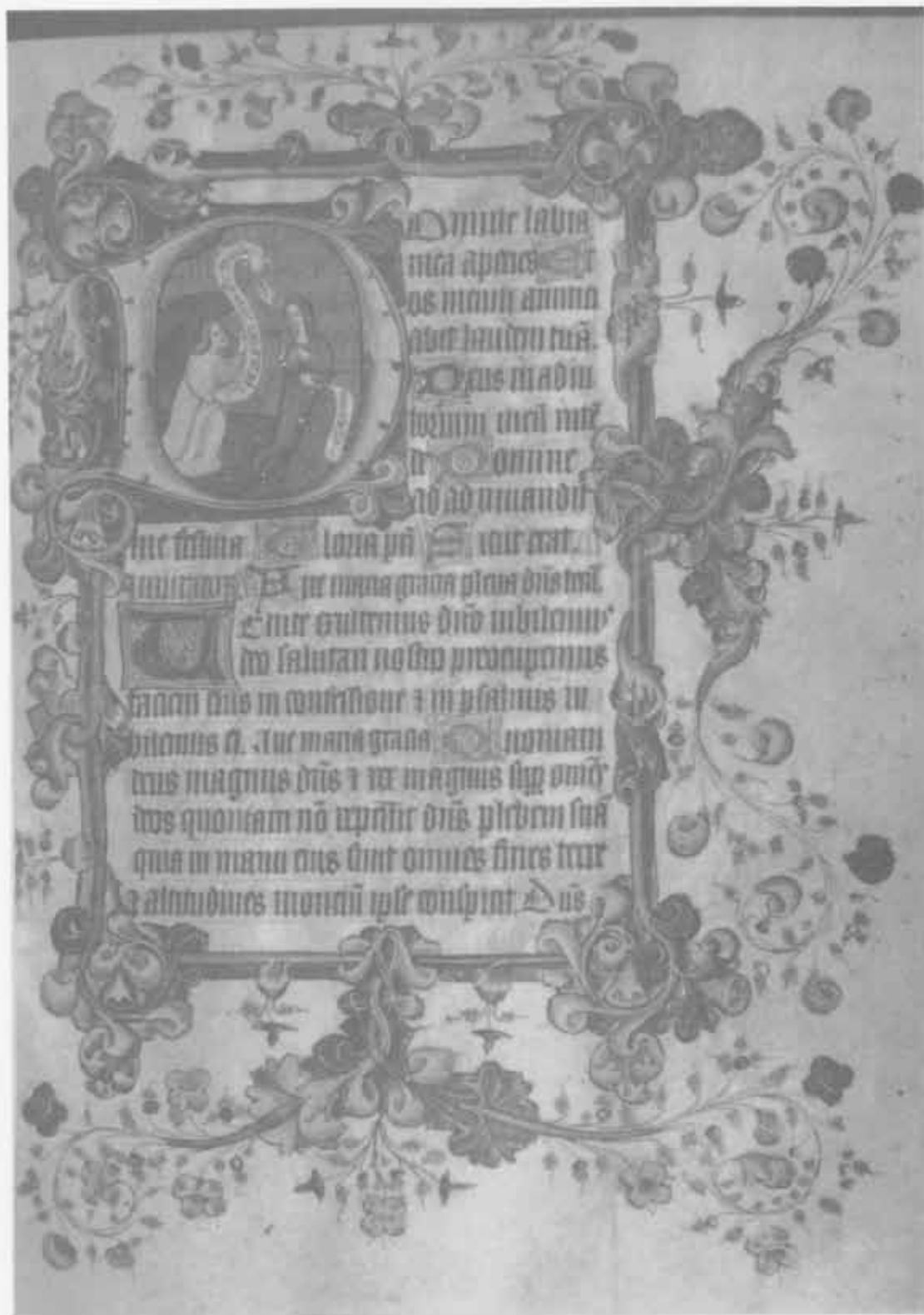


Figure 7. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, f.7. Annunciation.

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.⁴⁷ 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 Holland 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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 Scheerre in the small prayer book *Annunciation*, fig.2). The Altenburg Hours have been dated to *circa* 1410–12, but in light of recent



Figure 8. David bringing home the head of Goliath. Bedford Hours and Psalter, British Library, Additional Ms. 42131, f.122. This shows a female type very close to that used for Mary in the Hours of Richard III.

opinion a date 1415–20 may now have to be preferred. The Annunciation has also been attributed to Herman Scheerre – perhaps too boldly.⁵⁰ The Annunciation in Richard III's Hours certainly cannot be so attributed: the proportions of the Virgin are a little ungainly, 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 slim and well proportioned, both in themselves and within their frame. She bears more resemblance to the round faced, chinless damsels 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.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



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

the Queen (f.7).⁵² It is in fact more usual to find the Virgin either with her mantle covering her head or bareheaded and nimbated in these English manuscripts.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 terms it falls within the 'Johannes' group of manuscripts.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 'dismal' Annunciation in the Hours and Psalter of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick also uses this model.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 1446.⁵⁶

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.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 descendants of their workshops and their traditions, and they have inherited their models.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.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 candelabra stands to their left. The floor is green 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 10. Hours and Psalter of Henry, Duke of Warwick (died 1446). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.893, f.12. Annunciation.

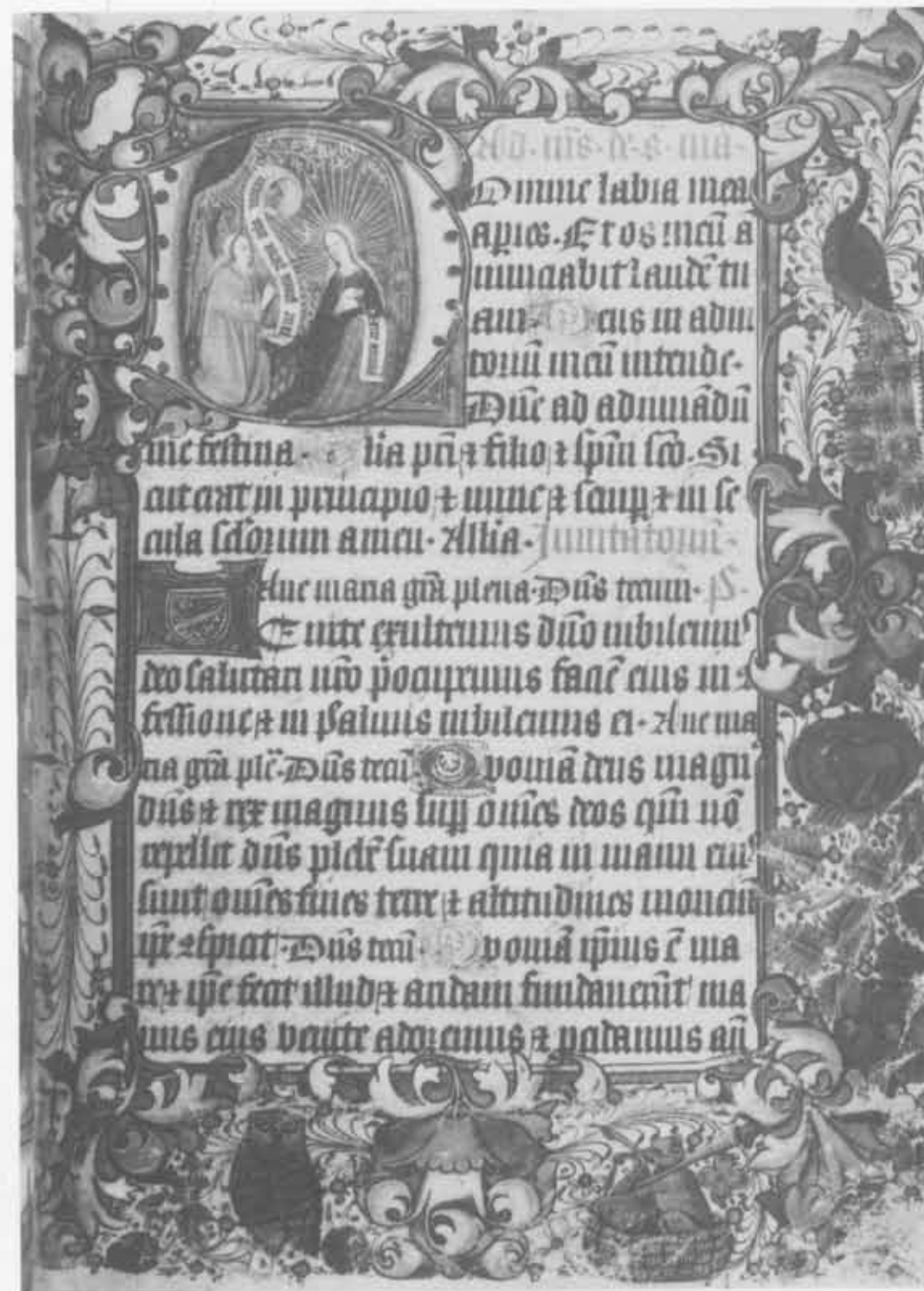


Figure 11. Book of hours, made 1470s in London. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.29. Annunciation

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



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.

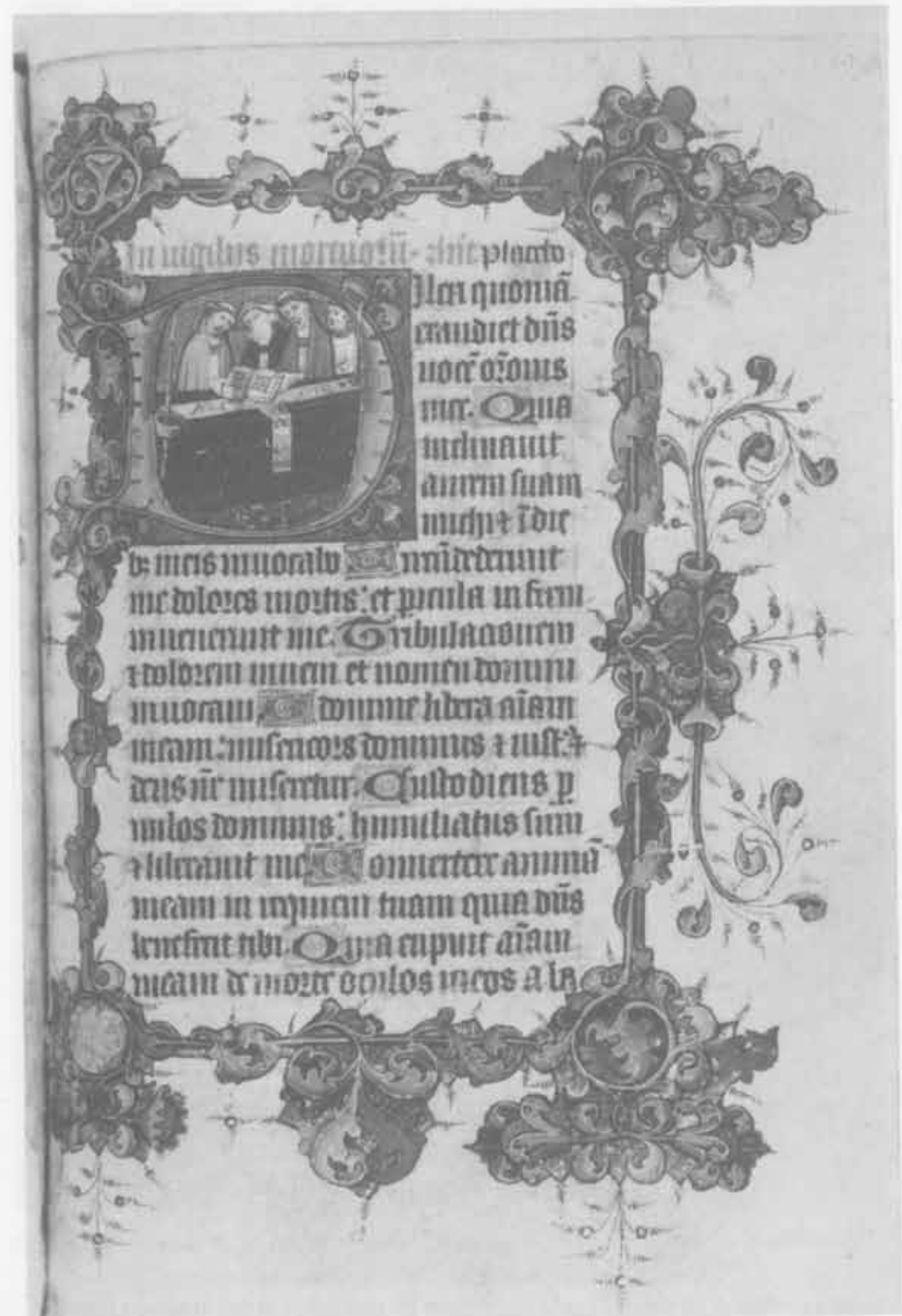


Figure 13. Book of hours, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.59. The Funeral most closely resembling that in the Hours of Richard III.



Figure 14. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, f.49. Funeral.

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 Scheerre himself.⁶⁴ 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 coped priest before the altar for the mass.⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶

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.



Figure 15. Bedford Hours and Psalter. British Library, Additional Ms. 42131, f.46. Funeral

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.⁶⁷ 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.



Figure 18. Hours of Queen Katherine de Valois. British Library, Additional Ms. 65100, f.193v. 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 luring 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 two 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).⁶⁸



Figure 19. Book of hours, 1470s. British Library, Harleian Ms. 2887, f.80. Funeral.

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.⁶⁹ 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

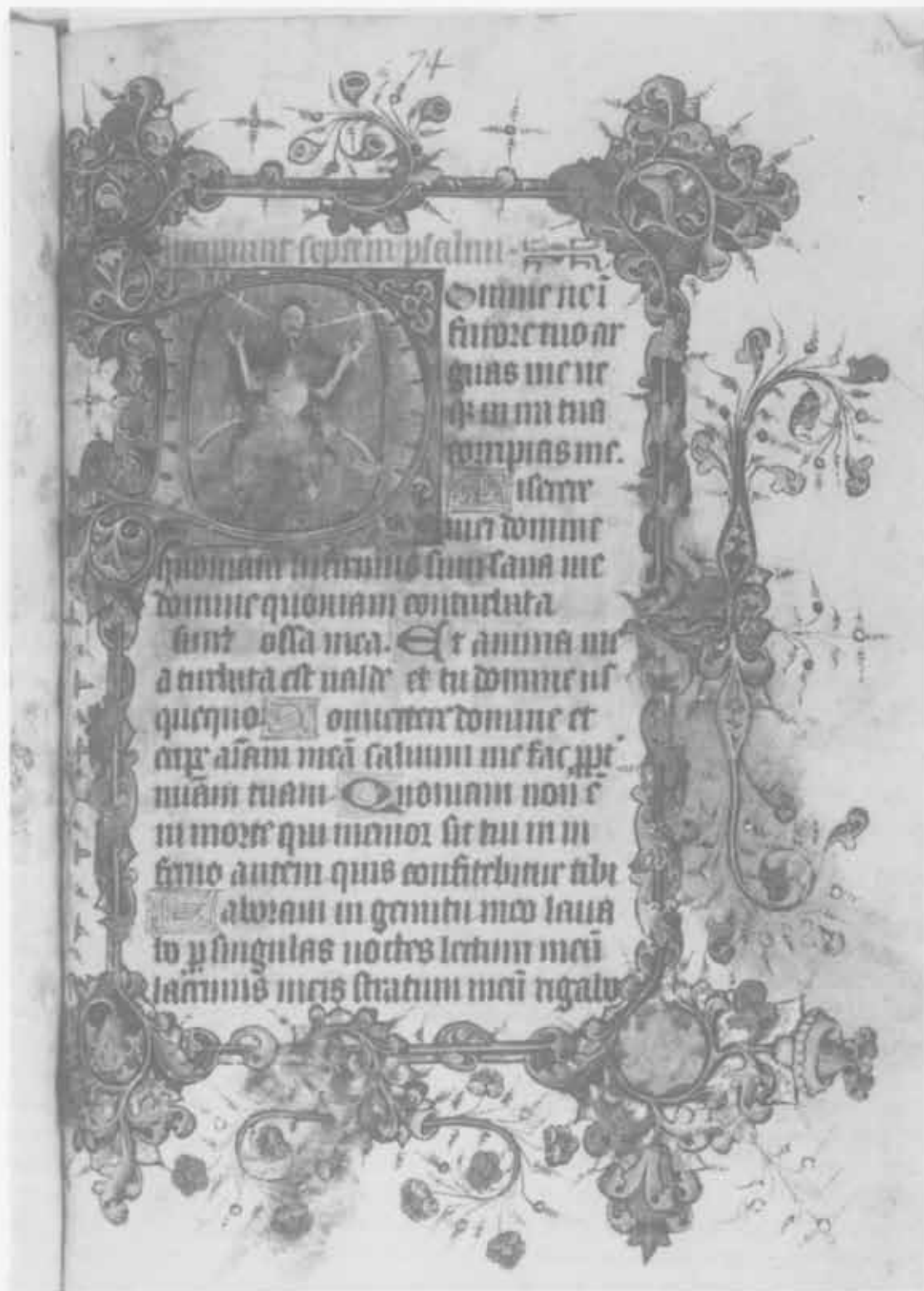


Figure 20. The missing miniature at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms in the Hours of Richard III probably looked very like this example of Christ in Judgement from the book of hours, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, f.40. The complete border of trumpet flowers and foliage also gives 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.

colours).⁷⁰ Their types are, however, in such common use that it is not possible to make a definite conclusion of association on that fact alone.⁷¹

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 Scheerre,⁷⁴ and the



Figure 22. Clarence Hours, Executors of Major Abbey Ms. JA.7398, f.57. Christ in Judgement.

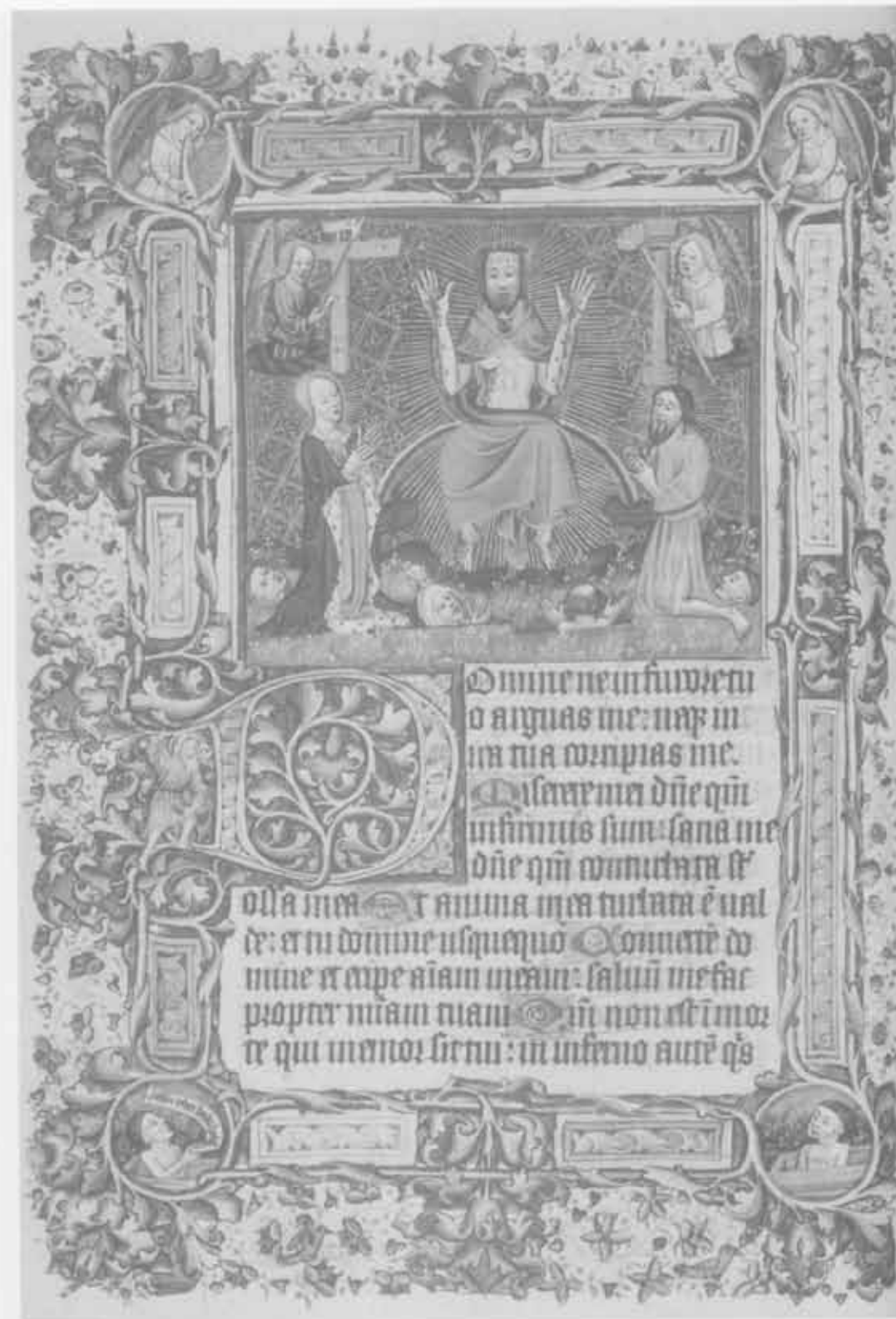


Figure 23. Hours and Psalter of Henry, Duke of Warwick. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.893, f.44v. Christ in Judgement.



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

less elaborate series of portraits in Rawlinson liturg. d.1,⁷⁵ obviously by an artist very much aware of the Scheerre style. Among the second series 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, 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.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.

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

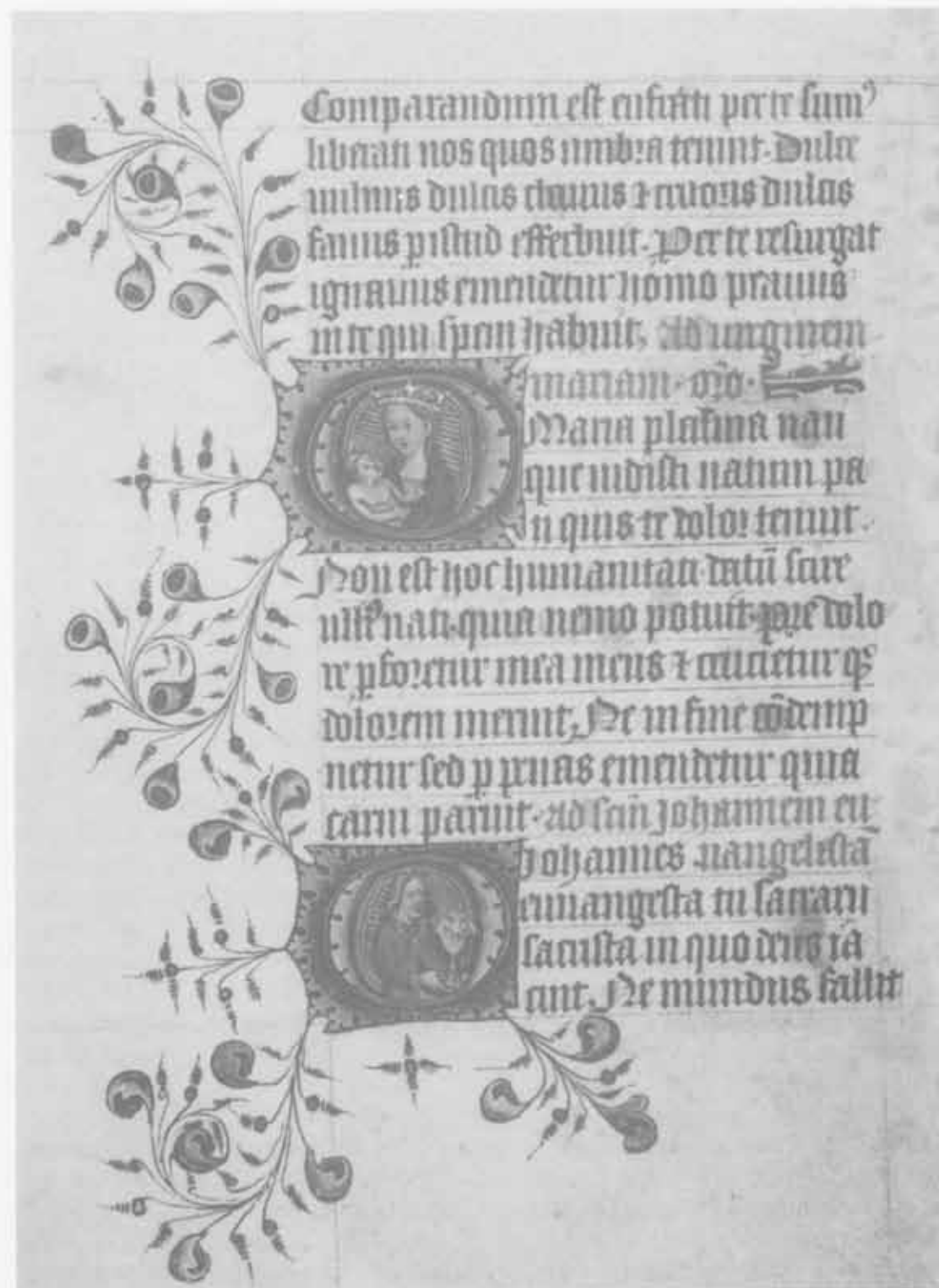


Figure 25. Portrait initials (the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist) illustrating the last two stanzas of the prayer *Omnibus consideratis* (see ff.132–134 of the description of the contents of the Hours of Richard III). These full colour portraits are comparable in quality to the monochrome portraits 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 binder 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 demi-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 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 demi-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 demi-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 high-lighted 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.⁸⁹ This regularisation of outline becomes a feature of later fifteenth century English borders.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹ 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 toned⁹² 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);⁹³ 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 Scheerre'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 Scheerre and on English illumination in general at this date, but such warmth and richness of colours were certainly not without native precedents.⁹⁴

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 Scheerre manuscripts, the portrait heads, the saints set in clusters of leaves, the angels set like intaglio gems⁹⁵ 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 Scheerre 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 1932.⁹⁶ His eye was unerring. It can be safely concluded that a painter who was primarily under the influence of Herman Scheerre 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.⁹⁷

OWNERSHIP

Although the Hours of Richard III was written and illuminated *circa* 1420, he is the first known owner. There is no doubt that he owned it as king: his date of birth was added to the Calendar as *Ricardus Rex* and the long prayer – ‘the prayer of Richard III’ – inserted for his use refers to him as king. There is no sign that he owned the manuscript as duke. The collect of St. Ninian, the saint of the Western March, could have been added while he was duke or king as regards subject and text but its hand and illumination is of a piece with ‘his’ prayer. The other additional devotion at the very end of the book is also in this style and was probably added at the same time, but this cannot be proved beyond doubt.

No evidence exists to suggest where Richard got the book and there is nothing to connect it with anyone before Richard or with Richard as duke.⁹⁸

The inclusion of the collects of the male saints Christopher and George in a prominent position, plus the fact that wherever the supplicant can insert his own name in a prayer the text has the masculine Latin forms, makes it virtually certain that the first owner was a man. The liturgical contents of the original book suggest that it was made for a cleric or someone with a clerical training.⁹⁹ One of the personal devotions at the end of the book may throw some light on his identity: a prayer ‘on the blessed Joseph’ (not the husband of Mary but the Old Testament patriarch) was included for him. Prayers with Old Testament ‘saints’ as their subject are very rare¹⁰⁰ and this inclusion may mean that the manuscript was made for someone called Joseph. It is, however, more likely that it was the very successful career of the son of Jacob which was interesting, rather than his name.

Richard must have put on one side the Hours he used as duke and acquired a new one with no signs of ownership or from which all flyleaves with such signs could be easily removed – a clean manuscript may have been particularly appropriate as a gift or acquisition for the King. New leaves were then added, the book rebound fittingly and the additional prayers and collect commissioned by the King; he added his birthday and place of birth himself.¹⁰¹ If this is what happened and if the new prayers had any particular significance and relationship to his personal needs, the Hours could have been acquired as late as 1484 or 1485.

There is not much doubt that the Hours must have been part of the booty of Richard III’s tent after his death at Bosworth. It is a tradition that this went to the Stanleys and that Richard’s tent hangings were still to be seen at Knowsley, the main family’s seat, as late as the seventeenth century.¹⁰² The next owner to inscribe the book was Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII and wife of Thomas Stanley, Lord Stanley and Earl of Derby. It has been suggested that it was she who expunged Richard III’s name from ‘his’ prayer in a spirit of hatred.¹⁰³ This is not tenable: a revengeful person would scarcely have missed the entry for his birth in the Calendar – which includes his title – and it is more likely that the erasures were made by a pious later user of the prayer who did not want the

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 Scrope 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 Lynghe gent.’ of an unnamed city is referred to in the first person,¹⁰⁷ and someone made notes referring to an Ysabel Bradfort 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 θ 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.

f.1. Collect of St. Ninian.

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.¹¹⁰ 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

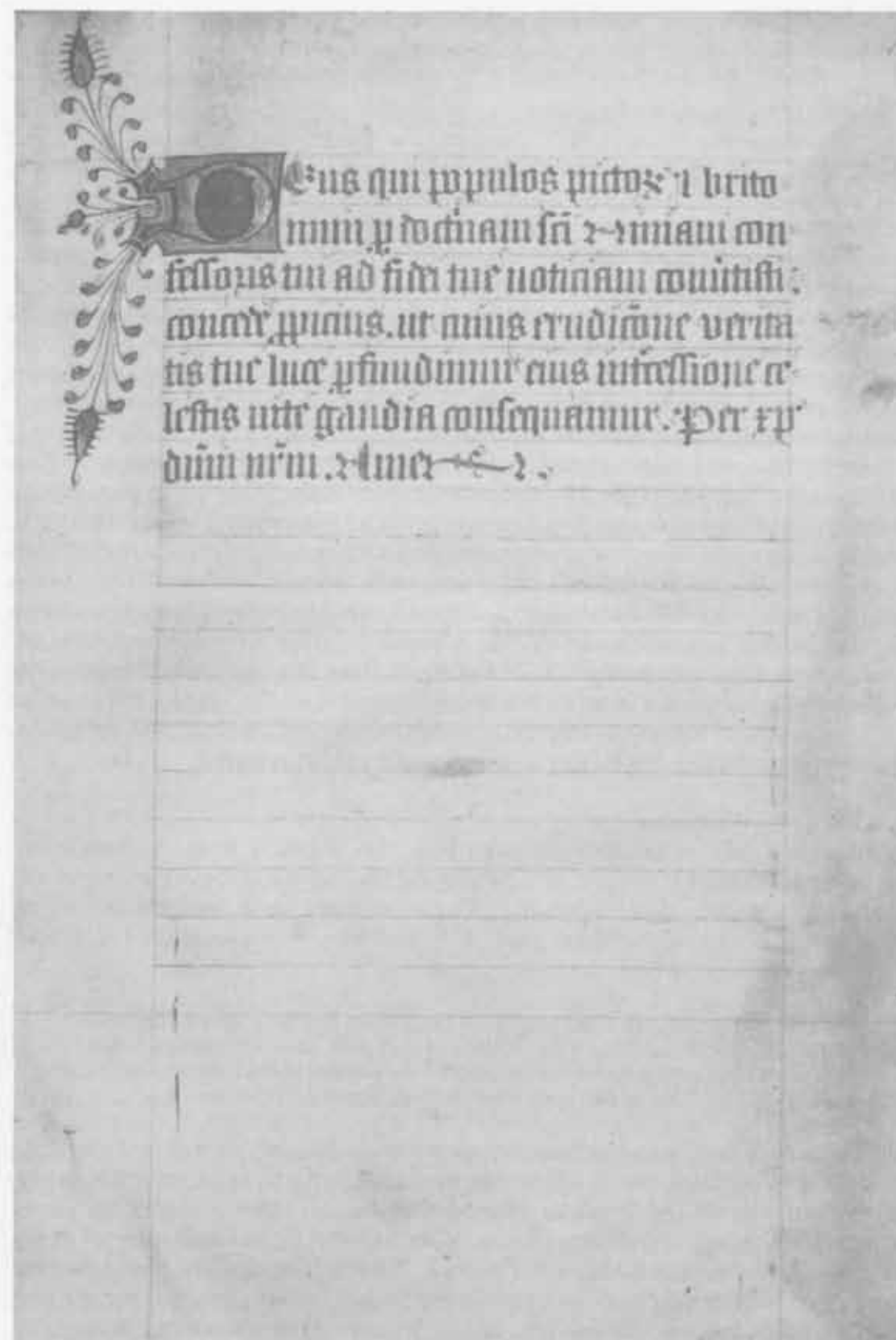


Figure 26. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms. 474, f.1. The collect of St. Ninian added for the King.



Figure 27. St. Ninian shown with a supplicant and angel. The saint is depicted as a bishop, with fetters and a Bible, symbols of his releasing prisoners and his evangelism. Edinburgh University Library Ms. 42, f.72v.

his religious foundations at York, Middleham and Barnard Castle, and also at Queens' College, Cambridge, where he endowed four priests.¹¹¹ 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ 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 Kl' for (Kalends) in the fourth, which give the date according to Roman practice.¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵

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 Egyptiaci*). 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

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ff.9–14. Instructions for the seasonal variations of the Hours of the Virgin.

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. *ihesus. [I]hesu 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 incipiunt matutine de sancta maria* (Here begin . . .) and beginning *Domine labia mea aperies Et os meum annuntiabit 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 25–31.¹²¹ Lauds and the other hours except Compline begin with the words *Deus in adiutorium meum intende Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (O God 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 Magdalen, Margaret, Sitha, the Relics of the Saints, All Saints, Peace; this series contains only one unusual item.¹²² Compline, on folios 49–54, can be recognised by its opening words *Converte nos deus salutaris noster Et averte iram 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.¹²³ This variable text is followed by the same prayer in every instance, *Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi pone passionem . . .* (Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, put your passion . . .).¹²⁴ 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 virgineum trena totum trivit, quando suum filium nocte captum scivit* (The virgin heart of the mother was devastated by grief when she knew that her son had been captured in the night).¹²⁵ Each quatrain is followed by the prayer *Domine sancte ihesu christe dulcis fili virginis qui pro nobis mortem crucis tollerasti*

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. . . (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).¹²⁶

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

The Penitential Psalms (*psalmi penitentiales*)¹²⁷ 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 parentum meorum* (Do not remember my sins and those of my parents, Tob.3,3) and are here introduced by the prayer *Suscipe sancta trinitas unus deus hos psalmos consecratos . . .* (Accept, Holy trinity, One God, these consecrated psalms . . ., f.54v). Part of psalm 6 is lost because the six-line initial that depicted the Last Judgement was cut out and folios 55 and 55v 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 all 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.¹²⁸

The Litany (ff.62v–71v) follows. It is one of the oldest liturgical prayers. Its main feature is its repetitive request (Greek *litaneia*) 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 apostles. This high status is the result of legend and forgery and was widely accepted.¹²⁹

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.¹³⁰ The final text *Pietate tua quesumus domine solve 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 deus 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.90v–100v. Commendations

The Commendation of Souls (*Commendationes animarum*) in books of hours differs from the *Commendatio animae* 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 eternam dona eis domine* (Give them eternal rest, o Lord), psalm 138 (*Domine probasti me*), a dialogue of versicles and responses and the prayers *Deus cui proprium est misereri . . .* (O God who is always full of pity . . .), *Tibi domine commendamus animas famulorum . . .* (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.

ff.101–112. Psalms of the Passion.

They are introduced in the last line of folio 100v by the rubric *Psalmi de passione christi* (Pss.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'.¹³¹ The last psalm *In te domine 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.¹³²

The psalms are followed by two short prayers,¹³³ and three *Miserere* 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 *Miserere*', and the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterna deus qui humano corpori animam ad similitudinem tuam inspirare dignatus es . . .* (O almighty everlasting God, who deigned to breathe a spirit in your likeness into a human body . . .).¹³⁴

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ff.112–122v. Psalter of St. Jerome.

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 blessed 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 scribe wrote *felicitudinem* instead of *solicitudinem*] 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'.¹³⁵ 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).¹³⁶

ff.122v–123v. Verses of St. Bernard.

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 tenebris ad lucem . . .* (Save us, o Lord, from death to life, from darkness to light . . .).¹³⁷

ff.124–145. Prayers to God and Christ.

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, elude 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)

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Plate 2. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms.474, f.72. Funeral and the beginning of the Vigil of the Dead. (Actual size)

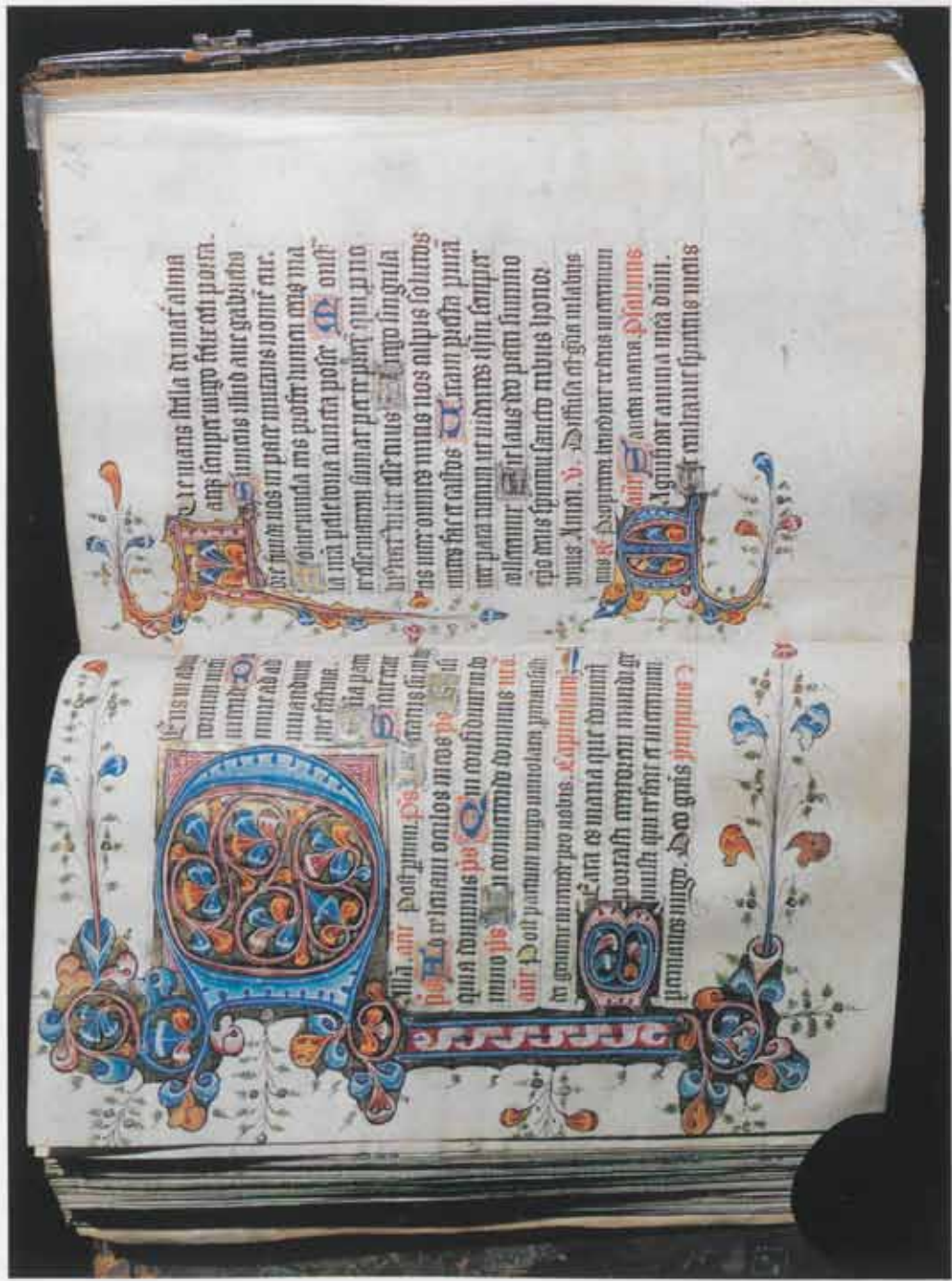


Plate 3. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms. 474, ff. 47v-48. A double spread showing typical subsidiary illumination.

RIII
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Plate 4. Altenburg Hours, Altenburg Ms. AB6C4, 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 *Invocacio ad* . . .¹³⁸
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 lumen de lumine* . . . (O only-begotten Son of the father, light from the light . . .).

ff.127v–128. *O spiritus paraclite, o amborum almiflue* . . . (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 proclaimed . . .).

These and the next two prayers:¹³⁹

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

ff.129v–130. *Ihesu, ihesu miserere mei. Ihesu, ihesu obliviscere superbum provocantem* . . . (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 dei quotidie dixerit dum tamen in peccato mortali scienter non fuerit eternaliter certissime dampnari non poterit*. (He who says this sequence¹⁴⁰ 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 genitus, Ihesus [pre]figuratus* . . . (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).¹⁴¹

ff.131–132. *Iuste iudex ihesu christe rex regum et domine* . . . (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 *Ancrene Riwe*, where it is called one of the *Cruces*, prayers to the Holy Cross.¹⁴²

ff.132–134. [rubric] *Ad ymaginem crucifixi dicatur. oracio*. (To the image of the crucifix should be said [this prayer]. A prayer). [text] *Omnibus consideratis, paradisus voluptatis, 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.¹⁴³ 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 stanza-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).

f.134v. *Omnipotens sempiternè deus qui unigenitum filium* . . . (Almighty everlasting God, [you were willing to let] your only-begotten son [suffer] . . .): this prayer frequently follows *Omnibus consideratis*, as it does here.¹⁴⁴

ff.134v–135. *O bone ihesu duo in me agnosco* . . . (O good Jesus, I acknowledge there are two things in me . . .), is sometimes ascribed to St. Bernard; in it the supplicant asks Christ to take away the evil part of man created by man himself, and leave him the good part that Christ created.

ff.135–136. *Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi te deprecor per sacratissimam carnem* . . . (Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, I pray you by the most sacred flesh . . .) names many events of the life and suffering of Christ and for the sake of these the speaker prays to be delivered of his sins of the past, present and future. The name of the supplicant can be inserted in the text. The last two prayers often go together.¹⁴⁵

ff.136–136v. *Concede michi domine spacium vite et gratiam bene vivendi* . . . (Grant me, Lord, time to live and the grace to live well . . .); this prayer requests help in the hour of death, the blessing of the last sacrament and deliverance 'from the horrible face and the power of the devil'.¹⁴⁶

ff.136v–138. *Domine ihesu christe qui septem verba die ultimo vite tue in cruce pendens dixisti* . . . (Lord Jesus Christ, who spoke the seven words on the last day of your life hanging on the cross . . .). This text has a four-line initial and the rubric reads: 'A prayer of the Venerable Bede, the priest, on the seven words of Christ hanging on the cross. Who says this prayer devoutly every day on bended knees cannot be harmed by devil or evil man and will not die unconfessed, and for thirty days preceding his death he will see the glorious Virgin Mary prepared to help'. The text is usually ascribed to Bede and is very common in books of hours. It tries to relate each of the seven words of Christ to the seven cardinal sins, but does not succeed in making a specific connection. It may be compared to the devotions to the wounds, the sacred face, and the Hours of the Cross, all meant to arouse the pity of the faithful and make them meditate on the suffering of Christ. The 'Seven Words' are a frequent theme: they also occur in 'Richard III's prayer' (see chapter 6, below) and in the Fifteen Oes (see ff.145v–151v).¹⁴⁷

ff.138–138v. *Precor te piissime domine ihesu christe propter illam caritatem* . . . (I pray you, very merciful Lord Jesus Christ, because of that charity . . .) is sometimes supposed to have been written by Pope Gregory III (died 741) at the request of a queen of England – or he may have conferred indulgences on its users. It is a 'levation prayer'¹⁴⁸ on the Passion, describing Christ's suffering in its physical details: 'with outstretched hands, with deadly hue, with tearful eyes . . .'¹⁴⁹ In some manuscripts its rubric promises as many days of indulgence as Christ had wounds.¹⁵⁰ It could be said during or after the elevation of the host or anywhere before an image of the Crucifix.

ff.138v–139. *Domine ihesu christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem tuam et preciosissimum sanguinem tuum* . . . (Lord Jesus Christ, who [assumed] this your most sacred flesh and your most precious blood . . .) is another lelevation prayer, here opened by a four-line initial. The rubric was erased completely, but the text's popularity allows it to be reconstructed from other sources: 'To whoever says the following prayer between the elevation of the host and the third *Agnus Dei* 2,000 years of indulgence are granted by Pope Boniface VI at the request of Philip, King of France'.¹⁵¹

ff.139–139v. *Deus qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi a iudeis reprobari et a iuda traditore osculo tradi . . .* (God, you were willing for the redemption of the world to be condemned by the Jews and to 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 80,000 years. In the short text all the events and instruments of the passion are remembered and deliverance from the ‘punishments of hell’ is asked for.¹⁵²

ff.139v–140v. *Deus propicius esto michi peccatori et sis custos mei omnibus diebus vite mee . . .* (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.140v–141. *Salve sancta facies nostri redemptoris, In qua nitet 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 misereatur*), versicles 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.141–141v. *Deus qui nobis signasti lumine vultus tui . . .* (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 crux adoro 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.142–142v. *Obsecro te ihesu 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 dulcissimam convivii 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 uterum castissime semper virginis marie tua virtute fecundasti . . .* (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 sacratissimam 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

ff.145v–151v. The Fifteen Oes.

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 ihesu*. 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 Bridgettine 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 ihesu 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 ihesu mundi fabricator quem nulla divisio* [should probably read *dimensio*] *vero in termino metitur . . .* (. . . 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 ihesu 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 ihesu vera libertas angelorum paradus deliciarum . . .* (. . . true angelic freedom, paradise of delights . . .) recalling how Christ was despised and maltreated, it asks for protection against enemies.

5. *O ihesu speculum claritatis eterne . . .* (. . . 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 ihesu 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 ihesu fons inhauste pietatis . . .* (. . . 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 ihesu dulcedo cordium, ingensque suavitas mentium . . .* (. . . 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 ihesu regalis virtus iubilusque mentalis* . . . (. . . royal power and joy of the mind . . .) recalls Christ's cry of anguish: Why have you forsaken me?! The supplicant hopes Christ will not forget him in *his* despair.

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

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

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

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

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

15. *O ihesu vitis 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 Oes are followed by two short prayers:¹⁶²

f.151v. *Ihesu nazarene respice ad meas miseras* . . . (Jesus of Nazareth, regard my misery . . .) and *Domine ihesu christe pater omnium credencium* . . . (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 videas laudes* . . . (See these praises . . .), a nine-line decorated initial and a demi-vinet introduce a 'farced' version of the *Salve regina*. This is a long devotion of thirty four-line stanzas, each headed by and beginning with one or more words from the *Salve regina* itself. These headings, written in red, thus form the original text. The first lines of the first two stanzas read: *Salve virgo virginum, Regina regnancium*.¹⁶³ 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 utero* . . . (God, who from the womb of the blessed virgin Mary . . .).¹⁶⁴

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

ff.158–160. *Obsecro 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 intemerata* was probably written in the sphere of Cîteaux 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 *Obsecro te* is directed to Mary alone and after saluting her by various titles, enumerates many events of her life, her joys and sorrows. The supplicant 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 . . .)¹⁶⁹ followed by versicle and response and the collect *Deus qui beatissimam virginem mariam* . . . (O God, who [gave joy] to the most blessed virgin Mary . . .).¹⁷⁰

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.¹⁷¹

ff.162v–180. Devotions to the Virgin and Miscellaneous Prayers.

ff.162v–164v. *Virgo templum trinitatis* . . . (Virgin, temple of the Trinity . . .). A six-line decorated initial introduces this metrical and rhyming devotion on the Seven Joys of Mary, one of the innumerable meditations on the joys (and sorrows) of the Virgin, written in Latin and the vernacular languages, that celebrate events of her life, numbered from five to twenty-five. The present meditation was made by Philippe de Grève, chancellor of Paris (died 1236), and survives in many manuscripts. In Richard III's *Horae* its five-line rubric was erased, but apart from the word 'pope' it is perfectly legible. It claims that 'whoever pronounces the Seven Joys once every day will obtain a hundred days of indulgence from Pope Clement who wrote it with his own pen'. Each stanza has a three-line initial and remembers a joyful event of Mary's life: the Annunciation, the Nativity, Adoration, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Assumption of Mary herself. Each ends with a few lines of verse written in red, containing the words *per hoc gaudium* (through this joy) and asking the Virgin's help.¹⁷²

ff.164v–165. *Te deprecor sanctissima maria mater gracie* . . . (I pray you, most holy Mary, mother of grace . . .), a series of names of Mary that frequently goes together with *Virgo templum trinitatis*. It contains the formula *Intercedas pro me peccatore .N. famulo tuo* (intercede for me your servant N a sinner) enabling the supplicant to insert his own name.¹⁷³

ff.165v–166. *Digna virgo flos nubes regina theotecos theoteca imperatrix pacifica* . . . (Worthy, virgin, flower, cloud, queen, mother of God, divine one [?], empress, bringer of peace, . . .) contains titles that go back to salutations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and shows that the Virgin was correctly called 'rich in names'. The first title varies in copies of the text and minor differences are legion, but the series

as a whole is easily recognisable. It contains such names as 'turtle dove', 'tuba', 'rose' and 'lily'. 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.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 *loricae*, prayers that are literally called 'cuirasses'. 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.¹⁷⁵

ff.166v–167. *Melliflua 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.¹⁷⁶

ff.167–168. *Ave cuius concepcio solemni plena gaudio . . .* (I salute you who conceived in solemn joy . . .) specifies the Five Joys: the Conception Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption.¹⁷⁷ This text occurs in many books of hours, followed, as here, by versicle, response and the collect *Deus qui nos conceptionis, nativitatis . . . letificas . . .* (O God, who makes us happy [when we remember Mary's joys] of the conception, the nativity . . .).¹⁷⁸

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

ff.168–169. [rubric] 'Whoever says the Five Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin 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.¹⁷⁹ It is followed by versicle, response and another text referring to the Sorrows: *Maria virgo virginum consolatrix miserorum . . .* (Mary, virgin of virgins, comfortress of the wretched . . .).¹⁸⁰

ff.169–169v. *O Domina gloriosa virgo maria dignare meis petitionibus indignissimis*

annuere . . . (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'.¹⁸¹

ff.169v–170. *O regina poli, peccantem linquere noli. Da michi 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 *Precamur te piissima dei genitrix virgo maria per amorem filii tui . . .* (We pray you, most merciful mother of God, virgin Mary, by the love of your son . . .) and constitutes a single devotion to the Virgin, beseeching her not to abandon the sinful supplicant.¹⁸²

f.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).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 . . .).¹⁸⁴

ff.170v–172. *Suscipere digneris domine deus omnipotens laudes et oraciones . . .* (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.¹⁸⁵ It begins *Ave maria gracia plena dei genitrix super solem et lunam pulcherrimam . . .* (Hail Mary, full of grace, mother of God, fairer by far than the sun and the moon . . .) and 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 ihesu christi in manus eiusdem filii tui et in tuas, 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.¹⁸⁶

ff.172v–173. *O cunctis excelsior angelorum choris . . .* (O you that are more exalted than all the choirs of angels . . .) is a 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.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 iuxta crucem lacrimosa . . .* (The sorrowing mother stood weeping beside the cross . . .) and contains the famous passage *Quis est homo qui non fletet 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?).¹⁸⁸

ff.174–176v. *Gloriosissima et precellentissima 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?'¹⁸⁹

ff.176v–177. *Ave mater graciae virgoque perperua. Maria tu diceris adiutrix 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.¹⁹⁰

ff.177–177v [rubric] *Oracio de archangelis* [text] *Obsecro vos o sancte michael, sancte gabriel, sancte raphael, cum sociis vestris qui astatim ante claritatem dei clamantes quotidie 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.¹⁹¹

ff.177v–178. [rubric] *Oracio. De sancto iohanne evangelista*. [text] *Sancte et beate iohannes apostole et evangelista* . . . (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.¹⁹²

ff.178–178v. [rubric] *De beata anna* [text] *Salve parens matris christi Anna ferens 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 versicle, response and the collect *Deus qui universum mundum beatissime anne puerperio letificasti* . . . (O God who brought joy to the whole world by the lying-in of the most blessed Anne . . .).¹⁹³

ff.178v–179. [rubric] *De ioachim et anna* [text] *Salve sancte ioachim 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 versicle, response and the collect *Deus qui beatos ioachim et annam pene sterilitatis afflictos* . . . (O God who [was willing to make fruitful] Joachim and Anne who were afflicted with barrenness . . .).¹⁹⁴

f.179. [rubric] *Eundo ad cubitum. 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.¹⁹⁵

ff.179–179v. [rubric] *Oracio. Ad bonum angelum*. (To the good angel) [text] *O mi 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 physician' and protector against all visible and invisible enemies.¹⁹⁶

f.179v. [rubric] *De beato ioseph. Oracio* [text] *Deus qui prudentiam beato ioseph in domo 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.¹⁹⁷

ff.179v–180. *Pax christi qui exsuperat omnem sensum* . . . (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).¹⁹⁸

ff.180–180v. *Salvator mundi salvum me fac domine ihesu christe 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.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰

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.²⁰¹ The choice of Latin words that begin with *pere-* is limited, and almost the only possibility is *peregrinari* (to travel, to wander).²⁰² 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 famulum 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'.²⁰³ 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.

[f.184] . . . optimum nos serves a languore, ihesu pro tuo nomine sublimi glorioso, expurga nos a crimine omnique delicto. *Versus*. Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum. *Responsorium*. Cito anticipent nos misericordie tue quia pauperes facti sumus nimis. *Versus*. Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster. *Responsorium*. Et propter gloriam nominis tui domine libera nos et propicius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. *Versus*. Laudate dominum ihesum omnes ang[e]li eius. *Responsorium*. Laudate eum omnes virtutes eius. *Versus*. Domine salvum fac regem. *Responsorium*. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. *Versus*. Domine exaudi oracionem nostram. *Responsorium*. Et el[amor meus ad te veniat].

Oremus. Exaudi nos domine ihesu, omnipotens sempiternus deus et mittere digneris sanctos tuos de celis qui custodiant foveant protegant visitent et defendant omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo. Per christum dominum [nostrum].

Oremus. [f.184v] Omnipotens sempiternus deus in cuius manu sunt omnes potestates ac omnia iura regnorum respice in auxilium christianorum ut gentes paganorum qui de sua feritate confidunt dextera [sic] tue potencia conterantur. Per christum dominum nostrum Amen. Kyrieleison. Kyrieleison. Kyrieleison. Domine ihesu miserere. Domine ihesu miserere. Domine ihesu miserere. Christus dominus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem autem crucis. Pater noster.

Oratio. Respice domine super hanc familiam tuam pro qua dominus noster ihesus christus non dubitavit manibus tradi nocentium et crucis subire tormentum. Recordare domine testamenti tui et dic angelo percucienti: cesset iam manus tua ut non desoletur terra et ne perdas omnem animam vivam. *Versus.* Quiescat domine iam ira tua a populo tuo. *Responsorium.* Et a civitate sancta tua ut non desoletur. Pater noster.

(... best [?] ... keep us from weakness, Jesus, for the sake of your sublime name, cleanse us of offence and all crime.

Verse. Do not remember our former sins.

Response. Have mercy on us because we have been brought very low.

Verse. Help us, O God of our salvation.

Response. And for the glory of your name rescue us and forgive our sins for the sake of your name.

Verse. Let all the angels praise the lord Jesus.

Response. Let all his heavenly armies praise him.

Verse. Lord, save the king.

Response. And hear us when we call.

Verse. Lord, hear our prayer.

Response. And may my cry reach you.

Let us pray. Hear us, Lord Jesus, almighty, ever-living God, and deign to send your saints from the heavens to keep, support, protect, visit and defend all who live in this house. Through Christ our lord.

Let us pray. Almighty, ever-living God, in whose hand are all the powers and all the rights of kingdoms, come to the help of the Christians and let the peoples of the heathen who trust in their fierceness be destroyed by the power of your right hand.

Amen. *Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison.* Lord Jesus have mercy. Lord Jesus have mercy. Lord Jesus have mercy. The lord Christ was obedient for our sake, even to accepting death, death on the cross. Our Father . . .

A prayer. Look down, Lord, upon this your people for whom our lord Jesus Christ did not hesitate to deliver himself to those that would harm him and to suffer the agony of the cross. Remember, Lord, your covenant and say to the destroying angel: Now stay your hand! And let not the earth be made desolate and do not destroy every living soul.

Verse. May your anger, Lord, now be lifted from your people.

Response. And from your holy city, and let it not be made desolate. Our Father . . .)

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.²⁰⁴ Whatever its exact format, it was probably written at the request of Richard III and for his needs. Most of its elements – as far

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.

. . . *optimum nos serves* . . . : this incomplete sentence (a response? an antiphon?) can unfortunately not be identified as the other verses and responses can. The line may have begun *Per verbum tuum bonum et optimum* . . . (Through your good and very good word . . .), but no parallel texts have been found.²⁰⁵ The word *languore* could be the key-word. In Biblical and medieval Latin *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 shaken off. In the Bible the word more often means the former. Either may have been intended here.

V. Ne memineras . . . *R. Cito* . . . *V. Adiuva* . . . *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. Emmeran prayer book they form a prayer *pro peccatis et neglegentibus nostris* (for our sins and neglects) following a litany.²⁰⁶

V. Laudate . . . *R. Laudate* . . . : these exhortations to praise God are taken from psalm 148, verse 2. In the 1570 missal they occur after the *Alleluia* on the second Sunday after Epiphany; in the Sarum missal, in the same position on the next Sunday.

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. Emmeran prayer book it occurs after the litany as a separate short prayer *pro rege nostro* (for our King).²⁰⁷ The text could obviously have been chosen by Richard III or with him in mind.

V. Domine . . . *R. Et cl[amor]* . . . : the opening lines of psalm 101, one of the Penitential Psalms, used in the post-Tridentine missal as *Alleluia* verse on the seventeenth Sunday after Whitsun and in the votive mass 'for the sick'. The sentence often precedes the versicle *Dominus vobiscum* (followed by the response *Et cum spiritu tuo*) at the end of a section of a composite devotional text.²⁰⁸

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'.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.

Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterna deus in cuius 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.²¹⁰ 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 ihesu 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. Respice domine . . .: 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'.²¹¹

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 fifteenth-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.²¹²

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*]²¹³

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 revenged 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 East. Early Christian wall-paintings in the catacombs of Rome 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 suppliant'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 . . .'.²²³ 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 Ihesu Christe qui in hunc mundum propter nos peccatores 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.²²⁴ 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 hours²²⁵ 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.²²⁸ 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 (*exauchiés tellement*) 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 I²³¹), or they had it written in without their title (Frederick of Aragon²³²). 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 jesu christe vere deus qui a summi patris omnipotentis sede missus es in mundum peccata relaxare, peccatores . . . (Most merciful lord Jesus Christ, very God, who was sent from the seat of the highest almighty Father to forgive sins, . . . sinners . . .).

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.²³³

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.²³⁴ It is also more usual to use *dulcis* (sweet) of Jesus and *clemens* (merciful) of God himself²³⁵ 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* (*stūmi*) 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 –

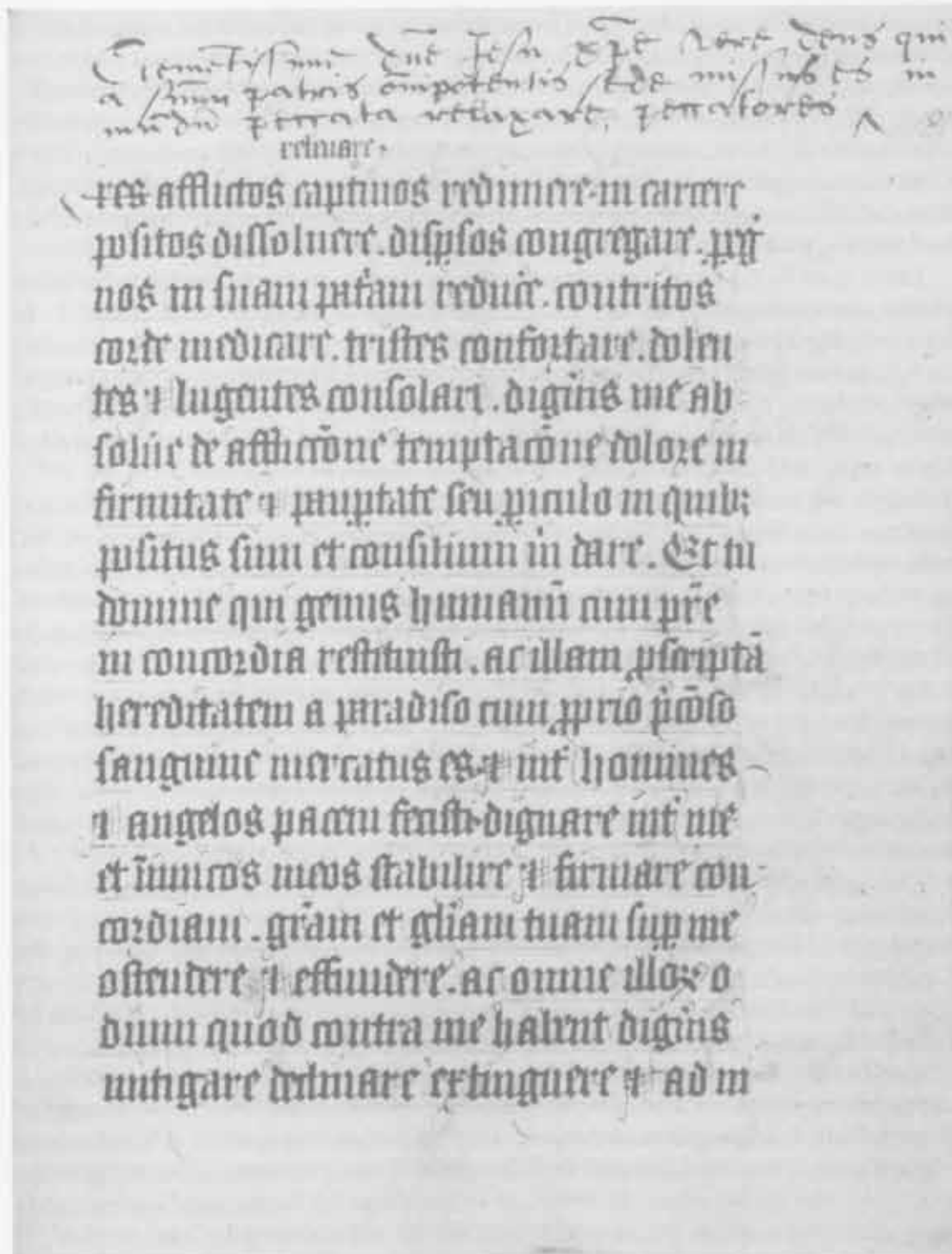


Figure 29. Richard III's Hours, Lambeth Ms. 474, f.181. The first remaining page of the long prayer added for the King. The lines in the upper margin were added in the sixteenth century in an attempt to supply the missing beginning. They differ only slightly from the first lines known to Richard III.

resembles 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 *peccatores salvare* instead of *peccatores afflictos relevare* (*relevare* was inserted later by the scribe, see fig. 29), but the general hopeful meaning of the long sentence is clear and shared by all versions.²³⁷ 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 herself²³⁸). 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.²³⁹ 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 others²⁴⁰ mention the 'concord' between God and men which Christ 'restored'; the oldest text must have had *custodia* (keeping) into which Christ 'received' (*recepisti*) humanity and this is echoed by all other copies. In the next sentence the composer had probably written *omni incredulitate deposita paradysum cum sanguine mercatus es* (when all unbelief had been taken away you purchased paradise with your blood), but many copyists found this beyond them. Errors and variants of these words are legion, but the 'proscribed inheritance' (*proscriptam hereditatem, l'eritaige . . . prescripte*) is found in a small number of manuscripts which must therefore belong to one textual family.²⁴¹

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 caldeorum* (out of the city of Ur of the Chaldeans) was eventually solved by putting *de manu* or *de manibus caldeorum* (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.²⁴² 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',²⁴³ 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 willingness to save men and their souls, they give promise of eternal life and are symbols of hope.²⁴⁴ Few of the dozens of medieval Christians who used and liked the present 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.²⁴⁵

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 *famulum tuum .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 'snares 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 Offertory 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 specially 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 incarnationis, libera. Per sanctam 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 malo atque ab hoste maligno et ab omni periculo presenti preterito 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 iudicii* (by the fearful day of judgement).

The next passage gives thanks to God for all his gifts and remembers the unworthiness of the suppliant: '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 haith pleasid Almighty God, Creatour and Redemer of all mankynd, of His most bounteuouse and manyfold graces to enhabile, enhaunce and exalte me His most simple creature, nakidly borne into this wretched world, destitute of possessions, goods and enheretaments, to the grete astate, honor and dignite that He haith called me now unto, to be named, knowed, reputed and called Richard Duc of Gloucestre, and of His infynyte goodnesse not oonly to endewe me with grete possessions and of giftys of His divyne grace, bot also to preserve, kep and deliver me of many grete jeoperd', parells and hurts, for the which and other manyfold benyfits of His bounteuouse grace and godnesse to me, without any desert or cause in sundry behalves shewed and geven, I, daily and ourly according to my deuty remembring the premisses, and in regognicion that all such goodnes cometh of Hyme . . .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 dulcissime . . .* they read *Te adoro et laudo et glorifico nomen tuum quia tu es 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 instances²⁵⁶ 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 Ihesu Christe preliator 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. 474.²⁵⁷

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.²⁵⁸ In Spain a Thomas inserted his name in the text of the prayer about 1460²⁶⁰ as did, in Italy, an unknown Elisabetta,²⁶¹ a Nicholas,²⁶² Iohannes d'Ascoli²⁶³ 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 1475.²⁶⁴

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 1425.²⁶⁵ 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.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.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.

Text and Translation.²⁶⁹

[f.181] O dulcissime Domine Iesu Christe verus deus qui de sinu patris omnipotentis missus es in mundum peccata relaxare, peccato-res²⁷⁰ afflictos relevare, captivos redimere, in carcere positos dissolvere, dispersos congregare, peregrinos in suam patriam reducere, contritos corde medicare, tristes confortare, dolentes et lugentes consolari, digneris me absolvere de afflictione temptacione dolore infirmitate et paupertate seu periculo in quibus positus sum et consilium michi dare, Et tu domine qui genus humanum cum patre in concordia restituisti, ac illam proscriptam hereditatem a paradiso cum proprio precioso sanguine mercatus es, et inter homines et angelos pacem fecisti, dignare inter me et inimicos meos stabilire et firmare concordiam, gratiam et gloriam tuam super me ostendere et effundere, ac omne illorum odium quod contra me habent digneris mitigare declinare extinguere et ad ni[f.181v]chilare, sicut extinxisti odium et iram quod habuit esau adversus iacob fratrem suum, brachium tuum extentum et gratiam super me ostende, et me liberare digneris ab omnibus angustiis et doloribus in quibus positus sum, sicut liberasti abraham de manibus caldeorum et Isaac de immolacione per arietem, Iacob de manibus fratris sui esau, Ioseph de manibus fratrum suorum, Noe per archam ab aquis diluvii, Loth de civitate sodomorum, et famulos tuos moysen et aaron et populum israel de manu pharaonis et de servitute egipti, et similiter saul de monte gelboe, David regem de manu saul et golie gigantis, Et sicut liberasti susannam de falso crimine et testimonio, et Iudith de manu olofernis, daniellem de lacu leonum, et [f.182] tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, Ionam de ventre ceti, filiam mulieris chananee a diabolica vexacione et adam de profundo inferni cum tuo proprio precioso sanguine, ac petrum de mari, paulum de vinculis, Ita domine iesu christe fili dei vivi liberare digneris me famulum tuum regem [Ricardum] ab omni tribulacione dolore et angustia in quibus positus sum et ab omnibus insidiis inimicorum meorum et mittere digneris in adiutorium meum michaellem archangelum contra eos, et eorum mala consilia que contra me faciunt vel facere volunt digneris domine iesu christe evacuare, sicut evacuasti consilium achitofel qui consolatus est absalon contra david regem, ita me liberare digneris per sancta beneficia tua, per incarnationem tuam, per [f.182v] nativitatem tuam, per baptismum tuum, per ieiunium tuum, per famem et sitim, per frigus et calorem, per laborem et afflictionem, per sputa et calophia, per alapas et clavos, per coronam spineam, per lanceam, per potacionem aceti et fellis, per sevissimam et turp[i]ssimam mortem tuam crucis et per verba que cum pendisti in cruce dixisti primo patrem deprecans domine pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt dixisti domine latroni pendenti in cruce, hodie mecum eris in paradiso, dixisti domine matri tue, Mulier ecce filius tuus et discipulo, Ecce mater tua, dixisti domine heloy heloy lamazabathani, quod interpretatur deus meus deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me dixisti domine, sicio, scilicet salutem animarum sanctarum dixisti domine, Pater [f.183] in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, dixisti domine consummatum est, Significans labores et dolores quos pro nobis miseris suscepisti, iam finisti, Propter hec omnia rogo te dulcissime domine iesu christe ut custodias me famulum tuum Regem [Ricardu]m et defendas ab omni malo atque ab hoste maligno et ab omni periculo presenti preterito et futuro et libera me ab omnibus tribulacionibus doloribus et angustiis in quibus positus sum, et me consolari digneris, per descensionem tuam ad inferos, per resurrectionem tuam, per frequentem disci-

pulorum tuorum consolacionem et visitacionem per admirabilem ascencionem tuam, per gratiam sancti spiritus paracliti, 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 michi collatis quia tu me fecisti ex nichilo et redemisti me ex tua benignissima pietate et misericordia ab eterna dampnacione perpetua²⁷¹ vitam eternam promittendo, Propter ista et alia que oculus non vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, Rogo te dulcissime domine iesu 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 christum 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 Holofernes, 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 Achitofel who incited Absalom against King David, even so deign to deliver me by your holy goodness, your incarnation, your nativity, your baptism, and 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,

the lance, the drink of vinegar and gall, by your most cruel and shameful death on the cross and the words which you spoke while on the cross. First, praying to your Father, you said: 'Lord Father forgive them, for they know not what they do'. You said, Lord, to the thief hanging on the cross: 'Today you shall be with me in paradise'. You said, Lord, to your mother: 'Mother, behold your son', and to the disciple: 'Behold your mother'. Lord, you said: 'Helo, helo, lamazabathani', which being interpreted means: 'God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' You said, Lord: 'I thirst', that is to say for the salvation of the blessed souls. Lord, you said: 'Father, into your hands I commend my spirit'. You said, Lord: 'It is finished', signifying that you had come to the end of the labours and sorrows which you bore for us wretches.

By all these things, I ask you, most sweet lord Jesus Christ, to keep me, your servant King Richard, and defend me from all evil, from the devil and from all peril present, past and to come, and deliver me from all tribulations, sorrows and troubles in which I am placed, and deign to console me, by your descent into hell, your resurrection, by your frequent visits of consolation to your disciples, your wonderful ascension, by the grace of the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, and by your coming on the Day of Judgement. Lord, hear me, in the name of all your goodness for which I give and return thanks, and for all those gifts and goods granted to me, because you made me from nothing and redeemed me out of your most bounteous love and pity from eternal damnation by promising eternal life.

Because of these things and others which the eye has not seen nor the ear heard, and which the heart of man has not understood, I ask you, most sweet lord Jesus Christ, to save me from all perils of body and soul by your love, and to deign always to deliver and help me, and after the journey of this life to deign to bring me before you, the living and true God, who lives and reigns. O God. Through Christ our lord, Amen.²⁷²

RICHARD III'S PIETY

The study of the piety of the past, whether of individuals or communities, is a difficult one.²⁷³ 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 despairs of ever coming to an acceptable conclusion.²⁷⁴ 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.²⁷⁵ 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 based for example on the study of many wills, ever be trusted on this 'personal' subject?²⁷⁶ Finally, and most pertinently, can modern observers be sufficiently aware of their own shortcomings, scepticism and prejudice?²⁷⁷

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 prying historians), a subject which a source such as Richard III's hours should illuminate. Thirdly, there is public piety, of which the manifestation was visible to all and which was meant to be visible; it was part of 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.²⁷⁸ The seven corporeal 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.²⁷⁹

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.²⁸⁰ 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 as regards 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 the 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 a prince's 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 matters²⁸¹ both medieval and modern commentators have resorted with various degrees of enthusiasm to the charge of hypocrisy.²⁸² 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 discernable even to his subjects.²⁸³ According to the remorseless logic of Aristotle, and of his imitators like Giles of Rome, such a ruler always remains a tyrant.²⁸⁴ To this philosophical and

theoretical origin of the picture of the tyrant as hypocrite was added the literary tradition of Roman historians like Suetonius and, later, Tacitus.²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶

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 slenderest 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'.²⁸⁷ (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 undemocratic behaviour, intolerance and racism are of twentieth-century political slander.²⁸⁸ 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 appeal 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

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.²⁸⁹ 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'.²⁹⁰

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.²⁹¹ 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.²⁹²

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 Middleham²⁹³ – 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.²⁹⁴

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.²⁹⁵

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

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'.²⁹⁶ 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'.²⁹⁷ Richard must either 'have thought himself innocent . . . or he was a very advanced schizophrenic'²⁹⁸ – 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 it 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'.²⁹⁹

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.³⁰⁰

Comparison with other prayers, however, effectively reveals its over-all conventionality and lessens the importance of the text itself. The key to Richard III'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 God³⁰¹ 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 Queens' College, Cambridge, but they are closely followed in importance by Saints Cuthbert, Barbara and Katherine.³⁰² 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 boar, the animal supporting Richard's own arms; Barbara protected from sudden death and Katherine patronised scholars.³⁰³ 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 oil of St. Thomas Becket with which he was anointed, and to have placed a 'value' on the remains of Henry VI, which he had removed to Windsor.³⁰⁴ It is also known that he thought as he should on the subject of the crusade³⁰⁵ and that he touched for the king's evil like other English kings.³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷

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'³⁰⁸ and that he was 'something of a puritan'.³⁰⁹ 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).³¹⁰ In fact, of the eleven books that he probably owned only *four* can be called devotional:³¹¹ 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 Mechtild 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.³¹² The visions of Mechtild 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

for him³¹³ 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 personality 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 subtilists, they conceal the truth from all reports.³¹⁴

NOTES

1. A good general discussion and description of books of hours, their history and usual contents is in Leroquais, *Livres d'Heures*, vol.1, pp.i-lxxxv. Other useful and recent books are Calkins, *Illuminated Books*; de Hamel, *A History*, ch.6; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*. A bibliography on all aspects of the subject is H. Koestler, 'Stundenbücher. Zur Geschichte und Bibliographie', *Philobiblon*, vol.28:2 (1984), pp.95–125.
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 antiphonal, which has the same for the hours. Both were large books to ensure that they could be read by the choir.
4. Delaissé, 'The Importance', pp.203–4.
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 1983, and Stadlhuber, 'Das Laienstundengebet', 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.
8. See *LH*, vol.1, pp.xxxi–xl and references given there; Delaissé, 'The Importance', pp.205–8.
9. *LH*, vol.1, pp.xii–xiii.
10. *Ibid.*, p.xxix; and, for example, Gougaud, 'La prière', *passim*.
11. Barratt, 'The Prymer', *passim*.
12. Described and collated by M. R. James, *Lambeth*, pp.650–4. It has been the subject of an article by Joyce Melhuish which introduced it to Ricardian circles in 1968, and of an MA dissertation by Kathryn Jones, London University 1981. It appeared in the National Portrait Gallery Exhibition of 1973, *Richard III*, catalogue by Pamela Tudor-Craig, pp.26–27, item 51.
We are indebted to Dr Mirjam Foot of the British Library for the identification of the binder.
13. M. R. James' collation: 1² 2⁸ (wants 8) 3⁶ 4⁸ – 24⁸ (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 liturg. d.1 (245mm. by 153mm.) which was cropped by a careful binder who left margins of 5–10mm. on the top and side margins of a full vinet (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. 'Vinet' is the fifteenth-century term used by painters, later *vignettes*. It comes from *vigne* or vine scroll. A demi-vinet extended half or two-thirds round the text. See M. Rickert in Manly and Rickert, pp.562–3, Craigie, 'Champ and Vynet', p.171 and Diringier, p.443.
17. *Champ* = ground. This is the fifteenth century painter's term, see references in n.16.
18. Spriggs, 'Nevill Hours', p.104 n.1. The Nevill Hours is at Berkeley Castle; the Bodleian Library holds a complete set of colour transparencies which have been consulted for this study.
19. Pächt and Alexander, vol.3, no.922; James, *Lambeth*, no.459, ff.1–71 (he called the work fine). Lambeth 459, f.19v, is illustrated: Saunders, *English Illumination*, vol.2, pl.124.
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.
21. Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, pp.243–9. De Hamel, *History*, ch.6. Delaissé, 'The Importance', pp.205–210 and *passim*. *LH*, vol.1, pp.xl–l. Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, *passim*.
22. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, pp.26–7 item 51. Melhuish, 'Hours of Richard III', pp.2–4.
23. This is a subjective statement. Compare the fact that Margaret Rickert criticises colouring that includes a lot of yellow, *Painting*, p.166.
24. Diringier, 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 representative manuscripts. Marks and Morgan, pp.22–31 and plates, is another helpful summary. Kuhn, 'Herman Scheerre', 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 of the analogies that can be made between manuscripts. Most recently Sandler, esp. vol.1, introduction.
25. See n.35 below. Diringier, p.443. See also Sandler, vol.1, pp.19–23 on the problems of interpreting foreign influences.
26. *LH*, vol.1, p.xli.
27. Herbert, *Sherborne Missal*, *passim*. *English Book Illustration*, vol.1, p.12. Rickert, *Painting*, pp.163–5. 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' Dominican 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 to before 1391 but it has since been assigned with 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.
The other book produced in England in this period, the Big Bible (BL. Royal I E ix), has been dated to c. 1412 under the patronage of Henry IV, and associated with Herman Scheerre. It is also held to be much influenced by the Flemish style, Kuhn, p.150 and Wright, 'The Big Bible', pp.17, 133–6.
29. Rickert, *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, p.94 and *passim*.
30. In chronological order the main works on Scheerre are:-

Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp.30–32; Rickert, 'Herman the Illuminator'; Kuhn, 'Herman Scheerre', preferred a Flemish rather than a Cologne origin for Scheerre, (as did Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol.1, pp.115–118); Spriggs, 'Unnoticed'; Rickert, 'New Herman 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.166–174 and pls. 168–176; as do Alexander and Kauffmann, pp.104, 105–9; Spriggs developed Scheerre's *oeuvre* with more confidence in 'Nevill Hours', and was convinced of his Cologne origins; Turner, 'Wyndham Payne Crucifixion', reestablishes Scheerre's reputation but doubted the Cologne origins as well as the Broederlam influence; N. Rogers in *Thames and Hudson Encyclopaedia*, p.222, summarises. See also Tolley on Scheerre, pp.529–547 and Wright, pp.188–209.

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

31. 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. 16998.
32. Turner, 'Bedford Hours and Psalter', pp.267–8. Brown and others, 'Manuscripts from the Dyson Perrins Collection', p.32. Turner in 'Wyndham Payne Crucifixion' hand-somely apologised to Scheerre for his previous low opinion of his talent, p.21.
33. 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.
34. BL. Add. Ms. 50001. This was previously in the Henry Yates Thompson Collection, see *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.
35. It has been suggested that Scheerre'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 models, traditions and influences observed by art historians in the London 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 Imitation*, pp.41–3, 50, Calkins, *Distribution of Labour*, pp.10–11, 52–7.
36. Wieck, *the Book of Hours*, pp.60–1, *LH*, vol.1, pp.lxxix–lxxx.
37. Other mss. on which the Advocates 18.6.5 artist collaborated contain similar Annunciations: BL. Add. Ms. 16968, 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 chs. 9 and 11 of her thesis.
38. On the fertility of English imagery in the second half of the fourteenth century see Sandler, vol.1, p.21 and *passim*, and on the close association of the Bohun and Litlington groups and the Carmelite Missal, vol.1, pp.34–37, vol.2, p.172.
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. 1356–1399) in the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, illustrated Richard Fre-

- mantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters*, London 1975, fig.509. This Virgin also wears a thin diadem.
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 from manuscripts of the crossed hands can be instanced; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, pl.1, figs.12, 34, Panofsky, vol.2, fig.108b; or the hands in repose in Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 49, f.28, illustrated Rogers, Thesis, pl.33.
40. Panofsky, vol.1, pp.86–89, 112–118; vol.2, figs.104, 156, 161, 165, and Rogers, Thesis, ch.4, esp. pp.79–83, and p.141. (See also Wright, pp.171–5.) For an example by the Boucicaut Master, BL. Add. Ms. 16997, f.51.
41. Herbert, *Sherborne Missal*, p.28 and pl.2. See also n.27 above on Siferwas.
42. Now in two parts, BL. Royal 2 A xviii and Rennes Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 22. Analysed by Rickert, 'Beaufort 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 Scheerre. Other additions were the imported full-page miniatures by the Flemish artist called the Master of the Beaufort Saints, pasted in to illustrate the memorials of saints. 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.1443), Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter (d.1475), and to his wife Anne of York for whom were added birth dates of members of the house of York in or after 1461. (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 xviii. The hours is a much poorer piece of work and William Abell has been suggested as its painter (Alexander, 'William Abell', p.166).
- For the general acceptance of Scheerre as the painter of the Annunciation, see e.g. Turner, 'Wyndham Payne Crucifixion', pp.16–22, Alexander and Kauffmann, no.74.
43. Reposeful, 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.
44. See especially Rogers, Thesis, pp.136–142, on Lat. liturg. 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 1400 for the English market in Flanders and the rest being additional, and later, work done by Scheerre and others in England. We are grateful for Nicholas Rogers for discussing the date of the manuscript with us.
45. BL. Add. 42131, f.7. Rickert, *Painting*, pp.172–4 and her 'Some new Herman Attributions', p.88. Kuhn, pp.149–50. Turner, 'The Bedford Hours and Psalter', esp. p.268 and his 'Wyndham Payne Crucifixion', p.21.
46. Other closely related Annunciations in this manner, with one hand upraised, can be found in the Chichele Breviary, one of the mss. signed by Scheerre (Lambeth Ms. 69, f.4v, illustrated Panofsky, 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 that may be by Scheerre himself (f.9. See Rickert, *Painting*, pp.169–70.)
47. Spriggs, 'Nevill Hours', p.104–130 and pl.29a. She attributes f.15 to an associate of Scheerre 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

- 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 liturg. d.1, containing both Scheerre- and Johannes-type elements.
49. Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, Hart Ms. 21018, has no helpful indications of provenance; only the Christian names of children born at Isleham, Wicken and Granchester, Cambs., 1522–9, are mentioned. It has historiated initials of the Annunciation and the Passion. It has several demi-vinets rather than full vinets with these and with one six-line initial A decorated in a similar way to those in Richard III's Hours. Its rank and quality compares with the secondary decoration of Richard's Hours and the Altenburg manuscript, but its colouring is generally poorer, there is less gold and no three-dimensional effects. The whole planning of Hart 21018 in text layout and decoration is careless. Despite its more elaborate historiation, Hart 21018 is a poorer quality manuscript, its three- and two-line initials are in blue and pink with white patterning and with gold, a type that does not occur in Richard's Hours but is used for the lowest rank of illuminated initials in the Altenburg manuscript. See also Alexander, *Treasures of the North-West*, item 46.
50. Schmidt, p.51. He depended partly on the earlier opinion that BL. Add. Ms. 16998 was c. 1405.
51. BL. Add. Ms. 42131, f.122. Rickert, *Painting*, p.175, notes this painter's anaemic 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 Scheerre for his low opinion of his work.) The long necked, whey-faced female type is very common, see the several Virgins in the Nevill Hours, ff.29v, 33v, 35, 78v, or the mother of Alexander, Bodley 264, f.2v (Marks and Morgan, pl.35); it can on occasion be very charming as in the Nevill Hours, f.29v or Rawlinson liturg. d.1., f.110v. And see Wright, p.195, on the female type used.
52. There are several similar variants in the Bodleian Lat. liturg. 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.
53. Nicholas Rogers has drawn our attention to the fillet worn 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.
54. 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.193v) and the use of David to illustrate the Penitential Psalms (f.133v). Hints of practices associated with the Caesar Master and the Owl Master are also present and K. L. Scott's forthcoming book will no doubt elucidate these links.
55. Panofsky'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.893 in this Library's collection. The Annunciation is shown in colour in Marks and Morgan, pl.38 and see p.114.
56. 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 Reid Ms. 42, an English psalter. 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 Judgement 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 Abell', pp.167, 168-9). This ascription 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 that can be said is that both Annunciations derive from the same model.

57. For discussions of this manuscript and its associations see K. L. Scott, 'A London Illuminating Shop', pp.172-182 and also Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's Books IV: Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, pp.545-9.
58. 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 historiography. 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 Spriggs, '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 mss. originating in the Low Countries, see Rogers, Thesis, plates.
59. James, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, p.xxxvi, Leroquais, *Psautiers*, p.xlviii, and Wieck, *Book of Hours*, pp.124-6.
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 2863, f.82b (*ibid.*, pp.67-72). All three mss. also have similar Annunciations to Richard III's and it can be assumed their Christs in Judgement would have been equally similar in type. See Spriggs, '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. Boucicaut Master of which de Hamel shows two examples, *History*, p.179.
62. This manuscript has many points of similarity to Richard III's Hours, referred to below. It is a Sarum Hours and dated to c. 1420, Pächt and Alexander, vol.3, no.869.
63. Alexander and Kauffman, item 80, note the close affiliation between the Gonville ms. and Rawlinson liturg. d.1. It is also, perhaps more, closely affiliated to the Clarence Hours.
64. Turner, 'Bedford Hours', p.268.
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 widow; two candlesticks, tiled floor. Illustrated in Borland, *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.
67. James, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, p.xxx. Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, p.97. For early Netherlandish versions for the English market see above, n.60.
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. Wieck, *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.
69. Alexander and Kaufmann, p.91.
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 (?) on f.28. The closely related Gonville 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.
74. Turner, 'Bedford Hours and Psalter', pp.267-70 and his later opinions in 'Wyndham Payne Crucifixion', pp.21-2. See also Rickert, *Painting*, pp.173-4.
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 (Michael Orr). The small Passion scenes of 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.
- 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 Scheerre 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.
77. Initials e.g.: Big Bible, ff.222, 234v illustrated Saunders, *English Illumination*, vol.2, pls.120, 121; Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.7, 101; Gough Liturg. 6, f.22; Nevill Hours, f.8 has the same initial as the Richard III Annunciation; Clarence Hours, f.15; Gonville and Caius 148/198, ff.1, 56, 175.
- 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, 62; Rennes Ms. 22, f.32; Bedford Hours and Psalter, f.183; Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, ff.10v 100 and *passim*; Warwick Hours, f.29.
- Scrolled borders enclosed in 'masonry' e.g.: *Li Livre du Graunt Cam*, 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 Herman Scheerre or his talented associate to whom the rest of the historiography in this manuscript has been attributed.
78. 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 60v.
- 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.
79. 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, ff.32v, 115v, Hart Ms. 21018, f.7, 28v and *passim*, *Graunt Cam*, ff.218, 220, Rennes Ms. 22, ff.32, 119v and Altenburg Hours.
80. E.g. Bedford Hours and Psalter, ff.9, 151v; Gonville and Caius 148/198, ff.254v, 276v; Clarence Hours, ff.22v, 53, 38, 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.
81. E.g. f.152. Compare Gough Liturg. 6, f.30 for collared trumpets, and Clarence Hours, *passim*, Rennes Ms. 22, ff.32, 94.
82. Schmidt, p.52. Rickert, 'Illumination', p.570.
83. Bedford Hours and Psalter, ff.83v, 135. Clarence Hours, ff.32v, 73v. Rawlinson liturg. d.1, ff.40, 59, 103.

84. Gonville and Caius 148/198, ff.1, 86v, 139, 206v. Elizabeth the Queen, ff.22, esp.24v. Warwick Hours, ff.12, 29.
85. Saunders, *English Illumination*, vol.2, pl.124: Lambeth Ms. 459, f.19v.
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.36v, 79, 113. The infill of some of the larger initials of Gonville and Caius 148/78 (e.g. ff.276v, 281) is similar to those of the Richard III ms., and the infill of the small 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.
87. Esp. Rickert, 'Illumination', pp.567-71 a particular study of borders and Sandler, vol.1, pp.37, 174, figs.387-418 *passim*, vol.2, p.164.
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.
90. This development may owe much to Netherlandish influence, see Rogers, Thesis, ch.xi on Mildmay Master and 'the Englishman', and K. L. Scott, 'A London Illuminating Shop', *passim*.
91. This is unusual; such a green border occurs round miniatures and initials in the Johannes 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.
94. Spriggs, 'Unnoticed', p.197. Wright, p.184. Panofsky, vol.1, p.114. Rickert, *Painting*, p.173 on the prevalent use of green in the Bedford Hours and Psalter. Rickert, 'Illumination', pp.567-71. Sandler, vol.2, pp.168-9 on the rich colours of certain late fourteenth century English manuscripts.
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 use of the title '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 idea that the illumination of Richard's Hours is a copy of the later Warwick Hours (see the detailed examination of the illumination of Richard's 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, 122-122v, 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).
101. Comparison with the handwriting of Richard III leaves little doubt that the note was actually written by him. For his royal signature see John Fenn (ed.), *Original Letters written during the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III*, 2 vols., London 1787, vol.2, pl.7, no.2; J. G. Nichols, *Autographs of Royal . . . Personages*, London 1829, [pl.4], example 2 of 'The Latter Plantagenets'; Public Record Office C 81/1531/68, illustrated in Halsted, *Richard III*, vol.2, p.346. It also occurs on the first leaf of his mss. containing Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Troiae* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* now at Leningrad, illustrated in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's Books: VII', pp.139 and 143.
102. M. K. Jones, 'Sir William Stanley', p.22.
103. Melhuish, 'The Hours of Richard III', p.3; Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, pp.27-8, and Jones, 'A Study', p.27.
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 scraped off completely in this ms.
105. End flyleaf. Noted by James, *Lambeth*, p.653, but since lost.
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. Folio 1v, erased.
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' Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library Mss.1222-1860*, by E. G. W. Bill, Oxford 1972, esp. pp.1-5, 27, and see also Ann Cox-Wilson, 'Lambeth Palace Library 1610-1664', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol.2 (1954-8), pp.105-25. The 1612 catalogue of Bancroft's library refers to two *Maria Horaria* (Lambeth Records f.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 f.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, *Catalogue of Archbishop's 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: VI'. The passage on Ninian was copied from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, book 3, ch.4, the earliest source on the saint.
111. Dowden, pp.156-8: at Queens' the collect of St. Ninian was to be 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, Burntisland 1864, pp.369-70); Dobson, pp.142, 145-6 (York); Raine, pp.161, 164-5, 169 (Middleham); *Victoria County History of Durham*, vol.2, London 1907, pp.129-30 (Barnard Castle). See also Searle, *History of Queens*, p.89; D. H. Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 1978. The same collect 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 Ecclesiological 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 longer 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 Wieck, *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 ii (literally *two* days before, because both days were counted), 5 October is numbered iii, etc. After the Nones the days were numbered in relation to the Ides, the fifteenth of March, May, July 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 kl' Novembris*: 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

- day of the week 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 1483), it was given the letter e since 1 January always had a; all dates marked with e were Sundays in that year; thus Richard III's birthday in 1483 fell on the Thursday. Leap years had two Sunday letters, one for the part of the year before 29 February, one for the rest of the year. 29 February had the same letter as 1 March (d). In 1452, a leap year, the letters were b and a (Richard III was born on a Monday).
116. Loiseleur, pp.198–253; Steele, pp.108–21 and references given there. The rhymes in the present Calendar are those printed by Steele on p.117, beginning *Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis* (The first day of the month and the seventh cut like a sword). These days were also called *dies mali* (evil days), whence 'dismal'.
117. The present Calendar only differs from the 'standard' Sarum Calendar printed in Wordsworth, *Ceremonies*, pp.3–14, in including St. Aldelmus (25 May), St. Eustace and his companions (red, 2 November) and St. Clement (red, 23 November); in lacking Sts. Tyburcius and Valentianus (19 April), the Translation of St. Edmund (9 June) and St. Barnabas (11 June) and 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 5 January was perhaps done because that date also had the Octave of St. Thomas Becket, but other feasts of St. Thomas were left untouched.
119. See the discussion of 'Richard III's prayer', ch.6, below.
120. See the 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*, by a Master of Novices, Carmel of Plymouth 1983; for an English text of the Hours and of all the usual items in a book of hours of Sarum use, see Littlehales, vol.1, pp.1–89, where the text is identical to that of Richard's Hours except for the omission or inclusion of a few prayers and some minor details.
122. Nicholas Rogers informs us that the inclusion of a *memoria* to St. Sitha or Zita (of Lucca, festal day 27 April) is highly unusual before the sixteenth century. He has found only a few fifteenth-century 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); Mone, 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 versicles, responses and the accompanying prayer *Domine ihesu christe* with an English translation, commentary on pp.346–52. See also Littlehales, vol.1, pp.15, etc. (a fifteenth-century translation); Searle, *Fitzwilliam*, p.xliv; Stadhuber, pp.307–8, notes 151–3, and *passim* on the Hours of the Passion in general; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, p.162; Woolf, pp.235–6 on the English versions of *Patris sapientia*, and on the influence of the hymn, and Barratt, pp.266–8, 272–3. In BL Ms. Add. 37787, 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 Rome (Aegidius Colonna, died 1316).
124. See preceding note and Hoskins, pp.122–3, 197.
125. *RH*, no.29551; *AH*, vol.30, pp.106–7, item 47 (followed by similar texts); *Horae Ebor.*, pp.xxxii–xxxiii and 47, n.1, 49, n.1, 52, n.1, etc.; Searle, *Fitzwilliam*, p.xliv; English translation in Chambers, part 1, pp.170–3. The pity and grief Mary felt at her son's suffering was a popular object of devotion in the fifteenth century, see Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp.505–36; Stadhuber, pp.313–5; Woolf, pp.239–73; Pfaff, pp.97–103.
- 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.1); Nicholas Rogers informs us they are very rare before the middle of the fifteenth century. In the present ms. the quatrains of *Patris sapientia* are headed 'antiphon' and have a two-line initial in Lauds and only one-line initials at the other hours. The invariable prayer has a three-line initial in Lauds, one-line initials at the other hours. Each quatrain of *Matris 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 *Salve regina*, with versicles, responses and the prayers *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui gloriose virginis ac matris marie corpus* (ff.52v–53), and *Famulorum tuorum quesumus* (f.53). Folio 53v, *Gaude virgo mater christi que per 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 Meersseman, vol.2, pp.38–40, 206–8), with versicles, responses and the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui divina gabrielis salutacione*. On f.54 are two very short prayers, *In omni tribulacione* and *Meritis et precibus*, with antiphons, versicles 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 (Meersseman, vol.2, p.6 and references give there).
129. The saints invoked in the Litany 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 here been omitted; the vocative has been maintained, the few abbreviations extended: maria, dei genitrix, virgo virginum, michael, gabriel, raphael, Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli, Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines, iohannes baptista, Omnes sancti patriarche et prophete, petre, paule, andrea, iacobe, iohannes, thoma, iacobe, philippe, bartholomee, mathee, symon, thadee, mathia, barnaba, marce, luca, marcialis, Omnes sancti apostoli et evangeliste, Omnes sancti discipuli domini, Omnes sancti innocentes, stephane, line, clete, clemens, sixte, corneli, cypriane, laurenti, vincenti, fabiane, sebastiane, cosma, damiane, prime, feliciane, potencie, grisogone, ypolite cum sociis tuis, georgi, gervasi, prothasi, iohannes, marcelline et petre, iohannes et paule, crispine et crispiniane, christophore, albane, edmunde, lamberte, Omnes sancti martires, silvester, leo, ieronime, augustine, ysidore, hillari, nicholae, martine, ambrosi, gregori, germane, romane, vedaste, taurine, iuliane, cuthberte, egidi, leonarde, antoni, philiberte, audoene, albine, amande, ausberte, sampson, paterne, patrici, remigi, basili, brici, wilfride, pauline, machute, Omnes sancti confessores, Omnes sancti monachi et heremite, anna, maria magdalena, maria egyptiaca, felicitas, perpetua, petronilla, agatha, agnes, cecilia, lucia, scolastica, genovefa, margareta, katerina, elisabeth, paschalia, affra, barbara, batildis, rade-gundis, fidis, tecla, christina, helena, praxedis, sotheris, prisca, editha, ositha, fides, spes, karitas, Omnes sancte virgines, Omnes sancti et sancte.
130. f.68v Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere propiciare animabus famuli tui . . .
f.69 Preces populi tui quesumus clementer exaudi . . .
Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere suscipe deprecationem meam . . .
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus . . .
f.69v Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam sancti spiritus . . .
Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia . . .
Omnipotens sempiterne deus dirige actus nostros . . .
Pretende domine famulis et famulabus tuis dexteram . . .
f.70 Ure igne sancti spiritus renes nostros . . .
Acciones nostras quesumus domine . . .
Omnium sanctorum tuorum quesumus domine intercessionibus . . .
Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam . . .
f.70v Omnipotens sempiterne [often: mitissime] deus respice propicius ad preces nostras . . .
Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor . . .
f.71 Absolve domine animas omnium fidelium defunctorum . . .
Pietate tua quesumus domine . . .
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, Littlehales, pp.50–1.

Many of them are still used at the end of the Litany in the modern Roman Catholic Church.

131. Hoskins, p.172; see *Horae Ebor.*, pp.114–5, for the ‘argument’ of each psalm.
132. Searle, *Fitzwilliam*, p.xlix. A similar story is told of St. Nicholas: ‘... when he came to the words *in manus tuas*, which means “into Thy hands I commit my spirit”, he breathed forth his soul to the sound of heavenly music’ (de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, Dec.6, p.21).
133. *Deus qui sanctam crucem ascendisti*, which is very close to the collect used in the memorial on the Cross on f.31v (Hoskins, pp.109, 130, 163, 215); *Gracias tibi ago domine ihesu christe qui me indignum famulum tuum* ... (similar to *Lyell*, no.196; in BL Ms. Harl. 211, ff.146–146v, a very similar prayer is ascribed to St. Edmund of Abingdon). In the *Antidotarius*, ff.32v–33, the last prayer is to be said ‘after rising in the morning’.
134. In the Sarum Missal this text is part of the *Commendatio anime*, Wickham Legg, pp.428–9.
135. Turner, ‘The Prayer-Book’, pp.360–3 and references and mss. given there. *LH*, vol.1, p.xxviii; Hoskins, p.115; complete text and similar rubric in *Horae Ebor.*, pp.116–22. Searle, *Fitzwilliam*, p.xlviii (full rubric).
- Because it was desirable but also impossible for the layman to say the whole psalter every day – and not everyone could afford or obtain a Psalter – abridgements were made very early on. Bede had made one, adapting the lines of verse for use by the laity, and others followed. A rubric virtually identical to the one given here, but without mention of St. Jerome, is found in an eleventh-century ms. (Meersseman, vol.2, pp.7–8). These abridged texts possibly explain how stories of people saying the whole psalter daily should be interpreted; for example, John Rous on Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick (died 1445): ‘he wolde ... dayle sey the hole daved sawter with owt he had the gretter business he coud hyt with owt the boke perfyzzle [perfectly]’ (*The Rous Roll*, ed. Charles Ross, Gloucester 1980, item 54).
136. *Omnipotens et misericors deus clemenciam tuam suppliciter deprecor* ...; *Omnipotens sempiternus deus maiestatem tuam suppliciter deprecor* ...; *Omnipotens sempiternus deus miserere famulo tuo .N.* ...
137. Identical to the first half of a prayer in BL Ms. Harl. 211, f.116v. For the Verses of St. Bernard, see *LH*, vol.1, p.xxx. Searle, *Fitzwilliam*, p.1.
138. It has proved impossible to find another copy of these texts, which obviously form one devotion. It is a trope on the *Kyrie* very similar to some of those printed in *AH*, vol.47, pp.45–216. – The words prose, sequence and trope all have more or less the same meaning. They are basically texts composed to help remember the music of the liturgy. The most important instance is the final syllable of the *Alleluia* which was on some occasions prolonged to a number of musical notes and many proses were written (in rhythmical prose) to assist the singers’ memory. When these prose texts became more metrical they came to be called sequences, because they ‘followed’ the *Alleluia*. Trope is a more general name for supplementary phrases or verses to ecclesiastical chants. Julian, *Dictionary*, under ‘Latin Hymnody’, ‘Prose’, ‘Sequence’ and ‘Trope’.
139. No other copy of these texts has been found.
140. See note 138.
141. *RH*, no.9728; Walther, no.9850; compare *Lyell*, no.202; *AH*, vol.50, pp.558–68, item 381, has the text with some lines lacking and others added, as well as other versions and the music of the text.
142. Raby, pp.263–4; Szövérfy, vol.1, p.408; *Ancrene Riwe*, p.11; *LH*, vol.1, pp.155, 340; Mone, vol.1, pp.359–61, item 265; *Lyell*, no.216; *RH*, no.9910; Walther, no.9997; translation in Crippen, pp.77–80. In BL Ms. Harl. 211 ff.128v–129, the prayer is said to be ‘against the wiles of evil spirits’. For Berengar see R. W. Southern, ‘Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours’, in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt et al., Oxford 1948, pp.27–48.
143. The first stanza (*Omnibus* ...) has a four-line initial, the other have three-line ones, and each is prefaced by a short rubric: *Ad crucem christi. Triumphale signum crucis, tu*

- seductos nos reducis* ... (To the Cross of Christ. O triumphant sign of the Cross, you lead us back who have been led astray ... f.132), *Ad caput ihesu christi. Ave caput inclinatum, despectivum coronatum* ... (To the head of Christ. Hail, bowed head, shamefully crowned ... f.132v), *Ad vulnus dextre manus. Salve vulnus dextre manus, velut phison rivus planus* ... (To the wound of the right hand. Hail, wound of the right hand, like the wide river Phison ... f.132v), *Ad vulnus sinistre manus. Ave tu sinistra manus, perforata tu fuisti* ... (To the wound of the left hand. Hail, left hand, you were pierced ... f.133), [rubric lacking] *O fons aque paradisi, a quo quatuor divisi dulces fluunt rivuli* ... ([To the wound in the side.] O source of the water of paradise, from which four separate sweet rivers flow ... f.133), *Ad vulnus dextri pedis christi. Salve vulnus dextri pedis, tu cruoris rivum edis* ... (To the wound of the right foot of Christ. Hail, wound of the right foot, you bring forth a stream of blood ... f.133v), *Ad vulnus sinistri pedis. Levi pedis perforati, ave vulnus in quo pati deus homo voluit* ... (To the wound of the left foot. Hail, wound of the pierced left foot, by which God was willing to suffer as Man ... f.133v), *Ad virginem mariam. O maria plasma nati, que vidisti ihesum pati* ... (To the virgin Mary. O Mary, creature of your son, who saw Jesus suffer ... f.134), *Ad iohannem evangelistam. Iohannes evangelista, tu sacrarii sacrista in quo deus iacuit* ... (To John the Evangelist. John the Evangelist, you are the keeper of the shrine in which God lay ... f.134); *AH*, vol.31, pp.87–9, item 68 (it was a very popular text, *AH* records 25 mss., but many more copies survive); *RH*, no.14081; *Lyell*, no.309; *LH*, vol.1, pp.247, 321; Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp.527, 584; Gougaud, *Devotional ... Practices*, p.78. See also Gray, pages given and esp. p.132.
144. *Lyell*, no.316; the prayer also follows *Omnibus consideratis* in Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. liturg. f.9, f.60, and Ms. Rawl. liturg. d.1, f.108v; BL Ms. Royal 2 A viii, f.56; Ms. Harl. 211, f.138v, and Ms. Harl. 5315, f.87.
145. *Hoskins*, p.127; *Lyell*, p.65 and nos.143, 245; *Antidotarius*, f.38 (*oratio Sancti Bernardi ad Ihesum*); *LH*, vol.1, p.77, 356 (with ascription); vol.2, p.79; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, vol.3, p.393.
146. No other copy of this text has been found.
147. Leroquais printed the text in full, *LH*, vol.2, p.342. *LH*, vol.1, pp.3, 111, etc.; vol.2, pp.46, 52, etc. and *PL*, vol.94, cols. 561–2 (with variant readings); *Lyell*, no.159; Meertens, vol.2, pp.111–4; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.140–2, has a rubric similar to the one in Richard III’s Hours, but Bede is not named; *Antidotarius*, ff.45v–46 (rubric with Bede’s name); Haimerl, pp.74, 80, 86, 92, 95. Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, p.240, has a medieval English translation. See Barratt, pp.276–8, and Woolf, pp.219–22, on the English versions. Wilmart, ‘Le grand poème’, pp.273–4 and notes, discusses the prayer in the context of other writings on the Seven Words. – The ‘effect’ of the prayer is not always the same, see e.g. Haimerl, pp.57, 95.
148. Prayers said at, before or after the elevation of the host during mass are of a special intensity; many survive in the vernacular: ‘The consecration and elevation are the most solemn and sacred points of the entire service, and, since in times of great emotion the natural tendency is to revert to the mother tongue, ejaculations and prayers in the vernacular arose to meet the demands of public worship’, Robbins, p.131.
149. *Hoskins*, p.123; *LH*, vol.1, pp.xxxi, 269 (?), 336; vol.2, pp.100, 252 (?), 443; Haimerl, pp.80, 86, 124; Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p.378, n.1 (12); Meertens, vol.1, pp.143–5 (quoting various rubrics); *Antidotarius*, ff.27v–28 (with rubric). The text often has *amantissime* instead of *pissime*, and *eximiam caritatem*, and there are many other variations of detail (see *Darmstadt*, vol.3, index: *Precamur te* and *Precor te*).
150. University of London Ms. 519, f.128; *LH* vol.1, p.xxxi; *Hoskins*, p.123 (and compare p.152); *Antidotarius*, f.27v (with rubric). See also Breeze, pp.88, 91 and notes and references. In the context of this prayer the number of the wounds is calculated at 6,666.
151. *Lyell*, no.157; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.72, 177 (with similar rubric); *Hoskins*, p.111; Haimerl, pp.57, 94, 126; *LH*, vol.1, pp.36, 40, etc.; vol.2, pp.25, 62, etc.; *Antido-*

- 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 *sanctissimam carnem*. – The rubric in Richard III's Hours probably read: *Cuiuslibet dicenti hanc oracionem sequentem inter elevacionem corporis christi et tercium agnus dei per papam bonifacium sextum duo milia annorum indulgencie conceduntur ad supplicacionem philippi regis francie*. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and Philip IV, the Fair, are meant.
152. Lyell, pp.63-4 (rubric given), no.123; Hoskins, pp.112 (. . . *pro perditione* . . . [!]), 152 (wrong rubric); *Horae Ebor.*, pp.83, 177 (with a longer ending); Meertens, vol.1, pp.127-8 and notes; *Antidotarius*, f.38v; *LH*, vol.1, pp.41, 45, 122, 153; vol.2, pp.26, 108, 344; *Darmstadt*, vol.3, pp.28, 62, 105. The text is either ascribed to Boniface VIII or said to have been 'confirmed' by John XXII. Alternative *incipit* are *Domine Jesu Christe (fili Dei vivi) qui . . .* and *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 or *Segenspruch*); *Antidotarius*, ff.30v-31 (two rubrics). Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, p.247 (medieval English translation).
154. *RH*, no.18189; Mone, vol.1, pp.155-8, items 119, 120; Lyell, no.357; Hoskins, p.125 (with rubric); *Horae Ebor.*, pp.174-5; Daniel, vol.1, p.341; vol.2, pp.232, etc.; *LH*, vol.1, pp.16, 100, etc.; vol.2, pp.13, 24, etc. and 349-50 (full text of hymn and prayer). For a modern English translation Chambers, part 2, pp.115-6. See also Flora Lewis, 'The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer', in *England in the Thirteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, Woodbridge 1985, pp.100-6.
155. Lyell, no.115; Hoskins, p.127; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.174-5; Meertens, vol.2, pp.73-8 and notes; *Antidotarius*, f.52v; *LH*, vol.1, pp.183, 323; vol.2, pp.13, 24, 58. Together the hymn, the prayer and the psalm with versicles and responses form a private 'little office' of the vernicle, in part identical with the one printed in S. Corbin, 'Les Offices de la Sainte Face', *Bulletin des études portugaises*, new series, vol.11 (1947), pp.1-62, esp. pp.28-29.
156. No other copy of this text has been found.
157. Though different in many details this text is very similar to prayers to the cross printed in Gjerløw, p.128 and references given there; Wilmart, 'Prières', pp.23-4, 51-2 and 'L'office', p.422; *Horae Ebor.*, p.114; *LH*, vol.2, pp.208, 299; Leroquais, *Psautiers*, vol.1, p.140.
158. Hoskins, pp.135, 354; *LH*, vol.1, pp.258, 273; vol.2, pp.37, 39, 232; *Antidotarius*, f.14; Haimerl, pp.90, 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, p.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.
161. Lyell, pp.62-3; *LH*, vol.1, p.98; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, vol.3, p.390; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.76-80; Hoskins, pp.111, 116, 165, 171, 196, 211, 223; Meertens, vol.2, pp.15-21; *Antidotarius*, ff.47v-50. Maskell, vol.3, pp.275-82. For a discussion see Wilmart, 'Le grand poème', pp.274-8; Rogers, 'About the 15 "O"s', *passim*; Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, pp.170-80 (medieval English translation). Meier-Ewert, *passim*, on the English translations by Caxton and others.
162. In other mss. these prayers occur as one; Lyell, no.152 and mss. referred to there. The text sometimes begins *Domine* or *O Iesu*.
163. For this and other 'faced' versions, see Mone, vol.2, pp.203-14, esp. p.208; Woolf, p.282; Julian, pp.991-2. For this devotion: Lyell, no.358; Hoskins, p.133; *RH*, no.18318. For the *Salve Regina* itself: Thurston, pp.115-45.

164. Lyell, no.106; Hoskins, p.133 (and pp.126, 143 in another marian context); Haimerl, p.127; Wordsworth, *Ceremonies*, p.122 and n.1. In the *Ancrene Riwe* it follows after a devotion on the Five Joys of Mary. The prayer is still in use today.
165. For the connection of Sts. Mary and John, see Gougoud, *Devotional Practices*, p.78; Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp.507-8 and also the prayer *Omnibus consideratis*, ff.132-134 above. Bennett, *Poetry*, p.97.
166. See especially Wilmart, 'La Prière à Notre-Dame', *passim*, and *Auteurs*, pp.474-504, where the story of St. Edmund is told, and that of a young man whose soul was saved by St. John because he had said the prayer on fifteen consecutive days. *LH*, vol.1, pp.xxiv-xxv and *passim*; vol.2, pp.346-7 (full text); Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, ch.viii *passim*, and p.164 (English translation). The text in Richard III's Hours is virtually identical with the one printed by Leroquais and translated by Wieck. See also Lyell, no.264; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.67-8; Hoskins, pp.111, 191, 335, 361 (?); *Antidotarius*, ff.52-52v and ff.61v-62v (both with long rubric); Barré, pp.194-7; Woolf, pp.222, 282, 394. In *PL*, vol.158, cols.959-60, the text is printed among works ascribed to St. Anselm. There exists a version addressed to Mary only and the text is often illustrated by a *Pietà*. – In the present ms. both the *O intemerata* and the *Obsecro te* have masculine forms.
167. *LH*, vol.1, pp.xxiv-xxv and *passim*; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, ch. viii, *passim* and pp.163-4 (English translation); Lyell, nos.295, 365; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.66-7; Hoskins, p.355; Woolf, pp.282, 394.
168. This prayer continues . . . *virgo maria per amorem unigeniti filii intercedas pro me peccatore* . . . and until f.160v, line 6, it is virtually identical to a marian devotion in Meersseman, vol.2, p.240, and one in Barré, p.276 (tenth century). The next section beginning *O dulcissima maria ornamentum seculi. O pia domina. O margarita celestis sponsi*. (O sweetest Mary, ornament of the world. O merciful lady. O pearl of the heavenly bridegroom, ff.160v-161), is the salutation (*Per-te-Oration*) printed in Meersseman, vol.2, p.160, and Barré, p.277. Apart from the Virgin's names it also celebrates her actions: 'By you (*Per te*) . . . the gates of paradise were opened. By you peace was made between angels and men . . . All the apostles, martyrs and confessors, virgins and all the hosts of heaven obey you'.
169. No other copy of this suffrage has been found.
170. *Horae Ebor.*, p.64; Hoskins, pp.110, 164, 217; Lyell, p.69 (Ms. Lyell 30, ff.170v-171); *Antidotarius*, f.65.
171. Lyell, p.68 (Ms. Lyell 30, f.159v) and ms. references given there.
172. *RH*, no.21899; Walther, nos.20560-1; Mone, vol.2, pp.165-9, item 457; *LH*, vol.1, pp.46, 248; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, vol.2, p.324; *Antidotarius*, ff.64-5; Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p.329, n.1; Meersseman, vol.2, pp.195-9. For the author, Philippe de Grève, see Raby, pp.395-401; Szövérfy, vol.2, pp.192-205; *AH*, vol.50, pp.528-32.
173. BL Ms. Royal 2 A viii, f.54; BL Ms. Add. 43683, ff.18v-19.
174. Meersseman, vol.1, pp.94-6; *theoteca* is possibly an error of the present ms. for *theotes* (Greek 'divine'). *LH*, vol.2, p.208. Lyell, p.67 (Ms. Lyell 30, ff.123-125v), where *Ave Maria* was meant to be said before every name. The rubric in BL Ms. Add. 22720, ff.45-6, specifies that *Ave* should be said before every name. Bodleian Library Ms. Canon. Liturg. 223, f.31v, has a cross written between every two names where the sign of the cross is to be made and the prayer is preceded by one on the names of Christ. Bodleian Library Ms. Canon. Liturg. 251, ff.226-227, calls it merely 'a devout prayer'. The first name is variously given as *diva*, *digna* or *domina*.
175. Lyell, nos.175, 349 and references given there, esp. Wilmart, 'Le manuel', p.279 and n.5; Gougoud, 'Etude', *passim*. The text can also begin *Sis mihi quaeso*.
176. Meersseman, vol.2, pp.34-8 and 190-3; the text in Richard III's Hours is to all intents and purposes identical to the one printed *ibid.*, p.193. See also Woolf, p.135. On the Five Joys of Mary, Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp.326-36, and Woolf, ch.iv, both on the origins and the vernacular texts of the devotion.
177. *LH*, vol.1, pp.76, 99, etc.; vol.2, pp.7, 8, etc.; Leroquais, *Psautiers*, vol.1, pp.109, 209; Mone, vol.1, pp.5-6, item 323; *RH*, no.1744; Walther, no.1904; Hoskins, p.119. Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, p.287 (medieval English translation).

178. *LH*, vol.1, pp.76, 99, etc.; vol.2, pp.7, 8, etc.; Bennett, *Devotional Pieces*, pp.287–8 (medieval English translation).
179. The text in Richard III's Hours is virtually identical with *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.
180. This text is frequently connected with the preceding one; for references see the preceding note.
181. *Lyell*, nos.253, 254 and references given there; Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, vol.1, p.18. A variant incipit is *O domina misericordissima*.
182. 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.
183. A great number of farced *Ave Marias* is printed in *AH*, vol.30, pp.190–281, and Mone, vol.2, pp.91–114, but the present one is not among them. See *Lyell*, no.47 and references given there; also BL Ms. Harl. 2341, f.143, a copy virtually identical to Richard III's, and *LH*, vol.1, p.252. Many similar prayers in vernacular languages are extant.
184. No other copy of this prayer has been found.
185. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p.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 mss, with very similar salutations. The text was printed by Egerton Beck, 'A Twelfth-Century Salutation to Our Lady', *The Downside Review*, vol.42 (1924), pp.184–5.
186. *Lyell*, no.366 and mss. and references given there; *LH*, vol.1, pp.182, 356; vol.2, p.299.
187. *AH*, vol.15, p.138, item 12, has all stanzas; *RH*, no.12861; Walther, no.12564. Also Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 40, f.41v (all stanzas).
188. *AH*, vol.54, pp.312–8, item 201; *Horae Ebor.*, pp.134–5; Hoskins, pp.119, 355, 375; *Lyell*, no.352; *RH*, no.18018. Julian, *Dictionary*, lists translations; Raby, pp.437–43; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, pp.104–5. Nicholas Rogers informs us that the *Stabat mater* is quite uncommon in fifteenth-century English books of hours.
189. 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 *LH*, vol.1, p.320; *Darmstadt*, vol.3, p.83. For the Theophilus 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.
190. Compare folio 170v, above, and n.183. This text does not occur in *AH* or Mone either.
191. Wilmart, *Auteurs*, p.582, n.1, quotes the only copy known to him (BL Ms. Royal 2 A xxii, f.203, the twelfth-century Westminster Psalter). The present text is almost identical, but slightly longer. It also occurs in 'Queen Melisende's Psalter' (1131–43), see H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1957, p.134.
192. *Lyell*, no.375, and mss. referred to there. The text is printed in *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica 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 virginal St. John. See also the *O intemerata*, ff.156v–158, and n.166.
193. No other copy of this suffrage has been found.
194. *Salve sancte ioachim* is printed *AH*, vol.28, p.302, item 123. No other copy of the collect has been found but it is probably not rare.
195. Stadlhuber, p.284; 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*,

- vol.101, cols.507–8, and *Liber precationum quas Carolus Calvus Imperator . . .*, ed. F. Ninguarda, Ingolstadt 1583, p.126.
196. No other copy of this prayer has been found. Among the many prayers to the guardian angel quoted by Wilmart, *Auteurs*, pp.537–58, none even resembles the present text.
197. The full Latin text reads: [rubric] De beato ioseph. Oracio [text] Deus qui prudenciam beato ioseph in domo domini sui et coram pharaone dedisti et eum a fraterno odio et invidia non solum liberasti, sed in honore sublimasti. Precor te domine deus omnipotens ut me famulum tuum .N. ab insidiis inimicorum meorum et omnium christianorum gratiam invenire concedas. Per christum. – We are grateful to Dom Eligius Dekkers for giving us his thoughts on the prayer and its purpose. The conclusions are our own.
198. *Lyell*, no.213, and mss. referred to there.
199. *Lyell*, nos.349 (and 175) and mss. and variants referred to there.
200. For more details see the present authors' 'Richard III and St. Julian: a new Myth'.
201. For St. Julian, his legend and other suffrages see de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, pp.128–31, 27 January; 'La Légende de St. Julien l'Hospitalier', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol.63 (1945), pp.145–219 and references given there.
202. Words beginning *perem . . .* or *peren . . .* can probably be excluded because the scribe would have added an abbreviation sign over the second e. *Peregrinari* was M. R. James' conjecture (*Lambeth*, p.653).
203. James, *Lambeth*, p.653. For the prayer see also *Lyell*, no.169.
204. There are several devotions for which the name 'litanies' is used but it was essentially an earnest entreaty to the deity, said or sung publicly and deriving from pre-Christian custom. The tone of such begging prayers is one of great penitence and humility, beseeching God in repetitive phrases and answers for his protection against disasters that concerned the community as a whole: the blighting of crops, pestilence and war. The formula had developed from, and is closely connected with, the *Kyrie eleison*, and litanies always contain this phrase once or several times (up to seven). Because of their purpose and contents they came to be used especially during processions, for instance those of 25 April and the three 'great days of the Cross'.
- A litany is a responsorial prayer and consists of a series of saints' names, or a list of the names and titles of Christ or the Virgin, which are intoned by the leader, answered by brief pleas of the people (intercede for us; hear us; pray for us) and followed by short exclamatory entreaties of a more specific nature, which are again answered and completed by the community. A lengthy dialogue of versicles and responses and, at the end, a number of prayers for various purposes, are frequent components of a litany.
- Apart from pre-Christian begging prayers and a natural inclination of man to plead with his gods in repetitive formulas, psalm 135, *Confitemini domino* (Praise the lord), in which every line celebrating God's deeds and goodness is answered by 'his mercy lasts for ever', is thought to have inspired the composition of litanies. Of the many litanies composed since the beginnings of the church only a few were eventually approved by the pope or integrated into the liturgy: the Great Litany or Litany of Saints, the Litany of Loreto (of St. Mary) and later that of the Holy Name of Jesus. Most were forbidden for public use by Pope Clement VIII in 1601, because they contained 'improper, dangerous and erroneous' material. Perhaps a Catholic owner around this time was moved to cut out the more offending pages of Richard III's own text.
205. We are grateful to Dom Eligius Dekkers for help and suggestions on this matter.
206. M. Frost, 'A prayer book from St. Emmeran, Ratisbon', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol.30 (1929), pp.32–45, esp. pp.41–2.
207. *Ibid.*, p.41; see e.g. Hoskins, p.362, among 'Prayers and orisons to be said after the Litanies, according to the diversity of times'.
208. Dom Eligius Dekkers informs us that the words *Dominus vobiscum* and *Et cum spiritu tuo* were probably omitted in this layman's devotion because these words were to be said only by a priest or deacon; when no priest was present they were not pronounced.

209. *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society vol.49, London 1915, p.220, under *Benedictiones variae*, item cxvii *Oratio quando aqua spargitur in domo*; W. Bright, *Ancient Collects and other prayers* . . . , Oxford 1857, p.89.
210. E.g. *Missale Romanum 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 sancte* (for the recapture of the holy land); Hoskins, p.352, among *Preces et orationes dicendae post Litanias pro diversitate temporum: Contra paganos*, and p.363 for the same in English.
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
212. See L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, 16 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau 1886–1933, vol.3, p.209 and n.2; *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Card. Caes. Baronius usque ad annum MDXXXIV* . . . , ed. O. Raynaldus, vol.XIX, pp.343–4, no.61, 1484 November 21. Among those to whom the letter was sent was 'the King of England'.
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. Gaultier, *La Chevalerie*, pp.539–45; he also calls these prayers 'soldiers' prayers'. There are many instances of people using similar formulas in French epic poetry, see Koch, *An Analysis*, especially chapter 5. Sister Koch's work is exhaustive, gives many quotations and references and discusses the origin of the formula. The close association of these 'lists' of examples with death and the dying is clear from the situations in which the literary 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, that is, the *Ordo Commendationis animae*, 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 servi tui (ancillae tuae), sicut liberasti Danielelem de lacu leonum, . . . sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine* These either go back to the same very old source, or the prayer was inspired by the well-known liturgical text, as other prayers were.
216. The longest and most interesting of such prayers (listed in Gougoud, 'Etude', pp.3–27) is the version known as the *Oratio Sancti Brandani*, probably of the ninth century. It is in effect a long 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 praying from danger on land and sea, from every kind of animal, from fire and earthquakes and all natural dangers, from poison and hate, 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 eventuality. This 'prayer of St. Brendan' survives in some 35 Latin and vernacular copies on the continent and in England, see Salmon, 'Oratio Brandani', *passim*. – Many of the elements in Richard III's prayer also appear in the eleventh-century 'Office of the Crucifix', see Wilmart, 'L'office', *passim*.
217. Fourteenth-century mss. containing the prayer traced so far:
BN Ms. latin 757, hours and missal, 1385–90, North Italy.
Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Canon. Liturg. 251, hours, 1380s, made in Bruges for Catalan client.
BN Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 22, hours and missal, 1390, North Italy.
BN Ms. latin 1281, breviary, Franciscan, first half of the fourteenth century, Italy; the prayer was added later in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
BN Ms. latin 13261, hours, Parisian, end fourteenth century; it is not certain when the prayer was written.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 11035–37, Hours of Philip the Bold, 1380–90, prayer perhaps added later.
BN Ms. latin 18014, Hours of John, Duke of Berry, end of fourteenth century.
The last named ms. is one of the books of hours owned by the Duke of Berry, better

- known for his commission of his 'Très Riches Heures'. The so-called 'Petites Heures du Duc de Berry' contain a curiously corrupt version of the prayer (ff.115v–117); *LH*, vol.2, pp.175–87). It is simply headed *oroison* and begins *Deus qui de sinu patris missus es in mundum* It is part of the original book and not inserted later. No part of the text allows of any conclusion about its relation to other mss. It is full of errors caused by misreading and after about two-thirds (after the mention of Achitophel) becomes entirely different, bearing no resemblance to any of the other copies studied. There are many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century mss. containing 'the prayer of Richard III'. Some have been studied 'in the flesh', others from photocopies. The existence of many others may be concluded or assumed from their descriptions in catalogues – which are sometimes very inadequate – but these have not all been pursued. It is not thought relevant to list them all. The more interesting ones are mentioned or discussed in the text or the notes below. See also Sonet, *Répertoire*, and Sinclair, *Prières*, nos. 1561, 1562, 2183 and 2205–6, Rézeau, *Répertoire*, the same nos. and R910, for French texts (and a few Latin ones).
218. One is BN Ms. latin 757, book of hours and missal ('une combinaison assez rare' according to *LH*, vol.1, p.1.) The ms. is described *ibid.*, pp.1–7, and also in Avril, *Dix siècles d'enluminure*, item 83, pp.96–8, plate 83; it is dated 1385–90 and its main interest lies in its Italian illumination (Padua or Milan). The prayer is on ff.218–220 in the first part, the book of hours. It is remarkable that Ms.757 also appears to contain the earliest known copy of the prayer of the Seven Words of Christ on the cross, which is usually ascribed to Bede and is included in Richard's hours (ff.136v–138, see above, ch.6). The other, closely related, ms. is BN Smith-Lesouëf Ms. 22, book of hours and missal of the use of Rome. This was probably made later than Ms.757 but in the same workshop, and it contains the prayer on ff.214–217v, in the missal. Another ms. in the same library, also of Italian origin, Ms.latin 1281 (see Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires*, vol.3, pp.122–3), has the prayer on ff.1–3. This Franciscan breviary dates from the first half of the fourteenth century but the prayer was added later – which is not unusual with this text – at an unknown date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
219. Apart from the fact that two of the oldest mss. containing the prayer that have been traced are Italian, it has also to be mentioned that many of the volumes in British libraries which contain it appear to be of Italian provenance as well (e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Douce 8, Lyell 82, Canon. Liturg. 16, 25 and 220; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mss. 152, 156 and Maclean 72; Cardiff, Public Library, Ms. I.373) as are many others in continental collections.
220. Of course, this cannot be called unique in any way; it is merely a question of emphasis; compare the 'most sweet Lord Jesus Christ' with which the prayer begins. See Haimertl, p.35.
221. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Canon. Liturg. 251. We are grateful to Nicholas Rogers for bringing the book to our attention.
222. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms. 11035–37 (the prayer with its additions is on ff.64–67) and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 3–1954. The original book had become unwieldy by 1450 and was divided. The earlier part eventually came to England and is now in the Fitzwilliam: Caspar and Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits*, pt.1, no.175, pp.419–23; Lyna, 'Un livre de prières', *passim*; Wormald and Giles, 'Description', *passim*; de Winter, 'The *Grandes Heures*', *passim*, and *La Bibliothèque*, pp.182–94. At the time of its production in 1376 the book already contained 'oroisons et autres choses', but ff.63v–67 are in a different hand and the initials on these folios were not painted. The next item is again in a different hand, probably that of Jean Miélot, scribe and author in Philip the Good's time. The memorial to St. Pierre de Luxembourg on f.62v cannot have been written before 1387, the year of his death. The composition of the ms. is very complicated and the exact date of each item's production cannot be established.
223. See Searle, *The Illuminated Manuscripts*, p.xv and James, *Catalogue* . . . *Fitzwilliam Museum*, p.xxxviii; it appears to be accidental that a comparatively large number of mss. in the Fitzwilliam Museum contain 'the' prayer, enabling both Searle and James

- to list it among the 'usual' contents of books of hours. Salmon, 'Oratio Brandani', p. xxxvii, mentions the prayer very briefly: '... une 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: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek 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 *exempla*, but it is completely different after the first few words. It occurs in the collection *De psalmodium usu*, incorrectly ascribed to Alcuin 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 Ueberlieferung*, I *Italien*, vol. 1, p. 404; II *Grossbritannien und Irland*, vol. 2, p. 117; III *Polen*, pp. 126–7; and de Vreese, *Over handschriften*, p. 93. The authors of several of these works appear to regard 'Alcuin's' text 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. 38603; 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 humanist education. – Interesting rubrics 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 even if the person who pronounced it dies on that day his soul cannot go to hell. Some guarantee that one will have foreknowledge of one's death or not die unconfessed, others give protection against every conceivable human or diabolical evil and any disaster on sea or on land. For example, another prayer sometimes attributed to St. Augustine and beginning *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori et sis custos meus omnibus diebus vite mee Deus Abraham. Deus Isaac. Deus Iacob* ('God be merciful to me, a sinner, and be my guardian 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 headed 'A devout prayer' (ff. 139v–141, see above ch. 5); see Hoskins, p. 124 for its rubric and pp. 201–3, where a primer of 1535 is quoted which fulminates against the 'vain promises' of the rubric of this and other prayers. In one ms. (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 71) a later hand added: *deleatur ista rubrica* ('this rubric must be deleted') against the heading of *Deus propitius esto*, 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 Hanham, 'A Medieval Scots merchant's hand-book', pp. 114–5, in which the text of a superstitious amalgam of this and other prayers is printed. This was jotted down in abominable Latin among 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 Gougaud, 'La prière', who quotes a ms. in which *Deus propitius esto* is said to have been spoken by Charlemagne before battle.
228. The full (French) rubric reads: 'St. Augustine made the prayer that follows; if someone is 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 proved several times and it works for him who says it or who 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 *Domine Iesu Christe salus et liberatio 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 1354) suggests a child may have been responsible.
231. For Alexander of Poland see above and note 226. Maximilian's text occurs on f. 27ff. of his so-called 'older prayer-book'. It is in the first, more or less 'original', part; Maximilian is said to have had great influence on the composition of the book as a whole and on the choice of its contents. It was probably produced in Bruges, between his coronation as King of the Romans on 9 April 1486 and his imprisonment by the people of Bruges from 5 February to 16 May 1488; see Hilger, *Das Aeltere Gebetbuch, passim*, and Thoss, *Flaemische Buchmalerei*, 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, pp. xxv–xxxvi and 328–9; *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, München/Zürich 1980–(in progress), col. 944; Wilmart, *Auteurs*, 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). – *Dulcissime Domine Iesu Christe* are the usual opening words of the prayer, with or without *O. Dulcissime* is sometimes omitted, as in the hours of Philip the Bold (see above); *O dilectissime* occurs (Bodleian Library, Ms. Don. d. 85, f. 119v); (*O domine et dulcissime ihesu christe* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 152, f. 140 and Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Pat. Lat. 10, f. 46v); *Domine ihesu christe dulcissime* (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 text: *Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi qui de sinu patris missus fuisti in mundum peccata relaxare, peccatores solvere, captivos in carcere positos redimere*. These words are followed by *Exaudi me miserum peccatorem* . . . 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. E.g.: *O tres doux seigneur Jhesuchrist, filz de Dieu vif qui du saing (sic) du Pere tout puissant es envoyes en ce monde . . .* (Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 22, f. 158, quoted in Sonet, *Répertoire*, p. 273, no. 1561); *O alre suetste here Jesu christe, gewaer god en gewaer gods soon, die utten schoot des almachtigen gods dijns heiligen vaders in dese werlt geseijnt biste . . .* (Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Ms. Bisschoppelijck Museum Haarlem 107, f. 41); *Sanfft modichste here Jesu christe der von dem schois des almachtigen vaders komen bis in dise werelt . . .* (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Ms. 1899, f. 159).
235. *Ex informatione* 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.
237. Compare also Luke 4:18–9
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 emphasised by Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, p. 27. The present tense is in fact common usage in such prayers.

240. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 78 J.49, ff.305–317, French text, written in Northern France, c.1450 and Edinburgh, University Library, Ms. 309, ff.21–23, Latin text, written in France (Paris?), end of the fifteenth century.
241. *custodia* became *concordia* and *posita incredulitate* became (*post-*) *posita crudelitate* and *proscripta hereditate*. Total confusion eventually led to reorganisation and the standardised text reads: *et ex pietate tua, crudeli passione nobis paradysum . . . mercatus es*. – No conclusion can be drawn about the relation of any mss., there are too few data.
242. The separate mention of Esau and Jacob suggests the existence of a separate textual tradition and a different prayer, since they are pointlessly 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; 28:1–5); Joseph and his brothers (Gen.37); Noah (Gen.6:14–22; 7; 8:1–19); 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 most likely solution is that the original text had: *David de manu Saul et Golie gigantis* and that *de manu* was corrupted to *de monte* and *Golie* to *Gelboe*, as well as surviving in the proper order; the standardized sixteenth-century text omits *Gelboe* altogether); David and Goliath (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, under the Resurrection); Peter and Paul (probably and more correctly, as in some versions of the prayer, Peter should in fact be remembered for his deliverance from prison (Acts 12:1–12) and Paul for being saved after he had been shipwrecked (Acts 27)). Not all copies of the prayer include all the stories. A few end with the legend of John the Evangelist: his miraculous emergence, rejuvenated, from the cauldron of boiling oil and his preservation after drinking from the poisoned cup (de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p.61, December 27). One book of hours, made in London about 1460, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 375, has the addition 'and the blessed Margaret from the mouth of the dragon' (de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p.353, July 20). This suggests that the book's owner was called Margaret. The hours that may have belonged to Richard III's sister, Anne, Duchess of Exeter, Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Ms. 37 (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 the contest 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*.
243. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. J. Selmer, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1959, p.45; *Lives of the Saints*, ed. and transl. J. F. Webb, Harmondsworth 1981, p.53.
244. *Ex informatione* Brother P. J. Berkhout.
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 Pss.40, 8–9 and 54, 11–5). Compare David's outburst in psalm 54 'But it is you, my companion and close friend' to the lines added in Richard's own hand to the letter about Buckingham: 'the malysse of hym that hadde best cawse to be trewe' (printed in Hammond and Sutton, *Richard III. The Road*, p.145).

246. *Tractatus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Henricum Sextum*, in Genet, *Four English Political Tracts*, p.54.
247. See also the next note. So common was the addition of .N. after *famulus tuus* that in one copy of the prayer the words *famulos tuos Moyses et Aaron* made the scribe automatically add .N. after *tuos*, in spite of the fact that the 'servants' are named and are part of the story (Rome, Apostolic Library, Ms. Ottob.524, f.2v).
248. It occurs on ff.135v–136, 165, 159v, 122, 122v, 156v and 157. In one prayer the reader is able to insert twice the name of the enemy to whom he wishes to be reconciled (f.180: make peace between me and .N.; avert from me the anger and the fury of .N.). The occurrence of only the masculine form in every instance in the original part of the hours of Richard III makes it less likely, though not impossible, that it was made for a woman (compare Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, p.27 and Jones, 'A Study', p.28). The hours made for Margaret Beauchamp, for example, has masculine forms only in its text (see below).
249. St. Michael is also the first to be named in a prayer of the *Ordo Commendationis animae* (see n.215 above) in which the priest prays that the heavens will open to receive the soul of the dying.
250. *Song of Roland*, lines 2393–4.
251. See note 245.
252. For the next paragraph see Wilmart, 'Le grand poème', *passim*, a survey of the devotion to the Seven Words and its expression.
253. Meertens, part 2, p.110. In the English translation of Mechtild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae* – of which Richard III and his wife owned a copy (see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III's Books: I,' *passim*) – Christ says (f.138): 'Ande than I straykede owte myn aarmes and myne handdys to be naylede with herde nayles ande I sange songys of a wonderfull sostenesse (sweetness) in the chambur of luffe and that was on the crosse'.
254. Wilmart, 'Le grand poème', p.274, n.3, notes that Bede's name is usually not mentioned in English books of hours.
255. See ch.6, Richard III's Piety, below; Hammond and Sutton, *Richard III. The Road*, pp.75–80.
256. E.g. in the Hours of Philip the Bold, Frederick of Aragon and Paul Deschamps.
257. Psalm 135 is a psalm of praise and thanksgiving. A long series of brief celebrations of God's great deeds, it is unique by reason of its responsorial character. It is said to have inspired the litanies of the later liturgy. Its style is simple; like the litanies it expresses in simple words strong religious feelings, gratitude and fear, and seems to accord well with the prayer discussed here.
258. Danzig, Gdńska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cod.2119, ff.73v–77v.
259. Cologne, Sammlung Ludwig, Ms. IX, 12, ff.286–293. Now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, *ex informatione* R. S. Wieck.
260. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Add. 1845, ff.64–95.
261. Rome, Apostolic Library, Ms. Ottob. lat. 524, ff.1–6v.
262. See *Lyell*, no.169.
263. Rome, Apostolic Library, Ms. Ross. 64, ff.94v–100v; in this ms. the prayer is followed by psalm 135. The authors are indebted to Fr. L. E. Boyle, O.P., Prefect of the Vatican Library, for copies of the relevant pages of the mss.
264. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms. IV 95, Hours of Paul Deschamps (Pauwels van Overtvelt); see *Vijftien Jaar Aanwinsten*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Brussel 1969, item 84, pp.106 and ill., and *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament* (Catalogue of an exhibition at the Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges), Bruges 1981, item 116, pp.273–4 and ill.32, where the miniature of the Trinity is tentatively ascribed to the school of van Eyck. The prayer plus additions is called *Memoria de sancta Trinitate* in this ms.
265. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 40–1950, Hours of John Talbot, 'Oroison devote pour tribulacion' (f.65v), and Ms. 41–1950, Hours of Margaret Beauchamp, no rubric (f.79).

- 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.148-55. This ms. is in a private collection at the moment and cannot be consulted.
266. 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 part of this information.
267. Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Ms. 37, Sarum Hours, produced in London in the early 1460s, illuminated in the Caesar Master tradition. On f.115v 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 golden lilies of France, which may be those of Anne Plantagenet, wife of Henry Holand, second Duke of Exeter (1439-1475/6). We are most grateful to Nicholas Rogers for pointing out this ms. and the possible identity of the lady.
268. *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis . . .*, printed in Rome 1571 and *The Primer and Office of The Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English . . .*, edited by Richard Verstegen, printed by Arnold 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 (1599.4 and 1599.22) and several in the British Library. See Hoskins, nos.266 and 267, pp.355 and 361.
269. In this edition of the text of the prayer abbreviations have been silently extended. Foliation and erased words and letters are in square brackets. The punctuation of the ms. has been printed as commas. Capitalisation follows the ms.
270. *O dulcissime . . . peccato-* is a reconstruction of the text based on comparison with other copies of the prayer made in the same decades. The initial O probably filled a three- or four-line square space. The sixteenth-century addition reads; *Clementissime domine Jesu christe vere deus qui a summi patris omnipotentis sede missus es in mundum peccata 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).
271. *Perpetua*, struck through and restored by the scribe.
272. This is a literal translation 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).
273. Some of the older general studies remain helpful: Manning, Hurnard, 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 layman), Chesney (Margaret of York), Catto (Henry V), Underwood (Margaret Beaufort), Hicks (Hungerfords), Lovatt (Henry VI via Blacman), Goodman (Henry VII).
- 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 his lavish foundation of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Crowland chronicler resents Edward's taxing of the church.
274. For instance the very different conclusions about Henry VII reached by David Knowles and R. L. Storey, cited Goodman, 'Henry VII', p.115. Some statements about Richard III will be discussed below.
275. See e.g. Monitor, 'Frömmigkeit', *passim*, for the problems of research and how to define piety.
276. Mols, 'Emploi et valeur', *passim*. C. Burgess, 'Late medieval wills', typescript lent by author.
277. 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

- 'unnerved' 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 Marxist'!
278. Vale, 'Piety', p.28; Thompson, 'Piety and Charity', p.180 and *passim*.
279. 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, *Benois seront les miséricordieux*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9296, f.1). Some seventy years earlier Langland wrote of Christ who 'in poor man's apparel pursueth us ever', cited Bennett, *Poetry*, pp.60-1. See also de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p.121, on St. John the Almoner, who carefully remembered how Christ might be anywhere.
280. Richard III's piety has only received more than a passing glance comparatively 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 for present-day readers by his '1955' understanding of a virtually unresearched period, but nevertheless it is much repeated by novelists and historians, e.g. Lander, *Government*, pp.328-30.
281. 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.
282. E.g. Polydore Vergil and Charles Ross. Charles Ross was clearly aware of the dangers 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 virtue hypocritical (pp.136-8). In all these cases Ross is expressing his own opinion (not Vergil's). In the rumour 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), and particularly by his administration of justice (pp.173-5) and in his parliament (pp.187-9). For Ross Vergil is the true revelation of the usurper (p.190).
- Ross' resurrection of the hypocrisy theme has been enthusiastically imitated in G. St. Aubyn, *The Year of Three Kings 1483*, London 1983, and D. Seward, *Richard III, England's Black Legend*, London 1983.
283. Aristotle, *Politics*, book 5, 9, 10-20. Greek *tyrannis* and medieval/modern 'tyrant' do not have exactly the same meaning. A *tyrannis* 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 the later interpreters had the authority 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.
284. Giles of Rome, *De Regimine Principum*, book 3, part 2, ch.9.
285. For Tacitus, see B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus. A Study in the Writing of History*, Manchester 1968, 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.lxxxviii–xcvii. See also Buck, *The History*, pp.126–8, for an attempt to remonstrate 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 rebels who are the subject of the first document, are twice called 'traitors, adulterers and bawds' (our italics). The reason must lie in the fact that Mistress 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 flocks.
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 Guienne, by poison and magic, and of attempting to murder Charles himself (Vaughan, *Charles*, pp.48, 239 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; Wieck, *The Book of Hours*, pp.40–4; Chesney, 'Notes on some Treatises', *passim*.
291. Goodman, 'Henry VII', pp.116–7.
292. Olivier de La Marche in his *État de la Maison du Duc Charles de Bourgoigne* (ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, vol.4, pp.2–3). La Marche in his discussion of the Duke's public piety evidently finds no fault with this and other examples of an efficient and bureaucratic approach.
293. Raine, 'The Statutes', 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 humbler 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. français 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'.

296. Ross, *Richard III*, p.129.
297. Lander, *Government*, pp.329–30.
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.
302. Raine, 'The Statutes', pp.161–2 and *passim*; Melhuish, *The College*, p.7; Searle, *History of Queens' College*, p.89.
303. Sutton, 'A Curious Searcher', pp.65–6; Dobson, 'Richard III and the Church', p.141.
304. For the Holy Oil see Sutton and Hammond, *The Coronation*, pp.5–10, and references given there. For the reburial 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.
308. Ross, *Richard III*, pp.128–9.
309. Kendall, *Richard III*, p.320 and also pp.314, 316.
310. Lander, *Government*, p.328; Lander's argument is further bedevilled by his inclusion of a book made for Richard II as one of Richard III's (William Sudbury's *Tractatus de sanguine Christi precioso*). This mistake derives from the first edition of the catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery exhibition on Richard III (see Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*), corrected in the second edition.
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.
312. See Hammond, 'Richard III's Books: III'.
313. Vegetius' *De Re Militari*.
313. *History of the World*, book 2, ch.21, section 6, p.311

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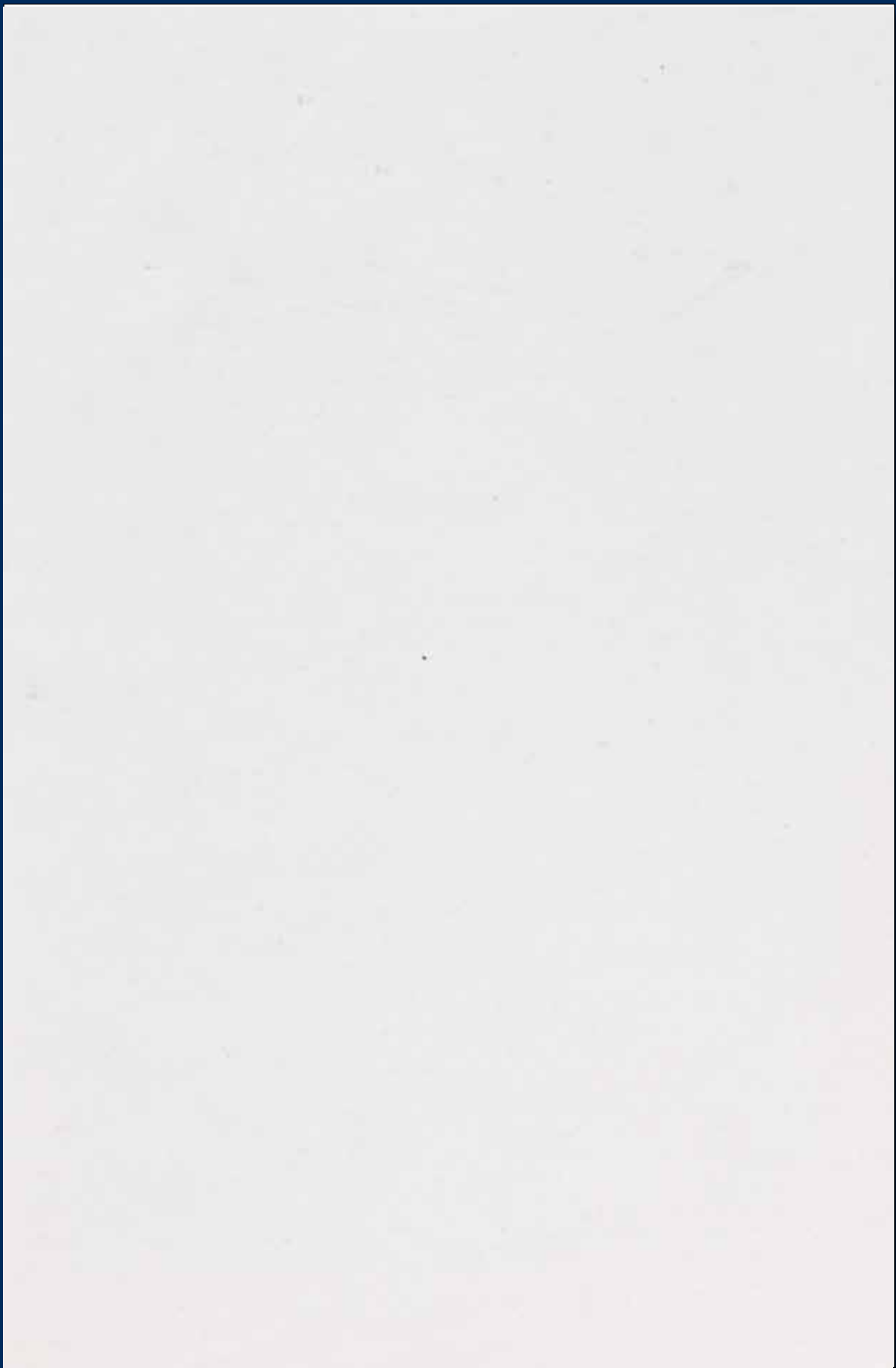
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