History and ownership

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2012

Hindley, K. (2012). History and ownership. In W. Rudolf and T. Leonardi (Eds.), *An english prayer book of the fifteenth century in Vercelli : studies in the palaeography and history of Vercelli*, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV (pp. 89-101). Vercelli: Gallo Editoriale.

doi:10.32656/hist_ownership.2012

<https://hdl.handle.net/10356/138914>

https://doi.org/10.32656/hist_ownership.2012

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An English Prayer Book of the Fifteenth Century in Vercelli

*Studies in the Palaeography and History of Vercelli,
Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV*

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Cover designed by Michela Cancian
Cover image, Prayer to Mary in English, ff. 183v-184r, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV
Photographs by Davide Casazza, Vercelli
Printed by Gallo Artigrafiche, Vercelli

ISBN 9788897314097

Edited by
Winfried Rudolf & Timoty Leonardi

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List of Abbreviations

ACV	Archivio Capitolare of Vercelli
<i>AH</i>	Guido M. Dreves and Clemens Blume, <i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i> (New York & London: Johnson Repr. Corporation, 1961-1978)
<i>Antidotarius Animæ</i>	Nicolao Saliceto, <i>Antidotarius Animæ</i> (Lyon: Theobaldum Paganum, 1554)
art./arts.	article/articles
ASCC	Archivio Storico del Comune of Crescentino
ASCV	Archivio Storico del Comune of Vercelli
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BCV	Biblioteca Capitolare of Vercelli
Bod.	Bodleian Library
BL	British Library
<i>BM</i>	Victor Leroquais, <i>Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> , 6 vols (Paris: the author, 1934)
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
BNU	Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BU	Bibliothèque Universitaire
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
CAO	<i>Corpus antiphonarium officii</i> , 6 vols, ed. by Renato Joanne Hesbert (Rome: Herder, 1963-79)
CC	<i>La Civiltà Cattolica</i> , anno quarantesimottavo, serie xvi, vol. 10 (Rome: Direzione e Amministrazione, 1897)
CCC	Corpus Christi College
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966-)
CNCE	EDIT16. Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo
<i>EC</i>	<i>Elenchus Canoniorum S. Eusebii Vercellensis ab an. 1789 ad an. 20.</i>
EEBO	Early English Books Online < http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home >
de Worde	<i>Sarum Horae</i> (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1494)
f./ ff.	folio/ folios
Ferraris	Giuseppe Ferraris, <i>Notes on the Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Vercelli</i> , several volumes (Archivio Capitolare of Vercelli, unpublished)
fig.	figure

Gjerløw	Lilli Gjerløw, <i>Adoratio Crucis: The Regularis Concordia and The Decreta Lanfranci; Manuscript Studies in the Early Medieval Church of Norway</i> (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1961)
GNM	Germanisches Nationalmuseum
HB	<i>Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad usum Sariesburiensis ecclesie</i> (Paris: Thielmann Kerver, 1510)
HE	Christopher Wordsworth, <i>Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York</i> , Surtees Society 132 (Durham: Andrews & Co. & London: B. Quaritch, 1920)
Heures Paris	<i>Heures a lusaige de Paris</i> (Paris: Jehan Poitevin, 1509)
HL	Franz Joseph Mone, <i>Hymni Latini Medii Aevi</i> , 3 vols (Freiburg: Sumptibus Herder, 1853-5)
Horae	Edgar Hoskins, <i>Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, or, Sarum and York Primers, With Kindred Books, and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use, Together with an Introduction</i> (London: Longmans, Green, 1901)
IGI	<i>Indice Generale degli Incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia</i> , ed. by Centro Nazionale d'Informazioni Bibliografiche (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1943-1981)
IMEV	<i>Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse</i> , ed. by Rossell Hope Robbins (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965)
IMEP	<i>Index of Middle English Prose</i> , a collection of handlists by various editors (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984-)
LALME	A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and M. Benskin, <i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> , 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986)
LC	Library of Congress
LH	Victor Leroquais, <i>Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale</i> , 2 vols (Paris; Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1927)
Lib.	Library
MEE	William George Henderson, <i>Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ eboracensis</i> , volume 59 (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1874)
MEW	J. Wickham Legg, <i>Missale ad usum Ecclesie westmonasteriensis</i> (London: Harrison and sons, 1891)
MMBL	N.R. Ker, <i>Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries</i> , 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-2002)
MR	Robert Lippe, <i>Missale Romanum, Mediolani, 1474</i> , 2 vols (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899-1907)
Oraisons	Dom Placide Bruylants, <i>Les oraisons du Missel Romain: texte et histoire</i> (Louvain: Centre de Documentation et d'Information Liturgiques, Abbaye du Mont César, 1952)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PA	Henri Barré, <i>Prières anciennes de l'occident à la Mère du Sauveur:</i>

	<i>des origines à Saint Anselme</i> (Paris: Lethielleux, 1963)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844-1880)
PM	Victor Leroquais, <i>Les psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> , 2 vols (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1940-1941)
PR	Michel Andrieu, 'Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge I-IV', <i>Studi e Testi</i> 86, 87, 88 and 89 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938-41)
RH	Ulysse Chevalier, <i>Repertorium hymnologicum</i> (Louvain: Lefever 1892-1912; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1920-21)
RR	Gebhard Hürliman, <i>Das Rheinauer Rituale</i> (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1959)
SB	Stadtbibliothek
Sarum Horae	<i>Sarum Horae</i> (Paris: François Regnault, 1536)
Sarum Horae (Rouen)	Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS cuj1 < http://www.chd.dk/cuj/index.html >
Sarum Prymer	<i>Sarum Prymer</i> (Paris: Thielmann Kerver, 1532)
SG1	Klaus Gamber, <i>Sacramentarium Gregorianum I: Das Stationsmessbuch des Papstes Gregor</i> (Regensburg: Pustet, 1966)
SG2	Jean Deshusses, <i>Le sacramentaire Grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits</i> , 2nd ed., Spicilegium Friburgense, 24 (Freiburg: Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1988)
SM	J. Wickham Legg, <i>The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)
SP	N.I. Weyns, <i>Sacramentarium Praemonstratense</i> , Bibliotheca analectorum praemonstratensium (Averbode: Praemonstratensia, 1968)
Speculum Spiritualium	<i>Speculum Spiritualium</i> (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1510)
TH	Hermann A. Daniel, <i>Thesaurus Hymnologicus</i> (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1855-6)
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
UL	University Library
ZB	Zentralbibliothek

Acknowledgements

The publication of this volume was supported by several people and institutions. We are grateful for the generous financial help granted by the Fondazione Museo del Tesoro del Duomo e Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli, especially its president Enzo Pozzolo, the trustees of the Michael Zilkha fund at Lincoln College, Oxford, and the English Faculty of Oxford University, all of whom enabled the study of Vercelli CCXXV.

Anna Cerutti, Elisabeth Dutton, Ralph Hanna, Simon Horobin, Anne Hudson, Nigel Morgan, Ivan Negri, Jane Roberts, Kathleen Scott and Giorgio Tibaldeschi all shared their great learning and expertise with us and helped with numerous details. The National Library at Turin, in persona Franca Porticelli, provided the opportunity and facilities for the multispectral imaging of some almost illegible passages. Patrizia Carpo and Alessandra Cesare both allowed kind access to the Archivio Storico at Vercelli and Crescentino respectively. Valuable materials on Gaspare Antonio De Gregory were unearthed by Valentina Ibertis, who, together with Sara Minelli, also offered help and guidance on the *ex libris* in his personal effects. We are further grateful to Oliver Bock and Jennifer Shurville for reading proofs of this book, and to Michela Cancian for editorial support.

We owe particular debts of gratitude to the Archbishop of Vercelli, His Excellency the Most Reverend Enrico Masseroni, the Cathedral Chapter and the Theological Seminary for arranging emergency accomodation in April 2010.

W. R. & T. L.

Introduction

There can be no greater experience and motivation for the ardent student of any academic subject than the witnessing of a true discovery. For four consecutive years I had brought graduates to the historic city of Vercelli in Italy, enjoying a week of working with the medieval treasures of the famous Capitulary Library. As every year, one of the highlights of this international seminar on European palaeography was the encounter with the famous Old English collection of the Vercelli Book. In April 2010, however, our stay was involuntarily extended by four days. Flying ash from the Icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajökull suspended our flights, teaching us in the most natural of ways that there are worse places to get stuck than Piedmont. Having run out of ideas for the official syllabus of the seminar, I asked Vercelli curator Timoty Leonardi for permission randomly to inspect manuscripts from the library: he kindly granted access to all materials we wished to see.

A closer look at the available descriptions of the Vercelli chapter library revealed that neither the handwritten nineteenth-century list of manuscripts kept in the archives nor Romualdo Pasté's catalogue of 1925 lists more than 218 manuscripts for the Capitulary Library, although we could clearly count 235 volumes on the shelves in the repository room.¹ One of the seventeen unrecorded books, number CCXXV, caught our attention, because it was attractively small and its book block wrapped between loose covers in red silk. We were delighted to find out after a few minutes that we were dealing with a collection of prayers made in fifteenth-century England, and even more surprised to identify three items in Middle English among its texts. Could there be a better topic for young graduate students than to exercise their palaeographical skills in 'real life' and in true service of the scholarly community?

What we have discovered about our find thus far is limited, yet ever more intriguing. Manuscript CCXXV must have entered the collection of the Capitulary Library in 1847 by bequest of Gaspare Antonio De Gregory (1768-1846), a writer and bibliophile born in Crescentino (Piedmont) who served as a lawyer and statesman under the First French Empire in the recently created department of Sésia (in northern Italy).² A record of his privately owned manuscripts, written in his own hand, survives in the Archivio Storico in his birthplace. Next to the famous *Codex de Advocatis* (today known as Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex B), De Gregory lists four further manuscripts in his possession: one octavo volume of Innocent III's *De Miseria Conditionis Humana*, one duodecimo 'Codex Gregorianus' (both dated to the fifteenth-century by him), a breviary (undated), and finally a decimo-octavo volume of 'Praeces Piae ac Devotae', which he believed to have been written in the thirteenth century. The format of this last manuscript matches Vercelli

¹ Romualdo Pasté, 'Vercelli. Archivio Capitolare', in Giuseppe Mazzatinti and Albano Sorbelli, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. XXXI (Florence: Olschki, 1925), pp. 73-128.

² See Atti Capitolari (1842-1850), p. 229 and the document of De Gregory's bequest dated 5 July 1847, with item VI reading 'Codici in pergamena - Due di preghiere e salmi - Due di materie ascetiche.'

CCXXV, while the same title with the same (erroneous) date was added to the manuscript by De Gregory. Most intriguing is De Gregory's indication of the sums he paid for each volume. The cheapest by far (4 francs), manuscript CCXXV looks almost like a book trader's bonus gift alongside the more expensive *rara* of the octavo (100 francs) and the *Codex de Advocatis* (75 francs), which might have been purchased collectively. De Gregory almost certainly bought the book in Paris, as Katherine Hindley argues in this volume. Whether he expected to find relevant materials related to his primary research project on the *De Imitatione Christi* or whether he was particularly fascinated by the manuscript's miniature of the Mass of St Gregory, the patron saint of his surname, remains uncertain.

Pasté's neglect of the manuscript renders it possible that the codex did not receive a proper siglum before the 1930s and may have been kept separate with other boxed documents in the old depository rooms of the chapter as part of De Gregory's bequest. In 1955 the chapter library's own copy of Pasté's catalogue was supplemented by a double page by the Vercelli canon Pietro Marinone and here we find a first short entry for MS CCXXV, describing it as of the fourteenth century and in excellent condition.³ Its English origin, however, remained undiscovered. Scholarly interest in the manuscript is indicated by some late entries in the register of users of the library; it seems to have started not earlier than the 1970s. One entry by the former librarian Giuseppe Ferraris (1907-1999) reports that the manuscript was microfilmed in September 1986, but evidence as to for whom and in relation to which project remains untraceable. Two months later, Herbert Pilch and Hildegard Tristram of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau visited the Capitulary Library in Vercelli. While Pilch, in his own hand, states that he worked with manuscripts CXVII (The Vercelli Book) and CCXXV (the volume in question), he mentioned in a recent oral communication that he was not aware of any Middle English texts in the latter codex.⁴ It was Ferraris, however, who clearly identified the English vernacular in his unpublished palaeographical notebooks, which have contained the only description of MS CCXXV until the publication of this book.⁵ This description may have been finished by him as late as the 1990s.

Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS CCXXV is a personalized devotional with its own unique contents and representation of common and not so common prayers. It may not be as spectacular as many of the breathtaking and much better researched Books of Hours of rich donors that one would commonly know from showcase, anthology or gift-shop. Yet in some way it is its unfinished state and its mediocrity in various regards which make this book an exciting object for further research. The book is a collection of mostly typical contemporary prayers and devotions, but not a Book of Hours in the strict sense; it is decorated, yet neither lavishly nor completely; its parchment and script is acceptable, but not high-quality; its provenance cannot be fully resolved on the evidence of extant name entries, while some of its texts show conspicuous rarity.

³ The supplement consists of a printed double page without any page numbers, the entry for the manuscript reading: 'Orationes et Preces. - Piccolo volumetto con diverse miniature anche in piena pagina e le iniziali fortemente dorate; in ottimo stato, rilegato con copertina in velluto rosso. Dono del Cav. Gaspare De Gregory. Sec. XIV; pergameneo; cm. 11 × 8.' De Gregory himself had assumed the thirteenth-century date, after 1243, on account of an indulgence mentioning Pope Innocent IV on f. 157v.

⁴ I am grateful to Professor Tristram at Freiburg University for this information.

⁵ ACV, fondo Giuseppe Ferraris, Quaderni, Serie Codici, 16.

This collection of essays by Oxford graduate students of the Master in English Literature (650-1550) and research students at the Capitulary Library in Vercelli attempts to open a gateway to further studies in the history, making, copying and using of private prayer books in the transition period from manuscript culture to the printing age. In this context Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV offers both a case study and a palaeographical node inviting scholars to take a fresh look at less spectacular, but equally interesting devotional manuscripts of this time. The contributions include a reliable physical description of Vercelli CCXXV by Io Pinnerup and an extensive table of contents by Juliette Vuille, who provides a valuable range of cross-references to related manuscripts, early printed books and editions for each item, assembled with painstaking care. In analyses of the script and decoration Zachary Stone and Matthew Parkinson-Bennett try to come to terms with the non-exemplary character that forms the nature of such less extravagant manuscripts, meticulously assessing the material evidence as potential hints at the date and provenance. In search of historical evidence, Katherine Hindley's paper aims to reconstruct the past life of the book, its possible northern English origin and previous ownership, while Valentina Ibertis presents novel information on the travels of De Gregory and his acquisitions across Europe. Timoty Leonardi traces the history of Vercelli CCXXV and De Gregory's bequest in general within the Capitulary Library in the past two centuries. Finally, the two concluding papers of Kate Fullbrook and myself discuss two Middle English texts and their transmission in greater detail. Our findings may hopefully arouse interest in this little Vercelli book, which has been the unknown English companion of the famous Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the Capitulary Library for more than a century and a half.

It is highly appropriate to use the publication of this book as an occasion to give thanks for several years of conducting exciting international graduate studies at Vercelli. Every seminar has been a treasured experience for each participant, thanks to the great hospitality of the city of Vercelli, its Archbishop, Cathedral Chapter, and the staff at the Capitulary Library. The restaurants La Piedigrotta, Capri and Vecchia Brenta deserve praise for spoiling us with unforgettable culinary attractions.

All this would not have been possible without the unique generosity of Timoty Leonardi and Anna Cerutti at the Capitulary Library whose learning and passion, kindness and friendship continue to inspire students from all over the world.

Winfried Rudolf

History and Ownership

Katherine Hindley

Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV has likely been in existence for well over five hundred years, during which time it has travelled through at least three European countries - England, France, and Italy.¹ Although much of the manuscript's history is impossible to reconstruct from scant surviving evidence, this chapter discusses the limited available information on the book's previous possessors and its whereabouts. I begin by attempting to discover the manuscript's place of origin and then consider its owners, moving backwards from the relatively secure facts of its recent past to its earlier and more obscure history.

In spite of being a personalized prayer book, Vercelli CCXXV contains no calendar, which can often indicate a manuscript's place of origin through clues such as the general selection of saints and the inclusion of saints venerated in particular places. It does, however, contain texts written in Middle English. As other contributors to this volume argue, the linguistic and orthographic features of these texts suggest an origin in the north of England, and more specifically in Yorkshire. The general character of the manuscript, as well as its Latin texts, may support this as a plausible conjecture. John B. Friedman has identified several 'images of popular affective piety' which 'seem especially concentrated in the north'.² These images are:

[...] the Holy Face; [and] the Sacred Heart, bearing the side-wound Christ showed to Doubting Thomas (John 20:27) [...]. Equally popular are the *arma Christi*, instruments of the passion, presented heraldically, and the Throne of Grace style of Trinity, in which the crucified Christ is held outstretched on the knees of God the Father.³

As can be seen from Matthew Parkinson-Bennett's study in this volume, Vercelli CCXXV contains a Throne of Grace in an initial on f. 4r, and a full-page depiction of the Mass of St Gregory including the *arma Christi* on f. 43v (Plate 9). The 'northern' themes are also present in the manuscript's Latin texts. The Holy Face is celebrated in the hymn 'Salve sancta facies' (art. 6), which is also present in two closely related fifteenth-century Yorkshire manuscripts, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 93 (101) and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.10.⁴ This hymn is followed in Vercelli CCXXV by a blank page, perhaps intended for illustration. Also in the Vercelli manuscript are two

¹ With thanks to Alexandra Baxter for her help with reading Italian source texts.

² John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), p. 150.

³ Friedman, pp. 150-1.

⁴ Friedman, pp.156-8.

Fig. 21: f. 200v, Prayer to St Ouen

saint both in life and in death, and was venerated widely in the south of England after his relics were acquired by Christ Church Canterbury, some time before the Norman conquest.⁸ Frances Arnold-Forster lists five churches dedicated to him, one each in London, Gloucester, Hereford, Bristol, and in Bromham in Bedfordshire.⁹ At least one

hymns to the side-wound of Christ, one beginning 'Ave vulnus lateris nostri redemptoris' (art. 12a) and preceded by a blank page, presumably reserved for a popular illustration of the side-wound; the other beginning 'Salve plaga lateris nostri redemptoris' (art. 72a). This second hymn also appears in the Boulogne and Cambridge manuscripts mentioned above. Most interestingly, the rubric for this hymn in both these manuscripts, which is almost identical to that in Vercelli CCXXV, is described by Friedman as varying from the usual pattern.⁵

One other rubric in Vercelli CCXXV also deserves attention. On f. 200v (Fig. 21 and Plate 25) there is a long title connecting a 'Beatus audoenus' to a prayer for protection from storms (art. 77).⁶ The Latin name Audoenus is most commonly used to refer to St Ouen, who was bishop of Rouen for forty years until his death in 683.⁷ He was considered a

⁵ The rubric in Vercelli CCXXV reads: 'Hanc oracionem sequentem composuit. Egideus magnus et dominus papa Johannes xxijus dedicauit eam. C. dies indulgencie. Et beatus leo papa adiunxit quadraginta dies cotidie deuote dicentibus.' For that in the Boulogne manuscript, see Friedman, pp.160-1; for that in the Trinity College manuscript, see Montague R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-4), III, p. 193.

⁶ The prayer itself, beginning 'Titulus triumphalis', is not uncommon. A version of it occurs, for instance, in the prayer book printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster in 1494. However, de Worde's prayer book claims that the prayer was shown to St Edward rather than to Audoenus. See Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use* (London: Longman, 1901), p. 115.

⁷ The *Acta Sanctorum*, for instance, uses 'Audoenus' to refer to St Ouen.

⁸ Eadmer, a Christ Church monk writing in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, claims that the relics of St Ouen were brought to England and placed in a new shrine at Christ Church in the time of Archbishop Oda (942-58). See Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), p. 228, and Eadmer's *De Reliquiis S. Audoeni et quorundam aliorum sanctorum quae Cantuariæ in ecclesia Domini Salvatoris habentur*, ed. André Wilmart, *Revue des sciences religieuses* XV (1935), pp. 364-6.

⁹ Frances E. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications: Or, England's Patron Saints*, 3 vols (London: Skeffington & Son, 1899).

further church, at Fingringhoe in Essex, was dedicated to St Ouen during the medieval period.¹⁰ Although this distribution of churches shows Ouen to have been a saint more popular in the South, the surviving versions of this rubric show a surprising popularity in the north, and in Yorkshire specifically.

I have been able to identify three existing copies of the 'Beatus Audoenus' rubric in English manuscripts aside from that in Vercelli CCXXV. These occur in Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.ix.52 (s. xiii); in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 85/167 (s. xiii^{ex}); and in York Minster Library, MS XVI.O.10 (s. xv). One of these three manuscripts, Gonville and Caius 85/167, contains the text as an addition in a later hand, along with several notes in the margins referring to a Walterus de Hyda.¹¹ There are numerous places in England called Hyde, but the other place-names in the book, including Chichester and Broadwater, indicate that the manuscript was owned in the south of England. However, both the other manuscripts, and also Vercelli CCXXV itself, appear to derive from, or at least to have been owned in, Yorkshire. Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.ix.52, for example, contains a note in a fifteenth-century hand reading 'liber sancti Germani de Selby per fratrem petrum de Roucliffe'.¹² St Germain is the patron saint of Selby Abbey in North Yorkshire, where Peter de Roucliffe was a full member of the community for at least fifty-five years, from 1377 until his death late in 1432 or early in 1433.¹³ He was appointed prior before 1407, and also held various other offices, recorded in the account rolls of the abbey.¹⁴

The other surviving copy of the rubric was also probably made - and certainly owned - in the North. It can be found in York Minster XVI.O.10, a fifteenth-century manuscript containing a herbal and various medical and kitchen recipes.¹⁵ On f. 37v, among several verses on the weather, occurs 'a Latin charm against thunder and lightning' which begins, like the rubric of Vercelli CCXXV, 'Beatus Audoenus grauter ferens tonitruu tempestatem'.¹⁶ This manuscript contains several sixteenth-century ownership inscriptions, identifying four members of the 'Mystertun' family - Roger, 'Jhon', Anne, and Mabell - and a Thomas Ellys. The name Thomas Ellys was very common throughout England in the sixteenth century, and several men of this name are recorded in Yorkshire.¹⁷ Much less common was the name Mystertun. However, there is a village named Misterton in Nottinghamshire, very close to the South Yorkshire border, and evidence of several

¹⁰ G. Montagu Benton, *The Church of St. Ouen, alias St. Andrew: Fingringhoe, Essex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 2.

¹¹ The text is added to flyleaf ii b.

¹² This note appears on f. 160v. The 'Beatus Audoenus' text is on f. 130v.

¹³ *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages: Selected Account Rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, 1398-1537*, ed. and trans. by John H. Tillotson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), pp. 43-4.

¹⁴ Tillotson, p. 43.

¹⁵ *MMBL*, IV, 759-60.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 760.

¹⁷ There are dozens of sixteenth-century results for 'Thomas Ellys' in the *International Genealogical Index* <www.familysearch.org> [last access 6 June 2012] for Yorkshire alone, although the name is common throughout England.

Misterton families living in South Yorkshire at the time.¹⁸ Northern provenance of York Minster XVI.O.10, possibly Yorkshire, is therefore a plausible assumption.

The apparent popularity of this rubric in Yorkshire can perhaps be explained by the existence of a northern saint to whom the name 'Audoenus' may also refer. The fact that Audoenus usually refers to Ouen cannot be taken to demonstrate with any certainty that Ouen is in fact the saint in question. Medieval Latin was inconsistent in its approach to the names of saints, with the London church of St Audoen, for example, being named variously as 'St Audoen', 'St Audewin', 'St Andoem', 'St Ouen', 'St Owyn', 'St Owan', 'Seynt Iweyne', 'Sancti Owini', 'St Iwyn', 'St Ewenna', and 'St Edwin'.¹⁹ It is therefore possible that 'Audoenus' was also used to refer to St Owen of Lasingham, a monk known only through Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* who was also celebrated during the medieval period, although very much less widely than Ouen, bishop of Rouen. Bede writes that Owen travelled north with Queen Etheldred (who appears as Atheldritha in a litany of virgins on f. 208r, art. 86, Fig. 22) when she came from East Anglia to marry King Ecgrith of Northumbria.²⁰ Bede also relates that Owen joined the monastery of Lasingham under St Chad, and that he overheard the singing of the angels who appeared to Chad to inform him of his approaching death.²¹

Although it is tempting, given the geographical locations of these saints' cults, to identify Audoenus as Owen, the rubric is not confined to English manuscripts. It also appears, along with a version of the prayer which follows it in Vercelli CCXXV, on f. 39r of Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y. 49 (s. xv).²² Furthermore, Vacandard states that '[u]n copiste du XV^e siècle nous dit l'avoir tiré du principal missel de l'église Saint-Martin de

Fig. 22: f. 208r, Litany of Virgins

¹⁸ The sixteenth century parish records for Laughton-en-le-Morthen and South Anston, both in South Yorkshire, have been placed online at UK & Ireland Genealogy <<http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/WRY/Laughtonlemorthen/index.html>> [last access 6 June 2012] and <<http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/WRY/Southanston/index.html>> [last access 6 June 2012] respectively. They list a number of Mistertons, including, in South Anston, an Anne Mysterton, daughter of John. There is also a South Anston Ann Misterton who in 1601 is recorded as marrying a James Ellis, perhaps connecting the two families who owned the manuscript. Finally, the will of an Alvared Misterton, living in Scrooby, Retford, was administered in 1583. See *Index of Wills in the York Registry A.D. 1568 to 1585*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, XIX (Worksop: Printed for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1895), p. 218.

¹⁹ Henry A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London: Being Notes Topographical and Historical Relating to the Streets and Principal Buildings in the City of London* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1918), pp. 34-5.

²⁰ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 338 and 390.

²¹ Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 338-343.

²² The prayer was also printed by M. Pierre Olivier in *Vie et miracles de monseigneur saint Ouen, premièrement chancelier de France et après arvesque de Rouen avec une antienne et oraison qui lui fut apportée d'ung ange du ciel pour la dire contre la tempeste et le tonnerre, etc.* (Rouen, c. 1520). See E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Ouen, Évêque de Rouen (641-684): Étude d'histoire Mérovingienne* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1902), p. 336.

Tours', indicating that at least one earlier copy of the prayer existed in France.²³ In the case of these manuscripts, at least, Audoenus must be understood as referring to the French St Ouen. However, it is possible that a prayer originally referring to one saint could have been subsequently understood as referring to another, if the similarity of names allowed for such a local confusion. The events described in the rubric - the saint asking heaven for protection from thunder and receiving the prayer from the Holy Spirit appearing to him in the form of a dove - do not appear in the life of either Ouen or Owen in the *Acta Sanctorum*. However, the mention of Owen in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is immediately followed by an anecdote stating that Chad would pray to God for mercy in the event of a strong wind, and that 'si procella fortior aut nimbus perurget, uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua terras et aera terrerent, tunc ueniens ad ecclesiam sollicitus orationibus ac psalmis, donec serenitas aeris rediret, fixa mente uacaret'.²⁴ It is possible that the rubric's reference to Owen's fear of and praying against storms derives from a misreading of the widely circulated *Ecclesiastical History*, attributing the story to Owen rather than to Chad. The rubric's northern popularity can then perhaps be attributed to a cult of St Owen, regardless of whether it was originally composed for him or for the French saint.

Vercelli CCXXV also contains a number of *memoriae* or suffrages. Many of these are addressed to very widely celebrated saints, such as St Christopher, St George, and St Thomas Becket, but there are also prayers to more unusual figures, one of which in particular may be of use in determining the manuscript's place of origin.²⁵ Removing from consideration the suffrages which M. R. James considers to be 'the most constant elements of the selection' of saints addressed in Books of Hours, we are left with devotions or prayers to St Blaise, St Giles, Thomas of Lancaster, and St Erasmus.²⁶ The presence of Thomas of Lancaster is particularly unusual, and strengthens the case for a Yorkshire origin for Vercelli CCXXV.²⁷ Lancaster's popularity grew with extraordinary speed after his beheading at Pontefract on 22 March 1322: a result of his rebellion against King Edward II.²⁸ Within seven weeks of his death there were reports that he was working miracles at the site of his execution.²⁹ Although both King Edward and William Melton,

²³ Vacandard, p. 336.

²⁴ 'If there were a violent storm of wind and rain or if lightning brought terror to earth and sky, he would enter the church and, with still deeper concentration, earnestly devote himself to prayers and psalms until the sky cleared'; Colgrave and Mynors, p. 342-43.

²⁵ St Christopher: ff. 145v-146v (art. 46); St George: ff. 147v-148v (art. 47); St Thomas Becket: ff. 151r-152v (art. 50).

²⁶ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. xxxvi. St Blaise: f. 149r; St Giles: f. 150r; Thomas of Lancaster: ff. 154r-155v; St Erasmus: ff. 175r-177r.

²⁷ The most complete treatment of Lancaster's cult is Arthur Reeves Echerd, Jr., 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England: The Cult of Thomas of Lancaster' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983).

²⁸ See Friedrich W. D. Brie, *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, Early English Text Society OS 131, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906, 1908), I, 228-30. A mural of his execution survives, next to that of Thomas Becket, in the church of South Newington, Oxfordshire.

²⁹ Echerd, p. 65.

Fig. 23: f. 154v, Suffrage for Thomas of Lancaster

to consider this date as a possible *terminus post quem* for the book.

Texts associated with Lancaster's veneration are indeed rare (Fig. 23 and Plate 21). An incomplete office can be found in London, British Library, MS Royal 12.C.xii; another possible fragment is on f. 85r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 139; and a *vita* likely composed shortly after Lancaster's death has come down to us in two continental manuscripts of the late fifteenth-century.³⁰ Other than these, evidence for liturgical celebration of the cult has hitherto been restricted to four suffrages. Dallas, Bridwell Library, MS 13 (early s. xiv); Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 105 (s. xiv); Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS W 28 (s. xv); and Cambridge, Clare College, MS 6 (s. xiii, memoria added s. xiv) each contain only a single prayer. Vercelli CCXXV is, therefore, the only surviving manuscript to contain multiple suffrages to Thomas of Lancaster (art. 52), and its three *memoriae* almost double the number of such texts already known. They also provide the only duplicate text, with the first prayer in Vercelli CCXXV clearly showing a version (albeit not a very close one) of that in Bridwell MS 13. The number of Lancastrian texts in Vercelli CCXXV is remarkable not only because it is unique among other manuscripts containing such prayers, but also because Thomas of Lancaster is the only 'saint' to receive such treatment in Vercelli CCXXV. All the other saints have at most only a single suffrage, preceded by an antiphon, a versicle, and a response. Some, such as Apollonia and Giles, do not even show all these elements. There cannot have been many

then Archbishop of York, took measures to prevent the spreading of his cult, it evidently enjoyed wide support. Records show that offerings made to Thomas of Lancaster in 1322 totalled over one hundred pounds, approximately a quarter of the average yearly offerings to all the shrines of Christ Church Canterbury combined.³⁰ The cult's popularity peaked with the encouragement of Edward III, but rapidly declined after 1331 when the Crown ceased to petition for Lancaster's canonization.³¹ Few devotional texts to him survive, and most of those date from the first half of the fourteenth century, significantly earlier than Vercelli CCXXV. However, the cult did enjoy a brief resurgence of popularity under Henry VI, and in 1466 a number of miracles are reported to have occurred at Lancaster's tomb.³² This may perhaps account for Lancaster's presence in Vercelli CCXXV and allows us

³⁰ Ibid., p. 69. For extracts from the accounts of Christ Church Canterbury, see Charles E. Woodruff, 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 44 (1932), 13-32 (p. 19). The average, of £462 17s. 3d., is for the years 1314 to 1323. This is unusually high as the period includes the third Jubilee of Becket's martyrdom, 1320.

³¹ Echerd, p. 162.

³² *Abbreviata Chronica ab anno 1377 usque ad annum 1469*, ed. by J. J. Smith, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarto Publications 2 (Cambridge: Deighton, 1840), p. 10.

³³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 706 (late s. xv) and Vienna, ÖNB, MS Cod. S.n.12.708-12.709 (late s. xv). See Echerd, pp. 174-5 and 268-9.

Fig. 24: Inner board, trimmed ex libris of Gaspare Antonio De Gregory

such prayers were in circulation. Given the relatively late date of Vercelli CCXXV, this perhaps implies that he lived in or near one of the cult's centres - either London in the south, or Pontefract in the north. According to the linguistic evidence, at least, Pontefract seems much the more likely of these two locations.

Having suggested a possible area of origin for the manuscript, I now turn to consider its English owners and its subsequent movement from the north of England to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Vercelli. The manuscript's more recent history is relatively easy to reconstruct as the book contains on its inside front cover an *ex libris* recording the name of its previous owner, 'Monsieur le Chevalier DE GRÉGORY'. This refers to Gaspare Antonio De Gregory, a politician, lawyer and writer who was born in San Genuario in Crescentino on 11 August 1768.³⁴ At his death, on 12 September 1846, he left a large number of books and five manuscripts to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Vercelli.³⁵ As the library's *Acta Capitularia* for 1847 records, the bulk of the bequest was made up of fifty editions of *De Imitatione Christi*, now ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, a medieval spiritual text which De Gregory devoted much of his life to studying. It also included the famous manuscript Codex B (also known as the *Codex de Advocatis*), an important witness of the same text, and 'quatuor codices in pergamina, nec non quaedam manuscripta'.³⁶ The library's inventory of the books received from De Gregory, dated 5 July 1847, offers a little more detail.³⁷ It tells us that the bequest arrived at the library in February and June of 1847, and describes the 'codices in pergamina' as being 'Due di preghiere e salmi - Due di materie ascetiche'. Our manuscript, Vercelli CCXXV, is very probably one of these two parchment codices of prayers and psalms.

The next step in tracing Vercelli CCXXV's history is to determine when and how it came into Gaspare De Gregory's possession. An important clue is the label recording De Gregory's name. Although this *ex libris* appears to have been cut down to fit into the small volume, the complete version exists in other books, and reads 'A Monsieur le Chevalier DE GRÉGORY, Président honoraire à la Cour royale d'Aix, rue Saint-Florentin, n° 15'.

³⁴ Giorgio Giordano, 'Profilo di Gaspare De Gregory', *Bolletino Storico Vercellese*, 16 (1987), 61-83 (p. 61). His name also occurs in written form as 'Degregori'.

³⁵ Giordano, p. 79.

³⁶ ACV, Atti Capitulari (1842-1850), p. 229. Another booklist in De Gregory's hand, titled 'Manoscritti in Pergamina' survives in the Archivio Storico di Crescentino (Libreria di Gaspare De Gregory, f. 127v), see the introduction to this volume.

³⁷ ACV, fondo De Gregory, *Legato del fu Cav. Presid. G. De Gregory rimesso al Reverend.mo Capitolo in Febbraio e Giugno 1847*, Carte varie.

(Fig. 24).³⁸ There is no rue Saint-Florentin in Aix-en-Provence, and it therefore seems logical to assume that the address refers to the street in Paris, a city in which De Gregory spent much time.³⁹ Although it is possible that this was added to the book long after it was acquired, De Gregory used several different *ex libris* labels during his life, reflecting changes of address and status; and he seems to have been diligent about using them in recently purchased books.⁴⁰ Assuming, then, that the *ex libris* would most likely have been added to the manuscript when it was bought, the information it contains can be used to narrow down the time period in which the manuscript might have been purchased. De Gregory must have been living in Paris, he must have held the title Chevalier, and he must already have become Honorary President of the royal court of Aix. He received the presidency on 13 April 1829.⁴¹ The title 'Chevalier' was awarded to him some time in 1832 when he was made a Knight of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great by Pope Gregory XVI, as a result of his work on *De Imitatione Christi*.⁴² In the September of this year he seems to have stayed at 15 rue St Florentin for the first time, in a third-floor apartment owned by a man named Trouvet.⁴³ He went to Aix-en-Provence in 1836, moving his lodgings from rue St Florentin to 4 rue Luxembourg upon his next return to Paris.⁴⁴ Judging from these facts and dates, it seems probable that De Gregory purchased the manuscript in Paris between the autumn of 1832 and the end of 1836.

Without knowing where exactly De Gregory acquired the manuscript, it is impossible to follow its history back any further. However, it is possible to draw some conclusions about when it may have arrived in France. During the reign of Henry VIII, two well-known royal proclamations attempted to control the contents of English prayer books. The first of these was made on 9 June 1535, and called for:

[...] all manner prayers, orisons, rubrics, canons in mass-books and all other books used in churches, wherein the said bishop of Rome is named or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicated and erased out.⁴⁵

The second, of November 1538, required all images of Thomas Becket to be destroyed and ordered that prayers in his name be 'erased and put out of all the books'.⁴⁶ It is clear

³⁸ Francesco Malaguzzi, *Biblioteche storiche disperse* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1999), p. 85.

³⁹ See Giordano, 'Profilo'. De Gregory also mentions working with manuscripts in Paris in the opening chapters of his *De Imitatione Christi et Contemptu Mundi* (Paris: Lutetiae, 1833).

⁴⁰ Six of De Gregory's *ex libris* labels are reproduced in Malaguzzi, p. 85.

⁴¹ Giordano, p. 68.

⁴² Mario Ogliaro, *L'imitazione di Cristo e il suo autore nelle ricerche in Italia e in Francia di Gaspare De Gregory* (Vercelli: Società Storica Vercellese, 2004) p. 107. De Gregory's work *De Imitatione Christi et Contemptu Mundi* (Paris, 1833) attempted to attribute the text of the *De Imitatione Christi* to Johannes Gersen of Vercelli.

⁴³ Ogliaro, p. 96.

⁴⁴ Ogliaro, pp. 107-8.

⁴⁵ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964-1969), I, p. 231, no. 158.

⁴⁶ Hughes and Larkin, I, pp. 270-6, no. 186.

that the owner(s) of Vercelli CCXXV followed neither of these proclamations. On f. 62r there is an English indulgence stating that 'Pope innocent hase grawnt tylle euery man and woman sayng þis preyer deuowtly for ylke tyme sayde. iiii. zere of perdon.' There is no sign that anyone has attempted to erase the title 'Pope'. Similarly, 'Dominus papa i-nocencius quartus' is mentioned on f. 157v, and on f. 194r there are references to both 'dominus papa Johannes xxiius' and to 'beatus leo papa'. The manuscript also contains a prayer to Thomas Becket, beginning 'Gaude lux londoniarum' (ff. 151r-152v) which has similarly been left untouched. Discussing the effect of Henry's proclamations, Eamon Duffy notes that:

[...] to quite a startling extent this process of censorship was extended into the private prayer-life of the laity. The overwhelming majority of surviving manuscript and printed Books of Hours show that most Tudor devotees dutifully blotted, scraped or sliced the Pope and St Thomas Becket out of their devotions: indeed, the absence of such deletions is a reasonably safe indication that the book was not in use in England in the later part of Henry's reign.⁴⁷

Of course, Vercelli CCXXV is not a Book of Hours and is perhaps less likely to be included in the 'books used in churches' mentioned in the proclamation of 1535. However, the fact that the practice of removing the names of Thomas Becket and of the popes was widespread is nevertheless highly suggestive. As we know that the book must have made its way from England into France at some point in its history, the fact that it has not been altered could suggest that it arrived there before Henry's proclamations were made: in other words, before June 1535.

The sixty or seventy years between the manuscript's creation and its departure from England are significantly harder to reconstruct. Before considering its original owners in greater detail, it is relevant to determine whether it was made for a particular owner or whether it was produced without a specific owner in mind. I have already mentioned that the number of prayers to Thomas of Lancaster is surprising, suggesting perhaps that the manuscript was made for a patron. This seems to be confirmed by other elements of the manuscript's construction. First, Vercelli CCXXV contains one full-page illustration depicting the Mass of St Gregory, further discussed elsewhere in this volume by Matthew Parkinson-Bennett. In addition, forty-one of the pages in the manuscript are two-thirds blank or more, and at least twenty of these carry notes on the subject with which they were to be illustrated. The fact that the illustrator stopped before completing these pictures could also suggest the influence of a patron, who was perhaps not satisfied with the artist's initial work, realised that illustrating the rest of the manuscript as planned would be too expensive, or perhaps died before the manuscript could be finished. It is also conceivable that the manuscript was a workshop's display copy. Although there may have been different display copies for people of different rank and pecuniary means, as the only full-page illustration is not of the highest quality this possibility seems rather unlikely. Furthermore, the fact that almost half of the manuscript's blank pages contain notes to the illustrator indicates that a much more complete scheme of illustration was

⁴⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 151-2.

originally planned. The evidence of the illustration of the prayers seems, therefore, to strongly indicate the involvement of an individual in commissioning the manuscript.

The miscellaneous contents of Vercelli CCXXV also increase the likelihood that we are dealing with a book that was personalized for a client. It seems likely that the texts were collected from a number of exemplars, in particular on the evidence of the Latin forms used for the petitioner to refer to him or herself. On f. 156r, the petitioner makes the request 'concede *mihi*. N. indigno peccatori', the masculine forms of the Latin indicating a male reader.⁴⁸ By contrast, the phrase 'ego indigna et peccatrix negligens *et* scelerata famula tua', which occurs on f. 99rv, assumes a female reader. If this was done deliberately, perhaps for the manuscript to be used collectively within a family, then it seems likely that a patron requested that particular prayers be written in particular forms. If it was done accidentally, as is also possible, it suggests that the manuscript was probably compiled from several different exemplars, some intended for male readers and some for female readers. Confusion of grammatical gender could then occur if the scribe or scribes had an insufficient grasp of Latin to notice the errors, or if they copied in a mechanical fashion. The scribal errors in Vercelli CCXXV, such as an occasional miscounting of minims, appear to indicate that this may have been the case.

Vercelli CCXXV contains just a single clue to the identity of its original or early owner: a partially illegible ownership inscription on the manuscript's first page (Plate 3). Even under ultra-violet light and with the use of multi-spectral imaging, the most useful part of the inscription - the owner's surname - remains unreadable. A conjectural reading of the traces was suggested by the former Vercelli librarian Giuseppe Ferraris: 'Dominus guilelmus Ja[...] presbiter [huius] libri possessor'.⁴⁹ If we follow this reading we must, therefore, assume that the owner was a priest - as shown by the title 'Dominus' - named William, with a short surname beginning with J, probably followed by an a. It is also obvious from the manuscript traces that the surname was relatively short. Assuming a Yorkshire origin and/or provenance, as suggested above, we could further speculate that he might have lived there, and that it is likely that he was alive during the second half of the fifteenth century.

With only this information to go on, it seems likely that William J's identity will never be known. Adding to the problem is the difficulty of searching the ordination lists, perhaps the most likely place for a priest's name to be recorded. In contemporary Yorkshire the lists were kept in the Archbishops' registers, meaning that they were mixed among many other records and are unwieldy to search. Furthermore, as it is impossible to know whether William bought the manuscript as an old or a young man, or even whether he was the original owner, it is also impossible to narrow down the years in which he might be expected to appear. For these reasons, I focused the majority of my efforts on more easily accessible resources, and I should stress that there may well be other possible candidates among the Yorkshire registers.

In the registers that I searched the only name which might match Vercelli CCXXV is the William Joy or Jay who appears in a list of 'Diaconi' made on 28 December 1423, and

⁴⁸ The capital .N. is used to stand for the Latin *nomen*, in prayers in which the petitioner is required to name him or herself. This was standard practice.

⁴⁹ See ACV, fondo Giuseppe Ferraris, Quaderni, Serie Codici, 16, p. 109.

again in a list of 'Presbiteri' made on 8 April 1424.⁵⁰ The first of these entries connects him with 'Lanercaste' and the second with 'Lanercost'. Both presumably refer to Lanercost in Cumbria, where an Augustinian monastery - Lanercost Priory - was founded in 1169.⁵¹ This, however, is rather a long way from Pontefract, where Thomas of Lancaster was most highly regarded. Furthermore, Vercelli CCXXV was perhaps made several decades after the 1420s. While it is of course possible that this William was a young man in the 1420s and purchased the manuscript as an old man, he probably lived too early to make him a persuasive candidate.

Unlike the ordination lists, many of the surviving Yorkshire wills have been indexed and are easily searchable. There are no plausible candidates in the index of wills from the Chancery court of York between 1427 and 1658.⁵² Nor are there any candidates in the *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389 to 1514*,⁵³ the index of wills entered into the archbishops' registers, and there are none in the index of wills from the Dean and Chapter's court at York.⁵⁴ Finally, however, a possible candidate appears in the *Index of Wills in the York Registry A.D. 1514 to 1553*: a priest in Wakefield named Sir William Joyse.⁵⁵ William Joyse - also written as 'Joyes' and 'Joys' - was a priest at the Chantry Chapel of St Mary the Virgin on Wakefield Bridge. He was instituted as chaplain of the chantry chapel on 26 May 1498, and died before 16 July 1535, when his will was proved.⁵⁶ This will survives in York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 11, f. 145r. The location of the chantry chapel makes this identification tempting - Wakefield is less than ten miles from Pontefract. Furthermore, Joyse's will makes clear that he owned multiple books. He left one called 'the [...]wrenyches' to a man named John Pere, and in appointing his fellow chaplain Robert Skelton as 'supervisor' of his will, asked for 'suche books as I have to bee disposede by his discretione'.

⁵⁰ *Church Authority and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Britain: The Episcopal Registers, 1215-1650: Part One: Registers of the Archbishops of York, 1215-1650*, 22 reels (Brighton: Harvester Press Microform Publications, 1983) X, of York, Borthwick Institute AB Reg 20, the register of Archbishop William Booth, 1452-1464, ff. 355v and 368r.

⁵¹ See Lanercost Priory <www.lanercostpriory.org.uk/history/history.html> [15/12/2011].

⁵² *Index of the Original Documents of the Consistory Court of York, A.D. 1427 to A.D. 1658 and also of the Probate and Administration Acts in the Court of the Dean of York, A.D. 1604 to A.D. 1772*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 73 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1928). The Borthwick Archives note that these are actually wills from the Chancery Court, published under an erroneous title, and that the earliest of them are in fact Exchequer court wills.

⁵³ *Index of Wills in the York Registry: 1389 to 1514*, The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series 6 (Worksop: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1889).

⁵⁴ *Index of the Wills and Administrations entered in the Registers of the Archbishops at York, being Consistory Wills, &c., A.D. 1316 to A.D. 1822. Known as the Archbishops' Wills*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 93 (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1936). The Borthwick Archives correct this title to read 'Chancery' rather than 'Consistory'. *Index of Wills, etc., from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York A.D. 1321 to 1636; with appendix of original wills A.D. 1524 to 1724*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 38 (Worksop: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1907).

⁵⁵ *Index of Wills in the York Registry: A.D. 1514 to 1553*, The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series 11 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1891), p. 101.

⁵⁶ J. W. Walker, *Wakefield: Its History and People* (Wakefield: The West Yorkshire Printing Co. Limited, 1934), p. 202.

However, this William Joyse does not seem to have been the only Wakefield chaplain by that name. John W. Walker, in his history of Wakefield, notes that:

In 1454 a messuage in the west street of Wakefield was left by Thomas Beaumont to William Joys, chaplain, Robert Hill, Robert Gryce and John Joys but charged with an annual payment of three silver shillings to the Chantry or Chapel of the Blessed Mary on Wakefield bridge, to be paid at the feasts of St Michael, the Purification of the Virgin, and Pentecost, in equal portions.⁵⁷

This is more than eighty years before the death of the William Joyse mentioned above, making it probably too early to refer plausibly to the same person. Furthermore, in the register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York between 1480 and 1500, there is recorded the 'Collation of Richard Sikys, chaplain, to the chantry of St Mary on the bridge, Wakefield, vacant by the resignation of William Joy; patronage in the archbishop's hands by a lapse of time. Cawod, 21 Aug. 1484'.⁵⁸ It is impossible for the William Joy who resigned in 1484 to be the same man who was priest of the chapel at his death in 1535. Either of these Wakefield Williams, however, could plausibly have been the owner of Vercelli CCXXV.

William J? is not the only person whose name is written into Vercelli CCXXV. On f. 105v a list of names is scribbled in a later hand, perhaps of the sixteenth century. Although difficult to decipher, it appears to read 'Wyllyelm| James| Anthone Guy| Ricard mel| necolas forner| Wyllyam [...]|es| Rapllay methlayt'. These may perhaps be the owner's friends or family members, or later owners of the manuscript. Although the surnames 'Guy', 'Mell' and 'Fornier' are all common across England, 'Methlay' supports the theory that Vercelli CCXXV was owned in Yorkshire and near Pontefract. The *International Genealogical Index* contains only four records of people surnamed 'Methlay' for the years between 1500 and 1700, all of whom are from Yorkshire and three of whom are from Pontefract.⁵⁹

The manuscript's history can, therefore, be summarised as follows. It seems likely that it was owned in the area of Yorkshire surrounding Pontefract, with its first owner being particularly devoted to Thomas of Lancaster. The priest William J? owned the manuscript at an early stage, as perhaps did one or more of the men whose names appear on f. 105v. At some point the manuscript must have left England, possibly before 1535. It surfaced in France in the first half of the 1830s, when it was purchased by Gaspere De Gregory, and finally arrived in the Biblioteca Capitolare in 1847, after De Gregory's death, where it has been ever since.

⁵⁷ Walker, p. 203. A messuage is a dwelling house with its associated outhouses and land.

⁵⁸ *Diocesis Eboracensis Registrum Thome Rotherham pars prima / The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York 1480-1500*, ed. by Eric E. Barker, The Canterbury and York Society 69 (Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1976), 111.

⁵⁹ *International Genealogical Index*, <www.familysearch.org> [last access 6 June 2012].

Appendix

A Suffrage to Thomas of Lancaster (ff. 154v-155v arts. 52a, b)

Art. 52a

O thoma lancastrie miles ihesu *christi*. qui pro anglie mortem pertulisti presta pacem patrie *parcens* regno tristi faciens nos scandere regna que petisti.

V. Ora pro nobis thoma christi miles. Qui *numquam* pauperes tenuisti [v]iles. [f. 155r] Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus pro cuius *populo* plebisque pressura *immobilis* miles thomas lancastrie decollari presta *quesumus* ut mortis sue memores ab *omni* dolore corporis *et* gehenne incendiis eius meritis et intercessione protegi mereamur. *Per dominum*.

Art. 52b

A. Miles constans pugil fertis comes fidus fratribus *probris* patens pene mortis. Plectitur *per* legibus anglicane qui cohortis pestes premat [f. 155v] pretibus et devotos *sibi* fortis sacris iungat cetibus

V. Ora pro miseris comes beate. **R.** Qui morte plecteris *per* veritate.

Oratio

Beati *martiris* tui militisque fidelis thome merita *domine* veniantes te suppliciter exoramus ut qui veritatis et legum firmus factus est defensor *nostre* necessitatis *et* angustie semper apud te propicius sit adiutor. *Per dominum nostrum ihesum christum*. Amen.

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Abstracts

Physical Description

Io Pinnerup

L'analisi prende le mosse dalla descrizione fisica del manoscritto per dedicarsi, successivamente, ai suoi contenuti rapportabili a quelli dei Libri d'Ore e altre collezioni devozionali, come il Salterio *Burnet* (circa 1400-1450), l'Oxford Bodleian Library *Lyell 30* (1441), lo Yale Beinecke Library MS 310 (circa 1450-1500), lo *Speculum Spiritualium* e il *Sarum Horae* (stampati a Parigi nel 1510) e il *Sarum* o *Salisbury Prymer* (stampato a Parigi nel 1532). Tra questi, il *Salterio Burnet* presenta ben quarantadue brani in comune con il manoscritto vercellese. Anche lo *Speculum* può essere considerato come uno dei più interessanti tra i sei esemplari citati, tutti i suoi quattordici brani paralleli si trovano tra i fogli 201r e il 208v, che costituiscono la sezione dei *suffragia* nello *Speculum*. Ciò suggerisce che il Vercelli CCXXV possa essere stato usato come esemplare quando questa sezione è stata stampata a Parigi.

A Description of the Manuscript Contents

Juliette Vuille

Il testo riporta una dettagliata descrizione dei singoli articoli del manoscritto, inclusi gli incipit e gli explicit, le referenze alle edizioni a stampa e una estesa selezione di manoscritti collegati.

An Analysis of the Scripts

Zachary Stone

All'interno del testo vengono analizzate e descritte le tre principali tipologie di scrittura presenti nel manoscritto: la *textura* libraria usata per il testo principale, una corsiva cancelleresca copiata in un unico brano (art. 27) e una corsiva mista che fornisce molti dettagli di produzioni vestigiali. Questo intervento è volto a datare ogni mano suggerire una possibile provenienza. Data la difficoltà di datare e localizzare le *textura* del tardo medioevo, e la piccola dimensione delle altre due mani, le conclusioni si restringono necessariamente a tentativi di attribuzione da considerare però con cautela; tuttavia le mani appaiono accordarsi con l'ipotesi generale di una produzione dell'Europa settentrionale. L'impressione generale che si riscontra nelle diverse mani è che si possa trattare di una produzione proveniente da un laboratorio commerciale. La discussione conclusiva cerca di affrontare ciò che Malcom Parkes ha definito come 'the image of handwriting' specificatamente nel contesto devozionale tardo medievale.

A Study of the Decorations

Matthew Parkinson-Bennet

Le decorazioni del Vercelli CCXXV non risultano né integralmente finite né di alta qualità. In questo caso abbiamo l'opportunità di esaminare quella che potrebbe essere stata la tipica decorazione di un libro inglese del XV secolo, destinato probabilmente ad un utente benestante, ma non necessariamente appartenente ad un elevato ceto sociale. Poiché la decorazione di questo libro di preghiere è in alcuni tratti semplicemente abbozzata, fornisce un dato tecnico atto alla comprensione del processo di decorazione usato in quel periodo. Rimangono nel testo un certo numero di spazi bianchi dove erano state pianificate le iniziali da decorare, e molte pagine sono state lasciate bianche ad eccezione degli 'indici di decorazione', ovvero delle istruzioni per l'artista

su come miniare le pagine. Questo capitolo si conclude con alcune osservazioni sulla relazione tra le illustrazioni ed il testo: si considerano la sistemazione del testo, l'importanza della posizione del testo in relazione alle miniature e l'alto livello di alfabetizzazione visuale e testuale atteso dal proprietario di un libro di questa tipologia. Sono presentate le descrizioni dettagliate di tutte e quattro le illustrazioni presenti, accanto ad una panoramica generale delle iniziali e delle cornici decorate trovate in tutto il libro. Sia la datazione, sia la provenienza del manoscritto sono discussi sulla base di queste evidenze.

The History and Ownership

Katherine Hindley

Questo capitolo cerca di ricostruire la storia del Vercelli CCXXV. La presenza di preghiere dedicate a Thomas da Lancaster suggerisce che il primo proprietario fosse particolarmente devoto al suo culto e provenisse dalla zona circostante Pontefract, nello Yorkshire. Queste preghiere forniscono anche un termine post quem al 1466 per la produzione del manoscritto, anno in cui il culto di Lancaster tornò in vigore. Senza dubbio, in un primo momento il manoscritto fu posseduto da un prete di nome William J, e forse anche da uno o più uomini i cui nomi sono scarabocchiati sul foglio 105v. Almeno uno dei cognomi di questi uomini suggerisce ancora una connessione con Pontefract. Dato che i nomi di Becket e dei papi non sono stati rimossi dal manoscritto, è possibile che questo sia stato lasciato in Inghilterra prima della pubblicazione dell'editto contro il loro culto nel 1535. Il libro è giunto poi sicuramente in Francia dove fu acquistato da Gaspare Antonio De Gregory, verosimilmente tra il 1832 e il 1836, prima che egli lo lasciasse, tramite il suo testamento, alla Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli.

Gaspare Antonio De Gregory: Some Remarks on his Bequest to the Capitulary Library

Timoty Leonardi

L'articolo esamina la donazione di Gaspare Antonio De Gregory al Capitolo della Cattedrale di Vercelli, avvenuta in due momenti distinti, nel 1836 e, postuma, nel 1847 dalla vedova Maria Teresa Valpreda. L'analisi prende le mosse dalla ricostruzione dei documenti conservati presso l'Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli, l'Archivio Storico della Città di Vercelli e di Crescentino, tentando di sviluppare un percorso virtuale che tocchi i diversi aspetti della figura di Gaspare come bibliofilo, mediante lo studio di alcuni volumi dell'*Imitazione di Cristo*, donati alla Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli e altri libri conservati nella Biblioteca Gregoriana di Crescentino. L'esame si conclude con la ricostruzione della storia del Vercelli CCXXV all'interno degli inventari manoscritti compilati dai diversi archivisti del Capitolo vercellese dal 1847 al 2010.

Gaspare Antonio De Gregory: The Life of a Collector through his Travel Diaries

Valentina Ibertis

All'interno del saggio vengono esaminati i tre diari di viaggio manoscritti redatti dal 1809 al 1843, ed appartenuti a Gaspare Antonio De Gregory, preceduti da una breve biografia atta a tracciare le tappe più salienti della sua carriera politica. Si profila pertanto così una silhouette che coglie gli interessi particolari di questo personaggio, grande cultore di diverse discipline e grande figura collezionistica che effettuava i suoi acquisti durante i suoi viaggi, per lo più intrapresi per coprire determinate cariche politiche, recandosi presso antiquari di fiducia o mediante cataloghi d'aste. Essi si configurano principalmente come una tipica letteratura di viaggio in voga a quei tempi, e appaiono come una fonte utile, ancora da approfondire, al fine di raccogliere maggiormente informazioni e tipologie d'impronte d'interesse dello stesso personaggio, al fine di delineare i contorni psicologici che spinsero determinate scelte di acquisti e di collezione dei propri volumi.

A Middle English Prayer to Mary and Its Early Printed Version

Kate Fullbrook

Una delle poche integrazioni *Middle English* nel Vercelli CCXXV è la preghiera in poesia dedicata alla Vergine Maria che comincia con 'Mary thow were greted wyth louely chere' (ff. 183v-184v). Questo testo era finora conosciuto solo in forma cartacea come una delle due aggiunte in Middle English per i suffragi nella settima sezione del latino *Speculum Spiritualium* del 1510. Questo capitolo presenta un'edizione del poema presa da un manoscritto che precede la stampa di circa mezzo secolo e che contiene una versione meno errata del testo. Le proprietà formali del testo vengono descritte come pure il suo contenuto. Così come la data di inizio, la poesia è interessante perché è uno dei testi che compare sia nel Vercelli CCXXV sia nello *Speculum*. Inoltre, tutti compaiono nella stessa sezione suggerendo che il testo più antico di Vercelli può essere stato l'esemplare di riferimento. In realtà, le differenze di ortografia e la mancanza di corrispondenza di sigle rendono impossibile il fatto che il Vercelli CCXXV sia stato l'esemplare dello *Speculum* stampato. Anche se quello realmente utilizzato per preparare la stampa potrebbe essere stato un libro simile al manoscritto vercellese che rappresentò un difficile compito per lo stampatore di Parigi.

A Middle English Devotional Prayer to Jesus

Winfried Rudolf

In questo capitolo si discute un altro elemento in volgare che personalizza ulteriormente la raccolta di preghiere e devozioni nel Vercelli CCXXV per gli utenti inglesi. La preghiera in prosa a Gesù, usata per la meditazione penitenziale (specialmente quella del Venerdì), è un'aggiunta relativamente comune che sopravvive in manoscritti, rotoli di preghiera e libri a stampa dal quindicesimo al sedicesimo secolo. Così, come parte delle collezioni stampate nel *Sarum Horae* (1494) e nel *Salisbury Primer* (1532), la preghiera deve essere considerata come una delle più popolari tra quelle penitenziali del tardo medioevo inglese. Essa è rivolta essenzialmente alla misericordia di Cristo, da parte del peccatore che si riconosce meritevole della salvezza di Dio, nel quale egli pone fiducia. La storia del manoscritto suggerisce una struttura bipartita del testo che solleva questioni relative al passaggio dei vari raggruppamenti di elementi specifici e alla loro adesione testuale nel corso della trasmissione.

Colour Plates

Plate 1: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV. Binding and edge decoration

Plate 2: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CCXXV

Plate 3: f. 1r, Title *Praeces Piae ac Devotae* and traces of an ownership entry

In prima oratione. p̄i m̄.

et elue maria. et Credo.

Memoria de sancta trinitate.

Domine deus om̄ps.
pater et filius et
spiritus sanctus. de
michi. 27. famule tue victo-
riam contra om̄es inimicos
meos. ut non possint michi
resistere. nocere. nec contradi-
cere. sed dirigatur virtus e-
orū et consilium in bonū. Tu
es deus meus. fortitudo mea.
et refugium meum. et cyprius de-
fensionis mee. et turris mi-

7
Deus om̄ps pa-
ter et filius et
sp̄s sanctus una
trinitas et in-
estimabilis in tribus personis
que unū sunt qui es et ge-
neras et qui venturus es et idē
q̄r ex. **L**ibera me dñe
ab om̄ibz angustis meis si-
cut liberaisti multos hoīes
ab om̄ibz malis et ab ista mor-
talitate et a morte perpetua.
Custodi me dñe ab om̄i
malo a planta pedis usq̄
ad verticem capitis mei.

potentem deū filium omnipoten-
 tem deum spm scū omnipoten-
 tem tibi grās ago in oī
 vita mea de oī sanitate et
 de oībz bñficijs tuis innum-
 merabilibz aīe & corpis. In-
 me dñe hic & ante mortem
 et in morte & post mortem
 ab oī malo qui in trinita-
 te pfecta uiuit & regnat de-
 us oīa scla scloz. Amen.

Domine ihu re-
 fil dei uiu qui
 in hūc mundū
 ppter nos pec-

dñs oīa pcta mea hic & in
 futuro sclo. Amen.

Domine dñs omīpc
 qui es trinus et
 unus. qui es scū
 in oībz & eras
 ante oīa et eris p oīa dñs
 bñdictus in scla cōmendo ani-
 mam meā ī manus potēar
 tue ut custodias eam diebus
 ac noctibz horis ac momētis.
 Exaudi me p oraciones pat-
 archaz & p merita pphetaz
 p suffragia aploz p coronas
 martirum p fidem confelloz

Plate 6: f. 12v, Prayer from Alcuin's *De Usu Psalmorum*; decorated initial
 of the Crucifixion with Ss Mary and John

Plate 7: f. 21r, Prayer to the Holy Trinity

luis inlidias hostis antiqui &
in societate angelorū omni que
scōe in scō paradiso tuo. me ple-
nerare facias quia tu dō bñ
dictus in scōa scōrū. 21 men.

Done ihū o pul-
sime ihū o dul-
cissime o ihū fili-
ghosissime vgis
marie plenus nūa & pietate
o dulcis ihū scōm magnan-
miam tuam. miserere mei
O clementissime ihū deprecor
te p illum sanguine piosū

Plate 8: f. 26r, Prayer to Christ as the Eucharist; decorated initial with infant Christ holding a whip

Plate 9: f. 43v, The Mass of St Gregory

sum. Amen. **P**ater noster.
Eue maria.

O Ihu abyssus profundus
 sume nunc. Rogo te propter
 profunditatem vulnerum
 tuorum que transierunt carnem
 tuam medullam ossium a viscerum
 tuorum ut me sumerem
 in peccatis emargas et abscondas
 in foraminibus vulnerum tuorum
 a facie ire tue donec pertransierit
 furor tuus domine. Amen.

Pater noster. **E**ue maria.
O Ihu veritatis speculum
 unitatis signum carni

Dominus **E**lias **S**otter
Emanuel **S**abaoth **A**do
Nay **O**thicos **A**thia
Natos **P**anton **N**ra
Ton **P**sus **M**ediator
Vrisen **V**ision **S**al
Vator **A**lpha **O**
Primus **N**ovissimus
Oscia **V**irtus **V**i
Ta **V**ia **S**apientia
Ego sum **A**gnus **O**vis
Intulus **S**erpens
Aries **L**eo **E**t vermis
Verum ipse est ille xpc

Plate 14: f. 105v (detail), Multispectral image of name scribbles

Plate 15: f. 106v (detail), Blue light image of illumination index 'kings of colen'

Plate 16: f. 107v (detail), Blue light image of illumination index 'resurreccion'

Plate 17: f. 108v (detail), Blue light image of illumination index 'ascencion'

Plate 18: f. 109v (detail), Blue light image of illumination index 'wyttsonyde'

O tua.	S tola.
V irgo.	S cala.
V irgo.	S tella.
F los.	L iber.
R ubes.	D ulcra.
R egina.	D uaritia.
G lycotrichos.	E luctuosa.
G lycotricha.	Q uater.
I mpatre.	E lma.
O mnus.	E oruosa.
C emplū.	C oncedicta.
S eata.	C oſa.
C elioſa.	P acifica.
F ula.	O mnina.
R ubus.	D ia.

hostiam laudis et nomen dñi
 invocabo. **P** erit fuga a
 me et non est qui requirat
 animam meam. **C** lamā
 ui ad te dñe dñi tu es spes
 et portus mea in tra viuenti
 um. **E** ac meū signum
 in bonum ut videant qui
 me oderunt et confundant
 quā tu adiuvisti me et con
 solatus es me. **P** ope inno
 cent hase grauit tyll culp
 mā et women sayng iis poy
 er deuotioe de illis tunc
 sayde. m. 20. et of p. 20.

per sanctam mariā dominā
tuam honozare voluisti tri
bue nobis quīs ut omīs fi
deliter eum postulantes ad
bonam expeditionē et vitā
eternam peruenire conce
das. *Ps. dñm. n. j. f.*

Thoma lancastrie mi
les ihū xpī. qui pro anglic
mortem p̄tulisti presta pa
cem patrie p̄cens regno
tristi faciens nos scandere
regna que petisti. *vl.* Ora
pro nobis thoma christi miles
Qui nunquā paupes tenuisti miles.

synful seruant lajdj talu
hede. That I may haue
schryfte and houzell and
heuen to my inede. Amen.
O ue regina celoz aue
dñā anglorū luc gran
dū scōr. O virgo mirabi
lis. O carissima dñā mea
vgo ante p̄tū vgo i p̄tū v
go post p̄tū nulla t̄similis
nulla tibi parilis. O ma
ria nobilis tua sū ancilla
la et idigna famula me
serua p̄ scā. Tu es scō scō

tissimie ihu mediator dei et
hominu vt dones michi il
lud beatissimu omniu elec
toru tuoru consoliu vt te
habeam vna cum eis gau
diu et omne bonu mecu
hic et in eternu amen.

Prayer in: **M**aria.
Mari thou were gre
ted wyth louely chere
thou gabriel gretting w
chylde thou were wyth ou
te ouer wen ihu thou were.
Mari for thy ioy's fyfr
my prayer thou here. let

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newer the feend ne wylklyd
thought, depart me fro thi
der son y me dere hath brought.
haue merci on the dede; pat
I haue mys wrought for
syn is y moost y brynnyng
a man to noght. Mari mo
dyr my hope is all in the
ouer all wymanen blyssyd
you be. gweyn of mercy I
pray thou me se and all
wylked synnes do me fle.
Mari modyr helpe at neede
you art gud in comfort in
care and in dreed. vpon thi

alsethynge that might be
to the displeasur. And now all
my hert I thanke the most
merciful lord for the grette mi-
cy that thou hast shewed me
the grette dangers I ha-
ve ben in as well in my lande
as in my body and that thou
grette and endles mercy hast
in heve me ward and sa-
ved me from the oure of
my birth un to this tyme
I thanke the lord wth alle
my myght. And I be seche
the lord that thou mercy may

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kepe me forth alle way. And
I cry the mercy wth alle my hert
for my grette offense. for
my grette unkyndnes and for
alle my wretched I sinned I f^{or}
and I cannot lif as the ser-
uant I cry the mercy. Deus p-
pitius esto in p^{ro}te. I thanke
the also wth alle my hert and
myght moste gracious lord
for the benygnes and grace
that thou hast geue me lar-
gely in this world. For ma-
ny of the creatures that have
a thousand tymes deserved

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Beatus audien^r grauiiter
 ferens tonitruū tempesta-
 tem multa cordis contri-
 cōne dñi rogare cepit ut
 ei aliquod solamen impē-
 dere quo in omni loco tutus
 ēē possit. Quā igit^r quadam
 die sacras missas celebra-
 ret. post p̄ceptōnem sacro-
 scī corporis et sanguinis dñi
 nri ihesu xpi venit spirit^s
 sanctus in columbe specie
 descens ei breue continēs h
 stulus triumph^s is.
 Ihesus nazarenus rex iu-

drox

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 ue misericordissima virgo
 semp maria mat^r luminis
 honor etheris signū sereni-
 tatis. a ue dulcissima do-
 minna vgo semp maria au-
 la dei porta celi sacrariū sp̄s
 scī. a ue excellentissima do-
 minna vgo geniciū regina ā-
 geloz. a ue mitissima do-
 minna virgo semp maria sa-
 lus infirmoz spes et consi-
 lium oppressoz reueracō lap-
 sor. a ue dilectissima dñā
 vgo semp maria vna auro
 templū diuinitatis rechina

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Plate 27: List of Gaspare Antonio De Gregory's private manuscripts (detail)

Plate 28: De Gregory's travel diary A

<p>Legato del fu Cav.^o Presid. G. De Gregory rimesso al Reverend.^o Capitolo in febbraio e giugno 1847.</p>		
I. Edizioni del Testo De Imitatione Christi, due delle quali contengono varie opuscole ascetiche di Autori diversi, e quasi tutte in difesa di uno dei tre Autori presunti del Libro de Imitatione Christi.	es. ^o	15.
II. Traduzioni del testo — in Greco —		1.
in Italiano — in tre volumi —		1.
III. Traduzioni italiane —		7.
in verso —		1.
francesi —		14.
in verso —		1.
tedesca —		1.
olandese —		1.
inglese —		1.
spagnuola —		1.
in sei lingue — Ital.; Spagn.; Franc.; German.; Ingle.; e Greca —		1.
IV. Redazioni dell'Opera — in forma di preghiera —	Vol.	1.
per ordine di materia —		1.
V. Opere di controversia sul vero Autore del Libro di S. R. ^o —	es. ^o	5.
in francese, compresa una registrata tra le edizioni del testo —		6.
in tedesco, che è la traduzione di un'Opera francese del Cav. ^o De Gregory, ancora mancante —		1.
VI. Codici in pergamena — Due di preghiera e salmi — Due di materie ascetiche —		1.
VII. Manoscritti — Cartolario 1. ^o Dell' "Histoire du Livre de l'Imitation de J. Ch." 2. ^o Del "Mémoire sur le véritable Auteur du Livre"		
Carte di documenti e di corrispondenza epistolare —		
VIII. Missale Romanum... impressum Venetijs per Gregor. de Gregonis M.D.XC.		
IX. Rami — del ritratto dell'Ab. Gio. Jerssen — di Sagge di varj Cocci — e del Brario De Advocatis — in tutto es. ^o 7. — e Quantità di fac-simile —		
X. e Medaglia d'oro donata da Guglielmo Re d'Olanda al Chiarissimo Autore		
<p>I Canonici deputati per la Consegna del Legato Can.^o Giovanni Sanguinetti delegato Can.^o Giovanni Biondini delegato</p>		
<p>Venezia 5 Luglio 1847.</p>		

Plate 29: Copy of De Gregory's bequest to the Capitulary Library