

Notes on Three Prayers in Late 15th. Century Portuguese (the *Oração da Empardeadada*, the *Oração de S. Leão, Papa*, and the *Justo Juiz*): Text History and Inquisitorial Interdictions

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In the summer of 1992, a workman involved in the renovation of a building in Barcarrota, a village near Badajoz, uncovered a group of eleven books, with printing dates ranging from 1525 to 1554, and one manuscript volume, clearly of the same period. Stashed in a plastered over niche in one of the walls, the «Biblioteca de Barcarrota», as the group came to be known, had remained there undisturbed since being hidden away at some moment in the mid sixteenth century. Of particular interest among the items found were a previously unknown edition of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Medina del Campo, 1554, and an undated «small book» or pamphlet printing (16°, 1540's?) of a prayer in Portuguese, the *Oração da Empardeadada*. That serendipitous discovery set in motion, beginning in 1995, a series of newspaper announcements, journal articles, conference discussions, and an Internet site about the pieces, all seconded by a concerted program, undertaken by the *Junta de Extremadura*, to make the entire collection eventually available in facsimile editions with accompanying critical studies¹. Three such in the series have appeared to

1. More expansive recountings of the discovery and events subsequent to it can be seen in Jesús CAÑAS MURILLO, *Una edición recién descubierta de Lazarillo de Tormes: Medina del Campo, 1554*, Mérida, Junta de Extremadura, 1996, 7-11; María Cruz GARCÍA DE ENTERRÍA, «Una devoción prohibida: la Oración de la Emparedada», in *La muy devota Oración de la Emparedada* (ed., trad. y notas Juan M. Carrasco González; estudio preliminar María Cruz García de Enterría), Badajoz, Junta de Extremadura (La Biblioteca de Barcarrota, nº 2), 1997, ix-x; *El Lazarillo de Tormes y la Biblioteca de Barcarrota*, Badajoz, Junta de Extremadura/Consejería de Cultura y Patrimonio, 1996, 2; and Aldo RUFFINATTO, «Notas sobre el *Lazarillo* de Medina del Campo 1554», *Incipit*, nº 16 (1996), 189. Initial views on the reasons for the sequestering of the books and the possible owner appear in Jesús CAÑAS MURILLO, *Una edición*, 11-16 and in passing in several of the articles of the *Gazetilla* (see, «El Lazarillo de Tormes y la Biblioteca de Barcarrota», *Gazetilla de la Unión de Bibliófilos Extremeños*, nº 14 (1996), and Internet: <http://www.unex.es/ubex/n14/sumar.htm>); views now contested by Francisco RICO, «Preliminar», in Antonio VIGNALI, *La Cazzaria (La Carajería)* (ed. Guido M. Cappelli, study and trad. Elisa Ruiz García, preliminar Francisco Rico), Salamanca, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 1999, vii-ix. Acquired by the *Junta* from the owners of the property involved, the books were initially given for public display into the custody of the *Museo Extremeño e Iberoamericano de Arte Contemporáneo* in Badajoz, though they have recently been moved to the *Biblioteca Pública Bartolomé José Gallardo* in that same city. One entire issue of the *Gazetilla de la Unión de Bibliófilos Extremeños* was given over to a group

date², the second of which is the edition of the *Oração da Empardeada*³ and its companion volume containing an *estudio preliminar* by María Cruz García de Enterría and study, translation to Spanish, and notes by Juan M. Carrasco González.

The present notes focus initially on the *Empardeada* text. They expand and reorient García de Enterría's and Carrasco González' considerations of the work, in light of both an earlier printing of it, done in Paris, 1500, of which we append a transcription, and of insistent and renewed interdictions from the Holy Office between 1551 and 1954. Brief comments on the text history of two other prayers are added. These prayers, popular devotional works of the period, were also printed in Portuguese in that same 1500 Parisian source and were likewise a cause for concern in the peninsular *Índices* of the 16th century.

1. The *Oração da Empardeada*

The pamphlet printing of the *Empardeada* found in Barcarrota is a delight. Quite apart from any benefits for literary and cultural studies gained by having the text it conserves, the recuperation of such a diminutive piece is a decidedly infrequent pleasure in the bibliographic traditions of the Peninsula⁴. The title page bears a woodcut of the «empardeada», kneeling at prayer in chapel before a small statue of the crucified Christ. The text begins, ff. 1v-4r, with an introductory commentary, the first part of a legend, concerning our recluse «in the land of Rome». According to it, she was desirous of knowing the number of Christ's wounds and in recognition of her devotion He appears and speaks to her. He tells her that they numbered 6,676 and gives her a prayer that, if prayed or had prayed daily by anyone for a full year together with fifteen *Pater Nosters* and fifteen *Ave Marias*, would assure the fulfillment of a series of promises that He thereupon makes. Initial among these is that fifteen of one's relatives' souls will be freed from the pains of Purgatory, but also not to be passed over quickly is the promise that both He and the Virgin Mary will attend upon one's death and carry one's soul away to Paradise. The prayer itself (in reality, a series of fifteen) follows, ff. 4v-13r, offering reflections on Christ's sufferings during the crucifixion and pleas

of six articles on various aspects of the discovery and the books, together with a listing of the items found, an issue available on the Internet (<http://www.unex.es/ubex/n14/sumar.htm>).

2. The first facsimile was of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, with study by Jesús CAÑAS MURILLO, «Una edición»: the initial edition in July, 1996, and the fourth in October, 1997. The third facsimile was of the manuscript found with the printings, a Spanish translation of Antonio Vignali's *La Cazzaria*, with edition by Guido M. Cappelli, study and translation by Elisa Ruiz García, and *preliminar* by Francisco Rico: see Antonio VIGNALI, *La Cazzaria*. The fourth, announced as of one of the two printings of the *Chyromantia* found, is forthcoming.

3. *La muy devota Oración de la Emparedada* (ed., trad. y notas Juan M. Carrasco González; estudio preliminar María Cruz García de Enterría), Badajoz, Junta de Extremadura (La Biblioteca de Barcarrota, nº 2), 1997 (incluye edición facsimilar: *A muyto deuota oraça da Empardeada. Em lingoagem portugues*).

4. The printing has 16 folios (signatures a8 and b8) without foliation or pagination, approximately 95 x 69 mm, with a protective covering made from a leaf taken from a 15th-century manuscript of a Latin text. Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición portuguesa», in *La muy devota*, 9-15, provides an analytical description. The facsimile (*Empardeada*) was issued at size and in color, nestled in a larger, box binding, for ease of use, with the companion volume of studies printed, in a *jeu d'esprit*, in the same size as the facsimile. The Spanish *Index* of 1559 lists a series of five similar pamphlet printings of other prayers, «por si pequeña», none of which seem to have survived or are, at least, still not located: see Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole: 1551, 1554, 1559. Index des Livres Interdits*, 5, Sherbrooke, Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1984, nos 546, 550, 551, 554, and 589 of the 1559 edition listings. One other piece appearing there may also have been issued in pamphlet form (nº 549) and we take up yet another (nº 548) below, of which two pamphlet printings have survived, though they are not noted specifically in that format in the *Index* listing.

for compassion based on them. The legend continues immediately thereafter, ff. 13r-16r, describing a vision allowed to a hermit, friend of the recluse and a devotee of Christ, which proved the value of the prayer to doubters. We are told in addition that the prayer is effective against storms, lightning, and sudden death. The text then closes, ff. 16r-v, with a list of extravagant indulgences and pardons attributed to Pope Nicolas V (1447-1455), based on 39,330 drops of blood said to have come from Christ's wounds.

The two studies included in the companion volume to the facsimile –Carrasco González and García de Enterría– provide a wide-ranging general assessment of the nature of the piece and the specifics of the printing found in Barcarrota⁵. García de Enterría's «estudio preliminar» opens by tracking early knowledge of the text in the Peninsula. Stating that the Portuguese version is a translation from the Spanish, she notes two references⁶. It is attested, apparently in Castilian and Catalan and specifically called «De la dona emparedada» as early as 1458 by notice in the inventory list of works held by the Queen D. María de Aragón and in the early 16th century by record of 39 copies of a printing, the «Oracions de la Emparedada» held in 1524 in the stock of the Barcelona bookdealer Bartomeua Riera. To those indications García de Enterría adds a list of six literary works in both poetry and prose, published between 1525 and 1555, in which the piece is mentioned in passing (xii-xiv). The implications of initial proscriptions by the Holy Office are discussed (xiv-xviii). Emphasis is then placed on the role of the text as a popular piece that must have circulated throughout the period as a «conjuro» in the world of blind singers (xviii-xxv). Finally, attention is paid (xxvi-xxlv) to the phraseology it shares with texts of more formal devotional practice (particularly Bede's prayer and the «Horas de la Cruz») current in books of hours and in some edition or other of which it most assuredly would not have been out of place⁷. Given the «matiz milagroso» of statements in the accompanying legend and the indulgences, withal, «No es de extrañar, pues, que los inquisidores del siglo XVI lanzaran sus condenas contra estas formas desviadas de la religiosidad, que hacían de una oración, válida por si misma y por su inconfundible tonalidad cristiana, un texto de milagrosa o, mejor diríamos, de mágica eficacia» (xliv-xxlv).

Carrasco González' study, with appended translation of the text into Spanish, focuses on the specific traits of the work as seen in the pamphlet. Following brief initial comments on the circumstances under which the original owner might have acquired the piece and when it might have been hidden away⁸, he looks closely at the typographic characteristics of the printing (9-15, «escaso cuidado»), calling attention to the almost excessive use of abbreviations in this small format. He then offers considerations on various aspects of phonology, lexicon, and syntax (15-23, «arcai-

5 Orduna reviews the circumstances of the discovery and provides a restatement of the major points of the two studies, in Lilia E. F. de ORDUNA, «La Biblioteca de Barcarrota y la Oración de la Emparedada», *Incipit*, nº 17 (1997), 245-248.

6 María Cruz GARCÍA DE ENTERRÍA, «Una devoción prohibida», xi, citing José María MADURELL MARIMÓN, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474-1533)* (Anotados por Jorge Rubió y Balaguer), Barcelona, Gremios de Editores, de Libreros y de Maestros Impresores, 1955, 59*-60*, note 149 and 663; see also *Inventari dels llibres de dona Maria Reyna d'Aragó e de les Sicilies [1458]*, in *Recull de Textes Catalans Antics*, Barcelona, Tip. La Académica, 1907, vol. VIII, 17-18.

7 One has only to look at the long list of vernacular books of hours prohibited in the Spanish *Index* of 1559, the vast majority of which are now unknown, to wonder at lost sources: see Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole: 1551, 1554, 1559*, 488-495, items 493-515.

8 Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición portuguesa», in *La muy devota*, 1-5. He postulates a scenario (4-5) in which that resident of Barcarrota becomes interested in the text after seeing reference to it in his copy of the *Lazarillo*. He seeks it, but, unable to find a copy in Spanish, acquires the Portuguese printing, perhaps through the intervention of a Portuguese acquaintance, a Fernão Brandão of Évora, whose name appears on papers found with the books. All of this was to have taken place at a moment when the work was «prohibida ya probablemente por la censura».

zante»). The study closes (23-24, and as footnotes throughout his translation) with observations on a number of forms that would show a Castilian version from which the Portuguese was translated and on one moment of patent garbling of the text (51-52, note 30).

To García de Enterría's and Carrasco González' initial views of the pamphlet and its text, we add the following.

Immediate source. As noted above, García de Enterría tracked two early attestations of the text in the Peninsula: 1458 –reference to a manuscript copy – and 1524 – reference to a printing–. Other notices, that parallel more closely the general period of production of the books in the Barcarrota collection, can be added through 1550 and include another pamphlet edition in Castilian⁹. Printings of the text were therefore assuredly available to the public in both Catalan and Castilian from at least the 1520's. And, it is perhaps not surprising that a Portuguese language version of a «known» work, if translated and produced in that same general period from one of those versions, should, as Carrasco González notes (3), announce its language clearly on the title page¹⁰.

Yet, whatever the history of languages, printings, and copying of the text south of the Pyrenees prior to the mid-century, the Portuguese version provided in the pamphlet was not one prepared especially for that publication. It had appeared, as García de Enterría suspected, in a book of hours, specifically one in Portuguese, the *Horas de nossa Snõra...*, published considerably earlier by Wolfgang Hopyl for Narcisse Brun in Paris, 1500, signatures o7v – p8r, as prepared by Frei João Claro and Luís Fernandes¹¹.

9. As examples, the account books of the Majorcan bookseller Thomàs Squer show the purchase on 27 October 1545 of «4 Valles, 6 mans Oracions emperadada», following the sale on 19 May 1541, significantly, of six «Oracions della emperadada, en castellà, xiques» and with a further sale on 14 May 1547 of «quatre mans Oracions emperadada»: see Jocelyn Nigel HILLGARTH, *Readers and Books in Majorca. 1229-1550*, Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991, vol. II, 832, item Bh; vol. II, 839, item C 142; and vol. II, 851, item 473 on the listings, together with vol. I, 49-50 on Squer's dealings with Barcelona printers. Also, the inventory of the holdings of the bookseller Gabriel Fàbregues, 20 February 1550, lists 20 copies of «Oracions de la emparadada» (Jocelyn Nigel HILLGARTH, *Readers and Books*, vol. II, 828, item 89). The copies sold by Squer on 19 May 1541, «en castellà, xiques» were clearly independent pamphlets done in a format similar to the Portuguese printing. The extent to which such printings supported and fed oral traditions of the century are clearly reflected in Cipriano de Valera's denunciation («era tanta la superstizio del pueblo»), published in his mock *Tratado para confirmar...*, London, 1594 (published in Cipriano de VALERA, *Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería* (London, Peter Short, 1594), San Sebastián, I. R. Baroja (Reformistas antiguos españoles, nº 8), 1854). It there figures doubly (as the «orazion de la emparedada» and as «la de Santa Brijida»), fixed firmly in the repertory of prayers that resolved all problems –for reference to which I thank my colleague Antonio Cortijo Ocaña–.

10. As far as we are aware, no copies of these pre-1550 pamphlets in Catalan or Castilian have been tracked. The possible date and place of production of the pamphlet in Portuguese is of more than passing interest. Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición», 8, does not find sufficient indications in the printing characteristics of the piece to attempt an identification of the printer and its date, though he conjectures it was done in Portugal. Without entering here into discussions and justifications based on the type font and other typographic elements used, I suspect the piece to have been produced in Spain in the 1540's, perhaps at Seville, by one of the printers who also produced for the Portuguese market, making the declaration of language even more pertinent.

11. *Horas de nossa Snõra segundo costume Romaão*, Paris, Wolfgang Hopyl for Narcisse Brun, 1500-02-13 (Washington, D. C., Library of Congress: Rosenwald, 451). The edition, dated 13 February 1500, is known at present by the unique copy held in the Library of Congress. A description of it and an analytic display of the contents are available in the *Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Galegos e Portugueses (BITAGAP: Manid 1601)* (eds. Arthur L-F. Askins, Harvey L. Sharrer, Aida Fernanda Dias and Martha E. Schaffer), in *PhiloBiblon* (ed. Charles B. Faulhaber), Berkeley (CA), <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/PhiloBiblon>, 1997. The colophon states that it was «tresladado todo de latim ã linguajẽ portugues: visto e emendado p̃ o reuerẽdo frei Johã Claro purtugues doctor ã a sancta theologia e Luís Fernandes outrosi purtugues studãte ã artes criado da rainha de portugal dona Iyanor». Traditional bibliographic sources: *Catalogue des livres, manuscrits et estampes formant le cabinet de fue m. Joseph Paelinck*, Bruxelles, Ferd. Heussner, 1860, vol. II, 22-23, nº 127; Jacques-Charles BRUNET, *Manuel*

Done in larger format and obviously with more care, if not error free itself, the turn of the century Claro/Fernandes edition gives a better view of what the pamphlet was meant to put into circulation. The transcription of that 1500 text provided here in the Appendix allows for direct comparison of the two readings and clarifies a number of the problematic aspects taken up in the two studies that accompanied the facsimile of the pamphlet printing. At the outset, the garbled passage noted by Carrasco González is now available in a clean and properly structured form¹². Of greater importance is the question of a supposed Castilian version standing behind the Portuguese. The examples offered by Carrasco González from the pamphlet text as indicative of a translation are suggestive, if not conclusive¹³. His assessment is, withal, most probably correct in our view and more support for it is available through a number of Castilian forms in the 1500 text that were corrected to their proper Portuguese equivalents in the pamphlet printing and thereby unavailable to him for comment¹⁴. Equally of interest is the question of the appended indulgences. Perhaps we can eventually determine whether they accompanied the version from which the Portuguese text was translated or if they were prepared for the translation specifically. But, their presence, with particular mention of Pope Nicolas V, implies the use of a version of the work as available in the second half of the 15th century¹⁵, a text that, as we shall see, has a much longer tradition behind it.

du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, Paris, Firmin Didot freres, fils et Cie, 1860-65, vol. V, col. 1667, nº 350; Anatole CLAUDIN, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et au XVIe siècle*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1900-1914, vol. II, 365; Hanns BOHATTA, *Bibliographie der Livres d'Heures (Horae B.M.B.), Officia, Hortuli Animae, Coronae B.M.V., Rosaria und Cursus B.M.V. des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1924, 62, nº 1567; Frederick R. GOFF, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A third census of fifteenth-century books recorded in North American collections. Reproduced from the annotated copy maintained by Frederick R. Goff*, Millwood (New York), Kraus Reprint Co., 1973, 308, nº H-404; and *The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. A Catalog of Gifts of Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress, 1943 to 1975*, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 1977, 88, nº 451. Principal commentary sources: R. FRANCISQUE-MICHEL, *Les Portugais en France. Les Français en Portugal*, Paris, Guillard, Aillaud et Cie, 1882, 120-121; Luís de MATOS, *Les Portugais à l'Université de Paris entre 1500 et 1550*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra (Universitatis Conimbrigensis Studia ac Regesta), 1950, 10 and 122; Mário MARTINS, *Vida e Obra de Frei João Claro (c. 1520)*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra (Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis), 1956, 33-77; Francisco Leite de FARIA, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época*, Lisboa, Secretaria de Estado de Cultura, 1977, 245-246 posits a publication date of 13 February 1501, rather than 1500, given French dating practices of the period; Mário MARTINS, *O Riso, o Sorriso e a Paródia na Literatura Portuguesa de Quatrocentos*, Lisboa, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa (Biblioteca Breve, 15), 1978, 104; Mário MARTINS, *A Bíblia na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Instituto de Cultura (Biblioteca Breve, 35), 1979, 118-119; Mário MARTINS, «A vida reclusa e a sua influência na Idade Média», *Revista Lusitana*, Nova Série, nº 4 (1982-1983), 53-65; Francisco Leite de FARIA, «Artístico Livro de Horas de Nossa Senhora em português impresso em 1500», *Bíblica* (Lisboa), vol. 34, nº 196 (Maio-Junho 1988), 47-48; Francisco Leite de FARIA, «O primeiro livro em português impresso na França: As Horas de Nossa Senhora por Frei João Claro», in *Actas do V Centenário do Livro Impresso em Portugal, 1487-1987*, 93-112, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, 1992.

12. Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición», 36, note 12 to the transcription.

13. One of them must be removed from the discussion. The «jamas» of the later printing (see note 7 to the transcription) is simply a momentary slip by the typographer, whether in Spain or in Portugal, who failed to reproduce the «jamais» of the earlier printing.

14. Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición», 32, 34, 35 (see notes 5, 6, and 10).

15. Nicolas V (1447-1455): the indulgences, if they were to be taken as authentic, being issued during that period and the version prepared at some moment following. Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis de la edición», 54, note 36, considers them spurious constructs, added to give further value to the entire story and attributed to a Pope still remembered, yet sufficiently distant in time to avoid raising questions. They were not, however, the only indulgences that circulated with the text. Victor Martel LEROQUAIS, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (Macon, Protat freres), 1927, vol. I, 220-222, transcribes a text in French, of the late 15th or early 16th century, found in the manuscript book of hours (Paris use), Ms. Lat. 1393, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. While retaining the story of the prayers being told to a «pouvre femme, vray amy de Dieu», the text attributes their composition, their promises, and the indulgences to «saint Grégoire pape de Rome». It further informs that they have all been confirmed by «les papes Innocent et Boniface, Clément, Calixte et Alixandre» and, in case someone should wonder, they are «scriptes à Rome en l'église de Saint-Iehan de Latran, sur une table de bois et couverte par dessus d'un bericle moult cler».

Remote source. To begin and to orient better the following comments, a simple identification. The *Oração* is a translation of a series of prayers, together with a legend explaining their origin, that enjoyed wide circulation throughout Europe during the 15th century and that is now commonly known under the title *Quindecim Orationes* (or *The Fifteen O's*). Apparently produced in Latin in the late 14th century, the text, legend and prayers, was much copied and quickly translated to English and to several of the vernaculars of the Continent. In the earliest known copies, the legend states simply that the prayers and the promises were given to a female recluse, this being the version we see translated to Portuguese (if divided into two parts) and that set the tradition of naming the text in popular circles throughout the Peninsula. By the 1420's at the latest, however, the prayers came to be attributed to St. Bridget of Sweden, circulating as hers, with or without the legend, in manuscripts of the first half of the century. That attribution then appeared in the earliest printed versions and «validated» from that period to our own times an insistent association of both the prayers and the legend with the Saint. The attribution is, however, spurious, and, perhaps for that reason, any possible relationship the late 14th-century version of the text might have with the authentic writings of Saint Bridget in general or with her *Quattuor Orationes* in particular has not been a point of particular concern in formal Brigittine scholarship. Nevertheless, the prayers have enjoyed a respectable amount of attention in studies on the margins of Brigittine interests, since speculation about their origin came to involve a nettlesome complex of questions on the introduction of the Saint's Order to England and on the writings of unidentified English recluses (in light of the statement in the initial version of the legend). A full discussion of the matter falls beyond the purposes of the present notes: we rely on a review of current thought, together with a number of additional observations.

In 1935, André Wilmart published a lengthy incisive study of the important medieval poem, the *Septem verbis Domini in Cruce*, traditionally attributed to St. Bonaventure (1274), but better assigned, for Wilmart¹⁶ to Geraldus Odonis (1348) and dated between 1329 and 1342. The final portion of his study is devoted to a close review of other authors and works, through the 15th century, that also took up the theme of the Seven Words. Among these, the *Quindecim Orationes Sancte Brigide*, seen as one of two widely known prayers of special interest, «fort populaires» in the late 14th and throughout the 15th centuries, is discussed in detail¹⁷. The portions of the *Quindecim* containing the Seven Words are related to other discussions of them and variations in their order of presentation in comparison with those other texts are noted. Considerable attention is paid to the «très indiscrets faveurs» and the «incroyables promesses» of the legend¹⁸. Of special note, however, Wilmart rejects the long-standing attribution of the text to St. Bridget: «nous osons déclarer que l'authenticité n'est pas acceptable» (276). For Wilmart, in light of what seemed the evidence in the manuscript recordings available to him, the prayers were best seen as composed at some moment late in the 14th century by a recluse in the north of England. As stated in his summary: «En définitive, s'est donc à la singularité de la dévotion anglaise qui florissait en ces temps-là, qu'il convient de faire honneur des étranges quinze prières, et le manuscrit d'York cité semble indiquer que la recluse qui les composa vivait dans cette même région, où les ermites et reclus furent toujours plus nombreux»¹⁹. The frequently accompanying legend, mentioning a «femina quedam solitaria et reclusa» and attached

16. André WILMART, «Le grand poème bonaventurien sur les sept paroles du Christ en croix», *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), 248-261.

17. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 274-278.

18. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 274-276.

19. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 278.

at the point of composition or shortly thereafter, simply added further strength to the proposed English origins: «Cette histoire correspond trop parfaitement aux conditions des recluseries d'Angleterre au XIVe siècle pou avoir été inventée, ou décalqué de l'histoire même de sainte Brigitte»²⁰.

Wilmart's views on the origins of the prayers have guided later studies and have served as a basis for further considerations, including frequent speculations on the identity of the northern recluse, the supposed author²¹. Equally so, his intuitive views on the alteration of the legend to name St. Bridget specifically. For him, the change was simply indicative of other interests at play in early 15th-century England: «On apreçoit dès lors comment, d'assez bonne heure sans doute, les membres de l'Ordre (of St. Bridget) ont pu avoir l'idée d'attribuer à leur fondatrice la série des quinze O [by substitution of her name in the legend or by simple addition of it to the prayers], et cela, selon la plus grande vraisemblance, en Angleterre, où le monastère de Syon avait été richement doté à Isleworth près Londres, dès 1415»²².

20. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 277-278.

21. We list and comment here on the principal general and momentary discussions published following Wilmart's article, together with editions of the text as found in a scatter of manuscripts. Though principally interested in the poetical versions, Rosemary WOOLF, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, 204, 361, 362, comments on the purposes of the legend and the eventual preference for the text in prose, providing a short list of manuscript sources. Cameron LOUIS, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle. An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, New York, Garland Publishing (Garland Medieval Texts, 1), 1980, 264-268, edits the legend, recluse attribution, as it appears in the Tanner MS 407, discusses (369-372) the tradition of concern for the number of drops of blood, and comments at length (463-465) on variations of the legend in a rich list of manuscripts, building beyond Woolf. Rogers' short article –Nicholas ROGERS, «About the 15 Oes, the Brigittines and Syon Abbey», *St. Ansgar's Bulletin*, n° 80 (1984), 29-30 (reproduced on the Internet: <http://www.umilta.net/xvo's.html>)– follows the general orientation of Wilmart, commenting on both York and Syon connections, while pointing to its wide copying on books of hours and adding a healthy new number of specific manuscript attestations. Eamon DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*, New Haven (Connecticut), Yale University Press, 1992, 249-256, provides the most detailed consideration of the prayers published since the Wilmart article. Focused on the theme of the Seven Words, he sees it (252) as a «complex payer, drawing on scriptural, patristic, and liturgical sources, as well as on the Bonaventuran tradition of affective meditation». He comments on its role in English society (253-254) and provides further manuscript sources for the legend (254-256). Anne F. SUTTON and Livia VISER-FUCHS, *The Hours of Richard III*, Phoenix Mill, Stroud (Gloucestershire), Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996, 54, 55 and 99, note 161, following the views of Wilmart and Rogers, describe the text briefly in their edition of the so-called «Hours of Richard III», adding yet more manuscript sources. Julia Bolton HOLLOWAY, «Syon Abbey. The XV O's of the Crucifixion», in Internet: <http://www.umilta.net/xvo's.html>, 1997, provides a transcription of the Latin text from a late source, posts Rogers' article, and comments briefly on possible authors. Rebecca KRUG, «The Fifteen Oes», in *Cultures of Piety. Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation* (eds. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul), Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1999, 112-117, offers a modernized English version based on a printing of 1527 and reprints (214-216) the Caxton text of 1491. Her comments (107-112) present a perceptive summary of previous studies on the history of the text, to which she adds pertinent observations on its circulation and its role in 15th-century English society, as a vehicle for pleas for divine forgiveness. Among them also, particular attention is paid (110-111) to implications of the details of the legend and resonances of them in the period. Claes GEJROT, «The Fifteen Oes: Latin and Vernacular Versions. With an Edition of the Latin Text», in *The Translation of the Works of St Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars* (eds. Bridget Morris and Veronica O'Mara), Turnhout, Brepols (The Medieval Translator, 7), 2000, 213-238, offers the most telling of the recent summations on the nature and evolution of the text, while attempting a clean reading of the original version in Latin. Of equal interest are the English metrical versions done in the 15th-century, including one by John Lydgate, see: H. C. SCHULZ, «Middle English Texts from the "Bement" Manuscript», *Huntington Library Quarterly*, n° 3 (1939-1940), 452-457; Jack Arthur Walter BENNETT, *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose from MS. Arundel 285 and MS. Harleian 6919*, Edinburgh, William Blackwoods & Sons (The Scottish Text Society, Third Series, 23), 1955, vii-viii, 170-181; Rosemary WOOLF, *The English Religious*, 201-204, 361-362; Charity MEIER-EWERT, «A Middle English Version of the Fifteen Oes», *Modern Philology*, vol. 69, n° 8 (1971), 355-361; John C. HIRSCH, «A Middle English Metrical Version of the Fifteen Oes from Bodleian Library MS. Add. B.66», *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, n° 75 (1974), 98-114; and Peter REVELL, *Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations. A Descriptive List of Manuscripts in the British Library*, New York, Garland Publishing, 1975, 88-89.

22. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 276-277.

The specific readings of the *Quindecim* text at point here may indeed be of English origin, as projected by Wilmart, but the question remains unresolved, as does the identity of the author. The scenario is quite possible. Yet, if so, it would have implied, in that late 14th-century period, a conscious embroidering, combination, and adaptation by that «author» in new circumstances of much older material. It would have implied, initially, the rewriting of or at least inspiration in a text of 15 such prayers that had circulated much earlier in the century, a text that also concerned itself with the Seven Words in a general plea for compassion. That earlier text, now first attested in Middle Dutch and generally known as the *Vijftien Pater Noster* (or *Vijftien Gebeden*), appears in the so-called «Zutfensch-Groningsche» book of hours, datable between 1339 and 1343, to which we shall return at various points below. For the initial, female recluse version of the legend, it would also have called for the expansion of a text in circulation since at least the late 1360's: a legend that had the number of Christ's wounds as its principal interest, rather than the Seven Words.

As far as we are aware, the identification of an earlier source for the female recluse version of the legend comes first in the study of the «Zutfensch-Groningsche» book of hours published by Leendertz in 1896²³, being repeated by Meertens in 1931²⁴, both studies unused by Wilmart. Leendertz²⁵ reviews various authors of the 14th century concerned with the number of Christ's wounds (including St. Bridget) and traces this particular version of the legend specifically to Chapter 58, *De passione domini meditanda, in generali*, of the second part of Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita Christi*:

Cuidam etiam seni matronae reclusae multitudinem et numerum omnium vulnerum Christi scribe cupienti, et pro hac reflebiliter Deum oranti, vox coelica missa dixit: Quinque millia quadringenta nonaginta vulnera mei corporis exstiterunt; quae si venerari volueris, orationem Dominicam cum salutatione Angelica quindecies quotidie in memoriam Passionis meae replicabis, sicque anno revoluto unumquodque vulnus venerabiliter salutabis. Haec oratio valde placet Deo, prout postmodum revelatum fuit cuidam solitario²⁶.

Or, significant in its wording for our text, the translation of that same passage in vol. 4 of the edition in Portuguese, printed in Lisbon, 14 May 1495, by Valentim Fernandes and Nicolau de Saxónia:

A hũa bõa molher q̃ viuia ençarrada ou empardeada: q̃ desejava muyto saber o cõto das chaguas de xpõ e quãtas erã. Diselhe hũa voz q̃ foy enuiada do ceo stando ella fazẽdo cõ choro oraçom a deos por aq̃llo. Cinco mil. q̃trocenos e e (*sic*) nouẽta forom as chaguas ou feridas do meu corpo. E se tu q̃sieres seer chagado diras cada dia quinze vezes o pater noster cõ a aue maria: em memoria da mjnha paixõ. E assy acabado o año teeras saudada ou dicta a cada hũa das dictas chaguas sua oraçõ ou saudaçõ. E aq̃sta oraçõ he muyto plazẽte a dẽ segũdo depois foy reuellado a huũ homẽ q̃ viuia aq̃tado²⁷.

23. P. LEENDERTZ JR., «Het Zutfensch-Groningsche Handschrift», *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, nº 14 (1895-1896), 265-283.

24. Maria MEERTENS, *De godsvrucht in de Nederlanden naar handschriften van gebedenboeken der XVe eeuw*, Antwerpen (Standaard), Historische Bibliotheek van Godsdienstwetenschappen, 1931, vol. II, 21-24.

25. P. LEENDERTZ JR., «Het Zutfensch-Groningsche», nº 14, 277-283.

26. We quote from the 1870 Rigollot edition (Ludolphus de SAXONIA, *Vita Jesu Christi* (ed. L.M. Rigollot), Paris/Rome, Victorem Palme/Libraria S. Congreg. De Propaganda Fide, 1870, 4 vols.), vol. IV, 458. Cameron LOUIS, *The Commonplace Book*, 369-372, as commentary on another poem in the MS he edits, provides a lengthy review of the varying number of drops of Christ's blood given in works of the period, relating Ludolphus' to the *Quindecim* legend, but in a curious turn: «The poem clearly shows that his calculation is based on the same story of the recluse». Thomas H. BESTUL, *Texts of the Passion. Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, 58-59, 212, specifically notes its later use for the *Quindecim* legend.

27. We transcribe from Chapter 8, f. 28v, of the copy held by the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA (*Vita Christi*, Lisboa,

Ludolphus does not, in this case, indicate his source for the tale which, in his telling, simply exhorts the elderly female recluse to honor Christ's wounds by saying the two prayers each day, makes no promises, but does have the hermit informed. Whatever his source and its specific reading might have been (pre-1368), either his text or his source itself clearly stands behind the embellished form eventually attached to the prayers by the end of the century. And, knowledge of Ludolphus' recounting, as widely circulated, would certainly have added additional strength to the supposed validity of the much expanded retelling when seen²⁸. Ludolphus' version of the legend is in turn, however, a remaking or parallel version of a yet older telling, as found, again, in the 1339-1343 «Zutfensch-Groningsche» book of hours. The legend, in Middle Dutch verse, is included as an integral part of the book of hour's texts, f. 217r-v, and bears the title «Van den Clusenaere». Leendertz discusses the text and provides a full transcription²⁹. In it we read, however, that it was a *male* recluse who questioned the number of Christ's wounds and that Christ appeared to him, saying that they were 5565. He is told that he will be taught a prayer and that he is to pray the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* fifteen times daily. As reward for these devotions, he will enjoy forgiveness of his sins, will assure the salvation of his soul, and will save *one* other soul from Purgatory. Even with the notable difference in gender of the recluse, all the basic elements of the legend, save the additional hermit, including aspects not recorded by Ludolphus, are already in place for later elaboration.

Nicolau de Saxónia and Valentim Fernandes, 1495, 4 vols. [Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, CA: 82958] *BITAGAP*: Copid 1027, 1040, 1053 and 1012). The opening phrase of the manuscript versions of the fourth part of the Portuguese translation (*BITAGAP* Manid 1134 and 1120), prepared in the first half of the 15th century and held by the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, ALC. 219, f. 72v, and ALC 453, f. 53v, is, in effect, identical: «A huua bõa molher que uiuja ençarrada ou enpardeada...». On the origin of the translation seen in those two manuscripts, see the important recent study of Aires A. NASCIMENTO, «A tradução portuguesa da *Vita Christi* de Ludolfo da Saxónia: obra de príncipes em «serviço de Nosso Senhor e proveito comun», *Didaskalia*, nº 29 (1999), 563-587. In the Catalan translation of 1495 –*BITECA. Bibliografia de Textos Catalans Antics* (eds. Vicenç Beltran and Gemma Avenoza), in *PhiloBiblon* (ed. Charles B. Faulhaber), Berkeley (CA), <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/PhiloBiblon>, 1997, Manid 1839–, published in Valencia by Pedro Hagenbach (f. 3v), the legend opens with «Desijaua saber vna deuota reclusa matrona...» and we thank our colleague Martha E. Schaffer for indication that in the Spanish translation of 1502 –*BETA. Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos* (eds. Charles B. Faulhaber, Ángel Gómez Moreno, Ángela Moll Dexeus, and Antonio Cortijo Ocaña), in *PhiloBiblon* (ed. Charles B. Faulhaber), Berkeley (CA), <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/PhiloBiblon>, 1997, Manid 4178–, published in Alcalá de Henares by Stanislaw Polono (f. 50v), it begins «Es de notar q̃ a vna venerable matrona enparedada & açiana...».

28. Ludolphus may have abstracted or at least abbreviated the tale from its original, rather than giving it in full. The final portion, concerning the hermit, could seem to require further explanation or some action on his part (such as is seen in our version), if mention of him is to be of any real point. Mary Immaculate BODENSTEDT, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian*, Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1944, 50-51, as Maria MEERTENS, *De gods-vrucht*, II, 23, finds no source for Ludolphus' specific version of the text. She does relate the passage in general, however, to material in the *Revelationes* of St. Bridget, citing a number of indicative passages, while noting that in the Saint's works, five repetitions of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* are the standard recommendation, rather than the fifteen cited in the legend. Yet, given Ludolphus' knowledge of and use elsewhere of St. Bridget's works, through versions and manuscripts that apparently no longer exist, she allows that «probably the aged recluse to whom Ludolphus refers is Bridget of Sweden». Whether true or not, her observations were spurred simply by a handwritten marginal note, naming St. Bridget as the implied recluse, added in the much later edition of Ludolphus' work done in Paris, 1865. In any event, a variation between five repetitions and fifteen would not be a surprising alteration for the period in the transmission and adaptation of the text, were St. Bridget's works actually the source. The latter figure is the talisman number in a variety of such legends circulating among the laity during the period. Christ dictates the saying of the *Pater Noster* fifteen times daily, for example, in the so-called «Nine Answers» –see Paul GROSJEAN, «A Continental Saint and a Mediaeval Irish Devotional Practice», *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, nº 19 (1931), 65-80, 177-188– and looming over all, both in verse and prose versions, were the widely known *Quindecim signa iudicium*: see William W. HEIST, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday*, East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1952, and Erik VON KRAEMER, *Les quinze signes du jugement dernier*, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 38/2), 1966.

29. P. LEENDERTZ JR., «Het Zutfensch-Groningsche», nº 14, 277-283.

The date of composition of the prayers? For the *Quindecim* text itself, Wilmart, lacking any sure information on authorship but guided by approximate production dates of manuscripts available to him, believed the earliest attestation to be a copy in Latin datable «vers la fin du XIVe siècle»³⁰. While the manuscript that allowed him that evaluation is currently seen as compiled somewhat later, the assessment is quite possibly correct. Rogers³¹ points to a missal, Additional Manuscript 16998 of the British Library, prepared in London, ca. 1405-1410, as having the earliest copy he had found in his extensive searching, and Meertens³² records a copy, also in a Middle Dutch translation, found in a manuscript specifically dated in 1400³³. Prior to that text, however, stands the Middle Dutch prose text of the prayers cited above, the *Vijftien Gebeden*. It is a contemporary addition (ca. 1343?) to the «Zutfensch-Groningsche» book of hours, transcribed on the initially blank preliminary leaves, copied there, in Leendertz' view, to provide the prayer referred to in the metrical version of the legend, but missing among the works formally gathered in the collection. Leen-

30. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 277.

31. Nicholas ROGERS, «About the 15 Oes», 29.

32. Maria MEERTENS, *De godsvrucht*, 1934, VI, 2, n. 18.

33. Wilmart viewed a book of hours (Salisbury use) held in Paris, Ms. Lat. 13285 (Victor Martel LEROQUAIS, *Les Livres d'Heures*, II, 88-99), as having the earliest known copying of the prayers and the legend. Leroquais himself (II, 99) had said: «vers la fin du XIVe, et, plus probablement, dans la première moitié du XVe siècle». A healthy number of 15th-century manuscript recordings survive, but no union list yet exists (*Beatus ille qui hoc fecerit*). For manuscripts in England, a start can be made with items culled from the studies already mentioned and by use of the listing developed by Claes GEJROT, «The Fifteen Oes», 230-232, together with various strictly bibliographic catalogues: for example, *Harleian* (I, nos 172 and 494; II, nos 1892, 2398, 2848, and 2915); Mary BATESON, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery Isleworth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1898, 110, n° M 15, and 112, n° M 92; John Alexander HERBERT, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1910, vol. III, 552, item 150 = Frederic C. TUBACH, *Index Exemplorum: a handbook of medieval religious tales*, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (FF Communications, 204), 1969, n° 205; and Janes A. CORBETT, *Catalogue of the Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame*, Notre Dame (Indiana), University of Notre Dame Press, 1978, 32-33. For Irish texts, see Robin FLOWER, «The Revelation of Christ's Wounds», *Béaltoideas: The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* (Dublin), n° 1 (1927), 38-45. For the Continent, again the Victor Martel LEROQUAIS, *Les Livres d'Heures*, vol. I, n° 106, text in French, with reclus attribution, and vol. II, n° 212, text in Latin with reclus attribution, and n° 213, text in French, together with the wide scatter of manuscripts noted under the varying incipits of the prayers as given in Sonet, in the series of works by Sinclair (Keith Val SINCLAIR, *Prières en ancien français: nouvelles références, renseignements complémentaires, indications bibliographiques, corrections et tables des articles du Répertoire de Sonet*, Hamden [Connecticut], Archon Books, 1978; SINCLAIR, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages. A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide*, Westport (Connecticut), Greenwood Press, 1979; SINCLAIR, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages. A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide. First Supplement*, Westport (Connecticut), Greenwood Press, 1982; SINCLAIR, *Prières en ancien français: additions et corrections aux articles 1-2374 du Répertoire de Sonet: Supplément*, Townsville [Australia], Department of Modern Languages, James Cook University of North Queensland (Capricornia, 7), 1987; SINCLAIR, *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages. A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide. Second Supplement*, Westport [Connecticut], Greenwood Press, 1988) and in Pierre RÉZEAU, *Répertoire d'incipit des prières françaises à la fin du Moyen Âge Addenda et corrigenda aux répertoires de Sonet et Sinclair. Nouveaux incipit*, Genève, Librairie E. Droz (Publications Romanes et Françaises, 174), 1986. For texts in Dutch, the Maria MEERTENS study, *De godsvrucht*, building on Leendertz' comments, lists the text and legend in Dutch in eleven manuscripts, commented in vol. II, 14-26 and analyzed in vol. VI, with a resume list provided in the note to the first attestation, VI, 2, note 18. See also for Dutch, the few listed by Ulla Sander OLSEN, «The Life and Works of St Birgitta in Netherlandish Translations», in *The Translation of the Works of St Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars* (eds. Bridget Morris and Veronica O'Mara), Turnhout, Brepols (The Medieval Translator, 7), 2000, 141, and the earlier text discussed by D. A. STRACKE, «De origineel tekst der XV Pater op het lijden des Heeren en diens latere lotgevallen», *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, Part 1 (1943), 71-140. For 15th and 16th century texts in Italian, see Domenico PEZZINI, «Italian Reception of Birgittine Writings», in *The Translation of the Works of St Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars* (eds. Bridget Morris and Veronica O'Mara), Turnhout, Brepols (The Medieval Translator, 7), 2000, 202-203, together with the early printing discussed in our note 41. For texts in German speaking areas, see Ulrich MONTAG, *Das Werke der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden in oberdeutscher Überlieferung*, München, Beck (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 18), 1968, 25-34 and 337.

dertz³⁴ prints the text in full. It is a more expansive work than the *Quindecim* (Fifteen O's) version seen at the end of the century, yet it is also clearly an earlier statement of the same material and textual concept. Following a series of introductory exhortations, the text proceeds through fifteen prayers concerned with Christ's words on the cross and His sufferings at the crucifixion, each calling at its close for the saying of *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, and ends with further exhortations. Both in its structure and, at times, in its specific imagery, these *Vijftien Gebeden* foreshadow the late 14th-century Latin version of the *Quindecim* and take up the material from which, directly or indirectly, the later text would be composed. What the sources, date, and original language of the 1340's versions of the prayers and the legend might have been we cannot say (previous texts in Latin?) and we can go no farther for the moment with the earlier history of either. But their existence by that date makes a Brigittine source for them even more difficult, quite apart from their later, wistful, association with the Saint and her works and their adjustment to mirror supposed events in her life.

The *Quindecim* version of the prayers was, in any event, being copied widely by the beginning of the 15th century, both in England and on the Continent, and had become by the end of it, at least in England, a standard feature of devotional repertoires. Rogers states: «I have calculated that they appear as an original (= integral) part of the text in over 60% of books of hours produced in England, or in the Low Countries for the English market (Salisbury and York use), in the 15th and early 16th centuries»³⁵.

While manuscript recording of the *Quindecim* and its legend therefore continued apace, the new print medium of the second half of the 15th century also responded quickly to reader interest both in England and on the Continent. The second edition of the *Gesamtkatalog*³⁶ lists 22 pamphlet editions in Latin between ca. 1475 and 1500, initially in Venice and thereafter in Rome, and 5 pamphlet editions in German, beginning in 1490, initially in Rome, but later in various German cities –all of which openly attribute the text to St. Bridget–. And, Wilmart notes³⁷ that they were incorporated into the many printings, both incunabula and early 16th century, of Nicolaus Salicetus' *Antidotarius animae*. To all those must be added two incunabula editions in England: an English prose version (no attribution and no legend) included by William Caxton in a small anthology of English and Latin devotional pieces, 1491, together with a reprinting in a book of hours, ca. 1494, in Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde³⁸. Their widest circulation in print came, however, well into the 16th century, in books of hours produced for the English market³⁹. If, in contrast, their frequency is perhaps not as high in similar European printings destined to the Continental market, especially in the early 16th century, their presence is by no means unknown⁴⁰.

34. P. LEENDERTZ JR., «Het Zutfensch-Groningsche», n° 15, 271-274.

35. Nicholas ROGERS, «About the 15 Oes», 29.

36. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1968, vol. 4, cols. 215-223.

37. André WILMART, «Le grand poème», 276.

38. On Caxton, see both Stephen AYLING (ed), *The Fifteen O's and Other Prayers* (facsimile edition of the Caxton incunabula), London, Griffith and Farran, 1869, and Edgar HOSKINS, *Horae baetae mariae virginis or Sarum and York Primers with kindred books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use*, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901, 116. On Worde, see Edgar HOSKINS, *Horae baetae mariae*, 111-112.

39. Eamon DUFFY, *The Stripping*, 254. Descriptions of a number of these early 16th-century printings are provided by William MASKELL, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882, vol. III, 275-282; Christopher WORDSWORTH (ed.), *Horae Eboracenses*, Durham/London, Andrews & Co./Bernard Quaritch (Publications of the Surtees Society, 132), 1920, 76-80; Edgar HOSKINS, *Horae baetae mariae*, 48 and 171; and Helen Constance WHITE, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1951, 216-229.

40. For example, though Brunet's descriptions are normally focused on aspects other than text content, his listings show three such printings in books of hours, all with versions in French: an issue of the Rome use done in Paris by Philippe

Holy Office proscriptions and modern interest. The promises contained in the legend, if not the prayers themselves, had, however, begun to unsettle thoughtful readers early in 16th-century England, leading even to printed warnings against them⁴¹. The same may also have been true elsewhere, but in the Iberian Peninsula formal proscriptive attention to the «Oratio concludere que vulgo dicitur da Empardeada» came first in the Portuguese *Index* of 1551 and in the Spanish of 1559⁴², as part of the Office's concerted campaign against curious and superstitious works. Those prohibitions and any others issued elsewhere across Europe may have given pause for thought and lead at least one person to hide things away in Barcarrota, but they had, in reality, little effect on continued circulation of the text. Copying and publication of it, with or without the promises and openly ascribed to St. Bridget, has continued unabated from that mid-16th-century period to the present, albeit on the margins of formal devotional literature and closely related to promotion of devotions to St. Bridget. As one might expect, those publications have marched hand in hand with repeated prohibitions⁴³.

Pigouchet for Guillaume Eustace, 1508 (Jacques-Charles BRUNET, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. V, col. 1645-1646, n° 286); an issue of the Poitiers use done in Paris by Gillet Hardouyn, 1509/1510 (Jacques-Charles BRUNET, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. V, col 1686, n° 234 bis); and a much later issue of the Manz use done in Paris by Nicolas Chesneau, 1575 (Jacques-Charles BRUNET, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. V, col 1674, n° 376), which includes a (new?) translation said of François Grandin. And, Fernando Colón had acquired yet another pamphlet form printing, in Italian, in Rome during October, 1512 (Archer M. HUNTINGTON (ed.), *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus* (Facsimile edition of the *Regestrum B*), New York, Edward Bierstad, 1905, item 3911; and Servando ARBOLÍ Y FARAUDO and Simón de la ROSA Y LÓPEZ *et al*, *Biblioteca Colombina. Catálogo de sus libros impresos*, Sevilla, E. Rasco, 1888-1948, vol. V, 239).

41. The tone is set, for example in «*This prymer in Englyshe...*» printed in London by Robert Redman, ca. 1537 (Edgar HOSKINS, *Horae baetae mariae*, 48 and 171): «These xv prayers following, called commonly the xv. oos are set forth in divers Latin prymer, with goodly painted pefaces, promising to the sayers thereof many things both foolish and false, as the deliverance of xv souls out of Purgatory, with other like vanities, yet are they prayers self right good and virtuous, if they be said without any such superstitious trust or blind confidence. And therefore are they called the prayers of S. Brygide, because that holy virgin used daily to say them, as many write, before the image of the Cross, in Saint Paul's church at Rome».

42. María Cruz GARCÍA DE ENTERRÍA, «Una devoción prohibida», xiv-xv, discusses these initial prohibitions briefly. For the Portuguese proscription of 1551, see Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise: 1547, 1551, 1561, 1564, 1581. Index des Livres Interdits*, 4, Sherbrooke, Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1995, 306, where the text reads «Oratio concludere que vulgo dicitur da Empardeada» and reflects the specific spelling of the title seen in the two known printings. Further 16th-century Portuguese proscriptions: Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise*, 406, 423, 491, for the *Indexes* of 1561, 1564, and 1581, in all of which the statement, with changed spelling, is simply «Oração da Emparedada». For the Spanish proscription of 1559, Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole*, 1984, 514, with text reading «Oración de la Emparedada, en romance», which is repeated in 1583 (*Index de l'inquisition espagnole: 1583, 1584. Index des Livres Interdits*, 6, Sherbrooke, Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1993, 618) save for the «en romance» limitation. Given the general interests of the Offices' mid-16th-century prohibitions concerning this and other questionable prayers, the proscriptions were aimed more at versions having the introductory commentary and promises, the miracle/vision, and perhaps the indulgences, rather than at the text of the prayers themselves in Latin or in the vernacular. As worded, however, they would supposedly have put quit to it all. «Supposedly»: under the title «Orationes devotissime. xv. diuae brigittae, de passione domini» they were copied in 1558 in Portugal in an «Exercitium vitae et passionis christi ad modum Rosarij» of a Cistercian «devocionário» prepared at the Monastery of Santa Maria de Bouro (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional: ALC 85) and printed in Latin in a book of hours done in Spain in 1569 which is discussed later in the text.

43. Alfredo VÍLCHEZ DÍAZ, *Autores y anónimos españoles en los Índices inquisitoriales*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense (Trabajos del Departamento de Bibliografía. Serie B, Repertorios, n° 1), 1986, 80, adds one further of the 16th century, Antwerp, 1570, and lists, for later periods, the editions of 1612, 1632, 1640, 1707, 1747, and 1790. We note further, the edition of Rome, 1819 (*Index Librorum prohibitorum sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Septimi*, Roma, Typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicae, 1819, 226) with the reading «Orazioni (le Quindici) di S. Brigida. Nisi deleatur Prologus. Decr. 30 Junii 1671», recalling a prohibition issued by Clement X that was the first officially stated attempt to separate the prayers from the promises, allowing the one and prohibiting the other. And, the edition of Madrid, 1844 (*Indice general de los libros prohibidos*, Madrid, Imprenta de D. José Felix Palacios, 1844, 250-252), in which the 1819 text is repeated (252), a specific edition of Brussels is rejected (251) and a number of the individually stated 16th-century proscriptions of superstitious prayers, including the «emparedada» are gathered together in one entry (250).

It is, again, beyond our purpose here to track the wealth of later printings and their various forms. Wahlund⁴⁴ lists 20 such editions between 1674 and 1893. Many more, including pieces with printing dates from the 1560's through the early 20th century, as independent editions or contained in other works, can be easily identified in the union catalogues of the national libraries of Europe and the United States, or in other general bibliographic repertories. We do offer, however, a sampler of items indicative of trends and momentary interests in the later history of the text, the most recent of which speak clearly to its irrepressible continued vitality and wide circulation in the Catholic devotional repertory.

Of particular interest among these is a printing done in Zaragoza not long following the initial Spanish proscription: *Horas de nuestra señora segun la orden Romana*, Zaragoza, Pedro Bernuz, 1569. Sidestepping the specific wording of the prohibitions, the prayers appear under the title «Quinze oraciones de santa Brigida» and are offered in Latin. The text printed is noticeably different from previous versions, but clearly within the tradition. The rubric comes in Spanish and, in its wording, also avoids overt statements that might cause problems, albeit maintaining the essence of the previous forms⁴⁵. For the 17th century, we cannot fail to mention an edition in Arabic, as translated from the Italian⁴⁶, nor for the 18th, the again variant Latin text printed in 1775 in Poland⁴⁷.

However, in the second half of the 20th century, when more of the pamphlet and other occasional printings are still readily available, we can perhaps better judge both the extent and nature of previous editions and the various levels of society in which the text continues to circulate. The last 50 years have been particularly productive and while we again select from among a number of printings the general implications are clear. In the early 1950's, the prayers and their promises were published in a variety of languages and a number of places under the title «Secrets of Happiness»⁴⁸. Those issues brought a stern reaction from the Holy Office in a *Monitum*, or warning, dated the 28th of January 1954, and signed by Marius Crovini, «Supremae S. Congr. S. Officii Notarius», that echoed, yet again, the early 16th-century English cautions and Clement X's 1671 prohibition of their circulation with the promises present⁴⁹. Attending to the specifics of that warning, Butkovich⁵⁰, with the blessings of Pope Paul VI, felt it possible to replace St. Bridget's authentic prayers on the Crucifixion (specifically, the third of her *Quattuor Orationes*) with the *Quindecim*

44. Carl WAHLUND, «Les quinze Oraisons sainte Brigide – De hel. Birgitta tillskrifna Femton Bönerna efter ett unikt franskt manuskript i National-Biblioteket i Paris», in *Uppsatsar i Romansk Filologi tillägnade Professor P.A. Geijer*, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1901, 22-24.

45. Ff, 212r-17v, the first prayer beginning «O suavitas e reñes corporū e animarum nostrarū Jesu christe». While not abandoning entirely earlier formulations, the rubric has become simply «Siguense las quinze oraciones de sancta Brigida: las quales qualquier fiel Christiano que con deuocion las dixere cada dia: y con cada oracion vn pater noster: y una ave Maria: en honor y remembrança de las llagas de nuestro señor Jesu Christo: gana muchas indulgencias».

46. Saint BRIDGET of Sweden, *Orationi di S. Bridgida, stampate d'Ordine della Sac. Congregatione di propag. Fide. Con la traditione dalla lingua italiana nell'araba di Gioseppe Banese Maronita*, Roma, Stamperia da S. Congregatione, 1677.

47. Karl-Alexander PASTUSCHINSKI, «Quindecim Orationes Sanctae Brigittae de Passionis Domini», in Internet: <http://www.fortunecity.com/victorian/abbey/54/religia4.html>, 1997.

48. See, as example, BRIDGET, *The Secret of Happiness: the Fifteen prayers revealed by Our Lord to St Bridget in the Church of St. Paulo at Rome*, New York, St Francis of Assisi Church, [1950's].

49. The text: «In aliquibus locis divulgatum est opusculum quoddam, cui titulus «Secretum Felicitatis – *Quindecim orationes a Domino S. Birgittae in ecclesia S. Pauli, Romae, revelatae*», Niceae ad Varum (et alibi), variis linguis editum. Cum vero in eodem libello asseratur S. Birgittae quasdam promissiones a Deo fuisse factas, de quarum origine supernaturali nullo modo constat, caveant Ordinarii locorum ne licentiam concedant edendi vel denuo impremedi opuscula vel scripta quae praedictas promissiones continent», in Karl-Alexander PASTUSCHINSKI, «Quindecim Orationes».

50. Anthony BUTKOVICH, *Revelations. Saint Birgitta of Sweden*, Los Angeles, Ecumenical Foundation of America, 1972, 46-50.

texts (minus promises) in his proselytizing book on the Saint and her works. Similarly, the warning's effect seems at work in a popular printing of the prayers done later in same decade by the Pieta Prayer Booklet series⁵¹.

All warnings to naught, however, for the following year Édouard Coulom⁵² brought out an edition focused specifically on the benefits of the promises, noting Pius IX's approval of them and overshadowing the text of the prayers. Further, a now unidentified printing⁵³ of the prayers with the promises, done in the very late 1970's or the early 1980's, provides a fine example of their function and persistence in the popular devotional world. As part of his editorial duties in the lay journal *Sign*, Father Salvatore Riccardi⁵⁴ responds to a reader who has written asking if the promises, which «I found in a prayer book (in English) at a shrine last summer», can be true. The questioner had sent along a copy of the publication and Riccardi answers, saying that the prayers, in and for themselves, are acceptable: «If you like certain prayers and they help you –by all means say them–». For him, however, the promises «are completely divorced from the teaching in scripture» and smack of business transactions. That view does not prevent him from quoting portions of them from the edition, «with relish» as examples of pious, if ill-founded, promises and prophecies. What surprises in the excerpts he reprints is that the quoted passages do not give simply another short version of the promises themselves, as had become the general practice. Rather, they give the entire initial medieval legend, if here openly stated to involve St. Bridget, and its concerns for the number of Christ's wounds. The text sent to Riccardi has, at this late date, revived a version of the legend that had, in effect, not been readily available in its full form since the 16th century. One would wonder at the editors' source, but, given the number of wounds cited, 5,480, it is a North European one.

We have seen other printings with the more modern, shortened version of the legend in French: an edition done in the early 1980's by the Compagnons de Jesus et de Marie, in Montreal⁵⁵ and the editions done by Jacques Lefèvre⁵⁶ which in their title forthrightly relate Christ, St. Bridget, and the *Quindecim* and in their focus recall the intentions of the earlier Coulom edition. To all these must be added two recently established Internet sites⁵⁷, which, while serving distinct interests, one academic and one devotional, allow even wider dissemination. But, to close this sampler of contemporary interest, we return to Portugal for two final examples. As an element of its proselytizing programs, the *Associação Cultural Tudo Instaurar em Cristo* has actively seen to the publication and popular dissemination of the «quinze orações de Santa Brígida» throughout the country since 1986. Done in pamphlet format and available for 35 *cêntimos* of the Euro a copy, the Association's printings continue to reprise, as an introductory explanation of the value of the prayers, the

51. BRIDGET, *15 St. Bridget prayers* (Revised U.S. edition), Hickory Corners (MI), Miraculous Lady of the Roses, 1976.

52. Édouard COULOM, *Magnifiques promesses révélées par Notre-Seigneur à sainte Brigitte de Suède*, Paris, Librairie Stella-Marie, 1977.

53. Though the author of the article discussed immediately following, Riccardi, gives no specific information on the edition, it *may* have born the title «Twenty-one Magnificent Promises» or simply «Magnificent Promises» of St. Bridget (Benedict KIRBY, «St Bridget's Legacy», *Sign*, vol. 60, n° 6 (1981), 2). In any event, Father Riccardi has unknowingly found himself in the same circumstances as Herbert THURSTON, «Uses that are really superstitious», *The Month* [London], n° 133 (1919), 57-58, earlier in the century.

54. Salvatore RICCARDI, «St. Bridget's Promises», *Sign*, n° 60, vol. 4 (1981), 30-31.

55. BRIDGET, *Les 15 oraisons de sainte Brigitte*, Montreal, Compagnons de Jesus et de Marie, [1982?].

56. Jacques LEFÈVRE, *Jésus roi des martyrs enseigne à sainte Brigitte la dévotion des quinze oraisons*, Montsurs (B.P., 53150), Resiac, 1985.

57. Julia Bolton HOLLOWAY, «Syon Abbey», <http://www.umilta.net/xvo's.html>, and Karl-Alexander PASTUSCHINSKI, «Quindecim Oraciones», <http://www.fortunecity.com/victorian/abbey/54/religia4.html>.

major elements of the medieval promises⁵⁸. And, at the same time, a number of the prayers, particularly the second in our transcription, have begun to enjoy an independent life of their own, if still associated with the Saint, in collections of popular devotions for general use⁵⁹. If in affirming that association they have abandoned any recognition of the earlier native tradition concerning the piety of an «empardeada», they have conserved and fostered the essence, in the long established terms of the larger Community of which Portugal is increasingly a part.

2. The *Oração de S. Leão, Papa*

Printed on the 22 pages immediately preceding the *Empardeada* in the Portuguese *Horas* of Paris, 1500, signatures n4v-o7r, is an «oraçõ de sam lyom papa» or, as the piece is also titled in its first lines, the «ordenanças da santa madre igreja».

As with the *Empardeada*, the text is presented in two parts: an introductory legend and the prayer itself. The legend states initially that the work was composed by «Ho sancto padre lyõ papa» (by implication, Leo III) and sent to Charlemagne, who had it copied in letters of gold and always carried it with him. Our narrator then assures that it is quite a fine and effective prayer, tested and proven by many, as a guard against various forms of death: *a ferro*, in water, by fire, suddenly or painfully, or without confession. He adds that neither enemies nor the devil will have any power over the one who uses it, at home or while traveling. He states that one will never lose a battle having prayed it, and that it, again, is particularly effective against storms and lightening. A series of specific indications on use follows and the instructional section closes with the final thought that, when it is used properly, one's soul cannot be condemned should one die of illness! The prayer, then, provides a lengthy amalgam of gathered in bits and pieces, opening with an extract from the *Gospel according to St. John* (I: 1-14), continuing with others from the Mass, and eventually including, with much more, the *Pater Noster*. Given all, it should work fairly well.

The attribution of the work to Leo III is now considered spurious, apart from any of his authentic writings to Charlemagne. But, the tradition of assigning to him a series miraculous promises made to the king, accompanying a variety of prayers, had been established early on, fomented by interests similar to those that eventually also attributed to him the «magical manual» the *Enchyridion Leonis papae*, with which the present text shares a number of traits. Similar such promises said to be his appear, for example, in French in the 14th century and, in the 15th, in Catalan⁶⁰. Our Portuguese text, the only example of it we know at present, continues those traditions in full, but,

58. See, for example, BRIDGET, *As Quinze Orações e os Sete Pai Nossos de Santa Brígida*, Lisboa, Editorial Minerva, 2000 (10th ed.).

59. As example from several such publications, see António ROSA, *O Grande Livro de Orações*, Mem Martins, Livros Novalis, 2000, 53, 178.

60. Keith Val SINCLAIR, *French Devotional Texts*, 1979, 88-89, n° 3052, describes a 14th-century manuscript, MS Harley, 1260, in the BN, Paris, ff. 230r-231r, having both promises and a prayer in French. For the Catalan text (the promises in the vernacular, the prayer in Latin), see *BITECA*, Texid 2651, Manid 1679, and CNum 2316, as well as the specific transcription of the promises provided by Víctor LIEUTAUD, «Estudi literari d'un manuscrit català conservat en la Biblioteca de Marsella», *Lo Gay Saber*, 2nd series, n° 2 (1879), 153. Mary BATESON, *Catalogue*, 111, lists an early miscellany, M 87 (now lost?), given to the Syon Library by Robert Denton, having a text in Latin, *Oratio leonis pape*, beginning on f. 158, that may have been of the same type. And, the tradition was still going strong in our own times: see Thurston's description (Herbert THURSTON, «Omens, Dreams, and such-like fooleries», *The Month* [London], n° 124 (1914), 632-633) of one in circulation among soldiers «at the front» in the First World War.

whatever its original source, rose specifically in that turn of the century Paris from a Spanish version there at hand. It is announced in the *tabla*, signature a2r, of the Spanish *Horas*, Paris, 1499⁶¹, although the text itself does not now appear in the one known surviving copy. It can be found immediately, however, in the Spanish *Horas* done by Thielman Kerver, Paris, 1502⁶², signatures q2v-r6r, an edition heavily dependent on the previous 1499 printing, and from which it passed to a series of later Spanish *Horas* editions done in both France and Spain⁶³.

But again, the extravagant and mechanical nature of the promises made in the introductory legend brought the work to the attention of the Holy Office, which, in its on-going campaign against so-called superstitious works, found it necessary to issue repeated prohibitions. Suppression of the piece from widely circulating books of hours in the vernacular was perhaps the principal and apparently successful intent of the proscriptions, beginning with the Portuguese *Index* of 1551 and the Spanish of 1559⁶⁴. But they and a long run of repetitions also speak to less success in ending its circulation independent of that tradition in both Portugal and Spain. It is again in another of those happy and rare survivals of pamphlet printings that we can see at least the beginnings of that parallel printing tradition, *por si pequeña* and clearly aimed at the popular pocket, that, among others yet unidentified, caused the Office's repeated denunciations.

Two early such printings in Spanish survive, both without stated publication details of any sort, from among what were undoubtedly a number more. The first, the later of the two and long known under the gratuitous title *Doctrina cristiana*, is held by the Lázaro Galdiano Library in Madrid. Its bibliographic history and nature have been well studied and documented by Víctor Infantes⁶⁵, the piece being assigned by Norton to Alonso de Melgar, Burgos, «1520?»⁶⁶. The other, older, was acquired ca. 1911 by The Hispanic Society of America⁶⁷ and was described in the catalogue from where it was purchased as «vraisemblablement» produced by Pablo Hurus, Zaragoza,

61. *Las Horas de Nuestra señora con muchos otros ofiçios y oraçiones*, Paris, Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 1499. [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Rés. Vellins 1501]

62. *Las Horas de Nuestra señora con muchos otros ofiçios y oraçiones*, Paris, Thielman Kerver, 1502. [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional: Res. 31044]

63. As listed in the *tabla* of the 1499 edition, the piece was to have been the final item in the volume. An uncorrected error, reflecting a last moment change in production plans? Or, was the text indeed included in the edition produced on «detachable» quires following the colophon (as in the later *Horas de nuestra señora Romanas en romance con las quatro passiones*, Sevilla, Juan Cromberger, 1537) now simply missing from this particular copy? Further Spanish *Horas* printings seen beyond that of 1502: *Horas [Las] de nuestra señora con muchos otros ofiçios y oraçiones*, Paris, Nicolao Higman por Simon Vostre, ca. 1510, signatures q4v-q7r; Sevilla, 1537, printed on the 16 leaves of signatures F and G, clearly detachable, following the colophon, with the introductory rubric reduced to the extent of saying simply that the prayer «tiene otras muchas virtudes que aqui no se expressan por su gran (com)plexidad»; and *Las Horas de neustra [sic] señora con muchos otros ofiçios y oraçiones*, Paris, Thielman Kerver, 1540, signatures n6r-o7r.

64. For the Portuguese, Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise*, 1551, n° 375; 1561, n° 969; 1564, n° 28, and 1581, n° 162. For the Spanish, Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole*, 1984: 1559, n° 548, and Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole*, 1993: 1583, n° 1848. Alfredo VÍLCHEZ DÍAZ, *Autores y anónimos*, n° 1095, adds those of 1570: 104; 1612: 82; 1632: 785; 1640: 818; 1707: 106; 1747: 891, and 1790: 199. It continued in at least one of the 19th century (*Indice general*, 1844, 250), where several of the previously separately listed proscriptions of the 16th-century *Indexes* are collapsed into one entry.

65. Víctor INFANTES, «El gran hallazgo de un pequeño libro que una vez fue incunable. La *Oración de las ordenanzas de la Iglesia del Papa León III Magno*», *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, n° 70 (1995), 93-101.

66. Frederick John NORTON, *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978, item 338.

67. *La Oracion de sant Leõ papa en romãce*, n.p., n.p., n.d. (but early 16th century) [New York, The Hispanic Society of America: Incunable].

ca. 1499⁶⁸. Haebler⁶⁹ questioned the validity of the assignment: «Dudamos y mucho...». The piece has yet to be studied formally: the question remains open if it is an incunabula printing or was produced in the very early years of the 16th century⁷⁰. In any event, while the introductory legend and the prayer itself are at times slightly reworded and abbreviated in both printings of this smaller medium, they show clearly their source in the *Horas* editions and retain more than sufficient elements of the miraculous promises to justify the Holy Office's concerns.

3. The *Justo Juiz*

The prayer appears on signatures m1r-m2r of the Portuguese *Horas* of Paris, 1500, placed between two other texts almost obligatory in books of hours of the period, the *Quicumque vult* and the *Obsecro te domina*.

Now generally accepted as composed in Latin verse by Berengar of Tours (1088), perhaps as a plea for protection against the malice of his enemies in his failed doctrinal battles with Lanfranc of Canterbury, the text spread widely and quickly throughout Europe in devotional compilations. Early knowledge of it in the Peninsula may be attested by the «Justo Juez» reference in Alfonso X, El Sabio's *cantiga* «Eno nome de Maria». Yet, it is the much commented use of it by D. Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro*, as the model for verse translation practices, that best gives an indication of the extent to which the prayer had become a standard element of devotional use in Portugal by the early 15th century⁷¹.

68. Karl Wilhelm HIERSEMANN, *Katalog 397. Spanish manuscripts, with a supplement containing incunabula, woodcut-books, and rare impressions of the sixteenth century* [...], Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1911, nº 801.

69. Conrado HAEBLER, *Bibliografía Ibérica del Siglo XV*, La Haya/Leipzig, Martinus Nijhoff/Karl W. Hiersemann, 1903-1917, vol. II, item 349.5.

70. Both extant copies are, unfortunately, incomplete. The edition held by the Lázaro Galdiano Library (*BETA* Manid 4326) consists of folios 2-7 of the first quire alone. Víctor INFANTES, «El gran hallazgo», 93-101, reproduces the surviving leaves in facsimile and reviews all the previous, complex, bibliographic history. For the edition held by Hispanic Society, see also Clara Louisa PENNEY, *Printed Books 1468-1700 in The Hispanic Society of America*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1965, 302; Frederick R. GOFF, *Incunabula in American Libraries*, nº L-128, where the work is listed under the authorship of Leo I, and *BETA* (Manid 1485). On inspection, the Hispanic Society copy is defective, as well as incomplete. It has 26 leaves (from an original 32?) without foliation or signatures, a copy that one would hope was simply a botched test run of the proposed edition of the text, with an additional prayer, «Al corpus xpi», at the end. Serious interruptions exist throughout the text in the copy, the result of miss-arrangement of the printing trays at the moment of its production. For one example from among many, the text that should have appeared printed on f. 2v comes instead printed on f. 23r, transporting a portion of the legend well into the body of the prayer. An edition once figured in the library of Fernando Colón. Described in his *Abecedarium B* (Fernando COLÓN, *Abecedarium B y Supplementum* (ed. facsimil de los manuscritos conservados en la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla), Madrid, Fundación Mapfre América, 1992, cols. 547, 723, 1000) and in his *Regestrum B* (Archer M. HUNTINGTON (ed.), *Catalogue*, item 2037), it is surrounded in the latter by works printed between 1498 and 1512. The copy was apparently acquired, however, in the early 1520's (Víctor INFANTES, «El gran hallazgo», 100), being possibly either of the two known editions –or neither–. In any event, the prayer was certainly in print as a separate piece by 1506. The inventory, prepared on March 2 of that year, of the books held «en lo armari petit» of the recently deceased Barcelona printer and bookseller Pere Posa lists the «Oració de sant Leó papa» among a number of other similar independent printings of such pieces (José María MADURELL MARIMÓN, *Documentos*, 405). Additional momentary references to other and later printings: On 20 November, 1535, while in Rome, Pere Joan Frexa sent his brother Bartomeu, in Majorca, a copy of the «Oratio de S. Leó papa», together with that of S. Ciprià, «las quals tenen asi ab molta devotió» (Jocelyn Nigel HILLGARTH, *Readers and Books*, vol. II, 763, item 3); Thomàs Squer acquired 4 copies «en pla» on 19 May 1541 (Jocelyn Nigel HILLGARTH, *Readers and Books*, vol. II, 839, item 142); and the inventory of the bookseller Gabriel Fàbregues, done on 20 February 1550, shows a holding of 11 copies (Jocelyn Nigel HILLGARTH, *Readers and Books*, vol. II, 828, item 90).

71. On the attribution of the prayer to Berengar of Tours and the circumstances of its composition, see Guido Maria DREVES and Clemens BLUME, *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung*, Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1909, 175-176), and

Considerable attention has also been paid to later versions of the work, if they can in fact be called that, in the 19th and 20th centuries. The extended series of articles by Ricard⁷² and that by Fontes⁷³ offer Spanish and Portuguese texts collected in the Old World and the New that are much deformed and altered. Little of the original has remained in them beyond the name, while any «plea» has been, in effect, converted into an expansive variety of bluntly worded conjurations, far distant from Berengar's original.

For traces of the work in the interim period, between Duarte's use and the modern forms, those studies also cite in passing a scatter of off-hand references to it in a variety of 16th- and 17th-century literary sources⁷⁴. In addition, a run of inquisitorial prohibitions of it, *under certain circumstances*, beginning with the Spanish *Index* of 1559 and the Portuguese version of 1561, indirectly attest its continuing wide availability. The initial proscription, of 1559, affected the text only «enquanto dize, despues del mundo redimido», while that of 1561 limited itself simply and perhaps confusingly to setting aside its *rubrica*. The reading in question was first tracked in a Seville 1524 printing by Juan Varela of the *Fasciculus myrrbe*⁷⁵. The offending passage comes early in the text and reads in full:

Frederick James Edward RABY, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927, 163-164. For the *cantiga*, see ALFONSO X, *Cantigas de Santa María / Afonso X o Sabio* (ed. crítica Walter Mettmann), Vigo, Xerais de Galicia, 1981, vol. I, 208, n° 70. Early versions in French, for example, can be tracked in Jean SONET, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français*, Genève, Librairie E. Droz (Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, 54), 1956, nos 1001 and 1002, with the additions, under those same numbers, by Keith Val SINCLAIR, *Prières en ancien français*, 1978 and Keith Val SINCLAIR, *Prières en ancien français*, 1987, and by Pierre RÉZEAU, *Répertoire d'incipit*. The Latin text had gone unlocated for the initial edition of Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro (Leal Conselheiro o qual fez dom Duarte)* (ed. J. E. Roquete), Paris, J. P. Aillaud, 1842, 477, note 3). The comments on it recorded there did, however, foreshadow eventual clarifications well: «Fizemos grande diligencia por descobrir esta oração latina, mas com pezar nosso o não podemos conseguir; só podemos alcançar por informações de pessoas competentes, que era mui antiga, e que se supõe vir do tempo dos Godos, d'algun dos hymnos ecclesiasticos d'aquelle tempo; e que anda traduzida em hespanhol de tempos immemoriaes, e a cantavão os cegos». The «missing» text was supplied shortly thereafter by Franz Joseph MONE, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1853, 359-361, where an initial list of North European MS sources was given, and by Adolf HELFFERICH and G. de CLERMONT, *Aperçu de l'histoire des langues néolatines en Espagne*, Madrid, Julián Peña, 1857, 48-49, on the basis of a MS in the Academy of History, Madrid, who saw it as an «hymne magnifique» of the «hymnologie espagnole». Duarte had clearly chosen, for his example of approaches to translation, a Latin prayer sufficiently well known to his potential readers to allow them, without the text itself being present, to judge his methods. It could be had, for example, in Cistercian collects of the period, still being copied well into the 16th century: see, for example, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional: ALC 84, ff. 86r-v. For study of Duarte's text, the Piel edition remains fundamental: *Leal Conselheiro o qual fez Dom Eduarte, Rey de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Cepta* (ed. Joseph M. Piel), Lisboa, Livraria Bertrand, 1942.

72. Robert RICARD, «Le *Leal Conselheiro* do roi D. Duarte de Portugal», *Revue du Moyen-Age Latin*, vol. 4 (1948), 367-90, [reprint: Robert RICARD, *Études sur l'histoire morale et religieuse du Portugal*, Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1970, 62-86]; «Du roi D. Duarte de Portugal a Ciro Alegría: La oración del *Justo Juez*», *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 56 (1954), 415-423; «En lisant Rómulo Gallegos: *Calle Derecha* et *Justo Juez*», *Ibérica*, n° 5 (1961), 147-156; «Pour l'étude de la prière magique du *Juste Juge* dans le monde hispano-portugais», *Revista de Etnografia* [Porto], n° 9 (1966), 33-46; «Le «Justo Juez» au Mexique», *Revista de Etnografia* [Porto], n° 10 (1967), 35-44; «Éncore les oraisons magiques: *Justo Juez* et *Piedra Imán*», *Revista de Etnografia* [Porto], n° 11 (1968), 101-110; «Vrai et faux *Justo Juez*», *Revista de Etnografia* [Porto], n° 14 (1970), 55-57; «Un «Justo Juez» brésilien», *Revista de Etnografia* [Porto], n° 14 (1970), 297-301; «Nouvelles métamorphoses mexicaines du *Justo Juez* et de la *Piedra Imán*», in *Les Cultures ibériques en devenir: Essais publiés en hommage à la mémoire de Marcel Bataillon (1985-1997)*, Paris, Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979, 529-535; «Del Justo Juez a la Santa Cruz de Caravaca», *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 85 (1983), 127-135.

73. Manuel da Costa FONTES, «O *Justo Juez* Cristão e a Inquisição em Duas Orações Criptojudaias de Rebordelo», *Hispania*, n° 80 (1997), 108.

74. Ricard, in various of his articles, notes references in Quevedo's *Buscón*, in the second part of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, in Pedro Espinosa's *El perro y la calentura*, in Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez' play *El donado hablador*, etc. José FRADEJAS LEBRERO, «Sobre *La oración del Justo Juez*, un texto desconocido», *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, n° 48 (1993), 289-292, adds a citation in Lope de Vega's play *El niño inocente de la Guardia*. And, we would note that Cipriano de Valera (see note 9, above), maliciously included it among the prayers that *beatas* frequently recommended «entre otras tales supersticiones».

75. While the indications in the Portuguese *Indexes* can also be tracked in Artur Moreira de SÁ, *Índices dos livros proi-*

Tu en el vientre de la virgen de los cielos descendiendo tomaste verdadera carne
visitando este siglo por la tu propia sangre despues del mundo redemido...

for the Latin:

Tu de caelis descendisti virginis in uterum
Unde sumens veram carnem visitasti saeculum
Tuum plasma redimendo sanguinem per proprium.

While other, unoffending translations of the text certainly circulated before the proscriptions and their existence is implied in them⁷⁶, it is that momentarily unfortunate translation, as it comes in the Portuguese *Horas* of 1500 and its source that concerns us here. The phrase in question is given as:

...tomaste verdadeira carne visitado este segre por o teu proprio sangue depois do mundo
remido.

In Portuguese, that reading then passed to the Seville 1522 edition of the *Horas* produced by Jacobo Cromberger⁷⁷, ff. 123r-124v, and eventually –even following its prohibition– to the 1563 Paris edition by Jerome de Marnef, ff. 120v-122r⁷⁸. Fr. João Claro and Luís Fernandes can perhaps be faulted for letting the unfortunate turn of phrase slip by and compromise this Portuguese reading of 1500. Yet, they were not directly responsible for it, as the full Portuguese text is simply a translation from the Spanish that had been published the pervious year in the *Horas* in Spanish, 1499, printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, signatures n6v-n7v:

bidos em Portugal no século XVI, Lisboa, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1983, with important contextual considerations supplied by I. S. RÉVAH, *La censure inquisitoriale portugaise au XVIe Siècle*, Lisboa, Instituto de Alta Cultura (vol. 1), 1960; Raul RÉGO, *Os índices expurgatórios e a cultura portuguesa*, Lisboa, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa (Biblioteca Breve, 61), 1982; and Marcel BATAILLON, *Erasmus y España* (trad. Antonio Alatorre), México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966, we continue to cite, for ease of consultation, Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole* 1984, 518-19; Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole*, 1993, 619; Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise*, 1995, 407: the indicated text being printed in full in Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole*, 1984, 518-19. Alfredo VÍLCHEZ DÍAZ, *Autores y anónimos*, 81, adds note of its inclusion in the Low Countries edition of 1570. José FRADEJAS LEBRERO, «Sobre *La oración del Justo Juez*», offers an expanded reprise of Bujanda's information, with the same text again printed, though the edition in question said to be of Salamanca, in the same year, rather than Seville. The reading seen in the 1524 edition is common to all printings of the work (1511-1553).

76. As examples: João de Barros had printed an acceptably translated prose version in Portuguese in the Lisbon 1539 printing of his *Gramática* (João de BARROS, *Gramática da língua Portuguesa* (ed. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu), Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa/Faculdade de Letras, 1971, 46-47): «tomando verdadeira carne visitaste o mundo / remindo tua feitura per teu proprio sangue». Its inclusion there places it squarely within the basic elements of devotional and instructional use of the period. The reading in the Spanish *Horas de Nuestra Señora* printed in Lyon by Mathias Bonhomme, 1551, ff. 135v-36v, is «tomaste verdadera carne visitando este siglo: y redemiste los pecados por la tu preciosa sangre». The change, in this case, would have allowed the reading to pass, but the edition was prohibited in any event (Jesús Martínez de BUJANDA, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise*, 1995, 492, nº 503).

77. *Horas de nossa senhora segundo o costume romão*, Sevilla, Jacobo Cromberger, 1522 [London, British Library: C.125.a.3]. See BITAGAP, Manid 3419; and Clive GRIFFIN, *The Crombergers of Seville*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988, nº 238.

78. *Horas de Nossa Senhora Romaans*, Paris, Jerome de Marnef, 1563 [Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal: 264], see BITAGAP, Manid 3415; Jacques Le LONG, *Bibliotheca sacra in binos syllabos distincta quorum prior qui jam tertio auctior prodit*, Paris, F. Montalant, 1723, vol. I, 64; and Paul LACOMBE, *Livres d'Heures imprimés au XV et au XVI siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1907 [reprint: Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1963]. The text, in any reading, did not appear in the Portuguese *Horas* done in Paris 1560 by Jean Le Blanc, nor was it printed, as far as one can tell by the «Tavoada», in the Coimbra 1565 edition done by João Álvares. The folios where the text would normally have

...tomaste verdadera carne visitado este siglo por la tu propria sangre despues del mundo redemido.

This Spanish version came to have an extended reprinting life of its own. Beyond being incorporated into the several printings of the *Fasciculus myrrbe* (see our note 75), it was repeated in various editions of the *Horas* in Spanish published both within Spain and abroad: all preceding and leading to the 1559 prohibition⁷⁹.

In any event, in this particular case, the mid-century inquisitorial proscriptions eventually had precisely the effect desired without any real need for further attention. They corrected an «error» and fostered, at the same time, the continued circulation of a prayer otherwise firmly established and valued in both formal and popular devotional use. It came unencumbered in Portuguese, for example, in the *Horas* edition prepared by António Pedrozo Galvão⁸⁰, «visitando a este mundo, e o redimiste com o vosso mui purissimo sangue, que oferecestes em seu resgate» and appeared in yet another, but dependent interpretation, as edited by Carlos do Valle Carneiro⁸¹, «visitado a este mundo, o qual com o vosso purissimo Sangue, que offerecestes por seu resgate, o redemistes».

Roquete's comments suggest that knowledge of Berengar's prayer was to recede, by the mid-years of the following century, to the point where it was no longer immediately recognized by the well-read, except, perhaps, by those who also listened to the blind singers of the popular tradition. The versions gathered by Ricard and Fontes, together with other recent printings⁸² with texts similar to examples printed by Ricard⁸³, show the modern prayers bearing the name to be far distant from the original, transformed, both in prose and in verse, into an entirely different level of communal culture. Berengar's piece, nevertheless, stands behind them all and had served, unaltered, as a standard and integral piece of devotional use in the Peninsula for well over 400 years.

been printed in the 1565 edition are missing from both known, incomplete, copies. Its absence in these two late printings may have resulted from the recent 1559 proscription. But, at least in the specific case of that of 1560, it seems to have had more to do with lack of space in what was, in effect, the main corpus of the book itself than with other matters. To avoid confusion concerning the *Horas* edition of Coimbra, 1565, we note in passing that the portions of it held by The Hispanic Society and those held by the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, at times overlapping, are indeed from different copies of the same edition, 1565. Jean PEETERS-FONTAINAS, «Horas de Nossa Senhora. Coimbra, 1565», *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Ano 2, nº 5 (1956), 31-38, described the leaves now held by The Hispanic Society and briefly discussed those in the Biblioteca Nacional, thought at the time to be of Coimbra, 1563, expanding on information originally announced by MANUEL II, King of Portugal, *Livros Antigos Portuguezes 1489-1600 da bibliotheca de sua Majestade Fidelissima*, Londres, Maggs Bros, 1929-1935, vol. II, 670-73. And, in this general context, simply to complete notes on the «known» editions of *Horas* in Portuguese, we have been unable to track the purported issue of Paris, 1555 (Francisco Xavier de OLIVEIRA, *Memoires historiques, politiques, et litteraires, concernant le Portugal (...)*, La Haie, Adrien Moetjens, 1743, vol. II, 378; R. FRANCISQUE-MICHEL, *Les Portugais en France*, 120; and Francisco Marques de Sousa VITERBO, *A Livraria Real especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel*, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia, 1901, 46 and 48).

79. Those we have seen: Paris, Kerver, 1502, signatures o6r-o7r; Paris, Higman for Vostre, ca. 1510, signatures o8r-p1r; Sevilla, Cromberger, 1537, ff. 209v-211r; and Paris, Viuda de Kerver, 1540, signatures m3r-m4r.

80. *Horas Portuguezas e Manual d'Orações*, Lisboa, António Pedrozo Galvão, 1619, 309-312 [Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra: R-34-32].

81. *Horas Portuguezas do Officio da V. N. Senhora e Ramalete Manual de diversas Orações* (ed. Carlos do Valle Carneiro), Lisboa, Francisco Borges de Sousa, 1767, 498-501.

82. *Oração do Justo Juiz*, Porto, Casa Nun'Álvares, n.d. (2000?).

83. Robert RICARD, «Pour l'étude», 38-39, notes 7 and 8.

APPENDIX

The *Oração da Empardeada*[*Livro de Horas de Nossa Senhora*, Paris, 1500, signatures o7v-p8r]

NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION:

We have opened, without marking, all standard abbreviations, save the tilde over a vowel. Other particular forms are resolved guided by full examples in the text (‘jhũ xpõ’ > Jhesu Christo; ‘sctã/sctõ’ > sancta/o; ‘snõr’ > senhor; ‘x̃p̃u’ > spiritu). Joined words are separated (‘demanhãa’ > de manhã) or supplied with an apostrophe (‘darlhey’ > darlh’ey; ‘dauer’ > d’auer). Separated words are rejoined (‘acae çeo’ > acaeçeo). The *caldeirão* is given as ¶ and the *signo tironiano*, used as the simple conjunction, as *e*. We have supplied capitals for all names and replaced the original punctuation with a minimum of modern use. Page changes are marked, but original line distribution is not maintained.

We have not marked momentary textual divergencies between the 1500 and the later small pamphlet printing (abbreviations, etc., due principally to the transfer to a smaller format of specifically limited leaves). The footnotes record, however, a number of differences of general interest between the two or of importance for questions of language priority [PP = pamphlet printing].

[o7v] ¶ Ha muy sancta e deuota oraçam da empardeada.

[o8r]

HUũa molher que era empardeada e eçarrada e hũa çella solitaria e hũa fera montanha que he na terra de Roma, a qual fazia muy sancta vida e cobiçaua muyto saber quantas forõ as chaguas que Nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo regebeo no seu corpo, e cõ mujta deuoçã rogaua a Nosso Senhor que lhas reuellasse. E Nosso Sêhor lhe apareceu e lhe disse: Molher, sabe que as chaguas que eu regebij forõ seys mill e seys çentas e sasenta⁸⁴ e seys. Porem eu te digo se por reuerência dellas por espaço de hũu anno comprido qualquer pessoa que esta oraçõ rezar ou disser com quinze vezes ho pater noster e quinze vezes ho [sic] aue maria cada dia hũa vez, ou ha fezer rezar se nom souber leer, ou a trouer cõsygo rezando estes quinze pater nosteres cõ quinze aue marias e offereçẽdohas aa hõrra e reuerença da mĩha payxam, eu lhe outorgo que em fim do anno lhe sejam liuradas das penas do purgatorio quinze almas da sua geeraçom e linhagem, as que elle quiser e me pedir, e mais outras quinze de seus parentes que sejã trahidas e estado de graça e cõfirmadas em bõas obras. E ho que ha rezar ou ha fezer rezar ou ha trouer cõsigo rezã- [> o8v] do os quinze pater nosteres cõ quinze aue marias, como dicto he, auera ho primeyro graao da perfeiçã e auera cõheçimẽto e contriçam de seus pecados. E ho que esta oraçam deuotamente cõprir todo hũu anno comprido, darlh’ei quinze dias antes da sua morte a comer ho meu sãctissimo corpo, o qual ho ljuurara da fame⁸⁵ pera sempre. E darlh’ei a beber ho meu precioso sangue cõ ho qual nunca auera sede. E porey dyãte delle ho synal da Vera Cruz, que seja sua defensam cõtra todos seus jnmijgos. Outrosy, eu vinrey⁸⁶ cõ a mĩha muy amada madre Virgẽ Sancta Maria pera sua morte e regeberey ha sua alma muy benynamẽte e leuarla hey aos prazeres perduraees e quãdo ha eu leuar darlh’ey a beber hũu singular beber da fonte da minha diuijnidade, o qual eu nom ha darei aos que esta oraçõ nom comprirẽ. Outrosy, qualquer pessoa que estouer em pecado mortal ajnda que aja .xxx. annos que se nõ aja confessado, e se cõfessar cõ amarga cõtriçam e esta oraçom cõprir, eu lhe perdoarey todos seus pecados, e ho liurarey do poderio de justiça e do diaboo, e de toda maa temptaçã, e lhe guardarey os seus çinco sentidos corpo- [> p1r] raaes, e sera liure de morte subitanea, e guardarei a sua alma das penas infernaaes e lhe perdoarey todollos seus pecados quantos elle fez desde ho primeiro dia em que naço atee ho dia que esta oraçã tomar. E por a graça de Deus sera melhor que d’antes era. E

84. «sasenta». PP, given as «setẽta», f. 1v.

85. «fame». PP, altered to «fome», f. 2v. Both forms co-existed, however, in medieval Portuguese.

86. «vinrey». PP, altered to «virey», f. 2v. A reflex of «vendrẽ»? Again, both forms co-existed in medieval Portuguese.

qualquer cousa que me pedir que justa seja e aa Virgem Maria minha madre lhe sera outorgada e fazerlho ey viuer em bõas virtudes e em bõa vida e guardarlho ey todollos dias de sua vida, assy como se sempre viuera aa minha voontade. E se de manhã ouuesse de morrer, eu lhe alargarey a vida e em fim de seus dias o leuarey ao meo regno perdurauel. E mais seja çerto que sera ajûtado ao coro dos angeos. E qualquer que esta oraçõ emsynar ou a demostrar que a rezem ou façã rezar, eu lhe darey ã este mûdo prazer e no outro bõo galardõ pera sempre, ho qual nõ lhe minguara, mais pera sempre lhe creçera. E a dõde quer que esta oraçõ esteuer ou se leer, eu guardarey aaquella casa e liurarey aquella cõpanha, como liurey a Sam Pedro das hondas do mar. Porẽ tu, homẽ ou molher, como sejas pecador, tomæ deuotamẽte esta oraçã e rezaa ou mãdayha rezar a reuerença da [> p1v] minha payxam e por pouco trabalho aueras grande galardõ. E ha oraçom he esta que se segue.

O Jhesu Christo, dolçidõoe perdurauel allegrya dos que te amã em ty, Senhor, es de todo prazer e de todo amor. E tu, Senhor, es saude e amator dos pecadores que se cõfessam a ty. E tu, Senhor, es feyto Deus e homẽ. E as tuas riquezas repartes cõ os filhos dos homẽes em ho fim do mundo. Lembrate, Senhor, daquelle pensamento e muy nobre choro que tu ouueste em ha tua carne humana desde ho começo da tua sanctissima conçeçcam mayormẽte em ho tẽpo da tua muy saudosa payxom, a qual te estaua aparelhada ã ho coraçõ diuinal desde ho começo do mûdo. Lembrate, Senhor, da tristeza e amargura, desmayo e door que em ha tua alma sentiste quãdo tu mesmo em ha postumeira çea ho teu sanctissimo corpo e muy preçiosa sangue aos teus discipollos deste e os seus pees lauaste muy doçemente consoandoos e a tua muy sancta payxom que era por vijr lhes reuelaste e disseste. Lembrate, Senhor, dos temores e angustias e doores que tu ouueste e [> p2r] padeçeste em ho teu muj sanctissimo e delicado corpo, ante da tua muy nobre e cõsagrada payxom, quando despois que tres vezes oraste e suor de sangue suaste, e da gẽte que tu muyto amauas fueste traydo e tomado, e de falsos testimũhos acusado, e de tres juyres [*sic*] maliciosamente julgado em aquella çidade escolhida em ho tempo da pascoa florida, e em a juentude do teu corpo sem culpa eres trado⁸⁷ e atormentado, cospido e escarnheçido, de tua propia vestidura foste despido e de vestiduras alheas vestido, e reçebeste muytas boffetadas, e foste em hũua colũna atado e muy cruelmente açoutado, e d'espinhos coroadado, e ha tua preciosa face e os teus olhos cõ veos cuberta, e com hũua cãna em a cabeça foste ferido e desonrrado, e de outros muytos tormentos, ãjurias e doestos, que nõ se podem dizer, tanto atormẽtado e vituperado. Senhor, eu te rogo que em memoria daquestas payxõoes e tormẽtos que tu ouueste ãte da tua payxam da tua muy sancta e Vera Cruz, me des ante da minha morte verdadeyra cõfissam, e pura cõtriçã, e digna satisfaçã de todos os meos pecados, com firme proposito de nunca mais [> p2v] pecar, e comprida remissam e ha vida perdurauel em ho outro mundo. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, verdadeyra voontade dos angeos, tu, Senhor, que es parayso de riquezas, lembrate, senhor Jhesu Christo, dos medos e espantos que tu auias quãdo teus jmijgos assy como lyõoes muy cruees te çercarom e te aboffetearõ e te escopiã e escarnheçiã e te messauam e te deziã pallauras enganosas e enjuriosas e como te açoutauam tam cruelmẽte e outros muytos tormentos cruees, que nom se podiam dizer, te atormẽtauã e deshonnrauã por as quaaes cousas te affligiam todos teus jmijgos. Senhor, eu te rogo por todas estas cousas que me liures de todos meus jmijgos vesiuees e nom vesiuees e me des defendimento e saude perdurauel so a soombra das tuas aas. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, fazedor do mûdo, tu que es sem começo e sem fim, tu, Senhor, que todo ho mundo tẽes e emçarras em tua mãao, lembrate de aquella muy amargosa door que tu ouueste quando te punhã em ho lenho da Vera Cruz, e as tuas sanctissimas [> p3r] mãaos emcrauarõ, e os teus muy delicados pees foradarõ, e door sobre door te acreçentarom quando teus mẽbros descõjũtarõ em tal maneyra que nenhũu delles nõ ficou em seu proprio lugar. Senhor, eu te rogo que por memoria deste muy sanctissimo e muy amargoso door teu que tu em a Cruz sentiste que me des em este mundo o teu temor e ã ho outro ho teu amor. Amẽ. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, fisico çellestial, lẽbrate da fraqueza e desmayo e door que tu, estando posto no madeyro da Vera Cruz, padeçeste quando todos os teus mẽbros te atormentarõ e desconjuntarom em tal maneyra que nenhũu delles nõ ficou em seu primeyro lugar, em tal maneyra que nunca foy dolor samelhante a tua, porque, Senhor, desde a pranta dos pees ataa a cabeça nõ foy em ty saude. E tu, Senhor, nõ te lembrando

87. «trado». PP, corrected to «tirado», f. 5v.

de tâtas doores, angustias e tormẽtos como padeçeste, quiseste rogar ao Padre por teus imijos, que muy piadosamente disseste: Padre perdoalhes, que nõ sabem ho q̃ fazem. Rogote, Senhor piadoso, por esta misericordia e piedade que tu com elles oueuste, e por a memoria desta tam doorosa [> p3v] affiçom e angustia, que a rrelembraça da tua muy benyna e muy sanctissima e dolorosa payxam sempre tenga⁸⁸ eu em ho meu coraçam, porque por ella aya⁸⁹ plenaria remissam. Amẽ. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, virtude de todo em todo, lembrate, Senhor, que por nos outros pecadores desde em çima da cabeça atee a prãta dos pees foste banhado em sangue da tua payxom. Senhor, eu te rogo que por a grande multidõo das tuas chagas que me ensynes ẽ verdadeira caridade ho teu grãde mandamẽto. Amẽ. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, fondura de grande misericordia e piedade, eu te rogo, Senhor, por a multidõoe das tuas chaguas, as quaaes traspasaram a carne, e ho miollo dos teus ossos e as tuas ẽtradhanhas, a my medito em pecado, metas e escõdas em a faz da terra, em as folgãças das tuas chaguas, atee que passe a tua sanha. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, esperãça da misericordia e de virtude, sinal de vidade, liuramento de caridade, lembrate, Senhor, da multidõoe das tuas chagas das quaaes desde ẽ çima da cabeça ataa a pranta dos [> p4r] teus pees foste chagado, e dos maluados judeos sem nenhũa piedade cruelmente açoutado e atormẽtado, e da tua muy preciosa sangue todo encuberto. Senhor, eu te rogo que por a grande multidõoe dos doores que em a tua sanctissima virginal carne que por nos outros soffriste, que escreuas todas as tuas chaguas ẽ ho meu coraçom com ha muy preciosa sangue tua, porque eu leea em ellas e eu synta ho teu door e ho amor leall, que quãdo eu as leer ataa ho fim da minha vida em tua sancta graça possa perseuerar pera sempre, e a caridade da tua diuindade de me nom parte jamais⁹⁰. Amẽ. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, verdadeyra vide⁹¹, tu eres nosso Senhor que todo ho mundo emçarras em a tua mãao. Lembrate, Senhor, do derramamento do teu sangue, ho qual do teu corpo sayo assy como de azeo de huuas esprimidas abastadamente derramaste estando na Vera Cruz polla lançada do caualleyro que ferio o teu sancto costado, polla qual nos deste sangue e agoa ẽ tal maneira que em todo teu corpo nõ ficou nẽhũa gota de sangue, e a tua delicada carne desfalleço, e ho liquor das tuas ẽ- [> p4v] tranhas se secou, e os myolhos dos teus ossos se enxugarõ, por esta muy amargosa payxom tua, e pollo derramamẽto do teu precioso sangue te rogo, douçe Jhesu Christo, que chagues ho meu coraçom porque as lagrimas da peendença e do teu amor me seja mãjar de noyte e de dia. Senhor, torne me de todo a ty, porque ho meu coraçã seja sempre tua morada e a minha cõuersaçom seja a ty apraziuell, pera que despoys do termo desta vida te mereça louuar com os teus sanctos anjos perdurauellmente. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria graçia.

O Jhesu Christo, espelho da perdurauell claridade, lembrate daquelle muy nobre choro que tu oueuste quando te oulhaste em ho spelho da muy esclreçida magestade tua e viste a grande multidõo e ha predestinaçã dos teus escolhidos, que por os mereçimentos da tua muy sanctissima paixom se auiam de saluar, e viste a perdiçam muy grande dos malos, que auia de seer cõdenados. E polla grande misericordia e piedade tua, te doeste dos desamparados pecadores e mayormente do ladrõ estãdo ẽ ha Vera Cruz, quando lhe disseste: Oje seras comigo ẽ o parayso. Por esta sãctissi- [> p5r] ma piedade e misericordia que com elle oueuste, te rogo, piadoso Senhor, que tu faças comygo esta misericordia que em a hora da minha morte quãdo mĩha alma sayr nõ me desẽpares. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, rey muy amado amigo todo desejado, lembrate daquelle choro que tu oueuste quando desuestido e muy miserauelmẽte ẽ ha Cruz sobista e os teus amigos e teus escolhidos forõ contra ty e nõ achauas quẽ te consollasse, se nõ tua muy prezada e amada madre senhora Virgẽ Maria, que fielmẽte foy firme em a tua payxom. E por aquella tristeza e door que tu oueuste quando ao teu discipollo ha encomẽdaste e lhe disseste: Molher ex ho teu filho e a sam Johã ex a tua madre, rogote, piadoso Sẽhor, pello cuytello das doores que a tua alma trespassou, que tu ajas cõ payxõ em todas minhas tribullações e tormen-

88. «tenga». PP, corrected to «tenha», f. 8r.

89. «aya». PP, corrected to «aja», f. 8r.

90. «jamais». PP, given as «jamas», f. 9r, and noted by Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis», as indication of an underlying Spanish text.

91. «vide». PP, mistakenly altered to «vida», f. 9r, reflected in Carrasco González' translation: Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis», 42.

tos e tẽptações e afflições, assy corporaaes como espirituaaes, e dayme, Senhor, consollaçã em todo tempo da minha tribullaçam. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, virtude real allegria dos que te amã, lembrate, Senhor, da angustia que tu padeçeste quando polla amar- [> p5v] gura e angustia da morte com grande voz chamaste: Hely, hely, hely, lamazabatani, que quer dizer, Deus meu, porque me deseparaste. Eu te rogo, Senhor, por esta angustia que me nõ desempares em as angustias da minha morte. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, fõte de grãde piedade, tu, que por affectu⁹² de grande amor, disseste na Cruz: Hey sede .s. da saude do humanal linhagẽ. Cumpre, Senhor, nosso desejo aa toda obra acabada, ca tu disseste: Cobiçey ho desejo da cõcupiscençia. Mata, Senhor, ho desejo da mũdanal deleytaçõ em nos outros. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, dulçidõoe dos corações e mansidõoe das vootades polla amargura do fel e do vinagre que por nos outros em a Vera Cruz gostaste, tu nos da em a hora da nossa morte ho teu sanctissimo corpo e sacratissimo sangue teu que ho reçebamos dignamẽte por remedio e consollaçom das nossas almas. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, respandor vnigenito do muy alto Padre e figura da sua substancia, lembrate, Senhor, da ãcomenda que fezeste ao Padre quãdo lhe o teu spiritu ã- [> p6r] comendaste e disseste: Padre ã as tuas mãos emcomendo ho meu spiritu. E ho corpo atormẽtado e ho coraçom rompido cõ grandes vozes demonstrando as tuas chagas com ho teu muy precioso sangue pera nos saluar assi espiraste. Eu te rogo, Senhor, por esta preciosissima morte e payxom tua que me cõfortes e esforcees pera que eu possa resistir ao dyaboo e ao mundo e aa carne, porque, despoys que eu seja morto no mũdo, viua diante ty, e na postumeyra hora da minha morte me reças no teu regno e ho meu spiritu desterrado e peregrino pera sempre more comtygo. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O Jhesu Christo, lyom muy forte, rey nom mortal e nõ vençido, lembrate, Senhor, do desmayo, angustia e door que tu padeçeste quando todas has forças do teu corpo e do teu coraçõ em ha hora da tua sanctissima e preciosa payxom desfalleçerom e cõ a cabeça inclinada disseste: Acabado he. Eu te rogo, Senhor, por esta angustia e door teu que oueste que nom me desmpares ã as angustias da minha morte, quando a mĩha alma se aqueyxa e ho meu spiritu se cõtoruar. Amẽ. Pater Noster. Aue Maria. [> p6v]

HUũ millagre que acaçeo logo como esta oraçom foy reuellada em aquella mõtanha onde estaua aquesta empardeada. Auia hũu jrmitãao amigo de Jhesu Christo, o qual a ãpardeada reuellou aquesta oraçom, assy como Nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo lhe tinha reuellado a ella. E ho sancto jrmitãao, logo como soube ysto, foye e cõtouha a abadessa e aas suas jrmãas e freyras. E como a abadessa esto ouiuo, foy ella muy allegre e mandou logo espressamente a todallas jrmãas do seu moesteyro que a rezassem cõ muy grande reuerença e deuaçõ. E algũuas daquellas freyras a rezauã cõ a abadessa cõ bõa deuaçõ e outras a rezauã, nõ porque creiã ser verdade nem mentira, mas dizendo que se lhes aproueitasse se nõ, no perderiam nada. Outras a rezauã por ser obediẽtes aa abadesa, mas nõ porque ellas creessem ser verdade. E despoys desto, estando hũu dia orando ho jrmitãao, foy areuatado vesiuamente e foy leuado a hũu fremoso câpo de flores pollo qual vinha hũu rio muy deleytable⁹³ e fremoso, em ho qual rio auia tam graciosas aruores e floridas heruas, que nom ha'y⁹⁴ pessoa que ho dizer podesse. E vio em aquelle cam- [> p7r] po todo o cõuento daquellas freyras. E a abadessa e aquellas que esta oraçõ cõ muyta deuaçom deziam, creendo que era assy, estauam a par do rio e auia aquelle deleyte e folgura que ahy se podia veer. E⁹⁵ as outras, que ha rezauam duuidando se lhes aproueytaria, estauã em aquelle câpo, mais arredadas do ryo e nom gostauã de aquelle deleyte assy compridamente como as outras. E as que ha rezauã nõ cõ tal deuaçom, se nõ cõ tal tençam por serem obediẽtes aa abadessa, estauã em aquelle campo muyto mais arredadas do ryo em tal maneyra que nom auia tãto deleyte como as outras. Mas Nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo, que he tam piadoso nom olhando a todos nos-

92. «affectu». PP, given as «feito», f. 10v.

93. «deleytable». PP, corrected to «deleitauel», f. 15r.

94. «ha'y». 1500, «hay». PP, «ay». Both standing for the «nom ha hi pessoa» phrase common in medieval Portuguese hagiographic texts.

95. «E as outras...» through «...como as outras». These two sentences of the 1500 reading were converted into three in PP, f. 14r-v; by juggled recombination and repetition: the garbling noted by Juan M. CARRASCO GONZÁLEZ, «Análisis», 51-52, note 30.

sos pecados nõ quer que ajamos mal sem causa nem bem sem galardom, daualhes aquelle deleyte ajnda que nom compridamẽte como aas outras. E despoys desto, estando ho jrmitãao em sua çella orando, ouuio hũu arroydo tam grãde que lhe parecia que todo aquella môtanha estremeçia e se trastornasse e os aruores com sus rayzes se arrancauam. E ho jrmitãao, espantado, sayose da çella pera veer que poderia ser aquello. E vio e conheço que era grande [> p7v] multidõo e companha de dyaboos. E scõjurou a hũu delles que lhe dissesse porque faziã tam grãde arroydo. E ho dyabo respondeolhe e disse: Porque em esta montanha moraua hũua molher emcantadeyra e muy pallaureyra, a qual tinha ganhado do Nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo por hũa oraçõ a elle muyto apraziuell. Polla qual nos auemos reçevidos muy grande perdiçõ e nõ ha podemos cobrar nõ dizer. Porque por esta oraçom nos quita aquellas almas que ante tinhamos ganhadas pera nosso poder e nos quitara daqui em diãte mujtas outras que podessemos auer. E sabe que no mũdo nom ha cousa com que tâto prazer faça a Deus como em rezar esta oraçom e a nos outros tâ grande pesar. E mais te digo que donde esta oraçom esteuer nõ aueram medo dos relãpagos nõ tẽpestades, nõ de morte subitanea. E des que esto ouuio ho jrmitãao, fojse logo ao moesteyro e cõtouho aa abadessa e aas freyras. E des que ysto ouuirõ, todas dahy tẽ diante cõ muyta deuaçã e reuere_ça cõprirom e rezarom esta sancta oraçõ com firme esperãça d'auer por ella grãde galardom e ouuerõ de Deus todo ho que quiserõ e acabarom seus dias muy sanctamente.

¶ As indulgẽças e perdõoes da sobredicta oraçom. [> p8r]

HO sancto padre Nicolao papa quinto outorgou a qualquer pessoa que esta sobredicta oraçõ rezar cada dia, segũdo dito he, por cada vez que ha dissere, .xx. annos e xx.⁹⁶ quorẽtenas de perdõ. E mais lhes outorga tãtas quorẽtenas de perdom quantas gotas de sangue sayrõ do corpo de Nosso Remijdor e Saluador Jhesu Christo, que forõ treynta e noue mill e .cccc.⁹⁷ e .xxx. gotas de sangue, que, do seu corpo por nos outros, derramou.

¶ E no cabo do ano, aquelle que ha assy cõprir e rezar, segũdo dicto he, ha mandar dizer hũa missa do officio da sancta Vera Cruz e logo todo quanto em ella se contẽ, lhe sera outorgado, per elle meesmo Sêhor Jhesu Christo, que viue e regna cõ Deo [sic] Padre e Sancto Spiritu por todollos segres. Amen.

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96. «xx» and «xx». PP, both figures increased to «xxx», f. 16v.

97. «cccc». PP, reduced to «ccc», f. 16v.

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ADDENDUM

The text of this article was accepted by the editors of the journal *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* in late 2000 for publication in its issue number 6. In the absence of the release of that issue, it is offered here and we also note especially that in the interim:

1. It was retouched, in early 2002, at the point of conversion to the Euro of the quoted price of the contemporary Portuguese printings of the *Empardeada* prayers.

2. Juan M. Carrasco González has published an important and informative supplement to his original 1997 study: «A *Oração da Emparedada* da Biblioteca de Barcarrota», *Veredas. Revista da Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas*, nº 4 (Dec. 2001), 173-81. In it he suggests that the Barcarrota pamphlet printing of the prayers might possibly have been done by Germão Galharde «nos anos 20 do séc. XVI» (174) and from a source other than the Paris 1500 printing (177-78). While for the moment we continue to view the piece as the product of a Spanish printer, most probably in Seville in the late 1530's or the 1540's and as prepared from the Paris 1500 text, the suggestions are pertinent and worth pursuing.

3. As regards the facsimile editions of the Barcarrota collection discussed in note 2. The fourth in the series, Tricasso of Mantua's *Super Chyromantiam Coclytis Dillucidationes Praeclarissima* [1525], has been published by Eustaquio Sánchez Salor and Elisa Ruiz García, 2 vols (one of facsimile and one of study): Mérida, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2000. And, the fifth, the *Opera Chiamata Confusione della Setta Macbumatana*, of Juan Andrés, originally published in 1543, has been released, accompanied by a companion volume of studies by Elisa Ruiz García and Maria Isabel García-Monge, Mérida, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003.

4. On the second of the prayers, the *Oração de S. Leão Papa*, see also the recently published article by Elisa Ruiz García and Isabel García-Monge, «Una muestra de religiosidad popular: la oración de San León», *Memoria Ecclesiae*, nº 20 (2002), 581-96.

5. In note 76 we spoke of João de Barros' inclusion of the translated *Justo Juiz* in the Lisbon 1539 printing of his *Gramática*. From another Barros text, the initial edition, Lisbon 1540, of his *Diálogo em louvor da nossa linguagem*, we should also have recorded, earlier, a mention of the *Empardeada*. With the phrase «mais corrêtes q̃ hũ cego na oraçã da ãparedada», he offhandedly attests the extent to which the prayer was known in Portugal of the period, where it had come to serve as part of the standard repertory of alms seekers (Barros, 175). We are particularly appreciative to our colleague Ana Martínez Pereira (Universidade do Porto) for calling this further and significant attestation to our attention.

6. The eleventh edition of the contemporary Portuguese printings of *The Fifteen O's* (see BRIDGET, *As Quinze Orações e os Sete Pai Nossos de Santa Brígida*, Lisboa, Editorial Minerva, 2000) was released in January of 2003 and may be had, at least in Lisbon, for the same 35 céntimos as the 10th.

7. And, finally (April, 2004), Manuel Cadafaz de Matos has recently published a major study, *Os emparedados em Portugal na Idade Média e nos começos da Idade Moderna*, Lisboa, Távola Redonda, 2004, which contains a new facsimile edition and transcription of the Barcarrota pamphlet.