

DETERMINING KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF A GRADUAL ON PRIVATE LOAN TO
THE MATHIS GALLERY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE

by

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ABSTRACT

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Under the Supervision of Dr. Richard Leson

The research presented in this thesis seeks to answer questions about the patronage, dating, and location of origin of a Gradual, given on private loan, to the Mathis Gallery at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The Gradual's chant text and illuminations were used to identify the various feast days of the Sanctorale within the liturgical manuscript. The identification of certain feast days and their locations within the Sanctorale, like Saint Joachim's feast day being located after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, point towards a *terminus post quem* of 1738, due to Pope Clement XII moving Saint Joachim's feast day after the Assumption in 1738. The inclusion of a wide variety of Franciscan Feast Days, like the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint John of Capistrano, and Saint Didacus all point towards a Franciscan patronage within the manuscript, along with the fact that three of the seven large illuminations are Franciscan in subject matter. The inclusion of Jesuit-related saints and imagery, Italian-inspired script, and Italian-style buildings in illuminations imply a location of origin in Italy.

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Introduction

The subject of this thesis is an unpublished, privately owned Gradual manuscript recently lent to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee's Mathis Art Gallery for study purposes. Because so little is known about the Gradual, it is hoped that any information gleaned from this study will be of use to the book's owner and add to the greater body of knowledge about liturgical manuscripts. To this end, this study draws on textual and iconographic evidence to provide a clearer picture of the manuscript's date and place of origin. The aim is to shed some light on where the Gradual was made, its illuminator and scribe, and the process of its creation.

Description of Manuscript Structure and Contents

Graduals are a type of manuscript that originated in the Roman Catholic Church. They contain the proper chants for the Mass. They are specifically used by the cantor (chanter) and for this reason they do not contain chants sung by a priest or bishop.¹ This Gradual comprises 131 paginated parchment leaves decorated with 64 illuminations.² Of the illuminations, seven are large historiated letters. Each is two chant lines tall and depicts a Christian subject such as Christ, the Virgin Mary, or a Saint. The remaining 57 initials are smaller at one chant line tall. Some of these smaller initials contain Christian figures and scenes, but most consist of floral imagery.³ Each leaf of the Gradual consists of a text block comprising six lines of chant. Above each line of chant text are the staves with chant notation. Staves were depicted in red with the notes in

¹David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon and Oxford University Presses, 1993), 287-296.

² The manuscript is paginated rather than foliated.

³ The whole of the manuscript's illuminations is listed in Appendix I.

black, the latter like most of the text. Red ink was also used to write the rubrics and to highlight the first letters of some important words, usually the beginning of Alleluias, introits, and sequences. Blue ink was also used to highlight the first words of some text after rubricated sections. It seems as if pencil was used to outline where the letters were supposed to be written, as there are still unfinished letters with pencil markings on them. The images are hand painted, perhaps following examples from a model book. This is suggested by the two extremely similar images of Saint Francis of Assisi located at different points in the Gradual as well as the repetitious appearance of similar letter forms possibly made using a stencil. These clues will be discussed more in detail later in this paper.

The Gradual has two main textual components. The first is the Sanctorale (pp. 1-152), which contains the chants for important feast days. The feasts of the Sanctorale are in chronological order, starting with the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order on November 29th. A Gradual beginning with this feast day is unusual, as such manuscripts usually begin with the Feast Day of All Saint's Day on November 1st. Afterwards, the feasts cycle through the entire calendar year, ending with the martyr Pope Clement I on 23 November. **Tables I and II** give the complete complement of the Gradual's feasts. The text for each feast day consists of an introit, psalm, responsorial, offertory, and communion antiphon, all of which were sung by the choir during different parts of the Mass. The feasts are neither numbered nor titled with rubricated text. The latter is especially unusual. Evidently, the expectation was that those who used the manuscript would orient themselves with the familiar introits and accompanying chanted parts of the mass for any given day. Within the text for each feast the different components are noted by rubricated abbreviations (**In**, **ps**, **Xv**, **off**, **co**). The Sanctorale is followed by the Gradual's second part, the Common of Saints (pp. 153-251), which consists of

standardized chants employed for more general feast days. The Gradual's users would consult the Commons for an appropriate, if generic, chant for those calendar days when no feast was celebrated. Finally, page 252 consists of a page of blank chant staves.

The Illuminations

An essential feature of this Gradual is its many illustrations; these elevate the text and highlight important introits and versicles within the manuscript. In this section, the key elements of the painted saints and holy figures will be described, along with any points of interest about these images.

The first image in the Gradual is that of Saint Francis of Assisi on page 1 (**fig. 1**). We know this image is a saint due to the yellow, glowing halo surrounding his head and the inclusion of a brown hooded habit with a rope belt, the latter an “emblem of a beast subdued... this was the light in which St. Francis considered the body when subjected to the spirit.”⁴ The habit and belt confirm that this saint is a Franciscan brother, but the feature that confirms his identity as Saint Francis of Assisi is his stigmata, seen on both hands, as Francis was known to have stigmata in imitation of Jesus's own stigmata from his crucifixion.⁵ Saint Francis holds what looks like a Patriarchal Cross or Cross of Lorraine in one hand, with a codex in the other, probably the Gospels.

The next major illumination in the Gradual is that of the Virgin Mary on page 7 (**fig. 2**), possibly based on images of Mary as the Immaculate Conception. This model of the Virgin Mary

⁴ Clara Erskine Clement, *A Handbook of Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints as Illustrated in Art*, ed. Katherine E. Conway (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886), 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

is based on the woman of the Apocalypse in Revelation 12. She is often portrayed as a younger girl wearing blue, red, and white with the bright light of the sun around her with a crown of stars (representing the twelve stars from Revelation). Unlike the image in the Gradual, images of the Immaculate Conception usually include the Virgin Mary standing on the moon, holding her hands together in prayer with her hair down. This lack of the moon in the image is especially unusual, considering the fact that by the iconography had been fixed in artistic traditions, like the Spanish one, by the end of the sixteenth century.⁶ It could have something to do with the fact that the “proliferation of images of the Immaculate Conception in painting...in the early decades of the seventeenth century... [were] a means of propaganda,” and this image was created much later, therefore not being bound to as specific propaganda-related iconographical constraints.⁷ It appears that there is some inspiration from the image of Mary as the Immaculate Conception, due to the traits listed above that are shared with the image in the Gradual, especially because this image accompanies the introit or start of the chants for the Feast Day of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.⁸

On page 26 (**fig. 7**) is an unusual illumination of the Christ Child: he is wrapped in swaddling clothes, wrapped by gold bands with silver motifs decorating the clothes, with the word GESV, the Italian form of Jesus, written on the most upper section of the clothing, between two gold bands. We can only see the head, neck, and shoulders of the child, who has blonde hair and a cruciform halo surrounding his head.

⁶ Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 140.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁸ *A Handbook of Christian Symbols*, 209-211.

A focus on the Christ Child in swaddling clothes by religious people has been seen since medieval times. One example of this is Saint Bridget of Sweden's vision (1371-72) of the Christ Child being birthed by the Virgin Mary and her dedication to various clothing articles said to be worn by the Virgin Mary and Christ. The saint's writings about this vision focused not only on the birth of Christ, but also the pieces of cloth Mary brought with her when she was ready to give birth. According to Saint Bridget of Sweden, Mary "drew out two small cloths of linen and two of wool, very clean and finely woven, which she carried with her to wrap the infant that was to be born... and laid these cloths beside her that she might use them in due time."⁹ This account shows the importance of the preparation for Christ's birth, but according to Mary Dzon they also foreshadow "the strips of fabric used to shroud the dead Christ."¹⁰ In chapter 7.15 of the saint's *Revelaciones*, she refers to the wrapping of Jesus in his burial shrouds as a reversed image of the his swaddling at birth.¹¹ Saint Bridget's visions influenced imagery of the Christ Child, including him "lying on the ground, with rays of light emanating from him."¹² This description mirrors the picture seen of the Christ Child in the Gradual, and is an example of the imagery which the makers of the Gradual may have been inspired by. Bridget of Sweden was also a Third Order Franciscan before starting her own order, so there may even be a direct link between the patrons of the Gradual, this specific image of Christ, and Bridget of Sweden.¹³

⁹ Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones: Bok VII*, ed. Birger Bergh (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), ch 21, 188.

¹⁰ Mary Dzon, "Brigitta of Sweden and Christ's Clothing," in *The Christ Child in Medieval Culture: Alpha es et O!*, ed. Mary Dzon and Theresa M. Kenney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 121.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹² *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³ Ruth Meyer, "Brigid of Sweden," Bartholomew's World, The Medieval Thought Project, Stanford University, accessed August 6, 2024, <https://bartholomew.stanford.edu/authors/brigid.html>.

It is known that Saint Bridget of Sweden's visions have a link to Franciscan spirituality, as there was much debate about Saint Francis of Assisi's order's radical views on extreme poverty. Some Franciscans explained that this poverty came directly from Jesus, as they claimed that he never owned any material possessions. Others in the Catholic Church were not so convinced of this, and there was even a papal bull, *Cum inter nonnullos*, issued on November 12, 1323 by Pope John XXII, that denied that Christ never owned any possessions of his own. Saint Bridget's visions of Mary in chapter 7 of her *Revelaciones* are addressed to a Franciscan friar, Peter of Trastevere, who was concerned about the papal bull by explaining that he should follow his superiors in living in an impoverished state, but that "Pope John XXII was not a heretic with regard to his denial of the proposition that Christ never owned anything."¹⁴ While the Gradual was made long after these debates, the inclusion of the infant child in swaddling clothing within may allude to those early debates about Christ and his poverty by inclusion of iconography related to Saint Bridget of Sweden's revelations about his birth. At the same time, it could also be a reference Jesuit spirituality that was so common in Italy shown by the inclusion Christ's name 'GESV' on his swaddling clothes. This focus on Jesuit spirituality in the Gradual will be discussed later within this paper.

Page 83 (**fig. 21**) contains an illustration of a saint embracing the Christ Child; he has a halo while wearing a brown hooded habit with a knotted rope and rosary around his waist, making him a Franciscan. The most well-known Franciscan saint associated with the child Jesus is Saint Anthony of Padua, due to the legend that the infant Christ came to Anthony and stood on

¹⁴ *Brigitta of Sweden*, 130.

his book while he preached the gospel.¹⁵ There is also a lily in this image, another attribute associated with the saint.¹⁶

On Page 90 (**fig. 23**) is an image of a muscular man wearing a camel-skin garment. He holds a cross-shaped rod and points towards a white lamb. Almost certainly he is St. John the Baptist, the messenger of God. When portrayed as the messenger, as he is in this image, John the Baptist often wears a hairy garment, holds a reed cross, and speaks through a scroll saying the words “Ecce Agnus Dei” meaning “This is the Lamb of God” in Latin.¹⁷ Interestingly, he does not hold a scroll with any words, but instead points toward a white lamb. This can be seen as a gestural form of the scroll saying, “This is the Lamb of God,” since the Baptist is literally pointing at a lamb, which visually communicates to viewers the same idea.

The next large image in the Gradual is that of the Virgin Mary’s Assumption on page 118 (**fig. 31**). She sits on a cloud wearing a red and blue dress, accompanied by a single cherub, while looking up into the sky as her head is surrounded by rays of light. This image marks the introit for the Feast Day of the Assumption of Mary, making it clear that this image is depicting this event in the Virgin’s life.

Page 133 (**fig. 36**) contains the last large-scale image of the Gradual. Curiously, it is the same basic image of Saint Francis of Assisi as seen on page 1 of the Gradual. We see a three-quarter length image of the saint rather than the shorter, portrait-like at the beginning of the manuscript, and the background has a cliff with trees and what seems to be small red-stucco roofed buildings in the background, which also differentiates this image from that on page 1.

¹⁵ *A Handbook of Christian Symbols*, 27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

Other than that, the same pose, accouterments, and dress are seen here when compared to the illumination on page 1.

Besides the figures, which take up the most visual prominence in the manuscript, there are also countless images of various fruits and flowers decorating illuminated letters and within the frameworks of the Gradual's miniatures. One of the most prominent fruits in the entire Gradual is the strawberry. Appearing on pages 1, 121 (**fig. 32**), and 179 (**fig. 47**), it is particularly of interest on page 1 because the fruit adorns the image of Saint Francis of Assisi. Strawberries, particularly the fruit themselves, evoke blood and can symbolize the Passion of Christ, which makes sense when accompanying Saint Francis, since he experienced stigmata.¹⁸ It also appears at the beginning of the Feast Day of Saint Joachim, Mary's father, possibly alluding to his grandson's death, and the final appearance in an introit for the Common of a Single, martyred Pope, alluding to the suffering and death of Christ by dying for him.

The next fruit of interest is the grape; pages 7, 21 (**fig. 5**), 87 (**fig. 22**), and 118 all feature them. Two of these pages have images of the Virgin Mary (7 and 118), which makes sense as grapes are known to represent the blood of her son, having a clear Eucharistic connotation, as well as joy, wisdom, and truth.¹⁹ We see these fruits accompanying the feast days of the Holy Innocents and Saint Aloisius Gonzaga (1568-1591, feast day, June 21). The grapes in the Holy Innocent's illumination are very small, so the meaning of their placement may not be significant, but including grapes next to Saint Aloisius Gonzaga coincides with a well-known trait of his: wisdom, since he is known as a patron saint of scholars.

¹⁸ Jean-Michel Othoniel, *The Secret Language of Flowers: Notes on the Hidden Meanings of Flowers in Art* (Boston: Actes Sud and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2015), 59.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

Peaches are seen on pages 7 and 118, symbolizing life, immortality, and fecundity, all traits associated with the Virgin Mary, who is seen on both pages.²⁰ Peaches are also seen on pages 21, 23 (**fig. 6**), 77 (**fig. 18**), 205 (**fig. 55**), and 219 (**fig. 59**). Pages 21 and 23 are associated with the Feast Day of the Holy Innocents, perhaps signifying their lives and then immortality in heaven after their deaths. The peaches on page 77 accompany an unidentified feast day, and both pages 205 and 219 are Commons for Popes, possibly signifying the church's immortality through the pope's inherited role as the leader of Christ's church on Earth.

Pears can be viewed on pages 7, 118, and 205, which are linked to the figure of Christ and his love for humankind.²¹ Associating these traits with the Virgin Mary on pages 7 and 118 are justified, since she is seen in Catholicism as the perfect human being and shows Christ's immense love as well, and popes, seen on page 205 are also supposed to love their people as Christ loves his own.

A flower of note in the Gradual is the red rose, seen on pages 23, 110 (**fig. 28**), 114 (**fig. 30**), 141 (**fig. 38**), 153 (**fig. 41**), and 154 (**fig. 43**), representing the passion of Christ.²² The rose is the main flower on page 23, for the feast day of the Holy Innocents, which makes sense, since it is the anniversary of the day in which King Herod attempted to kill the infant Jesus by ordering the killing of all male children under the age of two in Bethlehem. The other days have to do with feast days associated with martyrs, including All Saint's Day on page 141, and then Votive Offices for the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is also said that the Virgin Mary once laid her

²⁰ Ibid., 119.

²¹ Ibid., 123.

²² Ibid.,135.

cloak on a red rose bush, and once she left, the plant only produced white flowers from then on, and this could possibly be a reference to this story.²³

The cypress, iris, and field bindweed can all also be seen on various pages in the Gradual, like pages 12 (**fig. 3**), 171 (**fig. 45**), and 130 (**fig. 35**) respectively. Cypress represents the wood Jesus's cross was made of, as well as eternity and immortality.²⁴ The yellow iris represents the future kingdom of Christ, as well as faith and purity.²⁵ The field bindweed is associated with the Virgin Mary, as many of its colloquial names include 'the Cuff of the Virgin', 'Our Lady', and 'the Virgin's Bell.'²⁶ While not all fruits and flowers in the manuscript have been identified, a sample have been chosen to show the importance of the identification and use of them in illustrating various feast days due to their symbolic qualities.

It should also be noted that the only saint with a non-figural symbol included in the Gradual is Saint Agatha. On page 47 (**fig. 10**), an unfinished image of two breasts on a platter can be seen with shears behind them, an obvious representation of Saint Agatha and the torture she endured at the hands of her persecutor, Quintianus.²⁷

An interesting point to note about these illuminations is the use of the same model for multiple illuminations within the Gradual. The most apparent example of this is the figure of

²³ Ibid., 135.

²⁴ Ibid., 50.

²⁵ Ibid., 73.

²⁶ Ibid., 46.

²⁷ Story is from a translation from *Ælfric's Life of Agatha*, as seen in the following article:

Alice Jorgensen, "Shame and the Breast in Ælfric's Life of St. Agatha and the Harley Psalter," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 120, no. 3 (2021): 326, accessed July 12, 2024,

<https://doi.org/10.5406/jenglgermphil.120.3.0326>.

Saint Francis of Assisi seen on pages 1 and 133 for the Feast Days of All Saints of the Seraphic Order (November 29) and Saint Francis of Assisi (September 17). The model used for Saint Francis of Assisi in both images is most likely the same, as each image is almost identical to the other. As discussed above, page 1's image is cut off above the knees, so less of the image is seen, but the overall positioning of the body, his arms, the way objects are held in them, and his face correlate with page 133. This is the only direct copying of a figural image seen in this Gradual. All the other feast days, even though they may be focused on the same person, like the Virgin Mary in the case of the Feast Days of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) and the Assumption (August 15), are from different models.

While not as obvious, we see this same use of a model in letters created within the illuminations. Similar positionings of fruits are seen in several letters S in the manuscript, as can be seen in the illuminations on pages 179, 202 (**fig. 54**), and 205, where the top fruit is pointed towards the left, and the bottom fruit is pointed towards the right. There is an almost exact copy of the letter S and the flowers within it seen on pages 153 and 176 (**fig. 46**). Seen in the copied images are a white flower pointing towards the left on top with a pink rose pointing right on the bottom, surrounded by a pink S with green vegetal tendrils coming out of the serifs of both letters S. There is also a different model for the letter S found on pages 199 (**fig. 53**) and 208 (**fig. 56**). Instead of being a complete letter S, they separate in the middle into two swirling objects, connecting in the middle to form the middle of the letter S. Both models of the letter S are very similar and have the same general format but are different enough to indicate reliance on two different models. Similar instances of the reuse of a single model are evident in many other letters within the Gradual, such as the letter I on pages 182 (**fig. 48**) and 195 (**fig. 52**), the letter B on pages 12 and 165 (**fig. 44**), and the letter A on pages 80 (**fig. 19**) and 82 (**fig. 20**). There are

also two separate models for the letter A, one that forms a more typical uppercase print letter A (page 65, **fig. 13**), while the other appears to be a cursive capital A (pages 80 and 82). For the letters G and I, there are also expanded models of the letters used in one specific place, seen on pages 141 and 246 (**fig. 67**) respectively.

The presence of very similar and almost exactly alike images in the Gradual support the idea that a model book was used to assist in the illustration of this liturgical manuscript. The images of Saint Francis of Assisi are just different enough to suggest that a single print was not used as a method of creation for these images, but they are still similar enough to conclude that some sort of model was used to create both. The use of a model book also becomes clear when looking at the letters in the Gradual, particularly the letter S, because of the similarities between the serifs, the length, and width of the letters, and the way the flowers and fruits were placed inside the letter S.

The Gradual's Liturgical Contents

In researching the text of the Gradual, I have relied on *Cantus*, an open-access internet database administered by several universities. The searchable database includes incipits and chant melodies from numerous medieval manuscripts, along with information about the manuscripts in which they appear. Date, place of origin, and other relevant manuscript details are also included. Comparison of the Gradual's text to others in the *Cantus* database enabled me to identify several of the manuscript's feast days. Here, the illuminated initials that begin almost every introit were also of great help, as they clearly illustrate the texts that they accompany. The introits for the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order (November 29), the Immaculate Conception (December 8), Saint Anthony of Padua (June 13), the Nativity of Saint John the

Baptist (June 24), the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 15), Saint Francis of Assisi (September 17), the Holy Name of Jesus (January 14), and the Purification of the Virgin Mary (February 2) all have images showing the Biblical or Sainly figures associated with their feast days. Though most of the smaller initials feature only vegetal or non-figurative imagery, some of these, too, include iconographic content that agrees with the text, for example the feast day for the Finding of the Holy Cross, which is accompanied by an illuminated letter with an image of a cross in it. Texts associated with iconography of specific saints, as well as information about images of saints and their stories have also been consulted to determine which saints are depicted in illuminations, which helps further identify feast days seen in the Gradual.

The Patrons of the Manuscript

After researching the different chant texts within the Gradual, the patronage of the manuscript became clearer. Certain feast days included within the Gradual strongly suggest that this manuscript was made for Franciscan use. These include the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order (November 29), the Feast Day of Saint Anthony of Padua (June 13), the Feast Day of Saint Francis of Assisi (September 17), the Feast Day of Saint Peter of Alcantara (October 19), the Feast Day of Saint John of Capistrano (October 23), and the Feast Day of Saint Didacus (November 13); all point towards Franciscan patronage. The Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order is the first feast placed in the Gradual since it is celebrated by Franciscans for their order's saints specifically. The date November 29 was selected for this feast because it was

on that day in 1223 that the rule of his new order was ratified.²⁸ While the presence of this feast day alone is a strong sign of the Gradual's Franciscan provenance, inclusion of the feasts for Francis, Anthony of Padua, Peter of Alcantara, John of Capistrano, and Didacus strengthens this conclusion. Moreover, the first three of these feasts' introits are accompanied by large illuminations of their first letters.

The presence and greater size of these illuminations signals the relative importance of these feasts, since most of the other feast introits begin with smaller, floral or non-figural illuminations. Unlike the smaller illuminations, which span one chant staff, the large illuminations span two staves and take up a third of the height of a folio in the manuscript. These large illuminations are also more detailed, allowing for easier identification of their subject matter. Saint Francis is the large initial for the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order and his own feast day. As discussed above, Saint Francis appears holding a golden double-armed cross in his right hand and a codex in his left hand. He wears a brown, hooded habit tied with a rope with three knots around his waist, representing the Franciscan vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and has a halo around his head.²⁹ Most importantly, he shows the stigmata on his hands. He appears in an outdoor setting, with a cliff, trees, and white, stucco-roofed buildings in the background. For his part, Saint Anthony of Padua appears kneeling and embracing the infant Christ, the latter identified by a cruciform halo. Saint Anthony is haloed and tonsured. He too

²⁸“All Saints of the Seraphic Order- November 29th,” Franciscan Friars Conventual, Franciscan Friars Conventual, November 29, 2017, <https://www.franciscans.org/single-post/2017/11/29/all-saints-of-the-seraphic-order-november-29th>.

²⁹ J.P. Mauro, “Why do Franciscan friars wear brown?,” Aleteia, Aleteia SAS, accessed May 17, 2024, <https://aleteia.org/2018/10/16/why-do-franciscan-friars-wear-brown/>.

wears the brown Franciscan habit with a three-knotted rope around his waist to which is attached a rosary. Viewers, especially Franciscans, would almost immediately recognize both figures due to Francis's stigmata and the setting in which Anthony of Padua appears, as the latter is said to have been seen by a lord in a vision with the Christ child in the Catholic priest and hagiographer Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.³⁰

Other feast days of importance that have helped determine the Gradual's patronage are identified by their introits and subsequent chants that can be compared to other liturgical texts from the *Cantus Database*. Saint Didacus's Feast Day was identified by comparing its introit to other liturgical texts chants. When researched in *Cantus Database*, the introit's beginning: "*Humiliavit se in omnibus et coram deo invenit gratiam quoniam magna potentia dei et ab humilibus honoratur*" is an exact match with an introit in a Franciscan manuscript from the seventeenth century. This introit is identified as the feast day for Saint Didacus, a Franciscan confessor canonized in 1588. The presence of the same introit in another manuscript makes an extremely convincing case for identifying this introit's feast day as that of Saint Didacus in the Gradual. Including a specifically Franciscan confessor in the manuscript further points towards the Franciscan patronage of the Gradual. In this case, it also confirms that the Gradual could not have been made before 1588, the year that Didacus was canonized.

Finally, feast days can also be identified by descriptors within the text, along with comparison to other liturgical manuscripts. In the case of Saint John of Capistrano, the versicle for his feast day is unique; it contains the following line: "*O zelator fidei persecutor hereticorum lumen virtutum exterminator turca*," meaning, "O zealot of the faith, persecutor of heretics,

³⁰"Who is Saint Anthony of Padua?," Saint Anthony Shrine, Province of St. John the Baptist, Order of Friars Minor, accessed on March 19, 2024, <https://www.stanthony.org/who-st-anthony/>.

exterminator of the Turkish, light of virtues.” This line is particularly unique due to its mention of the killing of Turkish people. After researching saints that were known for battling the Turks, Saint John of Capistrano became a clear choice for the identification of this feast day. The Franciscan saint preached about and led a crusade against the Ottomans after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, linking him to the Turkish people. His feast day was also variable in mid-October before being changed to March 28th in the 1890s, which lined up with the feast days before and after this introit: the Feast Days of Saint Peter of Alcantara on October 19th and All Saint’s Day on November 1st. The passage about exterminating Turks is also seen in another leaf of a manuscript sold online that explicitly references St. John of Capistrano in its text, meaning that the identification of this versicle as one for the Feast Day of Saint John of Capistrano is also very convincing.³¹ This Franciscan saint is not included in any other liturgical manuscript on Cantus, making him a rarer saint to include in a Gradual; this may also be partially due to the date of his canonization: 1690. The fact that he was a newer Franciscan saint at the proposed time of creation of the Gradual, which will be discussed below in the next section, yet again implies that the patronage of this manuscript is Franciscan.

An interesting note involving the inclusion of different feast days and illuminations in the Gradual is the inclusion of the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, the Feast Day of Saint Aloisius Gonzaga, and an illumination of the initials ‘IHS’ within a sun on page 113 (**fig. 29**). The inclusion of such Feast Days and images may point towards an interpretation that the manuscript was partially influenced by Jesuits or even that the Gradual may have been

³¹ “Leaf from a Palimpsest Antiphonary, Manuscript in Latin on Parchment,” IberLibro, AbeBooks Inc. & AbeBooks Europe GmbH, accessed July 2, 2024,

<https://www.iberlibro.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=31585545958>.

commissioned by Jesuits. At first glance, a Jesuit patron would make sense, considering that the order's titular feast is the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus and Saint Ignatius developed a particular devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus. The inclusion of the Jesuit Saint Aloisius Gonzaga's feast day and the 'IHS' in a sun illumination are of note due to Saint Ignatius's historical encounter with the symbol in Paris and his eventual adoption of it as a key emblem for his order.³² These elements likewise point toward Jesuit sympathies.

As an alternative explanation for the idea of Jesuit patronage, this evidence may point towards the Gradual's possible Italian roots and even its Franciscan patronage. An explanation of the inclusion of the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, and its inclusion of a long sequence may be due to the fact that the spirituality surrounding the Holy Name of Jesus in the west began with the Franciscan Saint Bernardine's preaching about the importance of this particular devotion; he even encouraged the adoption of the initials 'IHS' as those to be used on various objects to replace the heraldry of various families on objects.³³ The use of the initials 'IHS' in a sun was developed later and adopted by Saint Ignatius, rather than created by the founder of the Jesuits. The Franciscan origin of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus explains why this typically Jesuit-identified Feast Day is included in a Franciscan Gradual and afforded such importance. The inclusion of the 'IHS' in the sun also points towards Saint Bernardine's influence.

³² Jean-Paul Hernández, SJ, "On the Holy Name of Jesus," Communications Office, Curia Generalizia della Compagnia di Gesù, January 3, 2021, <https://www.jesuits.global/2021/01/03/on-the-holy-name-of-jesus/>.

³³ Ibid.

Dating of the Manuscript

My research suggests that Gradual manuscript is a product of the eighteenth century. This date is supported by the sequence and an introit for the Feast Day of Saint Joseph and the sequence for the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus. According to documents published by the Our Lady of Clear Creek Abbey Monks, the feast day for St. Joseph was first adopted in the 1680s by Discalced Carmelites in Spain and Italy and was later allowed to be spread to other orders in 1700. While the Feast Day of Saint Joseph was first instituted in the Roman Catholic Church in 1479 by Pope Sixtus IV, it was not mandatory, which may explain its much later widespread adoption by the Franciscans as a whole, though the saint was very popular in monastic circles starting in the sixteenth century.³⁴ 1700 was also the same year that the introit starting with ‘*Auditor*’ was granted official use in the formulary used for the feast day by the Catholic Church.³⁵ It is this very introit that appears in the Gradual.³⁶

An even more precise date is indicated by dating that is associated with the Gradual’s sequence for the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus. The sequence starts with the following Latin text: ‘*Lauda Sion salvatoris*’. This is of particular interest because chants that start with the text ‘*Lauda Sion*’ usually continue with the word ‘*salvatore*’ and are typically used for the

³⁴ Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 24-25.

³⁵ *Gregorian Chant from the Abbot of Fontgombault: St Joseph* (Oklahoma: Our Lady of Clear Creek Abbey), <https://clearcreekmonks.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/St.-Joseph-booklet-web.pdf>.

³⁶ This is the only information I have found from a reputable source about adoption of the ‘*Auditor*’ in the formulary for the Feast Day of Saint Joseph in the Catholic Church.

sequence of the Feast Day of Corpus Christi.³⁷ Upon further research, it was determined that the sequence in the Gradual was used for the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, due to this small textual difference and because of the text of the introit that came before the sequence. This text was adopted by the Franciscans for this feast day in the year 1721.³⁸ The hymn's popularity also coincides with this period, as it was published by composers active between the late 1600s and early 1800s.³⁹

The Feast Days of Saints Aloisius Gonzaga and Joachim, both of which are included in the Gradual, point toward an even more specific date of creation. Both point towards a *terminus post quem* after 1721, since Saint Aloisius Gonzaga was canonized in 1726 and the date of Saint Joachim's Feast Day coincides with the reinstatement of it to a rank of a double major feast, as well as its movement to after the Feast Day of the Assumption of the saint's daughter, Mary, by Pope Clement XII in 1738.⁴⁰ This means that the Gradual was created no earlier than 1738, after the moving of Saint Joachim's Feast Day to August 16th. Therefore, due to the reinstatement and movement of Saint Joachim's Feast Day in 1738, along with the brief popularity of the '*Lauda Sion salvatoris*' chant between the early 1700s and early 1800s, it can be safely concluded that the Gradual was made sometime between 1738 and the early 1800s.

³⁷ This can be seen when searching the phrase '*Lauda Sion*' in *Cantus Index*. The phrase '*Lauda Sion*' followed by '*salvatore*' is seen in 17 of the 19 results.

³⁸ "Feast Day of the Holy Name," Catholic Online, Catholic Online, accessed March 19, 2024, <https://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=5841>.

³⁹ "Keyword Search: *Lauda Sion Salvatoris*," RISM Online, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, accessed March 19th, 2024, <https://rism.online/search?q=Lauda%20Sion%20salvatoris&mode=incipits&page=1&rows=20&n=>.

⁴⁰ Consuelo Dutschke, personal emails about the Gradual, November 12- December 2, 2024.

Location of Origin

Out of the 41 feast days in the Gradual, 18 of them or 43% have chants that correspond with other manuscripts in the Cantus Database. Of those 18 feast days, 11 match chants in two distinct manuscripts in the database, manuscripts CH-E 121 and CH-P 18. These manuscripts are both located in Switzerland, with CH-E 121 from the Abbey of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, while CH-P 18 is likely from north-eastern France but was used in Bellelay Abbey in Switzerland since 1160 at the earliest⁴¹. Both CH-E 121 and CH-P 18 have been in Switzerland since about 960-970⁴² and 1160, respectively, and the Gradual was not made until the eighteenth century, meaning that the creators of this Gradual could have been located within Switzerland or have had access to those manuscripts at the time of its creation. However, because 27% of the total feast days in the Gradual match those in these two manuscripts now in Switzerland, this is insufficient to propose a definitive link between the Gradual to Switzerland.

When looking at the chants within the Gradual, it is also important to pay attention to the forms of the letters that make up the text, or the paleographic clues. The script appears to be modeled on Italian Gothic script of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, also known as the *littera textualis*. About the specific script that seems to match with the Gradual's script, A. M. Piazzoni for the Digital Vatican Library writes: "During the 13th century, a wide gothic developed in the central part of Italy, with flat, round letters, few fragments and non-curved bases on the line. This was called rotunda: it was also used in liturgical manuscripts and... [later],

⁴¹ Barbara Swanson, "Porrentruy, Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne, 18," Cantus Database, Cantus, accessed May 15, 2024, <https://cantusdatabase.org/source/638308>.

⁴² Mirka Maria Tiede, "Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 121," Cantus Database, Cantus, accessed May 15, 2024, <https://cantusdatabase.org/source/666647>.

it was also called choral because it appeared in the large volumes used in the choir.”⁴³ The fact that this script was eventually referred to as choral suggests that it would not be surprising if it was adopted for later use in choral volumes like the Gradual, especially if the makers were trying to accurately imitate what an earlier, medieval manuscript may have looked like. Specific letters that are comparable include the letters A, R (when next to a rounded letter), and S. As can be seen in the figures below, the rounded part of the lowercase A (**figs. 69 and 70**) is a diamond shape with a light line attaching it to the rest of the letter. When next to a rounded letter, like a lowercase D or O, the letter R (**figs. 71 and 72**) has an extremely similar form. Finally, the lowercase S from the Gradual (**fig. 73**) is like the lowercase S (**fig. 74**) in the Manuscript *De centesimo seu iubileo anno* from the Vatican Library, though the Gradual has a more axially symmetrical lowercase S, while the Vatican Library manuscript’s letter S is not axially symmetrical. The lowercase letters M (**figs. 75 and 77**) and N (**figs. 76 and 77**) are also strikingly similar between the manuscripts and the Gradual, though the individual strokes of the letters are closer together in the Gradual.

Other important characteristics of note in the Gradual that could help get us closer to its place of origin are the backgrounds of the illuminations of the figures. It is known that during the Renaissance and afterwards, figures were often depicted in environments reminiscent of the creator’s or patron’s location at the time of the making of the work. For example, the image of St. Francis of Assisi on page 133 has small houses in the background. These houses look like white stucco houses with red, barrel clay tiles on the roof; this specific type of tile is very

⁴³ A.M. Pizzoni, “The Different Types of Gothic,” Digital Vatican Library, Vatican Library, accessed May 16, 2024, <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/latin-paleography/feature/16-2-the-different-types-of-gothic>.

reminiscent of the kinds used and seen throughout Italy, possibly linking the manuscript visually to its place of origin through the setting where Francis is placed. An Italian setting could also be a direct reference to Francis's home of Assisi, Italy, but I believe it more generally a consequence of the painter's place of origin since there are other illuminations with red barrel clay tiled roofed buildings in the Gradual. Another one of these buildings can be seen on page 246. There, a person appears kneeling in prayer while a heavenly light shines down a building in the background; this is the same type of building seen in the background of the St. Francis of Assisi illumination. The second illumination is more telling of the location of the manuscript because it is in the middle of a Common, rather than a specific feast day, and there are not any identifying features of the person praying. Because of this, the setting of the image is most likely not symbolic, unlike the setting of the illumination of St. Francis, and it is more likely that the setting was chosen specifically by the maker or patron of the Gradual, meaning that the location may be of importance to them.

With respect to the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, the inclusion of an illumination of the initials 'IHS' in a sun, and the Feast Day of Saint Aloisius Gonzaga, I believe the inclusion of these feast days, in particular that of Saint Aloisius Gonzaga, also points towards the origins of the manuscript in Italy. Besides the Franciscan origins of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus and the use of the 'IHS' initials, these features may also represent some small part of Jesuit influence due to their central location in Italy, particularly due to the inclusion of Saint Aloisius Gonzaga's Feast Day. Canonized in 1726, very shortly before the proposed creation of the Gradual, the saint gave up his noble title to become a priest, and died at the age of 23, six years

before his priestly ordination, due to his work in a hospital when the plague broke out in Rome.⁴⁴ The saint was from Rome, just like the order he was a part of, and the Gradual's inclusion of such an important Italian saint, along with its focus on seemingly Jesuit elements points towards a possible Italian location of origin, along with its other script and illumination-related elements.

Further Questions

Although the conditions of the Gradual's patronage, dating, and origins are now clearer, there are still many questions that this liturgical manuscript leaves for future researchers. The first has to do with the purpose and use of manuscripts created in the eighteenth century. By this time, books were being regularly printed, and there are many examples of them being created for religious use at this time. Why go through the painstaking process of creating a manuscript out of parchment, hand lettering each word, hand making the chant staves and neumes, and illuminating the Gradual by hand, when all could be done by more automated processes like using a printing press and using printmaking processes to add already preexisting images of the well-known saints in the Gradual to the manuscript itself? I believe that part of this may have to do with a religious opposition to the ideals of the Enlightenment taking place during the creation of this Gradual. This could have been a sort of statement against the rapidly popularizing anti-religious sentiment of the Enlightenment, or it could have also been made for an order that simply wanted to preserve their traditions and one of those was using liturgical manuscripts.

Another interesting feature of this Gradual that has yet to be explained is the use of introit *'In medio ecclesiae aperuit dominus os ejus et implevit eum spiritu sapientiae et intellectus*

⁴⁴ John Francis Xavier O'Connor, "St. Aloysius Gonzaga," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01331c.htm>.

alleluia' for the Feast Day of Saint Anthony of Padua. The use of this is interesting since it is usually reserved for either Saint John the Evangelist's Feast Day or Doctors of the Church, of which Saint Anthony of Padua was neither during the proposed creation of this Gradual. The reasoning behind the usage of the introit deserves further research and may uncover information about Franciscan views of the saint at the time of the Gradual's creation.

Conclusions

Hitherto unknown, this Gradual manuscript contains much of interest. Consisting of the Sanctorale and then a section with various parts from the Book of Commons, this Gradual contains 64 illuminations that highlight the beginning of a variety of introits for feast days celebrated in the Roman Catholic calendar. Of the 44 feast days within the Sanctorale, 36 have been identified completely, with eight others containing introits and other chant texts that are common either to many saints or could not be identified. Due to the Gradual beginning with the Feast Day of All Saints of the Seraphic Order and including the Feast Days of Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Didacus, and John of Capistrano, all Franciscan saints of note, the Gradual is most likely made for Franciscan patronage. There is an inclusion of Jesuit qualities, like a large sequence for the Feast Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, along with an image of the Christ Child with the word 'GESV' on it, and chant for the Feast Day of Saint Aloisius Gonzaga, but I believe this information, along with my brief paleographic analysis of some of the text, and the inclusion of red-roofed stucco houses in multiple images in the Gradual point towards an Italian place of origin, due to the Jesuit influence particularly in Italy. Finally, the Gradual has a *terminus post quem* of 1738, due to its inclusion of the feast day of Saint Joachim after the feast day of the Assumption, which was not moved until 1738 by Pope Clement XII. The Gradual was also most

likely made at the latest in the early 1800s due to the inclusion of the '*Lauda Sion salvatoris*' chant, which was only popular between the early 1700s to early 1800s. Though many questions have been answered about this Gradual, there are still many yet to be asked, and I cannot wait to see the answers to these questions that will surely be asked in the future.

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Tables

Table I: Feast Days within the Gradual (Corresponding with the Sanctorale)

Page	Date	Feast Day
1	11/29	All Saint's of the Franciscan Order
3	11/30	St. Andrew ⁴⁵
5	12/3	St. Francis Xavier
7	12/8	Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary
12	variable	4 th Sunday of Advent
15	12/26	St. Stephen
21	12/28	Holy Innocents ⁴⁶
24	12/21	St. Thomas
26	1/14	Holy Name of Jesus
28		Sequence for Holy Name of Jesus
38	1/25	Conversion of St. Paul ⁴⁷
43	2/2	Purification of the Virgin Mary
47	2/5	St. Agatha
50		Unidentified
54	variable	Friday Before Palm Sunday
65	5/1	St. Joseph

⁴⁵ *Personal emails.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

68	5/3	Sts. Phillip & James ⁴⁸
71	5/3	Finding of the Holy Cross
74	5/12	Sts. Pancratius, Achilleus & Nereus ⁴⁹
75		Unidentified
77		Unidentified
80	variable	Sunday after Pentecost Vigil Mass
82	6/2	Saints Marcellinus and Petrus ⁵⁰
83	6/13	St. Anthony of Padua
87	6/21	St. Aloisius Gonzaga ⁵¹
90	6/24	Nativity of St. John the Baptist
92	6/26	Sts. John and Paul, Martyrs
95	6/29	Sts. Peter and Paul
101		Unidentified
107		Unidentified
110	8/8	St. Cyriacus and Companions, Martyrs
113		Plural Martyrs
114	8/10	St. Laurence

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

118	8/15	Assumption of Mary
121	8/16	Joachim ⁵²
123	8/17	St. Louis of Toulouse ⁵³
125		Single Virgin
126	9/14	Exaltation of the Cross
130		Unidentified
133	9/17	St. Francis of Assisi
135	10/19	St. Peter of Alcantara ⁵⁴
137	10/23	St. John of Capistrano
141	11/1	All Saint's Day
145	11/11	St. Martin of Tours ⁵⁵
146	11/13	St. Didacus, Confessor
149	11/23	St. Clement, Pope and Martyr

Table II: Commons within the Gradual

Page	Commons
153	Votive Office for the Blessed Virgin Mary
154	Votive Office for the Blessed Virgin Mary

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

154	Common of a Virgin
164	Common of the Angels
171	Common of Apostles
176	Common of a Single, Martyred Pope
182	Common of a Single Martyr, not a Pope
188	Common of a Single Martyr During Easter
192	Common of Plural Martyrs During Easter
195	Common of Plural Martyrs
205	Common of a Pope
212	Common of a Doctor
215	Common of an Abbot
219	Common of a New Pope
225	For a Virgin Martyr
233	For a Non-martyred Virgin
240	For Plural Lives of Martyrs
243	Unidentified
250	Sequence for Communion

Table III: Rubricated Abbreviations within the Gradual

Abbreviation	Meaning
Intr.	Introit
ps.	Psalm
Xv	Responsorial
off.	Offertory
co.	Communion

Appendix A: Illuminations in the Gradual and Images of the Gradual



Figure 1 St. Francis of Assisi, Page 1



Figure 2 The Virgin Mary, Page 7



Figure 3 Page 12



Figure 4 Page 15



Figure 5 Page 21



Figure 6 Page 23



Figure 7 Swaddled Christ Child, Page 26



Figure 8 Page 38



Figure 9 the Virgin Mary, Page 43



Figure 10 St. Agatha's Breasts on a Platter, Page 47



Figure 11 Page 50



Figure 12 The Virgin Mary with a Crown of Thorns, Page 54



Figure 13 Page 65



Figure 14 Page 68



Figure 15 Cross with Nails, Page 71



Figure 16 Page 74



Figure 17 Page 75



Figure 18 Page 77



Figure 19 Page 80



Figure 20 Page 82



Figure 21 Saint Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child, Page 83



Figure 22 Page 87



Figure 23 Saint John the Baptist, Page 90



Figure 24 Page 92



Figure 25 Page 95



Figure 26 Page 101



Figure 27 Page 107



Figure 28 Page 110



Figure 29 IHS in a Sun, Page 113



Figure 30 Page 114



Figure 31 The Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Page 118



Figure 32 Page 121



Figure 33 Page 125



Figure 34 Page 126



Figure 35 Page 130



Figure 36 Saint Francis of Assisi, Page 133



Figure 37 Page 135



Figure 38 Page 141



Figure 39 Page 146



Figure 40 Page 149



Figure 41 Page 153



Figure 42 Page 154



Figure 43 Page 154



Figure 44 Page 165



Figure 45 Page 171



Figure 46 Page 176



Figure 47 Page 179



Figure 48 Page 182



Figure 49 Page 185



Figure 50 Page 188



Figure 51 Page 192



Figure 52 Page 195



Figure 53 Page 199



Figure 54 Page 202



Figure 55 Page 205



Figure 56 Page 208



Figure 57 Page 212



Figure 58 Page 215



Figure 59 Page 219



Figure 60 Page 222



Figure 61 Page 225



Figure 62 Page 229



Figure 63 Page 233



Figure 64 Page 236



Figure 65 Page 240



Figure 66 Page 243



Figure 67 Page 246



Figure 68 Page 260

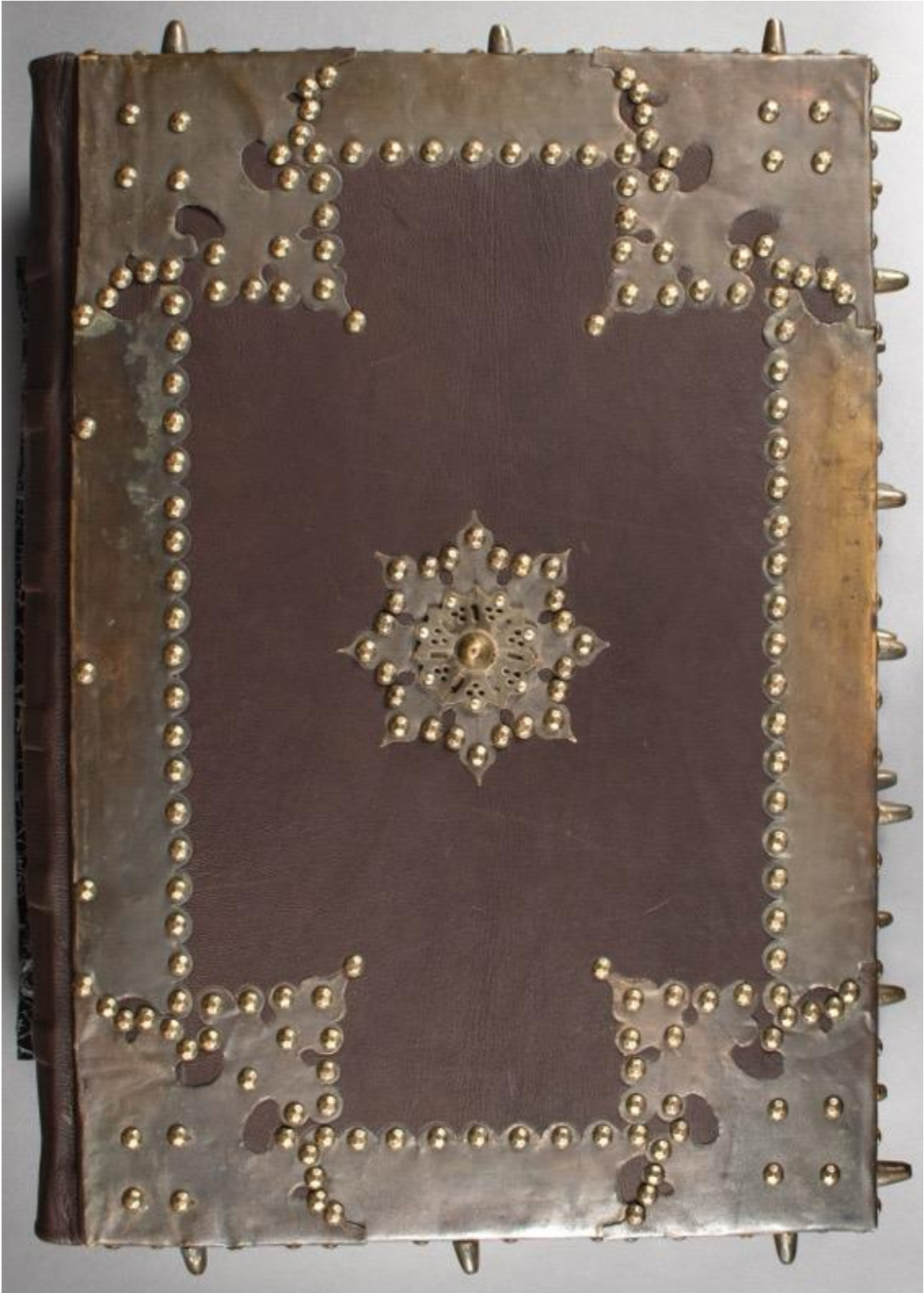


Figure 69 The Front Cover of the Gradual



Figure 70 An open spread of the Gradual

Appendix B: Letters in the Gradual and *De centesimo seu iubileo anno*



Figure 71 Letter A, Gradual Page 40

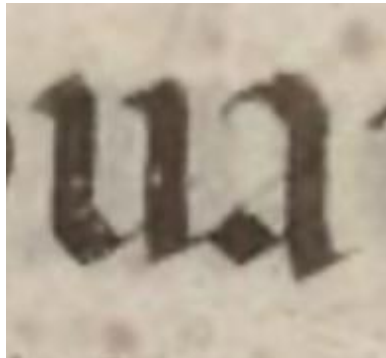


Figure 72, Letter A, from Folio 6v of *De centesimo seu iubileo anno*



Figure 73 Letter R Next to a Rounded Letter, Gradual Page 42

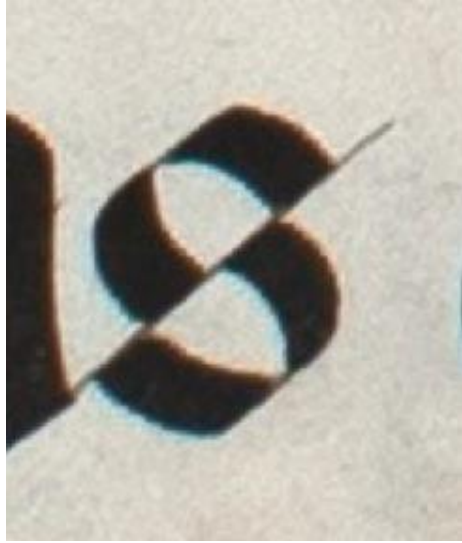


Figure 74 Letter S, Gradual Page 40

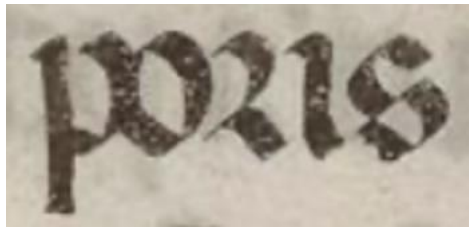


Figure 75 Letter R Next to a Rounded Letter, Letter S from Folio 7r of *De centesimo seu iubileo anno*



Figure 76 Letter M, Gradual Page 40

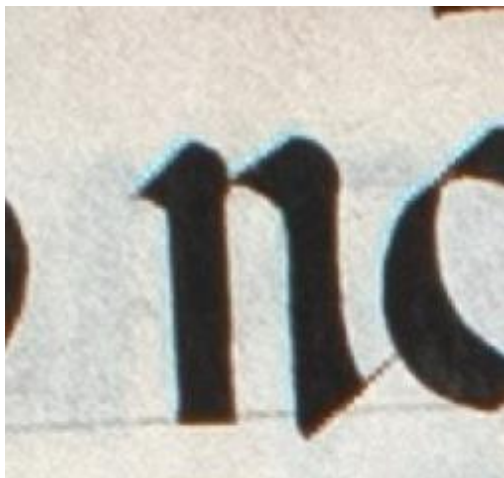


Figure 77 Letter N, Gradual Page 40

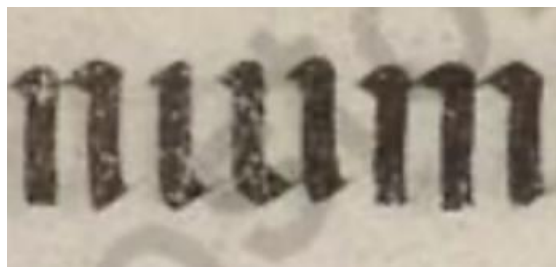


Figure 78 Letters N and M, from Folio 7r of De centesimo seu iubileo anno