

THOMAS WOLSEY'S EPISTLE AND GOSPEL LECTIONARIES: UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND NEW HYPOTHESES¹

By JAMES P. CARLEY

Illustrations of the manuscripts discussed in this article can be found in the colour plate section.

The history of Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey's epistle lectionary (Oxford, Christ Church, MS. lat. 101; henceforth ChCh 101) and gospel lectionary (Oxford, Magdalen College, MS. lat. 223; henceforth Magd. 223), perhaps the two finest surviving examples of his cult of magnificence in its final phase, continues to be elusive in spite of all the scholarship devoted to them.² Much remains unclear about the context of their production, about their intended destination, about where they were stored after Wolsey's fall, about why they were not destroyed during the Edwardian purges of

¹ I first undertook research on these manuscripts when I was preparing a study of *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000). Subsequently I spoke on them in the Cambridge Seminar on Christianity and the Book, and they became the focus of the fifth in a series of lectures I gave to the English Faculty at the University of Oxford in 2006. Frustrated by the seeming contradictory information they yielded, I put them aside until the autumn of 2014 when my friend Martyn Percy became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, at which point I became determined to assemble my scattered thoughts as a tribute to him. I am grateful to various people for their assistance over the years: Steve Gunn, Christine Ferdinand, Mirjam Foot, Margaret Goehring, Elizabeth Morrison, Cristina Neagu, Nicholas Pickwood, Glenn Richardson, David Rundle, David Skinner and James Willoughby. I have profited in particular from an email correspondence –initiated by a visit to the National Archives at Kew by David Rundle on 18 August 2015 to examine the foundation charters for the Oxford and Ipswich Colleges – in which Rundle and Neagu were the principal participants. In September 2015 I presented my most recent thoughts in a lecture at the University of Western Ontario and was stimulated by comments from members of the audience. I should like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial support.

² A digitized version of ChCh 101 is available online: <http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library-and-archives/western-manuscripts-0>. There were also plans to digitize Magd. 223 and to assemble an accompanying collection of essays. Nothing came of this project but the essays have been preserved in hard copy in the Magdalen College library and I refer to them with the citation 'unpublished Magdalen essays'.

these sorts of books, and how they found their way to their present repositories.

What is incontrovertible is that the manuscripts were envisaged as a pair: text and illumination match up almost flawlessly. Recent scholarship has confirmed that the scribe for both was Pieter Meghen (1466/7–1540), who in 1530, the year of Wolsey's final disgrace and death, was appointed 'Writer of the King's Books'.³ On the other hand, the identification in the mid-twentieth century of the illuminator as Gerard Horenbout (c. 1465–1541), a member of a family of Flemish miniaturists resident in England, has been challenged and the artist has recently been dubbed by Elizabeth Morrison as the 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey'.⁴ By Morrison's reckoning, no other manuscripts can be definitively associated with this artist, although he, like his colleague, formerly known as the 'Master of Charles V', possibly trained in Antwerp or had a workshop there.⁵

³ For a summary of the evidence, for the most part deriving from a series of articles by J.B. Trapp, see the description of ChCh 101 in R. Hanna and D. Rundle, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts up to c. 1600 in Christ Church, Oxford* (forthcoming). A draft version is available on-line:

<http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/MS%20101.pdf>. See also *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. T. Kren and S. McKendrick (Los Angeles and London, 2003), p. 520. The section on 'Before Christ Church' in the introduction to the Christ Church catalogue, kindly shown to me by Dr Rundle, provides an excellent account of the foundation of Cardinal College.

⁴ For a summary of the scholarship see, apart from the online description, Morrison's entry for the 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 503: 'The miniatures in fact have little in common with any of the works associated with either Gerard Horenbout or the 'Master of James IV of Scotland', who has been identified with Horenbout'. Margaret Goehring raises the possibility of Gerard's son Lucas as the artist – the timing of the project as well as his training is right – but she also observes that such a conjecture would need much more research before it could be established (personal communication, 20 July 2015). Independently, Cristina Neagu has suggested Lucas (personal communication, 19 August 2015).

⁵ Morrison, 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 503. Morrison maintains that our pair were sent abroad for illumination, although they were almost certainly written in England (ibid. p. 504), but Goehring observes that there were artists in England capable of this kind of work who were within Wolsey's orbit (see above n. 4). She also points out similarities in the pen-work of the charter for Cardinal College, Oxford, of 5 May 1526, that for Ipswich of 26 May 1529, and the later Oxford charter of 25 May 1529. Initials depicting Henry VIII in the Cardinal College charters are illustrated in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), plates 8 and 9. The latter has '1529' entered in a cartouche that forms part of design of the 'h' initial and its placement as well as the shape of the numerals provide a strong analogy to the '1528' found in the cartouches in the border design of ChCh 101, fol. 32r, on which see below. After examining the charters *in situ* Rundle has concluded that the same artist was responsible for the charters and the manuscripts. Rundle is unconvinced that the name of the artist can be retrieved, however, although the evidence suggests that there was probably a workshop in London or Westminster,

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The English saints whose feasts are included in the volumes were chosen because of their associations with Wolsey's attainments: Andrew, for Bath and Wells where he had been bishop from 1518 to 1523 (30 November); Thomas Becket, for his name saint (29 December and 3 July); Frideswide, for Oxford and in particular Cardinal College (12 February and 19 October [in Magd. 223 only]) (Figs 1 and 2); Cuthbert, for the bishopric of Durham which he exchanged for Bath and Wells in 1523 and held until he became bishop of Winchester in 1529 (20 March and 4 September); William of York, for York where he had been archbishop since 1514 (8 June); Hugh of Lincoln, for Lincoln, the bishopric of which he exchanged for York just a few months after his consecration on 26 March 1514 (17 November).⁶ That Swithun is not part of the series indicates that the pair must have been conceived before he was elevated to the See of Winchester in 1529, and no doubt before he considered this a likely eventuality.⁷

Dominating the decorative scheme of both volumes are Wolsey's insignia: his badges, his motto and his arms, of which the full achievement with supporters occurs in a number of the lower borders. On occasion these impale those of the See of York in both manuscripts (Fig. 3); in Magd. 223, however, Winchester replaces York in four instances (fols 3r, 13v, 14v and 46r) (Fig. 4). Likewise the initials TW [Thomas Wintoniensis] occur eight times in Magd. 223 (fol. 3v, 10v, 12r, 14v, 24v, 34v, 39r, 40v) but not at all in ChCh 101 where only TC [Thomas Cardinalis] is found.⁸ Each manuscript has nineteen half-column miniatures and these usually illustrate the same feasts.⁹ Some incongruities do, however, occur: there is an historiated initial for Ascension Thursday in ChCh 101 (fol. 20r), for example, but not in Magd. 223.¹⁰ The upper margins of this page in ChCh 101 contain,

'providing for the chancery functions of government but also taking commissions from Wolsey' (personal communication, 19 August 2015).

⁶ During the discussion following my lecture at the University of Western Ontario, Professor Margaret McGlynn, suggested somewhat ironically that these manuscripts provided the most elaborate curriculum vitae she had ever encountered.

⁷ St Swithun was buried at Winchester and the cathedral priory was dedicated to him as well as to St Peter and St Paul.

⁸ For an example of the TW monogram among the glass commissioned in 1529 for Cardinal College, Oxford, see H. Wayment, 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, 116–30, at p. 117. The glass features Wolsey's other devices as well.

⁹ On this topic see Morrison, 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 504: 'The artist faced a challenge in illuminating two manuscripts containing texts for the same feast days and clearly meant to be used in tandem on those days. Although several miniatures are consequently very similar in the two manuscripts, it is clear the artist made an effort to vary most of the compositions'.

¹⁰ In 1528 Ascension Day fell on 21 May: see C.R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates: For Students of British History*, new edn., rev. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000), p. 198.

not surprisingly, Wolsey's arms surmounted by a cardinal's hat, as well as twin gold columns and his motto, but the decoration of the lower margin is at first glance unexpected: on a green Tudor background the royal arms are illustrated within the Garter, supported by the crowned lion *or* and red dragon with the motto 'dieu et mon droit' on scrolls to the left and right beneath the vertical marginal designs (Fig. 5).¹¹

Elizabeth Morrison has speculated that the insertion of the royal arms in ChCh 101 may represent 'an expression of Wolsey's hopes even as late as 1528 to maintain his position at court and save Cardinal College. By 1529, when the Magdalen manuscript was illuminated, however, Wolsey's downfall seemed all but certain, and significantly, the royal arms are absent from this manuscript'.¹² There are, however, problems with this surmise since it is not at all clear that in 1528 Wolsey, actively pursuing means to extricate Henry from his first marriage, necessarily considered himself seriously under threat.¹³ Nor does it make any sense for the royal arms to have been entered at this particular place in the book if somehow it was meant to flatter the king; surely they would have been inserted in a prominent position at the front of the volume. There may be an explanation related to Ascension Day or 21 May but it is also possible that they have been inserted as elsewhere in Wolsey's goods and palaces simply as part of the general linkage between monarch and cardinal.¹⁴

The inclusion of '1528' in the vertical left and right border design of fol. 32r of ChCh 101 provides a secure date for the illumination of this manuscript (Fig. 6).¹⁵ Most scholars are equally confident about the dating of the illumination of Magd. 223. Summarized by Ralph Hanna in his forthcoming catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of Magdalen College, the general consensus has been that: 'this heraldry [of Winchester]

¹¹ During the first part of his reign Henry's supporters were a red dragon dexter and an *argent* greyhound sinister. In about 1528 he dropped the greyhound, moved the dragon to the sinister side and introduced the lion dexter: see J.H. and R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 140. Henry was the first monarch to encircle the royal arms with the Garter.

¹² See 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 504.

¹³ As Sybil M. Jack observes in the entry for Wolsey in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, it was not until early June 1529 that Henry appears to have become 'half convinced that the cardinal was failing him'.

¹⁴ See Wayment, 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', p. 116, for the use of the king's and queen's arms at York Place in 1515; p. 117, n. 3, for Cardinal College in 1529.

¹⁵ For a suggestion that '1528' may have been placed where it was, in the borders of the lection for St Peter and St Paul, to commemorate the Augustinian priory at Ipswich which was dissolved in 1528 to provide funds for Cardinal College, Ipswich, see *The Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, ed. J.M.W. Willoughby, 2 vols. (London, 2013), i. 259. See also above, n. 5.

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permits a narrow dating for the production of the book, since Wolsey took Winchester *in commendam* as archbishop 8 February 1529, and he fell from power on 10 October'.¹⁶ That Wolsey was the chief candidate for the bishopric, however, was known even earlier than February. The old bishop Richard Fox died on 5 October 1528, but in a will drawn up on 15 February 1528 he named Wolsey as a possible successor.¹⁷ One day after Fox's death, moreover, Wolsey wrote to Henry VIII reminding him that:

as, in your communications with me, you have expressed your desire 'for drawing my promotions near unto your Grace', I thought it convenient to put you in mind of the great commodity now offered 'for establishing my things after such sort' as I might do you greater service. I beg also to put you in mind of my poor scholar, the dean of Wells, 'towards whom I have found your Highness of gracious disposition touching the bishopric of Durham, when I should fortune to leave the same'.¹⁸

At New Year's 1529 Wolsey received an encomium by an unknown author that culminated with a prophecy of his accession to Winchester, which indicates that the impending promotion was widely expected.¹⁹ It seems safe to assume, therefore, that Winchester would have figured in any proposed scheme of illumination of Magd. 223 by the beginning of 1529 at the latest. The manuscript was certainly completed after ChCh 101, in other words, but the illuminations on their own do not provide a precise date.

Cristina Neagu has suggested that a discrepancy between the placement of the feast of William of York in the two volumes may indicate a later date of composition (not just illumination) for Magd. 223.²⁰ According to her calculations Trinity Sunday fell on 31 May in 1528 and Corpus Christi on 4 June. This would explain why the feast of William of York (8 June) follows Corpus Christi in ChCh 101. In Magd. 223, however, William of York comes after Trinity Sunday but before Corpus Christi. If the shift, she maintains, were deliberate it would make sense not in 1529 but rather in 1530 when Trinity Sunday was on 5 June and Corpus Christi on 9 June. Unfortunately, the dates she posits are inaccurate. Trinity Sunday fell on 7 June and Corpus Christi on 11 June in 1528 and thus William of York came between these two feasts rather than after Corpus Christi as it is located

¹⁶ See also Morrison, 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 504.

¹⁷ See the entry for Fox by C.S.L. Davies in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁸ Calendared in *L&P* 4/2. 2086, no. 4824 from TNA, PRO, SP1/60, fol. 161. Contrary to Wolsey's ambitions for his illegitimate son Thomas Wynter it was Cuthbert Tunstall who was translated to Durham (on 25 March 1530).

¹⁹ On the prophecy, contained in British Library, Royal MS. 12 A.LXII, see J.P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* (London, 2004), pp. 82–3.

²⁰ 'Dating Wolsey's Lectionaries', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 4/2 (2008), 1–5.

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in ChCh 101. In 1529 the respective dates for Trinity and Corpus Christi were 23 May and 27 May and in 1530 12 June and 16 June.²¹ The one year in which the sequence in ChCh 101 would reflect that actual church calendar would be 1529 and in Magd. 223 it would be 1528. As the illuminations make clear, this dating is impossible, and there would have to be another explanation if this switch were intentional.²²

Assuming that the illumination of ChCh 101 was completed in 1528, then the manuscript would have been available for use in one of the chapels associated with Wolsey. ChCh 101 has, in fact, had marks added throughout as an aid to chanting (Fig. 7). Ticks and commas in red ink have been placed over syllables in words to indicate the primary (tick) and secondary (comma) stress.²³ By contrast Magd. 223 has not consistently been adapted for chanting in this way, and this indicates that unlike its sister manuscript it did not form part of chapel services.

When Thomas Cromwell succeeded Robert Amadas as Master of the Jewel House in 1532 an inventory of plate was compiled. This included a matched epistolary and gospel lectionary:

[A] book of gospels, with antique work of silver gilt, with an image of the crucifix and Mary and John, 322 oz.

A book of the 'pystelles', with an image of St Paul, 321 oz.²⁴

These would have been very large books weighing more than twenty pounds each, meant to rest on a lectern, and they probably came from Wolsey: as Philippa Glanville has observed, the term 'antique work' in this inventory is regularly associated with Wolsey's former goods.²⁵ In spite of

²¹ Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates*, pp. 198–9, 168, 208–9.

²² In ChCh 101 the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September) and the translation of Cuthbert (4 September) are in reverse chronological order, i.e. the Nativity comes before Cuthbert, whereas in Magd. 223 Cuthbert comes first, followed by the Nativity and then St Frideswide's Day (19 October) which does not appear in ChCh 101, although there are three blank leaves. There are other oddities both in text and illumination which suggest that the books were put together with some haste.

²³ I thank Dr Bonnie Blackburn and Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens for identifying the function of the marks. There are, as they observe, some oddities: 'Sometimes there is a comma over a word with a single syllable, as if to indicate the kind of stress we would give in English' (personal communication, 21 May 2015).

²⁴ Calendared in *L&P* 5. 742, no. 1799.xvi.

²⁵ See 'Cardinal Wolsey and the Goldsmiths', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, 131–48, at p. 139: 'The inventory clerks compiling the Jewel House check list on the death of Amadas in 1532, when commenting on "antique work", were frequently identifying objects which had come from Wolsey, either as gifts or as part of the involuntary transfer of all his plate made by the cardinal when he left York Place in 1529'.

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the putative connection of these manuscripts with Wolsey, nevertheless, these entries do not provide a description of our pair which, selective rather than comprehensive in their readings, are relatively small books, measuring 410 mm x 300 mm with iii + 48 + iv fols. (ChCh 101) and 405 mm x 300 mm with ii + 47 fols. (Magd. 223). Nor do the bindings match.

Executed by the 'King Edward and Queen Mary Binder', the binding of Magd. 223 is dark brown tanned calf over pasteboard; the royal arms surmounted by a crown are tooled in gold within a central cartouche and there is a blind-tooled border.²⁶ Professor Foot's research has established that this must almost certainly be the original binding.²⁷ The book has been sewn on eight thongs and there are no signs of earlier sewing holes.²⁸ The employment of the two blank leaves concluding the final gathering as pastedown and flyleaf suggests that the sheets were unbound when this binding was applied.²⁹

Undertaken by the Eddington Bindery in 1981, the present binding of ChCh 101 is brown goatskin with a geometric pattern over wooden boards sewn on six supports, probably using the sewing holes of the previous binding.³⁰ What this earlier binding would have in turn replaced cannot be determined but there is no evidence that it matched Magd. 223, especially since the two bindings had differing numbers of sewing holes.³¹

²⁶ I am grateful to Professor Mirjam Foot for her helpful discussion and for the detailed notes she sent me on the binding of Magd. 223. Likewise Professor Nicholas Pickwoad kindly looked at the binding for me. For the border see J.B. Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), HM a (9), no. 778.

²⁷ Professor Pickwoad concurs: 'I could not see a scrap of evidence to indicate the existence of an earlier binding' (personal communication, 6 February 2005).

²⁸ The use of eight thongs argues against an earlier binding with wooden boards since, as Foot points out (personal communication, 10 May 2004), 'the thongs are fairly close together and would have needed a row of holes to be drilled in the wood that would have weakened the boards severely. I would have expected a book of this size (and as thin as this one is), if it had to have wooden boards, to have been sewn on five or six thongs.'

²⁹ Normally a manuscript of this quality would not have been left unbound for a significant length of time, in which case it provides an unexpectedly early piece of work by the 'King Edward and Queen Mary' binder: 'It is not impossible (30 years is not at all unusual for a bindery to have worked, 40 years is stretching it a bit)' (Mirjam Foot, personal communication, 22 September 2004).

³⁰ According to John Wing, who was librarian at the time, this binding was of plain reversed calf very similar those found on Chapter House books (personal communication to Cristina Neagu, August 2015). The Chapter House books were rebound in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century in reversed calf over millboards and, as David Rundle has pointed out (personal communication, 9 August 2015), it is possible that at this period ChCh 101 was treated as a Chapter House book: this would explain why it does not appear in the catalogue of the 'archive' in 1676 or 1717.

³¹ If on wooden boards the original binding of ChCh 101 may well have been a velvet one. (If it had been a treasure binding it would no doubt have been destroyed at the time of the

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In 1524 the Augustinian priory of St Frideswide in Oxford was dissolved in order to form the nucleus of Cardinal College, and on 15 July 1525 the foundation stone was laid.³² As with the rest of the complex, Wolsey had grandiose plans for the chapel but by the time of his fall in October 1529 it was far from complete.³³ The College struggled on until 15 January 1531 when it was formally dissolved, soon after Wolsey's death on 29 November 1530.³⁴ During the few years of the college's existence, the old priory church doubled as a chapel and on 18 October 1525 an inventory was made of the chapel goods brought from Hampton Court. Among these were fifty-one books, including an epistle lectionary in vellum.³⁵

When he visited Christ Church in 1654 the diarist John Evelyn was shown 'an Office of Hen: 8, the writing, Miniature & gilding whereof is equal if not surpassing any curiosity I had ever seene of that kind: It was given, by their founder, the Cardinal Wolsy'.³⁶ Like Evelyn before them, modern scholars have assumed that it was for Cardinal College that Wolsey commissioned the epistolary (and the gospel lectionary too), Morrison pointing out that 'these books were designed for use exclusively at the college's religious services, which Wolsey no doubt planned to be a

Edwardian injunctions [on which see below]). When Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, came to arrest Wolsey for treason at Cawood Castle on 4 November 1530 he inventoried 'Oxford stuff belonging to the chapel' which included service books, amongst which were 'ii masse bokes of parchement written thone covered with crymoson velvet thother with blake velvet bothe clasped with sylver' (calendared in *L&P* 4/3. 3045, no. 6748.12 from TNA, PRO, E 36/171, fol. 18v.) It has been suggested – for example in the catalogue description of Magd. 223 – that the mass books could be our pair, but in contemporary inventories the term inevitably describes a missal: see *The Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, ed. Willoughby, *SC* 255.14.

³² For a succinct account see Willoughby, 'Thomas Wolsey and the Library of Cardinal College, Oxford', below, pp. 000.

³³ In 'Wolsey and Stained Glass' Wayment maintains that 'the walls of Cardinal College Chapel were scarcely to rise above their foundations' (p. 126).

³⁴ On the technical reasons why Wolsey's two colleges were sequestered to the king along with the rest of his possessions see Willoughby, 'Thomas Wolsey and the Library of Cardinal College, Oxford', pp. 000. Cardinal College, Oxford was refounded as King Henry VIII's College in July 1532 and as Christ Church 4 November 1546.

³⁵ Printed in the appendix to Willoughby, 'Thomas Wolsey and the Library of Cardinal College, Oxford', no. 47. It was at approximately this date that Wolsey may have exchanged Hampton Court for Richmond Palace with Henry, although he continued to make use of the former and his building programme did not cease. See, however, S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 2003), who concludes that 'thus after 1525, although Hampton Court was still the property of Wolsey, who continued to embellish and improve it, it was also the subject's house most favoured in the kingdom, at all times at the king's disposal for his pleasure' (p. 31).

³⁶ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Guy de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 89.

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constant source of intercessory prayers on his behalf after his death'.³⁷ The logic for this assumption would seem to run as follows. First, the English saints included in the volumes had personal resonance for Wolsey and were mandated in the 1525 Statutes of Cardinal College.³⁸ Secondly, the historiated initial for the Feast of St Frideswide in both manuscripts shows the saint and her ox by the Thames with her convent in the background (Figs 1 and 2).³⁹

Apart from the details relating to the revised Statutes, the problem with this reasoning is that neither of the points applies uniquely to Cardinal College. Wolsey would no doubt have highlighted the same saints, those with which he had personal associations, in any similar book he was commissioning after the mid-1520s. In particular, he would have wished to pay tribute to Cardinal College through St Frideswide in any of his chapels. This pair, in other words, reflect Cardinal Wolsey's accomplishments, not Cardinal College as such. Likewise, their highly abbreviated and idiosyncratic selections – they were not 'great' books – means that their readings do not reflect the whole liturgical year: their usefulness would have been in one of Wolsey's private chapels rather than in a collegiate church as such.

The presence of added syllabic markings in ChCh 101 but not in Magd. 223, moreover, argues against Cardinal College as the place of their intended destination. Although Wolsey was convicted of *praemunire* in October 1529, and soon afterwards surrendered all his goods including the endowments for his colleges, Henry gave him a full pardon on 12 February 1530 and on 14 February restored him to the archbishopric of York with all its possessions, apart, that is, from York Place. Even if the building programme at Oxford came to a halt in late 1529, services continued in the old priory church, and if that is where Magd. 223 was sent after its completion it is hard to imagine why it would have been bound with the royal arms (these almost certainly indicate ownership by the king), or why

³⁷ 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 506.

³⁸ In 'Dating Wolsey's Lectionaries', Neagu draws attention to the inclusion of Relic Sunday and the Dedication of the Church as well as the specific saints, concluding that 'It is exhilarating to see that, in terms of their choice of the sacred calendar, these two manuscripts were designed to mirror the Statutes' (p. 3). See, however, the description of ChCh 101 in Hanna and Rundle, *Western Manuscripts*; they observe that the 'volume provides a set of readings which is not fully congruent with those established as the major and the minor double feasts to be celebrated in the college chapel in the 1527 revision to the Statutes', and therefore it would not necessarily have been undertaken for use in the college chapel.

³⁹ ChCh 101, fol. 12r; Magd. 223, fol. 14v. It has also been tacitly assumed that since Cardinal College represents Wolsey's last major endeavour (to which the Ipswich college was a corollary) it would seem logical that he would need to provide suitably magnificent chapel furnishings for it and these fill the bill.

it would not have been marked up and used in chapel along with its mate on appropriate occasions.

If Cardinal College was not the intended destination for this pair, what then are the alternatives? The foundation stone for the new college at Ipswich was laid on 15 June 1528 and on 19 July Amadas delivered to Wolsey for the college among ‘parcellis of plate new drest vp and amendid’ a gospel lectionary, and on 1 October two clasps for the ‘great apistillar’.⁴⁰ From which of his chapels these derived before refurbishment is not stated. On 22 February 1529, goods, copes, vestments and books were brought from York Place for the furnishing of the chapel.⁴¹ Wolsey had begun extensive rebuilding at York Place in late 1527 or early 1528, Edward Foxe observing in a letter written in May 1528 that the cardinal had temporarily moved to Durham Place because ‘the hall of York Place with other edifices there being now in building, my lord’s Grace intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same’.⁴² During the summer he was at Hampton Court where the most recent building campaign must therefore have been complete.⁴³ The letter he sent to the king concerning the bishopric of Winchester on 6 October 1528 was addressed from Durham Place. Likewise, on 23 November he wrote to Thomas Magnus, surveyor and receiver-general of the council of the north from Durham Place.⁴⁴ By 1529, however, the building of York Place, which included a complete redoing of the chapel, was sufficiently complete for Wolsey to lodge there. Although none of the books brought from York Place to Ipswich in February 1529 were an epistolary or gospel lectionary, removal of books does suggest that the furnishings of the chapel including books were being upgraded and replaced.

By 2 November 1529, less than a month after Wolsey’s attainder, the king had taken up temporary residence at York Place.⁴⁵ Later in the month he left briefly so Wolsey could compile an inventory of the goods that were to be sequestered, including ‘the richest Sewtes of Coopes of

⁴⁰ *The Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, ed. Willoughby, SC 254.1–2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, SC 255.46–55.

⁴² *L&P* 4/2. 1872, no. 4251. See Thurley, ‘The Domestic Building Works of Cardinal Wolsey’, in *Cardinal Wolsey. Church, State and Art*, 76–102, at p. 85: ‘In 1528 he was able to move his entire household and wardrobe there [Durham Place] for eight months while his final and most ambitious building campaign began [at York Place]. In it he replaced the two principal structures of the house, the great hall and the chapel’. On the chapel see also Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 30–1.

⁴³ See Thurley, ‘The Domestic Building Works of Cardinal Wolsey’, p. 88; also below, n. 51.

⁴⁴ *L&P* 4. 2165, no. 4986.

⁴⁵ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 37.

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his owen provysion w^{che} he caused to be made for his Colleges of Oxford and Ipsew^{che}.⁴⁶ The inventory once completed, Wolsey set out by water for the first stage of his journey to the episcopal palace at Esher, which was his as bishop of Winchester, after having told his treasurer Sir William Gascoigne, according to John Stow, that all was to be delivered to the king and that 'I would all the world knew that I haue nothing but it is his of right: for by him, and of him I haue receiued all that I haue: therefore it is of conuenience and reason, that I render unto his maiestie the same againe with all my hart'.⁴⁷ York Place itself was not Wolsey's personal possession to give but the problems were overcome and by February 1529/30 it was the king's.

If our pair were undertaken for York Place, then it is possible to suggest a feasible sequence of events to account for their similarities and differences and also the apparent need for speed in their production. By this scenario the books would have been commissioned in 1528 for the new chapel, perhaps to replace others to be sent to one of his colleges. First to be completed, the epistolary would have been brought to York Place in 1528/9, bound and marked up for liturgical use in the chapel on appropriate occasions. It would then have been one of the immense quantity of forfeited possessions left behind when Wolsey departed for Esher. As we have seen, illumination of the gospel lectionary could not have taken place much before the beginning of 1529, and the finished book would not arrive in time to be marked up for chapel reading. After it joined the epistolary at York Place (or at least by the time it was bound), it would have belonged to Henry, for whom it would have been bound (perhaps after some delay), the royal arms forming part of the design.⁴⁸ The binding is not an elaborate one of the sort one might have expected of a book for display in the chapel: to some degree it lets down the stunning manuscript it covers. The majority of books owned by Wolsey remained at or were transported to York Place after his disgrace where they were incorporated into the Upper Library of the rebuilt and enlarged structure, now known as the Palace of Westminster.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. R. S. Sylvester, EETS 243 (1959), p. 99.

⁴⁷ John Stow, *The annales of England ... untill this present yeere 1592* (London, 1592), p. 920.

⁴⁸ This is a suggestion made independently by Nancy Bell, Head of Collection Care for the National Archives in conversation with Elizabeth Morrison: see 'Master of Cardinal Wolsey', p. 506, n. 7.

⁴⁹ On books owned by Wolsey in general see Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives*, pp. 80–4. For those at Westminster see Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 331, 477, 7875, 1115, 1374.

Chapel books were an exception; they would probably have been stored in the Vestry.⁵⁰

From whichever establishment the books were sequestered,⁵¹ and wherever they were stored, they did not entirely escape notice in subsequent years, even if Wolsey's ubiquitous insignia and the idiosyncratic choice of saints would have made them untenable for use in the royal chapels.⁵² In both manuscripts St Peter's tiara has been expunged in the historiated initial for readings on the feast of St Peter and St Paul as has been the papal tiara in the illumination for All Saints in ChCh 101: this desecration could have occurred at any point after 1533/4. The erasure of Thomas Becket's name on the feasts of his martyrdom and translation, on the other hand, would have taken place only after 1538.⁵³ Magd. 223 shows yet another sign of later attention. Although the manuscript as a whole has not been marked up for reading, light marks are found in the days of Easter week (but they are not identical to those in ChCh 101); and in the verse from Luke 24:40 for the Tuesday lection somebody has, moreover, entered the alternative

⁵⁰ The pair removed to the Jewel House after Wolsey's fall (assuming them to be his) and received by Cromwell in 1532 were still *in situ* after Henry's death and appear in the post-mortem inventories (*ibid.*, H5. 2–3). As often was the case for this type of book, the treasure binding of the Gospel lectionary had on its front cover an image of the cross with Mary and John flanking it; the epistolary had an image of St Paul, author of the epistles. By 1547 another pair had joined them (*ibid.* H5. 4–5). Both of these latter had lost their central medallion but had retained the corner bosses, in the case of the gospel lectionary, Mark, Matthew, Peter and Paul; Luke, John, Peter and Paul for the epistolary. In the 1990s Janet Backhouse, curator of medieval manuscripts at the British Library, pointed out the anomalous nature of this combination to me and suggested it might well be in tribute to Winchester Cathedral with its dedication to St Peter and St Paul. Taking up her point, I suggested that the central medallions may have been deliberately removed because they included Wolsey's arms. (His arms had been defaced elsewhere.) I then speculated that this pair could be ChCh 101 and Magd. 223. The evidence of the binding renders this hypothesis untenable. In the *vidimus* for the glass at Hampton Court a kneeling Wolsey is presented by St Thomas of Canterbury and St Peter and St Paul: see Wayment, 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', pp. 119–20.

⁵¹ Apart from York Place it is also possible they were undertaken for the chapel at Hampton Court where there had also been, as we have seen, recent building works. In September 1528, however, Wolsey was told to vacate Hampton Court while Henry received the papal legate and after this the residence was primarily used by the king and queen, Henry planning to start works as early as that autumn (Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 41–5).

⁵² Even if Wolsey had not been disgraced the pair would not have been of much use to future owners of his palaces, including bishops and archbishops, on account of their highly personalized choice of text and illumination and one must presume that Wolsey's ultimate plan would have been for them to go to Cardinal College after his death and to be brought out on the feasts associated with its founder whose memory would thus be suitably observed and honoured.

⁵³ In Magd. 223 an historiated initial shows his stabbing before the altar and this has been left intact.

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reading from John 20:20 of 'latus' for Luke's 'pedes'. When this happened and for what purpose is unclear.

In 1550, the Act against Superstitious Books and Images was passed, mandating

that all books called antiphoners, missals, graills, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuises, primers in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals, or other books or writings whatsoever heretofore used for service of the Church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the King's Majesty, shall be by authority of this present Act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm or elsewhere within any the King's dominions.⁵⁴

Once surrendered, the books were to be 'defaced and destroyed'; individuals who retained copies faced fines for the first two offences and imprisonment for the third. Following this act, there was an Order in Council on 25 February 1551 specifically naming the royal library at Westminster:

The Kinges Majesties lettre – for the purging of his Highnes Librarie at Westminster of all superstitiouse bookes, as masse bookes, legendes, and suche like, and to deliver the garnytur of the same bookes, being either of golde or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher in the presence of Sir Thomas Darcie, etc.⁵⁵

Our pair are the only English matched lectionary and gospel lectionary known to have survived these Edwardian measures, and their survival is due in part to the fact that although they were among the king's possessions they did not (unlike the other pairs in the Jewel House) have treasure bindings to be removed.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Printed in *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A.D. 1485–1603*, ed. J.R. Tanner (Cambridge, 1922), p. 114; also quoted in C.E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', in *The English Library Before 1700*, ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (London, 1958), 148–75, at pp. 165–6.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Libraries', p. 168. Archer was appointed Master of the Jewel House on 25 November 1545; Darcy was vice-chamberlain of the Household.

⁵⁶ It is not precisely clear what 'Librarie' means in the context of the Order in Council. In the Vestry at Westminster Palace at the beginning of Edward's reign there were 'xvi antiphoners; xvi graills; iii ordinalls; one booke to singe verses and graills by children; one booke to singe collettes on; xxiii processionalls; iii masse bookes and oon pontificall; two small bookes for thorganes; one graill for thorganes; x prikesonge bookes; one legende for men; one legend for children; one sermonde booke for lente' (*The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. Carley, H5. 95–107). There were also missals in guardrobes at Greenwich and at Westminster and among the chapel stuff at Oatlands and Richmond (*ibid.*, H5. 112; 127; 144; and 147).

Subsequent history

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, died on 12–13 November 1555, just over two years after Mary had come to the throne. Although he did not take full possession of his temporalities until May 1557, John White, Gardiner's former chaplain and bishop of Lincoln, was elected as his successor on 15 April 1556. White was not present for his consecration and his brother-in-law Sir Thomas White acted as his proxy. A copy of his oath is found on the front pastedown of Magd. 223:

Ego T. W. legum doctor exhibeo procuratorium meum pro reuerendo patre et domino domino Iohanne Wintonienci episcopo moderno, et facio me partem pro eodem, ac nomine procuratorio eiusdem promitto et per hec sancta Dei euangelia in animam illius iuro, quod dictus reuerendus pater hanc ecclesiam suam cathedralem pie et sancte gubernabit et reget ac pro uirili sua bona iura, libertates et priuilegia illius conseruabit et ab aliis, quantum in se fuerit et ad ipsum attinebit, conseruari curabit, sic Deus me adiuuet et sancta Dei euangelia.

Presumably the book on which he was swearing his oath was Magd. 223 and this indicates the status in which it was held during Mary's reign. It must have formed part of the liturgical life at the cathedral where it would have seemed particularly appropriate since the arms of Winchester appear on fols. 3r, 13v, and 14v, albeit impaling those of Wolsey (Fig. 4).

On the first flyleaf of Magd. 223 the name 'Samuell Chappington' has been inscribed, no doubt as a mark of ownership. The Chappingtons were a well-known Devon family of organ-makers, and John Chappington succeeded Hugh Chappington, possibly his father, to the business in 1570.⁵⁷ Eventually John moved the operation to Winchester, where he died in 1606. In 1597 he was paid £33 13s. 8d. for the construction of the organ in the chapel at Magdalen College and in the following year he received another two pounds for its repair. His precise relationship to Samuel is unknown but the latter did work with him in the chapels at Greenwich and Whitehall in 1599.

According to the donors' book, ChCh 101 was given to the college in 1614 by John Lante (d. 1615).⁵⁸ A chorister in the college in about 1564

⁵⁷ On the Chappington family see S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 55–6; also the entry for John Chappington by Roger Bowers in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁸ 'Magister Iohannes Lante Mag. in Artibus olim huius aedis alumnus dono dedit: Hippocratis Chirurgia, latine, fol. 1544; Opera Rasis, 2^{bus} vol. fol.; Platerus de Corporis humani structura et usu, fol., 1583; Manuscript Cardinal: Wolsey fol.' (ChCh Library Records 1, p. 30). For an identification of the medical books see the description of ChCh 101 in Hanna and Rundle, *Western Manuscripts*. For an early fifteenth-century Book of Hours given by Lante to Winchester College in 1608 (now Winchester, College, MS. 48) see N.R.

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Lante received his BA in 1575/6 and his MA in 1579.⁵⁹ Licensed as a physician in 1594/5 – hence the medical books he gave the college – Lante was the cathedral organist at Winchester by 1602.⁶⁰ As organist he would have had dealings with John Chappington and he was a witness to his will, drawn up on 26 June 1606.⁶¹ Samuel Chappington owned Magd. 223, as his signature attests, and we can safely assume that it came to him from Winchester Cathedral during Elizabeth's reign when these sorts of books were being de-accessioned. He may have given or left it to Magdalen or it may have gone first to his relation John Chappington and then to the college. It is probable that he also obtained ChCh 101 from the cathedral, that it next passed to John Chappington, then to John Lante and finally to Christ Church. Whatever the details, however, it is virtually certain that the pair were together at Winchester Cathedral in the second half of the sixteenth century to be acquired by an interconnected group of individuals and then dispersed to their present homes early in the seventeenth.

In his study of books in pre- and post-Reformation clerical and parish libraries Arnold Hunt takes St Mary Woolnoth in London as one of his representative cases.⁶² By the end of Edward's reign the parish had followed the mandate of the Protestant authorities and had obtained 'the Bible, the Book of Homilies and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, together with "two communion books in English" and "six new psalter books printed in English"'.⁶³ Once Mary came to the throne, the parish was required to revert to pre-Reformation practices, acquiring in 1553 'two antiphonals, two graduals, two missals, a *lectionary* (emphasis mine), a manual, a *venite* book ... three processional and a *dirige* book'. These, Hunt suggests, were probably secondhand books that had survived the Edwardian purges.⁶⁴

Ker and A.J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. IV. Paisley–York* (Oxford, 1992), p. 634. I thank David Rundle for this reference.

⁵⁹ J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: Early Series*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), iii: 881. See S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society* (Princeton, 1988), p. 200, for a reference to 'James and John Lant, probably sons of Bartholomew Lant, the organist at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1564'. There was another chorister called Richard Lante who was presumably also a brother: see the description of ChCh 101 in Hanna and Rundle, *Western Manuscripts*.

⁶⁰ See T. Oliphant, *La Musa Madrigalesca* (London, 1837), p. 232, for possible evidence that Lante was organist as early as 1580.

⁶¹ On Chappington's will (National Archives, PROB11/108, fol. 90v–91r) see C. Ferdinand, 'The Wolsey Gospel Lectionary and Its Provenance', in unpublished Magdalen essays. Her discovery of Lante's name in the will is a crucial one.

⁶² 'Clerical and Parish Libraries', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1: *To 1640*, ed. E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (Cambridge, 2006), 400–19, at p. 413.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Bodleian Library Record

The situation for cathedrals would have been the same, although on a larger scale than for parish churches.

Why, however, was Winchester favoured with this particularly magnificent pair that had earlier been housed somewhere in the royal collection? By late 1553 Mary had decided to marry her Spanish cousin Philip, some eleven years her junior. The marriage treaty was ratified by Parliament in April 1554 and Philip arrived in England on 19 July. The wedding was scheduled to take place on 25 July – St James’s Day in tribute to the Spanish – at Winchester Cathedral. Stephen Gardiner, who had been reinstated as bishop (he had been deprived under Edward and replaced by John Ponet), presided at the ceremony as he had done at Mary’s coronation. Furnishings and tapestries were removed from the royal wardrobe in London and brought to Winchester for the wedding.⁶⁵ Books, including this pair, no doubt came as well.⁶⁶ They must have stayed behind, as Gardiner would have wished, to be used on ceremonial occasions such as the consecration of the new bishop.

After Mary’s death churches had to scramble once again, this time to find replacements for their Latin liturgical books. At St Mary Woolnoth, for example, in 1559 the parish had to buy ‘four bookes of the English service’ and in the following year catholic service books were sold off at a significant loss to a stationer, probably to be used as waste paper.⁶⁷ ChCh 101 and Magd. 223 were no doubt saved from this sort of ignominious fate on account of their lavishness, not their usefulness.

Barring some piece of unexpected evidence my hypotheses must remain just that, hypotheses, and it seems unlikely that we will ever know beyond a shadow of a doubt whether or not these books were commissioned for York Place, Hampton Court or even elsewhere.⁶⁸ Nor can we say definitively how and why they got to Winchester. What is clear, however, is that they highlight the liturgical and theological controversies of Tudor England. For Wolsey, they represented a visible sign of the grandeur of his position (and they also testify to the security he still felt right up to the Legatine trial in July 1529). Sumptuous they were, but the sumptuousness was a tribute to the magnificent state of the cardinal as a representative of the Church.

⁶⁵ See R. Beddard, *Catholic Ceremonial and State Occasions: Mary Tudor* (forthcoming). I thank Dr Beddard for sharing this information with me in advance of publication.

⁶⁶ Mary took an interest in her father’s possessions, including his libraries, and there are references in the post mortem inventory to books as well as other objects being delivered to the queen: *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. Carley, H5, 6, 42, 47, 78–9, 83, 85, 87, 90–2.

⁶⁷ Hunt, ‘Clerical and Parish Libraries’, p. 413.

⁶⁸ The situation is similar with the Edinburgh *vidimus* for Wolsey’s chapel windows. The design may have been for York Place, Hampton Court or Cardinal College: see Wayment, ‘Wolsey and Stained Glass’, pp. 124–5.

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For Edward, these sorts of popish books were anathema and it is fortunate that they survived his reign at all. Mary wished a return to the old order, and her wedding may well have provided a fit occasion for the restoration of the pair to a cathedral setting. During Elizabeth's reign they once again lost their liturgical significance, but something else was now coming into play: antiquarianism and the beginning of the interest in books as artistic objects. Chappington and Lante no doubt bear witness to a new type of collector, one for whom the old manuscript book is no longer good or bad, but rather to be preserved as a beautiful artifact, a rare text or even an association copy.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ It is not impossible, on the other hand, that the Chappingtons were recusants, since as Bicknell points out in the context of the London trade: 'That organ builders should be recusants is no surprise at all; the English Reformation had all but deprived them of their livelihood and a revival of the old faith would be seen as an obvious way of restoring their position' (*The History of the English Organ*, p. 55).