

Thomas Wolsey's Gospel Lectionary

Vellum (HSOS). Fols. ii (numbered fols. 1–2) + 47 (numbered fols. 3–49). Overall 410 mm × 300 mm (writing area 248–60 mm × 156 mm). 18 long lines, above top line. No signs of pricking. Double vertical bounding lines at both sides on recto, but only to the left on the verso, with a single bounding line to the right; the horizontal lines extend into the reservations but no further, with all ruled in lead. Written in *littera antiqua* identifiable as that of the well-known scribe Pieter Meghen. Punctuation by low point, double point, and punctus elevatus.

About thirty books have been attributed to the scribe in a series of articles by J. B. Trapp. Meghen's career in England was under way in 1502 (when he copied what is now New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, MS. Osborn a50—a codex unknown to Trapp—for Christopher Urswick); in subsequent years, he was routinely employed by Erasmus and John Colet, and, after 1528, he worked in and around the court, first for Wolsey and Nicolaus Kratzer, the king's astronomer, then as 'Writer of the King's Books'. See Trapp's 'Notes on Manuscripts Written by Peter Meghen', *Book Collector*, 24 (1975), 80–96; 'Pieter Meghen 1466/7–1540 Scribe and Courier', *Erasmus in English*, 11 (1981–2), 28–35; 'Pieter Meghen, yet Again', in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing* (London, 1983), 23–8. Trapp gave his most extensive listing of Meghen's books in 'Notes', where (91–2) this manuscript is no. 14. On Meghen, see also Andrew J. Brown, 'The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1984), 351–80, and David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain* (Cambridge, forthcoming), ch. 4.

Our manuscript is undated and so does not appear in Watson, *DMO* but it is narrowly datable by its heraldry (see PROVENANCE below) and by its proximity to its companion Epistolary, Oxford: Christ Church, MS 101, by the same scribe and illuminator, which is explicitly dated 1528. The Christ Church manuscript is a nearly exact twin, its dimensions closely congruent, as are the occasions, the number of illustrations, and their subjects; what differences of detail they are may, then, be suggestive of the individual histories of the volumes. The Epistolary is fully described by Hanna and Rundle, *Christ Church*, 226–32 and is cited below as the ChCh MS.

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Fols. 1–2: blank.

1. Fols. 3–48: '*Secundum Mattheum Matthei iiiii*. In illo tempore Ambulans Iesvs iuxta mare galilee vidit duos fratres — quia tu es Christvs filius dei qui in hunc mundum venisti'.

The gospel readings for feastsdays, including readings for Andrew (for Bath and Wells), Cuthbert (for Durham), William Fitzherbert, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, all sees at one time or another occupied by Thomas Wolsey, as well Frideswide, whose Oxford priory had recently become the site of Cardinal College. The full list is, with dates for each feast given in square brackets and any historiated initial noted in round brackets:

Fols. 3^v: Andrew [30 November] (fol. 3: 10-line, saint standing, red cloak over a blue gown, his cross under his right arm, and book in his left hand, a landscape with buildings in the background, all within a double arch)

Fols. 3^v–5: Immaculate Conception of the Virgin [8 December] (fol. 3^v: 6-line, the birth of Mary, Anne in an elaborate bed with three midwives, in a simple interior)

Fols. 5–7^v: three Masses of Christmas [25 December] (fol. 7: the Holy Family and two angels in adoration, in front of the ruins of a classicising cupola)

Fol. 8^{r-v}: Stephen [26 December]

Fols. 8^v-9: John the Evangelist [27 December]
 Fols. 9-10: Holy Innocents [28 December]
 Fols. 10-11^v: Thomas Becket, with name erased [29 December] (fol. 10^v: 6-line, the archbishop kneeling at the altar, two soldiers entering from left and in the process of martyring him; there is no parallel to this image in the ChCh MS.)
 Fols. 11^v-12: Circumcision [1 January] (fol. 12: 6-line, rabbi to left, under red canopy, with assistant dressed as a deacon, and with Mary, Joseph and another female observing)
 Fosl. 12-13^v: Epiphany [6 January] (fol. 12: 6-line, Adoration of the Magi with black Balthasar)
 Fols. 13^v-14^v: Presentation at the Temple [2 February] (fol. 13^v: 7-line, rabbi at back centre beneath a green canopy, Virgin in foreground kneeling, with three in attendance)
 Fols. 14^v-15^v: Translation of Frideswide [12 February], with some of the title utterly erased: '*In <die translationis> sancta Frediswide. Secund<um Mattheum.> Matth' xxv.*' (fol. 14^v: 6-line, saint standing with red-bound book in right hand and crozier in left, her ox to her left and a landscape with her priory in the background)
 Fols. 15^v-16^v: Cuthbert [20 March]
 Fols. 16^v-18: Annunciation [25 March] (fol. 17: 7-line, Gabriel, to left, approaches the Virgin kneeling at a prie-dieu beneath a red canopy, between them a vase of lilies, and a well-lit interior in the background)
 Fols. 18^{r-v}: Holy Saturday
 Fols. 18^v-24^v: four Masses of Easter (fol. 19: 10-line, risen Christ above the tomb, three soldiers sleeping and one watching in awe; the depiction of the soldiers is strongly reminiscent of Dürer's 'Small Passion' but the position of Christ may be informed by his 'Large Passion')
 Fols. 24^v-26: Low Sunday (*Dominica in albis*)
 Fols. 26-27: Ascension [sixth Thursday after Easter]
 Fols. 27-28: Vigil of Pentecost
 Fols. 28-32: four Masses of Pentecost [seventh Sunday after Easter] (fol. 28^v: 10-line, seated Virgin, surrounded by eleven apostles, looking up to the Dove of the Holy Spirit, with a column with Corinthian capital at back left; presumably influenced by Dürer's 'Small Passion')
 Fols. 32-34: Trinity Sunday [Sunday after Pentecost] (fol. 32^v: 8-line, the Father and the Son seated on a high-backed exedra bench, the Son to the left in his red cloak, with the crown of thorns, and a cross (its inscription incomplete, only having 'I'), the Father to the right, with a papal mitre; between them an orb on which each rests a hand, and above their bench the Dove; the whole is close to the rendition of the scene in Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 27^v, but here the initial rises without a break into the upper border, where a trio of angels in the cloudy heavens serenade the Trinity)
 Fols. 34-35^v: William, archbishop of York [8 June]
 Fols. 36^{r-v}: Corpus Christi [Thursday after Trinity] (fol. 36: 12-line, the Last Supper, with Christ at back centre hugging with right arm the disciple whom he loved, and Judas at front back to the viewer but identifiable by the money-bag he holds; the whole modelled on Dürer's 'Large Passion' but with the oculus in the back wall replaced in this initial with a blue drape)
 Fols. 36^v-38: Nativity of John the Baptist [24 June]
 Fol. 38^{r-v}: Peter and Paul [29 June] (fol. 38: 7-line, the saints seated Peter to left with keys and a tiara so forcefully erased his face also is now invisible, while Paul to his right holds a book in his right hand and an upright sword in his left, all within a double arch and two windows visible)
 Fol. 39^{r-v}: Visitation [2 July] (fol. 39: 7-line, the plump Virgin, to left, meeting stooping Elizabeth to right, behind them a brick wall and, at right a building with Romanesque arches and a tower; as with Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 33^v, the image is reminiscent of BL, MS. Additional 34294, Hours of Bona Sforza, fol. 61, an illumination which has been attributed to Gerard Horenbout (see TEXTUAL PRESENTATION below), the unique occasion of a parallel with the Hours of Bona Sforza)
 Fol. 40: Translation of Thomas Becket [7 July], with part of title lightly erased (*In festo translationis*)

sancti <*Thome martyris*> *Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*) and text only three lines, followed by instruction ‘*Require in alio festo eiusdem*’.

Fols. 40-41: Relic Sunday [third Sunday after Midsummer] (fol. 40^v: 6-line, a gathering of saints adoring the face of Christ, with at front left, the balding head of Wolsey; the whole a variation of the image used for All Saints at Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 40, but here there is no depiction of a king, and the papal tiara has not been erased)

Fols. 41^v-42: Name of Jesus [7 August] (fol. 41^v: 8-line, a naked infant Jesus, resting on a blue cushion and against a gold mandorla, holding a gold orb and surrounded by adoring angels, the whole similar to that at Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 35^v but in reverse and here there is no Dove)

Fols. 42^v-43^v: Assumption of the Virgin [15 August] (fol. 43: 10-line, the Virgin, turned to the left and praying is ferried upward by four angels with the clouds rising into the upper border from where the Lord, surrounded by lightly-drawn cherubim and with an orb in front of him, awaits with open arms; these details make some contrast with the generically similar depiction at Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 36^v)

Fol. 43^v: Translation of St Cuthbert [4 September], text only four lines, followed by instruction ‘*Require in alio festo eiusdem*’.

Fol. 44: Nativity of the Virgin [8 September], text only three lines

Fol. 44: Frideswide [19 October], text only three lines followed by instruction ‘*Require in alio festo eiusdem*’

Fol. 44^v: All Saints [1 November], text only three lines, followed by instruction ‘*Require in festo Reliquiarum*’

Fols. 44^v-45^v: Hugh, bishop of Lincoln [17 November]

Fols. 45^v-47: Dedication of the church (fol. 46: 10-line, Jesus coaxing Zacchaeus in his tree, the gospel being Luke 19:10; the whole closely similar to Oxford: Christ Church, MS. 101, fol. 43, with the basic model for both possibly being the woodcut which appears at *Auslegung des Lebens Jesu Christi* ([Ulm: Johann Zainer, c.1482], fol. [79^r])

Fols. 47-48: ‘*Pro defunctis*’, with bottom ten lines blank.

Fols. 48^v-49^v: blank but bounded and ruled.

COLLATION 1–5⁸ 6⁸ with last, after fol. 49, being the pastedown. No catchwords; all quires except the last signed on the first leaf at very bottom right (sometimes cropped), quires 1–5 = a–e.

TEXTUAL PRESENTATION AND DECORATION Headings in red, with fitful use of wide spacing or of cul-de-lampe presentation (eg. fol. 34, 42^v, 45^v) to fill pages so that the text will begin at the head of the next. The text divided into paragraphs with their capitals written in a set-off marginal column. In the text, nomina sacra presented in widely spaced capitals. All feasts open with an illumination of one of two varieties. The simpler style provides has the initial letter (most often ‘T’) placed within a rectangular gold frame of two- to six-lines; the initial is conceived either as a gold trunk sprouting green leaves or, more often, as an arrangement of jewellery, primarily of gold and pearls with occasionally other precious stones; they are placed on red or blue grounds (some with gold semy), sometimes with the initials ‘TW’ on a cartouche placed at the centre of the letter (eg. fol. 24^v, 30^v, 34^v) and once his motto on a scroll wrapped around the letter (fol. 47^v; see further PROVENANCE). . One- to two-line versions of this style accompany the more ornate variety of illumination, which involves a six- to twelve-line historiated initial placed within a full border, with on a gold (occasionally pink) background flowers, usually growing from pots (and occasionally, birds); the upper and lower portions usually display Wolsey’s heraldry (see further PROVENANCE). There are nineteen such occasions, the subjects of the initials noted above (see CONTENTS). See AT no. 828 (83) and plate lvii (fols. 3 and 43).

Hugh Paget, ‘Gerard and Lucas Hornebolt in England’, *Burlington Magazine* 101 (1959)

396–402 at 400, identifies the illuminator as Gerard, on him and his children who learnt his profession, Lucas and Susanna, see also Lorne Campbell and Susan Foister, ‘Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout’, *Burlington Magazine*, 128 (1986) 719–27 and Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick ed., *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles, 2003), 427–38. Campbell and Foister query Gerard’s association with Wolsey, while Elizabeth Morrison, at *Illuminating the Renaissance*, : 503–7 (reproducing fols. 31, 36, and 45) has gone further and emphatically rejected the attribution. She cast the artist into anonymity as ‘The Master of Cardinal Wolsey’, noted, following the dissertation of S. M. Hardie (MA thesis, University of Bristol, 1983), the debt of some of the initials to Dürer and hypothesised that the manuscript may have been sent to the continent for illuminating. Hanna and Rundle, *Christ Church*, 229 reject that last suggestion, on the basis that the borders suggest local acquaintance with Wolsey’s insignia; they also draw attention to the similarities between the decoration in the lectionaries with the royal charters produced for Cardinal College, often taken to be by a member of the Horenbout family (most recently, by Scot McKendrick in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 432–33), and so tentatively re-assign the illumination to ‘the Horenbout milieu’.

BINDING Brown leather over millboards, sewn on eight thongs, s. xvi^{med} (1553–1558). On both boards, a blind-stamped border, Oldham’s roll HM a(9), no. 778 in plate xlvi; Mirjam M. Foot has found examples of this roll on bindings made for Andrew Perne by the ‘King Edward and Queen Mary binder’: *The Henry Davis Gift. A Collection of Bookbindings*, 3 vols (London, 1978–2010), 1:17–26; an image of one of those Perne volumes (now Cambridge: Peterhouse, N.16.20) is provided by David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800* (London, 2005), colour pl. 11.3. On both boards of our manuscript, there is a gold-stamped centrepiece, with royal arms, an ‘S’-leaf on each side, all within a semy lozenge, which is characteristic of the same binder, with the arms and ‘S’-leaf (but not the lozenge) identical with that on Cambridge: Trinity College, MS. R.16.2, the Trinity Apocalypse (reproduced and discussed by G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1929), 78–81 and pl. xxvii; cf. BL, C27e13 (Edmund Bonner, *A profitable and necessary doctrine*, London: John Cawood, 1555), owned by Queen Mary; an image available on the BL Database of bindings, last accessed 11 April 2017). The same binder also provides two sizes of gold-stamped fleurs de lis at the corners of the border and small floral ornament repeated in each compartment of the spine. On the binder, see also Howard M. Nixon and Mirjam M. Foot, *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 29–30 (with further bibliography). Two sets of holes in both boards but no string ties to hold the book closed. At the centre of the fore-edge of the lower board, a small repair as if from a clasp, but with no sign of a strap-seating in the upper board. At the front, the two flyleaves are parchment, unruled but of similar quality to that of the main body of the codex; the first flyleaf is conjoint with the pastedown, the stub of the second pasted under the pastedown. At the back, the last leaf of the final quire, bounded but not ruled, is employed as the pastedown. A College bookplate on the front pastedown and a lengthy discussion of the book (s. xx¹), glued to the back pastedown.

PROVENANCE

This manuscript ostentatiously announces that it was prepared for Cardinal Thomas Wolsey through the constant armorial materials in the borders. These include his badges (a blue leopard’s head above a crown, two columns sometimes crossed, and two crossed maces), his motto ‘dominus mihi adiutor’ (misspelt as ‘advitor’ at fols. 7, 17, 28^v, 43 and once at 38), and the full achievement of his arms. This is typically, within the Garter, a cardinal’s hat and mantling in lieu of helm, cherub supporters bearing crosses (sometimes rather muscular nudes, sometimes in pseudo-classical togas), the arms ‘sable, on a cross engrailed argent, a lion passant gules, between four leopards’ faces azure, on a chief or, a Tudor rose gules, barbed and seeded proper between two Cornish choughs sable, beaked and legged gules’ (for Wolsey’s heraldry, see Henry L.

Thompson, *Christ Church* (London, 1900), 267-72). Thrice (fols. 19, 28^v and 43) his arms impale those of the see of York, 'gules, crossed keys argent, surmounted by a crown or' (York alone in the border, fol. 36). But on fols. 3, 13^v, 14^v and 46 Wolsey's arms impale those of the see of Winchester, 'gules, two keys addorsed in bend, one argent the other or, enfiled of a sword in bend sinister argent, hilted etc. or'. His position as bishop of Winchester is also alluded to by the repeated incorporation into the borders of the initials 'TW' (fols. 3^v, 10^v, 12, 14^v, 39, 40^v), for 'Thomas Wintonensis', replacing the 'TC' for 'Thomas Cardinalis' found in the ChCh MS. This heraldry permits a narrow dating for the completion of the book: Wolsey was granted the bishopric of Winchester on 8 February 1529 (exchanging it for Durham), though his provision to the see had been expected for some months, as noted by James Carley, 'Thomas Wolsey's Epistle and Gospel Lectionaries: Unanswered Questions and New Hypotheses', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28 (2015), 135-51 (with plates of fol. 3 and 14^v of our manuscript); he fell from power on 10 October of that year, although he nominally held the bishopric until his death on 29 November 1530. The visual emphasis on his new title is, however, not paralleled by the text which has no mention of Winchester's local saint, Swithun. We should conclude, then, that this manuscript was envisaged before Wolsey had a firm expectation of receiving that bishopric and the writing of it completed before the illumination responded to the new circumstances. There is a further detail, involving a contrast with its twin volume, which might be suggestive: in the ChCh MS., the moveable feast of Corpus Christi is placed before the commemoration of William, archbishop of York (8 June), while in our manuscript, the order is reversed. Both Cristina Neagu, 'Dating Wolsey's Lectionaries', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 4 (2008), 2-5 [freely available online] and James Carley, 'Wolsey Lectionaries', 139-40 have wondered whether this may relate to the annual shifting in the liturgical calendar. If the ChCh MS., produced in 1528, was designed for use in the following year, its ordering would be correct (Trinity Sunday falling on 23 May and so Corpus Christi on 27 May in 1529). However, within the possible period, the only year on which Trinity, William of York and Corpus Christi fall in the sequence that appears in our manuscript was 1528 (Trinity Sunday 7 June, Corpus Christi 11 June). It may, of course, simply be that the movability of the feasts elicited a certain insouciance on the scribe's part but the sequence of production implied by the liturgical information is plausible, if we recognise that the script of the manuscripts could have been produced in the opposite order to their decoration. This alternative scenario would be: Pieter Meghen completed his work on the Gospel Lectionary some time in early 1528, and when he moved to the Epistolary, realising it was now too late to be ready for use in that year, prepared it with 1529 in mind; he then passed the two manuscripts together to the illuminator, who clearly decided to work on what is now the ChCh MS. before our manuscript. This reconstruction would also fit another piece of textual evidence: our manuscript is complete, but the ChCh MS. has blank pages interrupting its text; perhaps conscious that the books were already overdue, Meghen sent on the quires for both volumes before his work on the second of them was entirely finished.

Why did Wolsey commission these twin volumes? It has long been assumed that the two lectionaries were produced for use at Wolsey's Oxford foundation of Cardinal College, but this has recently been questioned by both Hanna and Rundle, *Christ Church*, 230 and Carley, 'Wolsey's Lectionaries', 142-43. It is understandable that the fairly unusual prominence given to St Frideswide has been taken to imply an association with the college that was to house her shrine, and, more generally, the rota of feasts is close to those required to be celebrated by Wolsey's statutes for his foundation, as revised in 1527 — but, crucially, they are not identical. It might be considered a mere quibble that there are feasts included which do not appear in the cycle (John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, St Thomas Becket — a surprising omission from the college's rota — and the Translation of St Cuthbert); it is more notable that one minor feast explicitly named in the Statutes is absent from both lectionaries, the Transfiguration. Moreover, there are curiosities in both manuscripts concerning Frideswide. In the ChCh MS., only her translation appears and not her main feast; at least in this Gospel Lectionary, both occasions appear but

with her main feast (fol. 44) given only a brief entry, with a cross-reference to her translation. One could argue that the makers of the manuscript considered it important to place emphasis on the saint at her first appearance and this would be sufficient explanation if it were to be used in any location but Cardinal College where such importance was attached to her main feast. The accumulated evidence suggests that the incomplete overlap between the lectionaries' content and the required devotions of the college reflects not a specific association but a common source, which was the interests of the founder. The manuscripts, in other words, are best considered a reflection of his personal identity, defined by the range of sees he had held and by his *alma mater* of Oxford, and so, as Prof. Carley argues, they were probably intended for use in one of his private chapels.

Whether this manuscript ever reached destination Wolsey planned for it, however, is in doubt. It may be that before Wolsey's fall and death, the ChCh MS. was put to liturgical use, as interlinear stress marks have been added to it neatly throughout, probably at an early date, but whoever was responsible for those marks did not provide the same service in our manuscript. If these twins were for a time separated, they were probably reunited when Wolsey's property was taken into royal hands: in both volumes, the papal tiara has been removed by smudging (though one instance was missed in ours at fol. 40^v), presumably in the mid-1530s and references to Becket expunged in the same style of partial rewashing, presumably soon after his 'unsainting' by proclamation, 16 November 1538 (again, in our manuscript, implementation of the new instructions was not thorough, as the initial depicting Becket is undamaged). At this stage, our manuscript (perhaps in contrast to the ChCh MS.) was probably bound in little more than in its outer leaves, which only in the subsequent decades came to be the pastedowns to the work of the 'King Edward and Queen Mary Binder', who is known to have been active in London in the very last years of Henry's reign until 1558 (Foot, *Davis Gift*, i, 17). He gains his sobriquet from the fact that some of his work was for each of those monarchs. Obviously, it was only in the reign of Mary that these volumes would have again become useful, and our manuscript does include three pieces of evidence for its being employed in church services.

Two of the pieces are undated details. First, while there are not stress-marks throughout in the style added to the Epistolary, there are less elegant interventions in plummet serving the same function, confined to the Masses of Easter (second to fourth: fols. 19^v-24^v). Second, there is an interesting intervention concerning Frideswide; at the page with the illumination of her (fol. 14^v) the rubricated heading has been partially erased to remove reference to the translation. This has been done with care and in a style quite different from that used on the name of Becket; it suggests that this was being revised to make it relevant to a church where Frideswide's main feast but not her translation was being celebrated.

Where that was is revealed by the third, datable piece of evidence. At the top of the front pastedown, there is an inscription in a secretary script (with the start of the inscription repeated in less formal secretary on fol. 2 and cancelled):

'Ego T W legum doctor exhibeo procuratorium meum pro reuerendo pater et dominio domino Iohanne Wintonienci episcopo moderno, Et facio me partem pro eodem, ac nomine procuracion eiusdem promitto et per hec sancta dei euangelia in animam illius iuro quod dictus reuerendus pater hanc ecclesiam suam Cathedralē pie et sancte gubernabit, et reget, Ac pro virili sua bona iura libertates et priuilegia illius conseruabit et ab alijs quantum in se fuerit et ad ipsum attinebit conseruari curabit Sicut <me> deus me adiuuet et Sancta dei euangelia.'

This statement of oath was taken by a proxy for John White (1509/10-1560), a Wykehamist, who was later Warden of Winchester College (1542-54) and chaplain to Stephen Gardiner, before, under Mary, becoming a bishop himself, first of Lincoln, from 1554, and then translated to Winchester; he was chosen to succeed his mentor, Gardiner, on 15 April 1556, receiving custody of the temporalities on 16 May but only gaining full possession on 19 May 1557. Under Elizabeth, he was deprived of his bishopric, 26 June 1559; he died less than six months later, on 12 January 1560, at the house of his cousin and brother-in-law, Sir Thomas White of South

Warnborough (*ODNB*; *BRUO 1500-1540*). Sir Thomas (1507-1566), himself several times MP for Hampshire in Mary's reign, and Treasurer of the bishopric of Winchester, has been identified as the "TW" of the oath, by Carley, 'Wolsey's Lectionaries', 148 but there is no sign that he was a doctor of laws, or had a university education (see *HofC*). It is, presumably, instead the Thomas White or Whyte (1514-1588) of Leckford (Hants) who was another Wykehamist, BCL 1541 and DCL by 1553, and who served as Warden of New College (1553-1573), before becoming Chancellor of Salisbury; in the period relevant to us, he was also a canon of Winchester (1554-57) (*BRUO 1500-1540*). He presumably swore the oath on this volume in Winchester in 1556. Our manuscript was probably already in the cathedral at that point, being used for services — James Carley has offered the tantalising hypothesis that it may have arrived there (we can assume newly bound) for Mary's wedding on 25 July 1554: 'Wolsey's Lectionaries', 150.

Carley, 'Wolsey's Lectionaries', 148-51 has also provided the reconstruction of the subsequent history of the two volumes. They once again became redundant for liturgical use early in the reign of Mary's sister, but they both remained in the vicinity of the Cathedral. The ChCh MS. was given to that institution in 1614 by John Lant, organist at Winchester: Hanna and Rundle, *Christ Church*, 231. Our manuscript has, at the top of fol. 1, the name 'Samuell Chappington' (s. xvi/xvii). Carley notes that this man, of a Devon family, was associated with the organ-maker, John Chappington (d. 1606), who worked at Winchester in 1603-1604. Samuel and John collaborated in 1599; two years earlier, John had been in Oxford, building an organ for Magdalen's chapel (Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), 55). Though the date of the donation of the Gospel Lectionary is not recorded, it is tempting to assume that Samuel, a relative of the man who had made Magdalen's organ, considered this manuscript which he had entered his possession an appropriate gift to the college who counted among its alumni its original commissioner.

As this manuscript is not mentioned in James, *Ecloga* but does appear in Bernard, *Catalogi* (with its present shelfmark, pithily described as 'Missale pulcherrime delineatum'), the date of the donation can be assigned to some point in the seventeenth century. There is internal and external evidence for interest in the volume since it arrived in Oxford. In June 1718, it was shown by a fellow, Robert Lydall (1599-1742; see *AO*, 952 and *CCEd*), to the antiquary, Thomas Hearne, who declared it 'very curious' and 'admirably well illuminated', noting in particular the repeated presence of the initials "TW" (*Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. C. E. Doble, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1885-1921), vi (1902), 194). In the early nineteenth century, a reader wrote in pen a note at the centre of the front pastedown, quoting from Gloucester Ridley's *Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley* (London, 1763) concerning the 1551 injunction to remove 'superstitious books' from the royal library and commenting 'Hence the circumstances can be accounted for, of this Book's having passed from the Royal Library into private possession.' About a century later, the note was written which is now glued to the back pastedown; it recounts the feasts recorded, notes that the illumination refers to Winchester but that the text lacks mention of St Swithun, comments that the oath at the front pastedown 'has been erroneously supposed to be an inscription by Wolsey' and concludes 'It was presented to Magdalen College many years ago, but particulars as to the date and the donor are somewhat uncertain'.

David Rundle
Ralph Hanna
13 April 2017