



Campbell, Calum Iain (2009) *A study of Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 232: John Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady'*. MPhil(R) thesis.

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A STUDY OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS HUNTER 232:
JOHN LYDGATE'S 'LIFE OF OUR LADY'

BY

CALUM IAIN CAMPBELL, M.A.

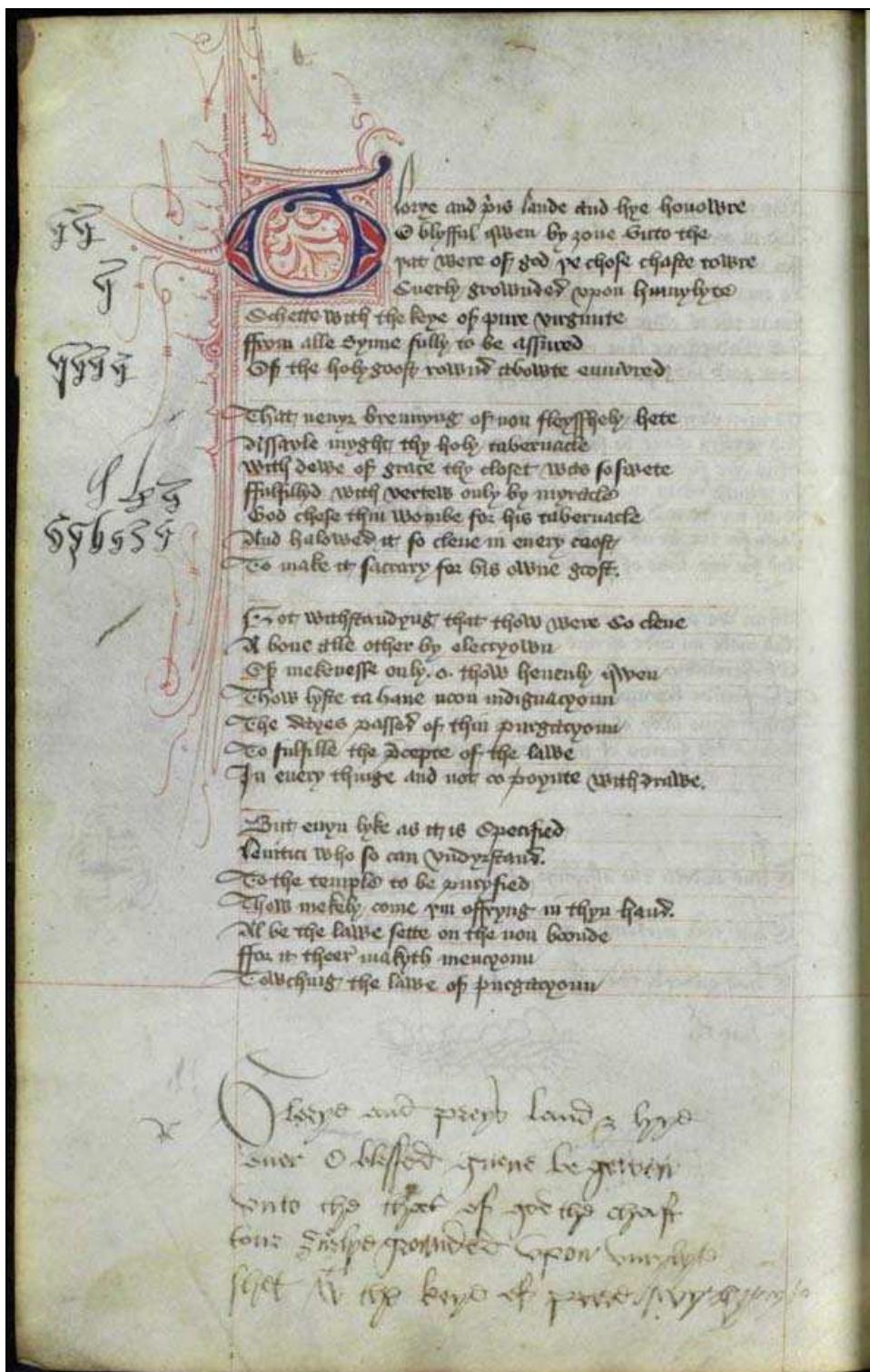
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

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PLATE 1



GUL MS Hunter 232 (U.3.5) John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, fol. 99v.
Showing trial letterforms and marginal text.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On Saturday 8th March 1997 American film director, Stanley Kubrick, was presented with the D.W. Griffith Award by the Directors' Guild of America. In his acceptance speech, Kubrick described the experience of directing a film as 'like trying to write *War and Peace* in a bumper car at an amusement park'. It strikes me that this comment could apply, quite easily, to the experience of researching this (or any large) dissertation. The people mentioned here helped steer me through the course and made the process a little smoother for me.

First and foremost I would like to thank my parents who have encouraged and supported me throughout my education and, ultimately, made this project possible. They provided the considerable financial support necessary to fund my studies, including covering my tuition fees.

Professor Graham Caie acted as my main supervisor and is the person who first introduced me to this manuscript. In my undergraduate degree he ignited my love of medieval literature and is the teacher who first exposed me to the study of medieval manuscripts.

Finally, Professor Jeremy Smith has supported and inspired me for the last five years. To him I owe a special debt for his ability to help shape my sometimes very vague ideas and for always asking me to stand back and consider the purpose of each stage of the research. Without the encouragement and support of these people, this project would have stalled long ago.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 232 is a neglected manuscript. Comprising a witness of John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, a Middle English devotional text of some 5932 lines documenting the life of the Virgin Mary, it is incomplete, missing the last 154 lines of Book VI.¹ Many of its 104 folios are damaged – some are stained or smudged, many more are torn and scratched.² Although some of the tears and cuts were repaired when the codex was rebound in 1952, it is interesting to note that the majority of the damage appears to have been deliberate acts of vandalism and destruction. Indeed by far the most common type of damage is when parts of the vellum, usually from a margin, have been cut away altogether.

In Young and Aitken's 1908 publication *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, MS Hunter 232 was described as 'vilely abused, cut, mutilated and scribbled over' (Young and Aitken 1908: 183). When, in 1952, the manuscript was repaired and rebound, the binder's notes (pasted onto the end board) described it as 'badly scribbled on'. In analysing the extant manuscripts of *Life of Our Lady*, the editors of the critical edition wrote of the manuscript that 'there is much scribbling throughout the volume, doggerel verse, and names of former owners' (Lauritis et al 1961: 47).

Finally, when Carl Grindley came across the manuscript during the course of his PhD research, he described it as having suffered as the victim of ‘over-enthusiastic use’ (Grindley 1996: 28).

Hunter 232, as these descriptions allude to, features a particularly high volume of marginalia. Of its 104 folios, virtually all of them contain marginalia of some sort.³ The marginalia are of many varied types, appear in several hands and must have been written over a period of some time. The marginalia mainly consist of pen trials; practice and trial letterforms; doodles; passages copied from the main text; scraps of letters, indentures and verse; names and signatures; and biblical references.⁴ The fact that the vast majority of the marginalia have no direct relationship to the text of the poem, indeed in some cases even obliterate or obscure parts of it, has misled many previous scholars to ignore them as meaningless or not worthy of scholarly interest.

1.2 SCOPE OF THIS DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of a study of MS Hunter 232, or more specifically a study of the marginalia contained within Hunter 232 and aims to redress the obvious imbalance in the study of this manuscript. In doing so it shows the value of marginal annotations in gaining a fuller understanding of a particular manuscript or its users and shows the value of even context-free marginalia. It also clearly sets out the methods applied to this research, particularly those involved in tracing provenance,

in the hopes of encouraging further research of a similar nature in other manuscripts.

The descriptions of this manuscript by previous scholars and the lack of interest in it over time are symptomatic of a rather old-fashioned attitude to manuscript research. For traditional scholars, the primary interest of any manuscript was likely to be its original contents – i.e. its text, decoration, even its palaeography. With the increase of interest in book history, scholars now look at all aspects of the manuscripts they study. Much recent research has tended to look at the medieval reader rather than solely the author or scribe. In carrying out such research, the marginal annotations of past readers become invaluable sources of evidence and the merits of manuscripts such as Hunter 232 can begin to be acknowledged. Indeed, this seems to be the sole area of interest in this manuscript – Hunter 232, it seems, was not read so much as it was used. This may seem like a rather pedantic distinction but it will be elaborated on in detail in the course of this study.

It is the goal of this dissertation to thoroughly investigate Hunter 232 and so show that its neglect by previous scholars has been unjustified. Through a close study of the marginalia of the manuscript, a history of the uses and users of the manuscript will be brought to light. In short this dissertation acts as a history of a specific book. Since this work clearly engages with the principles and practices of book history and its associated disciplines (palaeography, codicology, provenance research, etc.) it seems prudent to begin with a brief definition of and introduction to this relatively new discipline. This introduction to book history forms

the bulk of chapter two. Chapter three contains a full transcription of the marginalia of the manuscript. This is preceded by a short introduction and the detailing of the transcription policy that was applied. There follows two further chapters that focus respectively on the provenance of the manuscript, tracing the names found in the marginalia (chapter four) and on the analysis of the marginalia, showing what they can reveal about the uses of the manuscript (chapter five). The latter chapter also places the marginalia in historical and social context by considering the political and religious background of the period in which the marginalia appear to have been written. This is followed by the conclusion, which brings the results of the preceding chapters together and discusses this and similarly neglected manuscripts as viable subjects of detailed research.

1.3 THE MANUSCRIPT

Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* survives today in 47 manuscripts (IMEV).⁵ These range from extremely expensive prestige productions like British Library MS Harley 3862 or Bodleian Library MS Hatton 73 (SC 4119), to more modest examples like British Library MS Harley 2382, which is incomplete, filled with errors and whose writing is a 'loose, careless, ugly cursive script' (Lauritis et al 1961: 30). MS Hunter 232 was clearly not a prestige manuscript. It features no miniatures and the copyist made no provision for any. There are no elaborate decorative borders or intricate ornamental initials. Indeed the only decorative aspect of the manuscript is

the presence of slightly enlarged initials, typically six lines tall in blue and red ink with some pen work (flowing lines) decorating them above and below. That it was not among the most expensive of productions is apparent, however, it should be noted that the manuscript was obviously professionally produced. The main text is in a clear, neat anglicana formata hand laid out in single columns with four seven-line stanzas to each page.

As mentioned above, Hunter 232 is not in pristine condition. It should be noted, however, that its condition is by no means deplorable – the text is generally still clear and legible and the missing parts of vellum rarely encroach into or obscure the main text. It is likely that at some point, possibly for some considerable time, the manuscript was kept unbound. Indeed it is known that manuscripts, particularly in the later medieval period, were often sold without bindings. The first few folios of quire A of Hunter 232 have sustained heavy damage – the edges are torn and uneven, there are several small holes in the vellum, the ink of the main text is rather faded and the vellum itself is heavily stained and discoloured. This strongly suggests that the manuscript remained unbound for a period of time. The fact that the last quire (quire N) is missing also supports this assumption. The penultimate quire (now the last surviving quire of the manuscript, quire M) and the remainder of the internal quires share none of the same damage and discolouration of the first. This could suggest that at the time of the book first being bound, quire N was already missing. While it is almost impossible to determine exactly when the bulk of the damage to the manuscript occurred, it seems likely that it occurred

early in its history – probably in the sixteenth century. This damage, particularly the missing final quire, would have limited its use as reading material and could, in part, account for the rather unconventional way in which the manuscript seems to have been used by its owners.

As an initial exercise in familiarising myself with this manuscript, I undertook a physical description. It should be noted, however, that two previous physical descriptions exist – the first, in Young and Aitken (1908: 183-5) is now out of date (the manuscript has subsequently been rebound and much of the damage they discuss repaired); the second in Grindley (1996: 26-9) while very thorough is rather more detailed than is required here.⁶ The description offered here is more than adequate for the needs of this dissertation and rests somewhere between the two. I should also note that I am indebted to the ‘checklist for physical descriptions’ by Linne Mooney for providing a template for conducting this description.⁷

1.4 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

BINDING AND MATERIAL:

The binding is modern leather: the codex was rebound in 1952. A binder’s note detailing the extent of the restoration is pasted onto the end board. The shield of the original binding is preserved (pasted onto the front board). The material of the manuscript is parchment with modern paper flyleaves (ii + 104 + ii).

CONTENTS:

The manuscript contains an incomplete copy of John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*. Young and Aitken (1908: 184) divide that poem into the following section:

1. Poem on the Nativity of Our Lady
2. Poem on the Counsel of the Holy Trinity
3. Poem on the Annunciation
4. Poem on the Nativity of Christ
5. Poem on the Circumcision
6. Poem on the Epiphany
7. Poem on the Purification and Presentation.

The manuscript contains no original table of contents, though a slip of paper inserted between the board and front flyleaves gives the above contents in an eighteenth-century hand.

COLLATION:

The collation of the manuscript is uniform and is composed of the following quires: A⁸ (1r-8v); B⁸ (9r-16v); C⁸ (17r-24v); D⁸ (25r-32v); E⁸ (33r-40v); F⁸ (41r-48v); G⁸ (49r-56v); H⁸ (57r-64v); I⁸ (65r-72v); J⁸ (73r-80v); K⁸ (81r-88v); L⁸ (89r-96v); and M⁸ (97r-104v). The manuscript lacks quire N (105r-end) containing the last section of the poem.

MEASUREMENTS, LAYOUT AND FRAMING:

The average size of a folio in this manuscript is 287 x 192 mm, with a writing space measuring 168 x 118 mm. The layout is in single columns,

with 28 lines per folio (4 x 7 line stanzas). Framing in faint red crayon shows 2 verticals and 2 horizontals, and is ruled within. Pricking is visible at the edges of most folios.

DECORATION:

The manuscript contains no miniatures. Decoration consists solely of enlarged ornamental initials, generally six lines tall in blue and red ink with decorative pen-work reaching above and below in the left margin. These initials appear at the beginning of each of the sections noted above. Less significant section breaks are indicated with smaller two-line versions of the same. None of the initials are inhabited.

FOLIATION, CATCHWORDS AND SIGNATURES:

Foliation in pencil appears on the upper outer corner of most rectos. Catchwords, by the scribe, can be noticed in the lower outer corner of the last recto of each quire. Signatures appear on the first four folios of each quire on the lower outer corner of rectos.

SECUNDO FOLIO:

‘And the lykowre of thyn grace’.

ANNOTATION:

The codex is heavily annotated by later users, with numerous marks and indications of ownership appearing throughout (see chapters 3-5 for details).

2. A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO BOOK HISTORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of the book is not a new avenue of scholarship. Indeed, as Robert Darnton (1990: 9) observes, the study of books goes back ‘to the scholarship of the Renaissance’. That said, the concept of book history as a distinct academic discipline is a relatively recent development. This may strike some as odd, and rightly so. The book really must be considered one of the most significant cultural developments in history. Consider, for example, how different Europe might have been had not certain key texts been published. How different would the course of history have been if the bible had not been published, or the works of the reformer Martin Luther, or Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, or Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*?¹ Books (or in any case the ideas communicated through them) are influential and powerful and, in some cases, have clearly influenced the course of history. It therefore seems natural that the development of the book from the earliest times to the present day would be of interest to scholars.

Book history has become a thriving discipline with new generations of scholars beginning to expand on its ideas and make names for themselves in the field. Every year numerous new volumes in this area are published and then hotly debated. The study of book history was made more accessible in 2002 by the publication of *The Book History Reader*,

edited by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. Now in its second edition, this volume brings together many articles and papers that have long been out of print or difficult to come by. In republishing some of the key texts in book history studies, the *Reader* provides the student with a cohesive narrative of the gradual formation and development of this new discipline. A second, still ongoing, major project in book history is the seven-volume *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. This is, perhaps, the biggest collaborative effort in the field to date and is set to make valuable contributions both to scholarship and to the prominence of this area of study.

Prior to the development and recognition of book history as a distinct field of study, individual elements of what is now book history had been studied as part of separate, established academic disciplines. Literary scholars, for instance, would study texts in isolation but have no interest in the book as a material object or in the scribe or printer who produced that text. Palaeographers might look at the handwriting of a particular scribe or at the various hands found in a certain manuscript, but show no interest in the text that was being produced by those scribes. In essence, by the middle of the twentieth century, some of the key figures, the majority of the skills and even some of the early theories which later formed part of book history studies were present but the work was all carried out by individual scholars and not connected into any kind of cohesive whole.² Robert Darnton (1990: 9) describes how this field of study ‘arose from the convergence of several disciplines on a common set of problems, all of them having to do with the process of

communication'. However, for some scholars, Darnton included, the bringing together of various distinct disciplines has caused problems. Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker (1993: 48) once wrote that 'if ever there was a subject (in modern academic jargon) "interdisciplinary", it is the study of the book'. Robert Darnton described the state of book history, as he saw it, with rather more pessimism. It is, he wrote, 'interdisciplinarity run riot' (Darnton 1990: 10).

2.2 THE MAJOR SCHOLARS AND MOVEMENTS

This section aims to sketch out the main theories and movements and to introduce the key scholars involved in the development of book history. It must, however, be borne in mind that this is only the briefest of introductions and that any reader with a more than passing interest in this subject is advised to consult some of the works mentioned in the course of this chapter and in the bibliography.

Among the key early movements in the development of book history, was New Bibliography. This movement came to prominence in the 1950s and was championed by scholars like W.W. Greg and Fredson Bowers (Finkelstein and McCleery 2005: 8). New Bibliographers were, in essence, interested in creating authoritative texts through eliminating editorial changes, scribal alterations and other non-authorial contamination. Scholars associated with this movement would minutely examine texts, comparing and contrasting different manuscripts of

particular texts (or in the case of printed books: different editions of texts, or productions by different printing houses). Through such examinations they would build up stemma, showing the relationships between the various different versions of a text, i.e. manuscript C was copied from manuscript B. Working through these relationships, their goal was to remove all of the additions and errors that had been introduced through the processes involved in disseminating the text. As they saw it, these additions and changes corrupted the author's text. The product of such research was intended to be a version of the text that matched as closely as possible the work as the author originally intended.³

The New Bibliography movement held sway for several decades, but eventually scholars began to criticise the results of such research. Finkelstein and McCleery (2005: 9) note that 'matters began to shift, slowly at first, then with gathering speed from the late 1960s onwards'. At this time scholars began to call into question the viability of the New Bibliography movement. Was it really feasible to recreate the text as the author intended? How could this be achieved when several hundred years had passed and no holograph copy survived? In addition, the processes involved in New Bibliography assumed that the input of the scribe, editor, printer or reader was inherently negative. However, if a medieval scribe, or a Renaissance printer had circulated a text with alterations or corrections that they considered appropriate and a large number of people read this version of the text, then to remove such material was surely to eliminate the historical context of the text and so to experience that text in a form that the medieval reader was never exposed to.⁴

The main problem with New Bibliography was that it involved too much guesswork and that the results were only ever theoretical. The authoritative texts that were produced were merely what a particular scholar thought that a medieval author had probably intended to write. That is not to completely dismiss the merits of such work, but merely to say that in many cases it was a misguided venture. Finkelstein and McCleery (2005: 10) very succinctly summarise one of the key issues of contention associated with the kind of scholarship promoted by the movement: ‘literary criticism of texts too often ignored meaning beyond the borders of “the text”’.

New Bibliography was prominent from the 1950s and only in the 1980s and 1990s did a new movement finally emerge that collected a series of scholars’ ideas together and mounted an effective attack on previous scholarship in book history. The movement in question was the *Histoire du Livre* and its figureheads were Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier. Rather than solely concentrating on text, this new movement also studied the book as a material object, its production and reception (Finkelstein and McCleery 2005: 11). This new movement really saw the creation of the form of book history that we know today. In essence all of the separate skills and fields (literary criticism, palaeography, social history, etc.) were, for the first time, used together to study the whole concept of the book and its history. By this I mean that the constituent parts of the book (its text, physical structure, palaeography, provenance, etc.) were now often studied together in a newly unified discipline. As with any area of academia, scholarly disagreement is rife and practices

vary between critics, but today there is, generally speaking, now agreement over what book history is.

One of the major achievements of the *Histoire du Livre* movement came in 1982 when Robert Darnton published his article *What is the History of Books?*⁵ In the early 1980s Darnton saw a huge number of possible research models in his field. His article was an attempt to simplify matters. In it he proposed ‘a general model for analysing the manner in which books made their way into society’ (Finkelstein and McCleery 2005: 12). This model was Darnton’s communication circuit. The circuit included the various processes (writing, printing, selling, etc.) that formed part of the process of the dissemination of texts. This article was a watershed point in this field.

Darnton’s circuit theory was important in the development of this discipline in that it provided a clear framework for incorporating all of the various skills and expertise of its practitioners into one unified body with a common goal – studying the development of the book in its entirety. This was the birth of book history, because for the first time the text, the book as a material object, its dissemination and reception were considered together, rather than separately. However, this is not to say that his theory was accepted universally. In 1993, Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker wrote *A New Model for the Study of the Book*. In this article they argued that Darnton’s model was weakened by the fact that rather than focussing on the circulation of the book, it focussed on ‘the people involved in its movements’ (Adams and Barker 1993: 53). Their solution was to invert Darnton’s model so that ‘the cycle of the book becomes the centre [and]

the indirect forces are seen outside it, looking and pressing inwards' (Adams and Barker 1993: 53).⁶ The difference was subtle but important.

These groundbreaking articles raised the profile of scholarship in book history and encouraged new generations of scholars to launch careers as researchers in the field. Since then many new books and articles have been published and new theories on the evolution and study of the book have emerged. While most of these developments will not be discussed here, the relatively new scholarly interest in the act of reading which has blossomed as an offshoot of book history is very relevant to this dissertation and will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 THE VALUE OF MARGINALIA

Thus far this chapter has charted the development of book history as a distinct academic discipline since the last half of the twentieth century. The reader might be forgiven for asking what relevance this has to do with a study of a medieval manuscript? The main purpose of this dissertation is to study the marginalia of that manuscript and in so doing, reveal a social history of the manuscript – identifying the owners, building up biographical details of them, placing the marginalia in historical context and, finally, discussing the reasons why the owners of the manuscript used it in the ways that they did and at the particular time that they did. This final section will discuss the relevance of marginalia in

such research and so show the value of studying manuscripts like Hunter 232.

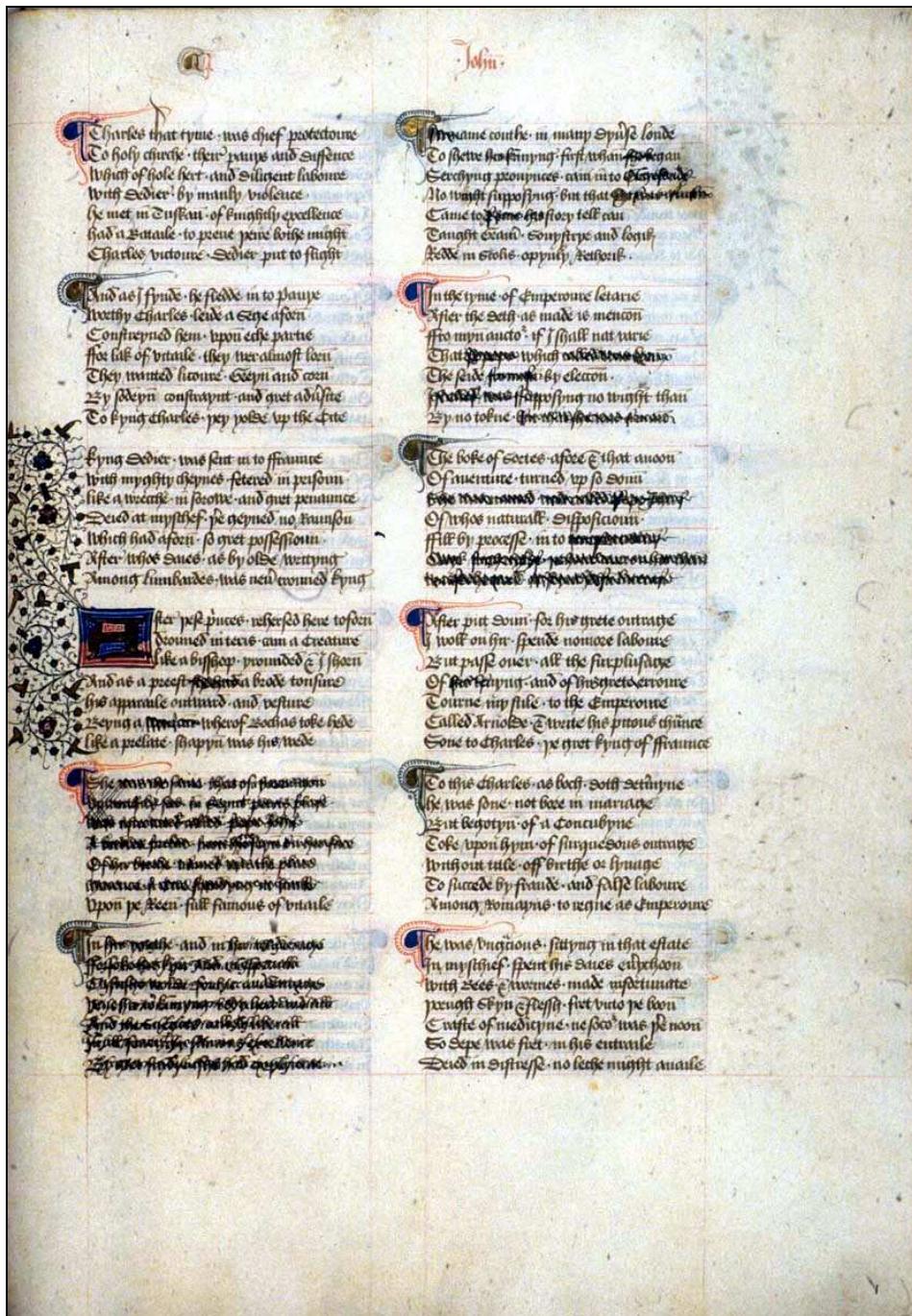
One major area of interest for some scholars working in book history has been to attempt to reconstruct the medieval reading experience. Just how far can a reading experience be recreated? Particularly the medieval reading experience, separated from us, as it is, by several centuries? This question has occupied scholars of book history for decades. Of course, the scholar can only go so far and, inevitably, there will be an element of guesswork involved, but there are some methods that allow researchers to begin working towards, at least, a better understanding of the medieval reader.

It seems obvious, but it is necessary to point out that the act of reading involves communication – communication between the author and the reader (and perhaps in some circumstances between the reader (i.e. speaker) and the audience (i.e. listeners), though this is not the concern of the present work). In some rather fundamental ways, the physical experience of reading, the act of reading itself, has changed since the medieval period. The two most significant changes are the increase in literacy (the change there being that people became able to read for themselves rather than having to listen to a speaker) and the development of silent reading. Indeed, this latter development was seen as a major advance (Chartier 1989:157). These developments allowed readers to study texts when they wanted and however many times they wanted to. This fundamentally changed the way that people experienced texts and allowed much deeper analysis of reading material by individuals.

The new interest in the reader and the experience of reading has brought about a corresponding interest in marginalia. Traditionally, such annotations were seen as worthless and were simply ignored. Editors of texts omitted them from the main text of their editions and often did not even mention them in notes. Now marginalia have been rehabilitated into academia and their value realised. Marginalia can reveal insights into how particular readers reacted to the texts they read. They show prejudices, contemporary opinion, and, it must be assumed, the genuine reactions of particular readers. In cases where a manuscript has been annotated over time by a number of users, the marginalia can show opinion and interpretation of texts changing over time. In other cases annotations in the margins of manuscripts or printed books can be shown to reflect the social context of the time. For instance, some manuscripts with religious texts had references to the traditional Christian church (i.e. the pope) removed following the reformation.⁷

The transcription of the marginalia found in Hunter 232 that forms the bulk of chapter three and the subsequent chapters of analysis and interpretation apply some of the theories of book history. The marginalia provide evidence for the readers and users of the manuscript and so allow a social history of this particular codex to be formed.

PLATE 2



GUL MS Hunter 5 (S.1.5) John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* fol.197r:

Showing crossed out lines, deleting references to the pope.

3. THE MARGINALIA OF MS HUNTER 232

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSCRIPTION

When preparing any transcription, careful consideration must be given as to the best way in which to present the work. The unfortunate reality is that no transcription can ever be entirely satisfactory and can never replace access to the primary source itself. The main failing of a printed edition or, for that matter, any type of edition of a manuscript, is that it keeps the reader at a remove from the original. In any edition an editor is intervening between the reader and the work and their editorial decisions, scholarly prejudices and even the smallest of changes they make can very seriously affect the interpretation, understanding and experience of a particular work.¹ This is no different in the case of Hunter 232.

When encountering this manuscript for the first time, a reader cannot help but be struck by the prominence of the marginalia. On almost every page there are marginalia of some description. Indeed in beginning this study, the high volume of marginalia was rather intimidating. On many pages a variety of different forms are present: everything from trial letterforms to scraps of text (often in more than one hand, occasionally overlapping the main text, at other times overlapping other marginalia), to doodles, pen trials and scraps of letters or verse. Often the same scrap of text will be repeated a number of times on a particular page, sometimes in more than one hand. In most cases, the additions appear in a number of

margins. Many pages feature marginal additions that, in relation to the main text of the poem, are written upside down. Others are written at right angles to the main text (i.e. parallel to the side of the folio). Additionally, a number of different pens and different shades of ink have been used to write marginalia throughout the manuscript. Indeed it is often clear that different pens have been used on the same page.² The reality is that in any transcription it is virtually impossible to replicate this sort of randomness and so the reader's experience of the marginalia in printed form is far removed from their experience of working with the manuscript itself.

In addition to the complications involved in transcribing the marginalia most effectively, there is an additional issue to contend with – exactly what should be considered marginalia? In this chapter, marginalia were taken to be any written (or drawn) addition to the folio that was not the work of the original scribe.³ After some experimentation it was decided to present the transcription as clearly and simply as possible. As an attempt to provide some sort of idea of the positioning of the marginalia, notes provide information as to what margin they appear in and their positioning in relation to the main text. In order to avoid a page obscured by the high volume of notes necessary, all associated notes appear as endnotes and are presented at the end of this study.

3.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

In the transcription and its accompanying notes, various terms are used with specific meanings attached. Early readers of this chapter expressed some confusion as to the intended application of some of these terms and the differences between them, so they are explained here:

1. Letterform – by far the most common type of marginalia in this manuscript. They are taken, very simply, to be any letter of the alphabet, in any hand written in the margins. Some of the letterforms replicate the anglicana formata forms of the main text, with varying degrees of success. Accompanying endnotes refer to this in each instance.
2. Doodle – taken to be any drawing or shape. Each occurrence of a doodle is accompanied by a note that describes its form and position on the folio.
3. Pen trial – in general any deliberate mark that is not clearly identifiable as either a letterform or doodle is described as a pen trial.

3.3 TRANSCRIPTION POLICY

The majority of the text of the marginalia are in a secretary hand written by numerous different individuals. Occasionally passages written in an imitation anglicana formata hand appear in the margins. Such instances are referred to in the notes. Punctuation and capitalisation are reproduced

as they appear in the marginalia. Occurrences of <ff>for capital <F> are reproduced as they appear in the manuscript and are not capitalised. All superscript letters are preserved in the transcription. Abbreviations are expanded and all letters supplied are underlined.⁴ Where deleted text is still legible, the text is reproduced as strikethrough text (for example: ~~strikethrough text~~). Deleted text that is no longer legible is referred to in the notes. Lineation is reproduced in the transcription with line divisions represented with a vertical stroke, thus: |. Word spacing and hyphenation are reproduced exactly as in the manuscript. As stated previously, catchwords are not considered marginalia and so are omitted from the transcription. Marks that have been caused by ink transfer from one folio to another when the book was closed on wet ink are not transcribed or remarked upon. When marginal text has been partially obscured by other marginalia or through smudging, the legible letters are transcribed as normal and the illegible letters indicated thus: *.

In order to provide the reader with an idea of the marginalia as it appeared on the page, each entry is followed by the letters: TM, LM, RM or BM in square brackets.⁵ Trial letterforms are represented in angle brackets <a>. When more than one of the same letterform appears in the margin, it is only transcribed once, preceded by an indication of the number of times the letter appears in that margin. Pen trials and doodles are indicated by the words ‘pen trial’ and ‘doodle’, respectively and the latter are accompanied by a note describing them in more detail.

Each margin is transcribed individually in the order top margin, left-hand margin, right-hand margin, and then bottom margin. The same

order of transcription is applied to each page (as applicable) with letterforms being transcribed first, followed by text, doodles and then pen trials. So, for instance, on a particular folio the letterforms of the top margin are transcribed first, followed by those in the left margin, then the right, and so on. This is followed by a transcription of the text found in the top margin, then the left, etc; followed by a description of the doodles in each margin and finally a note of any pen trials present in each margin. It is hoped that in following a uniform layout, the transcription will be presented in the most organised and accessible form. Notes allow the reader to gain an insight into how they are presented on the page and the grouping together of similar types of marginalia allow those interested in, for instance, only the marginalia containing text to easily find items of interest to them.

3.4 TRANSCRIPTION OF THE MARGINALIA

Fol. 1r (1.1)
Doodles [BM]⁶

Fol. 1v
2 <w> letterforms [LM]
1 <w> letterform [TM]⁷
2 <g> letterforms [BM]

Fol. 2r (1.2)
12 <r> letterforms [RM]
5 <w> letterforms [BM]⁸
4 <s> letterforms [RM]
1 letterform [RM]

fflowr [BM]
more [BM]⁹

Sun in * [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 2v

6 <h> letterforms [RM]

Various <h> and <f> letterforms [RM]¹⁰

hast he [RM]

If for the frwte comended | be the tre [RM]¹¹

Inthe [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 3r (1.3)

1 <s> letterform [BM]

2 <d> letterforms [BM]

4 <k> letterforms [BM]

The inthe [TM]

And from the flokke [RM]

And whan the [RM]¹²

And from the flokke [RM]¹³

If for the [RM]¹⁴

Pen trials [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 3v

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 4r (1.4)

No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 4v

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 5r (1.5)

If for the for the frwtte | commended be the tre [RM]¹⁵

Pen trials [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 5v

Sothe so it wyllme [TM]

With abyhldynd [BM]¹⁶

Fol. 6r (1.6)

and [RM]

Fol. 6v
ff [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 7r (1.7)
No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 7v
No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 8r (1.8)
No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 8v
7 <d> letterforms [LM]
4 <d> letterforms [BM]
2 <I> letterforms [BM]

Jonn [BM]¹⁷
John [BM]
J*h* [BM]¹⁸
Joh [BM]

Fol. 9r (2.1)
4 <a> letterforms [RM]

The ca*in*s of my wyten* go vnto you as [RM]¹⁹
In the [RM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 9v
No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 10r (2.2)
No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 10v
Doodle [BM]²⁰

Fol. 11r (2.3)
Jon [RM]
Thus [RM]²¹

Fol. 11v
10 <g> letterforms [LM]
20 <k> letterforms [LM]
2 <k> letterforms [RM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 12r (2.4)

11 <k> letterforms [RM]

Iff [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 12v

4 <G> letterforms [LM]

8 <G> letterforms [TM]

10 <G> letterforms [RM]

(1x) John [LM]

(4x) John [BM]

(1x) Joh [BM]

Fol. 13r (2.5)

3 <d> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [TM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 13v

4 <A> letterforms [TM]

2 <I> letterforms [BM]

(2x) John [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 14r (2.6)

2 letterforms [RM]²²

Better~~y~~ ytt ys too suffer [RM]

Better~~y~~ ytt ys too suffer & for me too a byde here [RM]²³

Fol. 14v

7 <h> letterforms [BM]

(2x) John [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 15r (2.7)

Wyllm G*g [TM]²⁴

Doodles [RM]²⁵

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 15v

Doodles [TM]²⁶

Doodles [LM]

Doodles [BM]

Fol. 16r (2.8)

No marginalia, no marks.

Fol. 16v

Here endithe the Natiuite [BM]²⁷

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 17r (3.1)

1 <w> letterform [BM]

John [RM]

John Joones [RM]²⁸

Doodles [RM]²⁹

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 17v

My [BM]

Fol. 18r (3.2)

No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 18v

Doodle [RM]³⁰

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 19r (3.3)

3 <g> letterforms [TM]

5 <g> letterforms [RM]

6 <ff> letterforms [RM]

10 <h> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 19v

No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 20r (3.4)

2 <S> letterforms [RM]

7 <ff> letterforms [RM]

In the [BM]
In the [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 20v
Pen trial [BM]

Fol. 21r (3.5)
1 <w> letterform [RM]
1 <t> letterform [BM]
1 <g> letterform [BM]

Somtime in Engeland a guge that there was [TM]
William Goldynge [RM]³¹
John Goldynge [RM]
ffor [BM]
go [BM]
Than god [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 21v
6 <G> letterforms [BM]

The [BM]³²

Pentrials [BM]

Fol. 22r (3.6)
One Kynge [TM]³³
Sum* [RM]
One kynge of a gre* [RM]
of of [BM]

Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 22v
Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 23r (3.7)
2 <ff> letterforms [RM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 23v
No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 24r (3.8)
5 <ff> letterforms [BM]

*of the [BM]³⁴

Doodles [RM]
Doodles [BM]³⁵

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 24v
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 25r (4.1)
11 <r> letterforms [RM]
4 <g> letterforms [RM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 25v
1 <f> letterform (secretary) [LM]
1 <g> letterform (secretary) [LM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 26r (4.2)
9 <s> letterforms [TM]

ffuller W [Tm]³⁶

Fol. 26v
5 <e> letterforms [BM]

(2x) Peter Debytt [BM]³⁷
P*eter D*bytt [BM]
Pet [BM]
er d [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 27r (4.3)
2 <a> letterforms [RM]
23 <d>letterforms [BM]
41 letterforms [BM]
12 <p> letterforms [BM]
17 <c> letterforms [BM]

(2x) and [RM]

Fol. 27v

(9x) and [RM]

we [BM]

She was the trone where that Salomon | ffor worthynes sette hys ryalle see
| wythe golde & yvor y^t so bryght [BM]³⁸

from the tru lyght | of lyf [BM]

Fol. 28r (4.4)

She was the *one wher [BM]

Thys is the boke of the reuer*cyon of the [RM]³⁹

(2x) John [BM]

Fol. 28v

John gosse of berkyng [LM]⁴⁰

In the b bone [TM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 29r (4.5)

3 letterforms [TM]

6 <I> letterforms [TM]

Best knouene vntoo all mene [TM]

bye thes s* *nctes th* I [TM]

The carese of mye [RM]

In th [RM]⁴¹

The [RM]

In the name of the [RM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 29v

7 <I>letterforms [RM]

10 <I>letterforms [BM]

8 <a> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 30r (4.6)

9 <I> letterforms [BM]

11 <a> letterfroms [RM]⁴²

Amyd hys well [TM]⁴³

from tyll thys [TM]

I* hour [TM]

And mye mynd ys that you be ther tyll I com & if I tarye long | thou
maybe know how to h [RM]⁴⁴

In the beg* [RM]⁴⁵

I find [RM]

I am the [BM]

Doodles [BM]⁴⁶

Fol. 30v

No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 31r (4.7)

3 <I> [RM]

1 <ff> [BM]

1 <P> [BM]

and [RM]

In the [RM]

In [RM]

Doodle [RM]⁴⁷

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 31v

4 <I> letterforms [TM]

2 <a> letterforms [LM]

2 <s> letterforms [LM]

6 <ff> letterforms [BM]

John [TM]⁴⁸

In mye so [TM]⁴⁹

In the [TM]

In mye [TM]

In mye moste hartye manor I rec [BM]

Fol. 32r (4.8)

8 <I> letterforms [BM]

1 <ff> letterform [BM]

yn the thyrd [RM]

And in the [RM]⁵⁰

In mye moste hartye manor I recomend | me vnto yow dere father &
mother [BM]⁵¹

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 32v

3 <I> letterforms [LM]

2 <I> letterforms [RM]

2 <w> letterforms [BM]

Jhon mars [BM]⁵²

Jh [BM]

Jon I [BM]
Jhon marshe [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 33r (5.1)
7 <a> letterforms [TM]
7 <I> letterforms [RM]
3 <h> letterforms [RM]

In the name of the [RM]⁵³
John masshe[RM]⁵⁴
And [BM]
I am [BM]
Soone I mene [BM]

Fol. 33v
1 <ff> letterform [LM]
2 <c> letterforms [LM]

Thys endenture made the x daye of maye in the iv [TM]

Fol. 34r (5.2)
Thyn c*one in* whan thou art in [BM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 34v
No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 35r (5.3)
17 <p> letterforms [BM]
3 <D> letterforms [BM]

Dep [BM]

Fol. 35v
2 <ff> letterforms [LM]
4 <ff> letterforms [BM]
3 <g> letterforms [BM]
1 <k> letterform [BM]

ffyrrste [BM]⁵⁵
ffyrste [BM]
thou [BM]

Fol. 36r (5.4)
shuche for* | wiche ys [RM]
henryons [BM]

Pentrials [BM]

Fol. 36v

6 <ff> letterforms [LM]
2 <ff> letterforms [RM]

Doodle [BM]⁵⁶

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 37r (5.5)

3 <M> letterforms [RM]⁵⁷

Man is he sett & ytt so manye a f* whyche | ever is *ye to hys und*yng
[RM]

Doodles [BM]⁵⁸

Fol. 37v

of all [TM]
Wyllyam [TM]
Golldynge [LM]

Doodles [BM]⁵⁹

Fol. 38r (5.6)

6 letterforms [RM]
2 <f> letterforms [RM]
1 <I> letterform [RM]

God the sun of god [RM]⁶⁰

God the sun of the lyvyd [RM]

In the [RM]

Doodles [RM]⁶¹

Doodles [BM]⁶²

Fol. 38v

In the name of the father [TM]⁶³
And [BM]

Fol. 39r (5.7)

Doodles [LM]
Doodles [BM]⁶⁴

Fol. 39v

8 letterforms [BM]

Fol. 40r (5.8)

4 <a> letterforms [TM]

4 letterforms [TM]
5 <c> letterforms [TM]
9 <a> letterforms [RM]
12 letterforms [RM]
2 <c> letterforms [RM]
14 <d> letterforms [RM]
7 <x> letterforms [BM]
3 <s> letterforms [BM]
2 letterforms [BM]
1 <ff> letterform [BM]

Doodles [RM]⁶⁵
Doodle [BM]⁶⁶

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 40v

2 <I> letterforms [BM]

Fol. 41r (6.1)

I am nott as I am nott as I was [BM]
Wharfor * then [BM]

Fol. 41v

4 <u> letterforms [BM]

Pen trial [TM]
Pen trial [LM]
Pen trial [BM]

Fol. 42r (6.2)

(2x) the [RM]⁶⁷
In the name of the [RM]
(2x) In the name [RM]

Fol. 42v

Pen trial [TM]

Fol. 43r (6.3)

1 <w> letterform [RM]
2 <I> letterforms [BM]

Peter Debet – ii s | John James – iij s [RM]
Withe [RM]
Withe drede [RM]
Thy * [BM]

Pen trial [BM]

Fol. 43v
3 <ff> letterforms [TM]⁶⁸

So god all [RM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 44r (6.4)
3 <a> letterforms [TM]
2 <I> letterforms [RM]

for the tyme ys come that God [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 44v
3 <I> letterforms [TM]
2 <a> letterforms [BM]

to whom I * | in mye anger [LM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 45r (6.5)
Wyllm [RM]

Pen trials [TM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 45v
My purpose is pl [BM]
My purpose is pleynly if I may [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 46r (6.6)
Thys is generacyon of jeneracyon of Jesus cryst [RM]⁶⁹

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 46v
Here endithe the Cownseyl of the Trynite | And bygyneythe the Natyvyty
of Cryst [BM]⁷⁰

Fol. 47r (6.7)
H* Cownseyl of the Trynite | *he Natyvyty of Cryst [TM]
He* Cownseyl of the Trynite [TM]⁷¹

Doodle [BM]⁷²

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 47v
3 <d> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 48r (6.8)
2 <I> letterforms [TM]
3 <ff> letterforms [BM]
4 <t> letterforms [BM]

So do thatt y^e maye [RM]

In the name of the father the & of | the sunne & of the holye goste so be it
[RM]⁷³

So god luyd the world that he gaue | hys onlye begotten sone to the intent
that all | that beleued in hym shuld nott perysshе butt haue | euer lastynge
lyffe [BM]⁷⁴

Doodle [BM]⁷⁵

Fol. 48v
Wyllam Gooldnge [TM]

Fol. 49r (7.1)
3 <ff> letterforms [RM]

Wyllyam Goldyng [RM]
In a [RM]
Roger Slow [RM]

Fol. 49v
1 <I> letterform [LM]

Thys indenture [LM]

Pen trials [LM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 50r (7.2)
<S> letterform [RM]
<T> letterform [RM]

Thys endenture mad [TM]⁷⁶

Man is besett by the man a fo* [RM]

Mye harte is sett [RM]⁷⁷

O Our father whyche art in heven hallowed | be thye name thye
kyngdome com thye wyll | be done juste as it is haven [BM]

The moste [BM]
Thys I [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 50v

5 <f> letterforms [LM]
6 <h> letterforms [LM]

The [RM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 51r (7.3)

19 <g> letterforms [RM]⁷⁸

The caues of my wryttinge un to youe att this tyme is to certyfy | you att
thys tyme is to certyfeye youe that I am in goo [RM]⁷⁹
In the [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 51v

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 52r (7.4)

And [TM]
And if the preste [TM]
In the name [RM]⁸⁰
(2x) In [RM]
In the [RM]
In the name o [RM]
In the n [RM]
Inthe [RM]
In the name of the father & of the sunne and of the | hollye goste [BM]

Fol. 52v

In the bygynnyng was the word [LM]
In the by [LM]⁸¹

Fol. 53r (7.5)

3 <a> letterforms [BM]

(3x) and [RM]
In the [BM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 53v

Thys is Luke of the generacyon of Jesus Cryste whyche | was the sune of
Davyd & so for the [LM]⁸²
Wyllme Goldyng | dyd play all thye | daye [BM]

Fol. 54r (7.6)

God ys char* and he that dwellythe [BM]

Doodle [RM]⁸³

Fol. 54v

7 <w> letterforms [RM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 55r (7.7)

12 <a> letterforms [RM]
1 <I> letterform [RM]⁸⁴
5 <a> letterforms [BM]
6 <w> letterforms [BM]

Indenture [RM]

John Wyllmson [RM]

Wyllm Golldynge [RM]⁸⁵

What man in thys worlde hathe done alle rage w* truble thoughte payne |
& myser* [RM]

In mye [RM]⁸⁶

and [BM]

Thys indendure [BM]

John Wood [BM]

John Pierson [BM]

Fol. 55v

What man is thys world hathe done full rage w^t truble thought payne | &
myserye dothe hope at the end of hys pyllgrymage for to atteyne the eter |
naull glorye [LM]⁸⁷

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 56r (7.8)

Doodle [BM]⁸⁸

Fol. 56v

4 <h> letterforms [LM]
12 <d> letterforms [BM]

and [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 57r (8.1)

ffathe [TM]⁸⁹

Man is well W (secretary) [RM]

*g*e* [BM]⁹⁰

Fol. 57v

1 <I> letterform [BM]

Thys indenture wytnessythe that I Wylyam | Goldynge of Berkynge
[BM]

Jon [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 58r (8.2)

3 <a> letterforms [RM]

In the [BM]

John [BM]

In the name of God amen [BM]

(2x) In the name of [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Pen trials {BM}

Fol. 58v

John [TM]

In mye [LM]⁹¹

Wyllm Goldyng [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 59r (8.3)

Our father | wyche in [TM]⁹²

Wyllm Goldynge In the name of god amen the * truthe [RM]

Fol. 59v

1 letterform [BM]

Ryght onorablye father & mother [LM]

Fol. 60r (8.4)

15 <a> letterform [RM]

10 <d> letterforms [TM]

Wyllm Golldynge [TM]

Wyllm g [TM]
go [TM]
And in [TM]⁹³
Thys [BM]
(2x) Thys byll [BM]
Ryght horseman [BM]

Doodle [BM]⁹⁴

Fol. 60v
3 <a> letterforms [TM]
1 <w> letterform [TM]

The [RM]

Pen trial [BM]

Fol. 61r (8.5)
9 <A> letterforms [TM]
10 <k> letterforms [RM]
22 <h> letterforms [BM]

& in the thyrd yere of the reygn / & in the thyrd yere of the reygne [RM]⁹⁵
yeres rent [BM]

Pentrials [RM]

Fol. 61v
Wyllm Golldynge [TM]

Doodles [BM]⁹⁶

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 62r (8.6)
1 <I> letterform [TM]
5 <I> letterforms [RM]
4 <d> letterforms [RM]
11 <p> letterforms [RM]

John for otmelle [TM]
John [TM]
my tyme it is all | moste [RM]
In nyght I must be the [RM]⁹⁷

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 62v
7 <I> letterforms [LM]

Doodle [TM]⁹⁸
Doodles [BM]⁹⁸

Pen trial [RM]

Fol. 63r (8.7)
3 <I> letterforms [TM]

In the the [TM]
In the name [TM]⁹⁹
Be ye not lyke to horse & in [RM]¹⁰⁰
The whiche in soth is for to be sent [BM]¹⁰¹

Fol. 63v
Of the [RM]

Doodles [BM]¹⁰²

Pen trials [LM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 64r (8.8)
1 <I> letterform [RM]
8 <a> letterforms [BM]
1 <s> letterform [BM]

and for as [RM]
In the name of god [RM]
In the name [RM]
In the name | of the father | & of the sonne | & [RM]
fyght [BM]

Doodle [RM]¹⁰³

Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 64v
And tollde [BM]
And tolde [BM]

Fol. 65r (9.1)
& in the thyrd yere of the reigne & in the the thyrd yere of the reygne | &
in the reygne of the thyrd yere & in the thyrd yere of the reygne | & in the
thyrd yere of the reygn & in the thyrd yere of the reygne [RM]

Thys Indenture made the xth daye of marche | in the thyrd yere of the
reygne of our sovereygne lord | kynge Edward the vi Bye the grace of
kynge | of [BM]

Thys indenture [BM]

Fol. 65v

hardly go to the [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 66r (9.2)

5 <g> letterforms [BM]

7 <g> letterforms [RM]

(4x) and [RM]

(6x) the [RM]¹⁰⁴

Because that God beynge ^{one} the verye savyou^r | & w^t hys presyous blod
hath [BM]

Thys [BM]

(5x) the [BM]

god [BM]

Fol. 66v

3 <I> letterforms [LM]

9 <g> letterforms [BM]

in the [TM]

in the iii yere [TM]¹⁰⁵

So god lovyd [LM]

In* [RM]

governence [BM]

Fol. 67r (9.3)

In the [TM]

In the [RM]

ldyng of berkyng [RM]

Thys [BM]

Whan [BM]

Doodle [RM]¹⁰⁶

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 67v

2 <g> letterforms [BM]

1 <d> letterform [BM]¹⁰⁷

James [LM]

Fol. 68r (9.4)

1 <W> letterform [RM]

11 <I> letterforms [BM]

Wyllm Goldynge [RM]

Tomas Goldynge of Berkynge [RM]

Thys indenture wytnessythe that I Wyllm | golldyne of Berkynge in the
countye of essyxe | hathe bound hym selfe a prentys w^t Tomas [BM]

The [BM]

In [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 68v

In the name of the father [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 69r (9.5)

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 69v

7 letterforms [BM]

4 <d> letterforms [BM]

8 <e> letterforms [LM]

God the [TM]¹⁰⁸

Pen trials [TM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 70r (9.6)

12 <d> letterforms [BM]

In the name of [RM]

ffor [RM]

God the [RM]¹⁰⁹

Fol. 70v

2 <s> letterforms [BM]

Mye harte is sett ryght ples* [LM]¹¹⁰

Fol. 71r (9.7)

2 <S> letterforms [BM]

I II / I III / IIIII [BM]¹¹¹

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 71v

No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 72r (9.8)
1 <ff> letterform [RM]

That y* [TM]
John Marshe | Willm Golldyng [RM]
ffor[RM]
ffor to be [RM]

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 72v
O lord whych arte our lord [TM]¹¹²
for wha [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 73r (10.1)
20 letterforms [RM]

Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 73v
7 <d> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 74r (10.2)
4 <a> letterform [RM]
4 <I> letterforms [BM]
3 <d> letterforms [BM]

Gone Daniell [TM]¹¹³
and [RM]
holye [RM]¹¹⁴

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 74v
3 <x> letterforms [BM]

Fol. 75r (10.3)
Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 75v
And whiche they were at [BM]¹¹⁵

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 76r (10.4)
God that broght [RM]¹¹⁶

Fol. 76v
Evyr among thyne [BM]

Fol. 77r (10.5)
Pen trials [BM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 77v
to offende [TM]
Our father whych [LM]¹¹⁷

Doodle [LM]¹¹⁸

Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 78r (10.6)
4 <g> letterforms

To the preestis of that | kyngdom [RM]¹¹⁹
Somtyme when rome was in hys | moste famus renoune [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 78v
With oute eclypsyng or lesyng of lyght | ffor thou a modyr and amayde
both two | in vertu euyr ylyche shene and bryght [BM]¹²⁰

Fol. 79r (10.7)
Thus endith the Birthe of Cryst Jhesu | The Circumcisioun nexste doth
sew [BM]¹²¹
This endith the Bi [BM]

Fol. 79v
No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 80r (10.8)
thys is [RM]
& hys is [RM]

Bothe [BM]

Fol. 80v
No marks, no marginalia.

Fol. 81r (11.1)
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 81v

9 <ff> letterforms [LM]
6 <s> letterforms [LM]
5 <ff> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 82r (11.2)

1 <ff> letterform [TM]

In a church* [RM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 82v

1 <G> letterform [BM]

Fol. 83r (11.3)

Doodle [BM]¹²²

Fol. 83v

17 <d> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 84r (11.4)

7 <h> letterforms [RM]
8 <g> letterforms [BM]

It is the * [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 84v

Sometime [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 85r (11.5)

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 85v

12 <a> letterforms [LM]
3 <g> letterforms [LM]

And forthe [BM]
Alsoe [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 86r (11.6)
Doodle [BM]¹²³

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 86v
20 <p> letterforms [BM]

Thus endethe as I shew can | the circum [BM]¹²⁴

Fol. 87r (11.7)
Doodles [BM]¹²⁵

Fol. 87v
ffor the [LM]¹²⁶

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 88r (11.8)

Soo God lovyd the worlde that he gave hys onlye begotten sonne to | the
intente that all that beleve in hym shuld nott peryshe but have ever |
lastynge lyfe a [RM]¹²⁷

of the love | of God [RM]
And thou [BM]

Doodle [BM]¹²⁸

Fol. 88v
6 <a> letterforms [BM]
2 letterforms [BM]
10 <t> letterforms [BM]
3 <I> letterforms [BM]
3 <w> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [TM]

Fol. 89r (12.1)
6 <I> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [TM]
Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 89v
4 <a> letterforms [BM]
5 <g> letterforms [BM]

Fol. 90r (12.2)

3 <d> letterforms [BM]

Dareth falle [BM]¹²⁹

Pen trials [RM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 90v

they be for my Lord [BM]

Fol. 91r (12.3)

3 <d> letterforms [BM]

3 <g> letterforms [BM]

5 <x> letterforms [BM]

a prynce perles [BM]

prynce perles [BM]

The kyngs [BM]

The kyngs hygnes [BM]

The kyngs hygnes tenderynge the [BM]

Doodles [RM]¹³⁰

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 91v

4 <g> letterforms [BM]

The tyme [BM]

Fol. 92r (12.4)

Soo god lovyd [RM]¹³¹

So god lovyd the worlde thatt he | gaue hys onlye begotten sonne to the |
so god lovyd the worlde thatt he [BM]

Fol. 92v

29 <a> letterforms [LM]

2 <I> letterforms [RM]

2 <I> letterforms [RM]

6 <g> letterforms [BM]

2 <a> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 93r (12.5)

Speke mye good chyld what art thou & as concernyng [BM]

Fol. 93v

4 <d> letterforms [TM]
12 <a> letterforms [BM]
6 <f> letterforms [BM]
8 <d> letterforms [BM]
3 <t> letterforms [BM]
2 <s> letterforms [BM]

Wyllm [LM]
Wyllam gamon [LM]¹³²
Jeohn Haytholl [LM]
(2x) And therfore [BM]
let the [BM]

Pen trial [TM]

Fol. 94r (12.6)

1 <s> letterform [BM]

Doodle [RM]¹³³

Pen trial [BM]

Fol. 94v

prayse ye the lord for he is good for he is [TM]
prayse [BM]

Fol. 95r (12.7)

8 <ff> letterforms [TM]
6 <ff> letterforms [RM]
8<o> letterforms [RM]
22 <ff> letterforms [BM]

Pen trials [RM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 95v

Pen trials [LM]
Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 96r (12.8)

the [BM]

At shoteres hyll in the shyre of kent when theves | have theyr monye spent
fast thether they resort w^t a | full entent fast te of true men ther to have
som lent [BM]

Doodles [RM]¹³⁴

Fol. 96v

Now cryst the [BM]

Doodle [BM]¹³⁵

Fol. 97r (13.1)
Doodles [BM]¹³⁶

Fol. 97v
lord now letteste thou [TM]¹³⁷

Doodles [BM]¹³⁸

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 98r (13.2)
Lord now letteste thou bye *evante departe | in peace for upon eyes youe
*h thye salvacyon | * the ye* haste * * before all | the [TM]¹³⁹

on the cherfull daye da [BM]

Doodles [RM]
Doodles [BM]¹⁴⁰

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 98v
The mas it hathe | bene usyd . and | never it refusyd . | a thousand yers and
| more . a . holye | churche it fyrste in | ventyd . them let vs | be contentyd
as | our fathers were | before. a. | the masse is not fey | ned . but therin is
con | teynyd . throw conse | cracyon . of the . | prest . a . at the | aulter
wher he | standes . when he [LM]
The mas it hath [RM]¹⁴¹

Doodle [LM]
Doodles [BM]¹⁴²

Fol. 99r (13.3)
Thus endeth the offrynge of thre kynges | That th [BM]¹⁴³

Pen trials [BM]

Fol. 99v
16 <h> letterforms [LM]

Glorye and preys land & hye | onor o blessed quene be gotten | unto the
that of god the chast | tour *e grounded upon umylyte | that w^t the keye of
pure * [BM]¹⁴⁴

Fol. 100r (13.4)
2 <ff> letterforms [TM]

In the name [RM]¹⁴⁵

Mussynge in my mynde grete | marvelle that I heve that ever | so fayer a
mayde shoulde heve of | foulle a *t be foulle and all faverde | foulle frome
fayer nes and grasyous | gretthyng [BM]¹⁴⁶

Mussynge in my mynde grete [BM]

Pentrial [RM]

Fol. 100v

Blesed ys the [LM]¹⁴⁷

Trewlove trewlove kepe welle they [LM]

Sooe God lovyd the world that he gave | hys onelye begotten sonn to the
intente that | all that beleue in hym shulde not peryshe | but haue euer
lastynge lyfe [BM]¹⁴⁸

Sooe God lovyd [BM]

Fol. 101r (13.5)

4 <h> letterforms [RM]

and [RM]

Trw luve tru luve a lac tru lowve truluve [RM]¹⁴⁹

Of his mother [BM]

writyn in the iiith chapter of luke [BM]

written in the xixth chapter of matthew [BM]¹⁵⁰

Pen trials [RM]

Fol. 101v

10 <f> letterforms [BM]

Fol. 102r (13.6)

1 <ff> letterform (secretary) [TM]

Fol. 102v

And in the name of god amen | I be sheche to her us good lorde [TM]
& of Frauncys Goldynge for hys half yeres rent dwe at mychelmas | laste
paste in wytnis whereof I haue sealed thys byll w^t mye seall | the d^aye &
yere abouue wrytten [LM]

And | whan I | * [RM]

O Our father whiche arte in heven | halowed be thy name [BM]

Fol. 103r (13.7)

The best theynge that ever I | wyst ys to be dellegent [BM]¹⁵¹

Mussynge in my mynde grete [BM]

Mussynge [BM]

Doodles [RM]¹⁵²

Fol. 103v

7 letterforms [LM]

The masse it **hath** | hathe bene vsyd | and never yet refu | syd a thousand
yere | & more a hollye chyrche | it fyrist invented then | let vs be contentyd |
as our fathers were | before. a.[LM]¹⁵³

And as the truthe by contemplacion | ffor syn sorowyng w^t weymentyng |
Only for loue of thilke eternall lyfe | That lastythe evir and may haue none
ending [BM]¹⁵⁴

Mye [BM]

By mye [BM]

Pen trials [LM]

Fol. 104r (13.8)

In mye trubyll I callyd a upone the lord & the | lord hathe hard me at large
[BM]

Fol. 104v

1 <w> letterform [LM]

In the name of the f [NA]¹⁵⁵

Inthe n [TM]

Be ware [LM]

Wyllm [LM]

(2x) of [RM]

Be ware [RM]

Sumtyme whan [BM]

Sumtyme w [BM]

ffor * | only for loue of | that lastythe euir [BM]

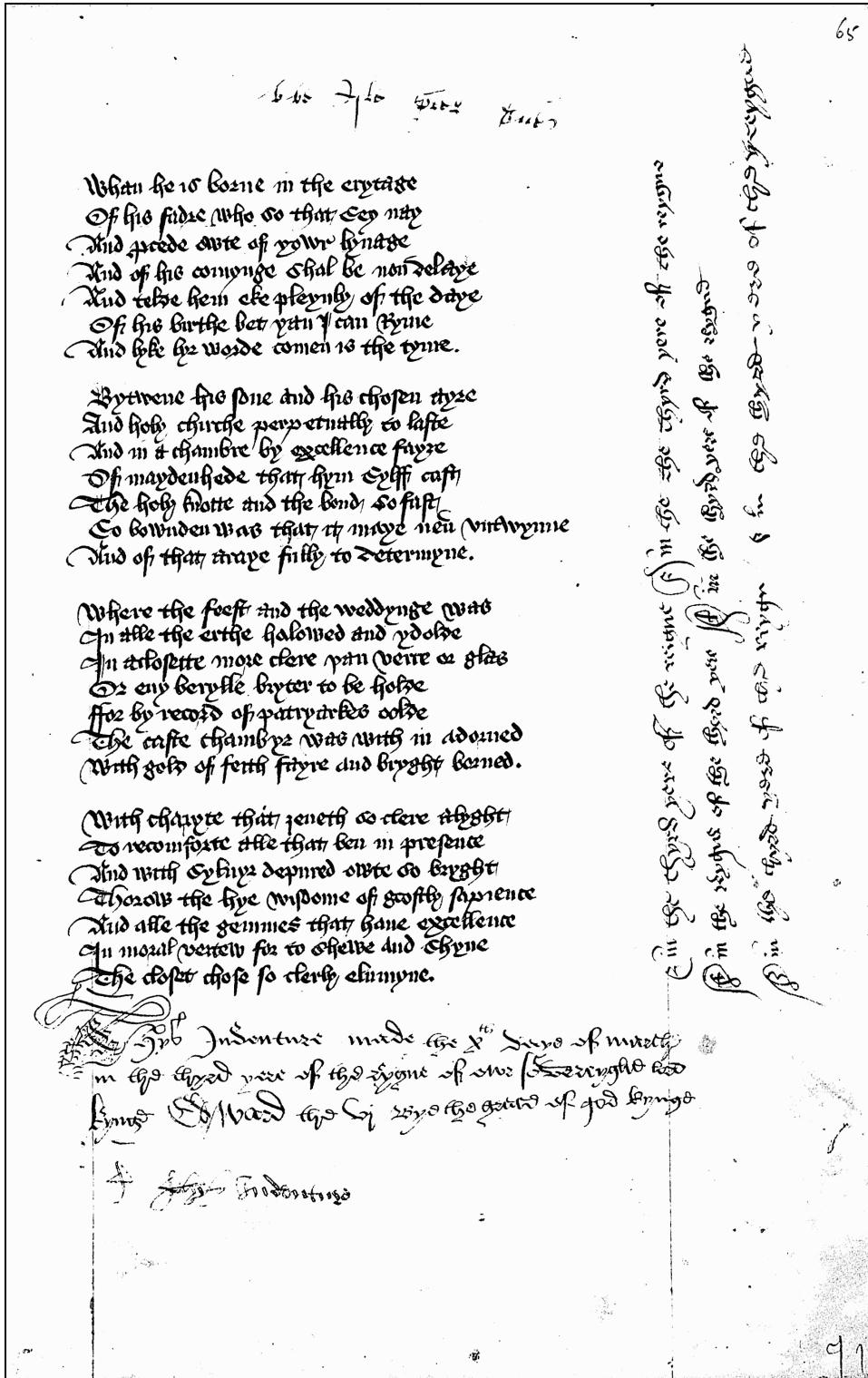
mye [BM]

By mye [BM]

Pen trials [RM]

Pentrials [BM]

PLATE 3



GUL MS Hunter 232 (U.3.5) John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, fol. 65r:
 Showing a typical folio with text written in several margins.
The image is taken from microfilm and has been slightly cropped.

4. THE PROVENANCE OF HUNTER 232

4.1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Researching the provenance of a manuscript can be a daunting prospect. Beginning, often, with just a handful of names or fragments of names and very little else to go on it can seem an impossibility to firmly identify an owner. However, with the current interest in book history and, in particular, scholarly interest in studying networks of distribution and readership, and in reconstructing the medieval and renaissance libraries of specific collectors, studying the provenance of manuscripts has never been so important. While it can be difficult and at times frustrating, there are numerous useful resources and avenues of research to pursue when starting a study on provenance. Due to the scarcity of books or specific procedures designed to aid in such research, this chapter will begin by discussing some of these procedures and resources.

Firstly, while there are relatively few books that detail the process of researching provenance, there are two particularly useful publications that any serious student in this field must consult.¹ The first, *Medieval Genealogy: How to Find Your Medieval Ancestors* by Paul Chambers is a generalist text written primarily for the layman but which, nevertheless describes many useful resources, discussing their respective strengths and weaknesses. This text is particularly strong on new electronic resources. The second, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* by

David Pearson is aimed at scholarly research in provenance and features an exhaustive list and discussion of hundreds of resources. This text has proven extremely useful in researching and writing this chapter.²

One useful research tool is the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. This features biographies of thousands of people, including many medieval figures. The biographies vary in length and quality, but cite references, and can often provide useful leads for further research. There are some limitations, principally, that the people featured, tend only to be prominent members of society, so it is of limited use in searching out less prominent, ordinary people.

There are several extensive collections of state papers from the reigns of English monarchs.³ These feature full indexes of names and are very easy to search. However, when using the index of such texts it is often useful to take into account possible spelling variations in the names you are interested in. In the medieval and renaissance periods, spelling was not as fixed as it is today and many people would vary the spelling of their own names over time. Indeed there is evidence of this in Hunter 232: the name Golding, for instance, appears in numerous permeations. In the indexes of the publications used for this chapter, relevant references were found for the particular Goldings associated with this manuscript under a variety of spellings including Goldyng, Goldynge, Goulding and various others. The collections of state papers are particularly useful in providing historical context to research and provide valuable information such as the social positions and vocations of the people mentioned. They can also

shed light on the relationships between various research subjects, for instance, a letter written by ‘a’ to ‘b’ might make reference to ‘c’.

The Victoria County History is another useful resource. Commencing in 1899, the *History* was intended to provide a detailed, multi-volume account of each and every county in England from the earliest times on. Many important leads can be gleaned from these but Chambers (2005: 21-2) notes numerous shortcomings with the *Victoria History*. These are mainly that the quality of the *History* of each county varies considerably and that they are inconsistent in the periods they cover. Many of the *Victoria History* volumes are incomplete and the majority are no longer ongoing projects.⁴ The major advantage of these histories is that they collate a great deal of information, often taken from local archives and collections that are not easily accessible to the general public. Many leads for further research can be found through consulting these volumes. An additional valuable feature of the *History* is that the original documents consulted are all cited in footnotes.

Starting in the nineteenth century, the Harleian Society published numerous volumes of material. A variety of different material was published, though the speciality of the Society was in producing editions to do with heraldry, the main result of this being the editions of the heralds’ visitation records (Chambers 2005: 25). Many of the publications of the Harleian Society can be used to trace family connections between research subjects as they feature descriptions of families including information such as the names of individual family members, details of their marriages and the number and names of any offspring, sometimes

even identifying heirs. By providing information about marriages, these editions can show previously unknown connections between different families or confirm such connections if they have been alluded to in other documents. Some particularly useful entries even feature family trees. The Harleian Society also published various volumes of *Allegations for Marriage Licences* from particular bishops, which are of interest for obvious reasons. Similar genealogical information can be found in peerage lists of which there are numerous publications to choose from.

Since the majority of the people who owned manuscripts were, presumably, literate, they were generally the subjects of formal education. For names found on manuscripts, it can therefore be worthwhile investigating whether the person mentioned attended a university. The medieval and renaissance graduates of the ancient universities of England have been published in various volumes though these books are now very rare.⁵

While the above resources are, of course, very useful, there are a number of limitations that must be borne in mind when using them. Firstly, they tend to focus only on certain members of society. There are a number of reasons for this, among the most obvious being that a person with wealth and position in society is much more likely to have left behind records of his life than a poor, uneducated layman. For this reason, considerably more records survive for individuals who were more prominent or wealthy. Members of the nobility, for instance, were more likely to be mentioned in state papers or documents to do with the privy council or with matters of government that a layperson. Secondly, such

people were more likely to be educated and literate so it becomes considerably more likely that documents associated with them will survive. Additionally, when compared to the extant records concerning men, far fewer records survive recording the lives of women. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, women were far less likely to be involved in any of the activities that would leave written records. Secondly, they were considerably less likely to be literate and finally, even where records concerning women survive, they are often less detailed than equivalent records for men.⁶ A notable example of this can be found in the records of marriage licences for some parishes. Whereas some of these documents will include full names of the bride and even biographical information like her father's name or town of origin, others might simply mention something like 'John Smith married his wife' (Chambers 2005: 193-5). For these reasons, women, generally, are far less easy to trace than men. Finally, there are some practical considerations that make tracing certain people more difficult than others. Principal among these is the relative rarity of the name. For instance, it is much more difficult to trace an individual with a particularly common name like John Jones, than, say, William Golding.

In the case of Hunter 232, provenance research was aided in a number of ways. Firstly, numerous references to Barking in Essex were included alongside several of the names. Secondly, one of the Golding references (a fragment of an indenture) allows a relatively precise date to be placed on some of the marginalia. Finally, the Young and Aitken *Catalogue* refers to the Goldings as being a prominent Essex family and

associated with the Earl of Oxford. Taken together, these clues proved an invaluable starting point. However, for some of the reasons stated above, it has not been possible to identify all of the names written in the margins of Hunter 232. That said, through consulting the resources outlined at the head of this chapter, a number of the names have been identified and a good deal of biographical information on the earliest owners of the manuscript has been put together. This is outlined below.

4.2 THE EARLY OWNERS OF HUNTER 232

Even if nothing else were known about the history and provenance of this manuscript, one thing is sure: at some point it was acquired by Dr William Hunter and became part of the famed Hunter Collection, left to the University of Glasgow in 1783 upon the death of the physician and voracious collector. Frustratingly, the surviving records of Hunter's purchases are incomplete and in this case no record of his purchase of MS 232 survives. It is therefore not known from whom he acquired it, for what price or in what condition (Grindley 1996: 14-16).⁷ As vague as this beginning might seem it is still useful in that it gives at least one firm date in the history of the manuscript and very clearly identifies at least one of the former owners.

The basis of any further clues as to the early ownership of Hunter 232 must be taken from the manuscript itself. In this case the marginalia become an invaluable aid to research. A particularly high number of names appear throughout Hunter 232. The most common name is John

and this name often appears on its own, without a surname. In these cases it is impossible to identify the person named.⁸ Some names appear several times, others occur only once. One family, the Goldings, is particularly heavily associated with the manuscript and the names of various members of that family frequently appear in the margins. The Young and Aitken *Catalogue* records a total of seventeen distinct full names. These are (in alphabetical order):

1. Gone [John] Daniell
2. Peter Debitt
3. Thomas Emery
4. William Gammon
5. Francis Goldynge
6. John Goldynge
7. Tomas Goldyng
8. William Goldynge
9. John Gosse of Berkynge
10. Jeohn [John] Haytholl
11. John James
12. John Joones
13. John Marshe
14. John Pierson
15. Roger Slow
16. John Wood
17. John Williamson

4.2.1 THE GOLDINGS OF ESSEX

The prevalence of the names of the Goldings throughout the manuscript must surely be taken as a clue that they owned, or at the very least had prolonged access to the manuscript, over some considerable period of time. It therefore seems fitting to begin the investigation of Hunter 232's provenance with them.

The first clue regarding the Goldings is provided in Young and Aitken's *Catalogue*, which observes that they were an important Essex family. Young and Aitken also provided a dating, March 1549, for some of the marginalia. These clues proved vital in beginning this research. Having a name and place provided the material for initial searches while having a date allowed for easy filtering of results, removing names that did not plausibly fit in with a mid-sixteenth-century dating.

The *Victoria History of the County of Essex* makes one interesting reference to John Golding in relation to an Act of 1545 essentially designed to vest in Henry VIII, personally, 'all free chapels, chantries, and colleges, together with all hospitals, brotherhoods, and gilds of a purely ecclesiastical nature' (Page and Round 1907: 22).

The passage continues that:

The first commission to carry out this confiscation in Essex was appointed on 14 February 1545-6, and consisted of Edward, bishop of London; Sir Richard Legh, knt.; Sir John Smythe, knt.; John Cocke, esq.; Nicholas Bristowe, esq.; and John Goldynge, esq.

(Page and Round 1907: 22)

This passage is interesting for a number of reasons, not least of which is that it very clearly shows the political and religious sympathies of at least one member of the Golding family.⁹ It also illustrates that although not yet knighted or members of the gentry, the family is clearly upwardly mobile and associating with the higher echelons of Essex society. They are clearly beginning to become a prominent local family.

According to the heralds' visitation records from 1552, John Golding was married twice and had eleven children. His first wife was Elizabeth, with whom he fathered Thomas, William, Elizabeth and

Margery. His second wife was Ursula and by her he fathered Henry, Arthur, George, Edmond, Mary, Frances and Dorothy (Metcalfe 1878: 8-9). John Golding died in 1547 (Golding 1937: 20). While there are few references to John Golding, his children, particularly some of his sons, are mentioned in numerous surviving records. For instance, Henry Golding is mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Somerset dated 5 October 1549 that survives in the state papers for the reign of Edward VI. The letter asks Henry to:

Have the earl of Oxford, his servants and forces, ready to serve the king if required. If occasion arises we will write to you. Use all convenient secrecy.

(Knighton 1992: 138).

Again we can see the increasing importance of the family. In the examples cited so far they are clearly taking part in important events and are trusted and increasingly powerful members of society. This is further seen in the case of John's son, Thomas. He was married to Elizabeth Roydon, was a knight and served as the sheriff of the county of Essex. Numerous records that mention him survive. Sir Thomas Golding is mentioned in the *Victoria History* in an entry describing a key moment in the history of England. In 1569, the authorities in Essex launched a concerted effort to quash religious practices throughout the county that ran in defiance of the Act of Uniformity and Book of Common Prayer.¹⁰ It was the intention of the authorities to have all the prominent men of the county formally subscribe to the Act of Uniformity. For this reason, the justices of Essex met in Chelmsford on 25 November and:

A month later Sir Thomas Golding, as Sheriff of Essex, forwarded to the council a declaration signed by Lord Rich, Lord Darcy, and about sixty leading men of the county of submission to the Act of Uniformity. They pledged...‘that every of us and our families shall repair to our parish churches or to other usual chappells,...and shall decentlye and duly heare and take parte of same Common Prayer and all other Divine Service, and shall recye the Holy Sacrament from tyme to tyme...

(Page and Round 1907: 37-8)

The results of Sir Thomas Golding’s efforts are recorded in the state papers for the reign of Elizabeth I. Since it is of interest, the entry is given below in its entirety:

25 December 1569: Sir Thomas Goldyng, Sheriff of Essex, and others, to the Council. Certify to their proceedings relating to the Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer. *Inclosing:*

- I. *Declaration by Lord Rich, Lord Darcy, and others, Justices of Essex, of their submission to the Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. Chelmsford, 25 November 1569*
- II. *Lord Rich, John Lord Darcy, of Chiche, and others, to the Council. State that Lord Morley demurred to subscribe the declaration on the plea of being a nobleman. Chelmsford, 2 Dec. 1569.*

(Lemon 1856: 356)

So by 1569 it is clear that the Golding family had risen to an even more elevated position. One of their number had a knighthood and a prominent position as sheriff of the county. Here Sir Thomas is acting as the local face and enforcer of national government policy. As would be expected for a person in such a role, there are a number of other extant documents in which he is referenced. For instance, on 10 April 1570, he wrote to ‘Cecill...on account of his great charges that the Privy Seal addressed to him for loan of 50l. might be revoked’ (Lemon 1856: 369). The same day he wrote to the Privy Council, claiming to have ‘found many persons who are competent to contribute to the loans, who had no Privy Seals

addressed to them' inclosing with the letter a list of such people (Lemon 1856: 369).

In Hunter 232 the name Thomas Golding occurs on one folio (68r). However, it is unclear which Thomas Golding is being referred to. In the Middle Ages it was common for Christian names to be carried on down the generations. As a result of this numerous members of the same family could have identical or very similar names. The Goldings were no exception to this and one of the names they repeated was Thomas. The man in question could be one of three individuals: the sheriff of Essex already discussed above, his grandfather or his cousin.¹¹ There is no easy way to decide on an identity but by taking the marginal reference from the manuscript in context, it is possible to make an educated guess. The names 'Wyllm Goldynge' and 'Tomas Goldyng of Berkynge' occur on fol 68r followed by this scrap of an indenture:

Thys indenture wytnessythe that Wyllm
golldynge of Berkynge in the countye of essyxe
hathe bound hym selfe a prentys w^t Tomas

It seems unlikely that the Thomas in question is the grandfather – having died in 1504 (Golding 1937: 20) he lived too early to come in contact with the manuscript. The remaining two individuals are of the same generation so it could be either of them. Since we know that Sir Thomas was educated and literate and was the more prominent I consider it more likely that he is the man named. No information could be found on his cousin. Obviously some knowledge of his vocation would have been helpful in deciding who was more likely to take on an apprentice. There is

some evidence that Sir Thomas was involved in farming and milling and so could have had use for an apprentice.¹² Indeed the most unusual of the references to him was found in the state papers of Elizabeth I when in December 1578 he petitioned the Queen for ‘a patent of 21 years of the sole right to an invention designed by him for draining of marshes, supplying towns with water, and working of mills’ (Lemon 1856: 611). This clearly suggests that he had a keen business sense and that he was, at the very least, involved in the farming of land and other country trades like milling.

One of the most significant steps for the upwardly mobile Golding family was the marriage, in 1548 (Golding 1937: 20), of Margery Golding to John Vere, sixteenth earl of Oxford. This is recorded in the entry for the Vere family from the heralds’ visitation of 1552:

John Vere erl of Oxford weded to his 2 wyef Margery, doughter of John Goldynge of Halsted in the Counte of Essex, esquier and hath issu by her Edward de Veer, lord Bulbecke son and heyre, lady Mary.

(Lemon 1856: 16)

This marriage was very important to the Golding family and no doubt they profited from it greatly. John Vere died in August 1562 (Considine 2004) only fourteen years after the marriage took place, leaving Edward, his sole male heir to inherit his land and title. Arthur Golding, John Golding’s fourth son (and the second son by his second wife Ursula), became an important figure in the young Edward’s life, acting it seems, in the role of guardian.¹³ Arthur is mentioned several times in the state papers from the reign of Elizabeth I, sometimes in connection with his young ward. For instance, an entry for 22 May 1563 records ‘a

memorandum of money received by Arthur Goldyng for the use of the Earl of Oxford' (Lemon 1856: 356). A second entry from the same day records the receipt of Arthur's 'half year's rents, collected by John Dawe, Bailiff of the manor of Colbrooke, Devon, due to the Earl of Oxford' (Lemon 1856: 356). A further reference to Arthur Golding in relation to the young earl can be found from the 28 June 1563, when he brought a petition 'for staying a suit begun against the said Earl and Lady Mary [Arthur's half-sister Margery] by Catharine, wife of Sir Edward Windsor; the said Earl being a minor, and the Queen's ward' (Lemon 1856: 225).

Today Arthur is perhaps the best remembered of all the Golding family. He is, for instance, the only member of the family to date to be the subject of a book-length biography: *An Elizabethan Puritan* purportedly written by a descendant of his, Louis Thorn Golding. Arthur is best known as the translator of a number of works into English, mainly from Latin. His publications include Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and works by some of the European reformers, including Calvin's *Sermons*.¹⁴ Here, more than in any other member of the family considered so far, is a clear indication of a very strong protestant ideology.

Thus far the majority of the Goldings discussed have been male. As mentioned above it is much more difficult to trace women in the Middle Ages. That said, a number of references to female members of the Golding family were found in Armytage's *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London 1520 to 1610* published by the Harleian Society in 1887. A number of women in the Golding family were traced in this way.¹⁵ For example, on 18 December 1593, Abraham

Copwoode, of London, Gentleman, married Mary Goldinge, of Gosfield, co. Essex, Spinster and daughter of William Goldinge (deceased) of Essex (Armytage 1887: 211). This is the only reference to this particular Mary Golding.¹⁶ The information in this entry provides valuable information. Grindley (1996: 30) uses this information to provide approximate dates for William Golding's life of 1525-93.

Several references to Golding women were rejected for numerous reasons, mainly because the dates did not seem probable, the location was wrong or no connection could be proven through the consultation of other sources. One reference for which there is a high probability it refers to women in this family but which could not be conclusively proved is shown here by way of example. This entry is from 7 December 1595, where John Johnson of Limehouse in the parish of Stepney, county Middlesex married Elizabeth Gouldinge, also of Essex, widow of John Gouldinge, late of Essex (Armytage 1887: 226).

4.2.2 TRACING THE OTHER NAMES

While a good number of documents survive concerning the Goldings, far fewer survive concerning the other people named in the manuscript. In some cases the main obstacle in collecting information was the nature of the name. For instance, John Jones returned so many results in virtually all of the searches that it was almost impossible within the timeframe of this dissertation to narrow them down sufficiently to identify the individual mentioned. In other cases the names simply did not return any

appropriate matches at all. This was the case, particularly, for Peter Debytt and John Pierson. Perhaps it is simply the case that no records for them survive, perhaps records survive in resources that were not consulted in the course of this research, or perhaps, simply, they were not important enough to leave a trace of their lives so many centuries later.

While some of the names in the manuscript provided no information others did return useful leads. The name John Daniell appears in the manuscript. This name returned a number of interesting documents. A John Danyell is mentioned, for instance, in a letter preserved in the state papers for Edward VI.¹⁷ The letter is dated 5 June 1548 and was enclosed with a second document by the duke of Somerset. In the letter John Danyell is named as one of several men who may remain at home in Essex in order to mount a defence in case of invasion (Knighton 1992: 47-8).¹⁸ A month later he is mentioned again in a list requesting ‘light horses and demilances to be furnished by taxation’ (Knighton 1992: 55-9). The dates of these letters tie in with the dates of the marginalia and with the life spans of some of the Goldings who are mentioned in Hunter 232. The letters show that John Daniell was probably a trusted senior servant to a nobleman. While a relatively prominent position, he was not an equal of his employers. In terms of status he was possibly equal to that of Henry Golding, servant of the Earl of Oxford.¹⁹ A John Daniell esquire married one Jane Rehova ‘a foreigner, of St Olave’s, Hart Street, London, domestic servant of the Countess of Essex’ on 1 December 1595 (Armytage 1887: 226). Due to the length of time between these dates, I consider it unlikely that this is the same John. However, considering that

this John is from the same area and that in my searches, John Daniell was a relatively rare name, it is conceivable that he was a descendant of the man who lived in the 1540s.

Thomas Emery has also been identified beyond a reasonable doubt. In a document surviving from 1547-8 he is named alongside Richard Roolf in a list of ‘churchwardens and others in the diocese of London’ authorised to sell as they see fit items and valuables from the church in Danbury, Essex. The sum of £9.0.10 is recorded as having been raised though the compiler of the list does not record what this was spent on (Knighton 1992: 75-9). This is very significant in that it shows that someone who was clearly associated with the Golding family is directly involved in the beginnings of the dissolution of the monasteries. As will be shown in the following chapter, the Goldings clearly had strong protestant sympathies.

Having identified the principal people associated with Hunter²³², important questions remain unanswered. Perhaps the most obvious of these is why did the Goldings use this manuscript in the way they did? By analysing the marginalia and considering the historical context within which the Goldings were operating, answers to this question begin to become clear. Such analysis forms chapter five of this dissertation.

Finally, in order to most effectively illustrate the connections in the Golding family, a family tree is included here. This tree is adapted from those featured in the heralds’ visitation of Essex in 1558 (Armytage 1878: 55 and vol. 2: 580) and is shown on the next page.

FIGURE 1: THE GOLDING FAMILY TREE

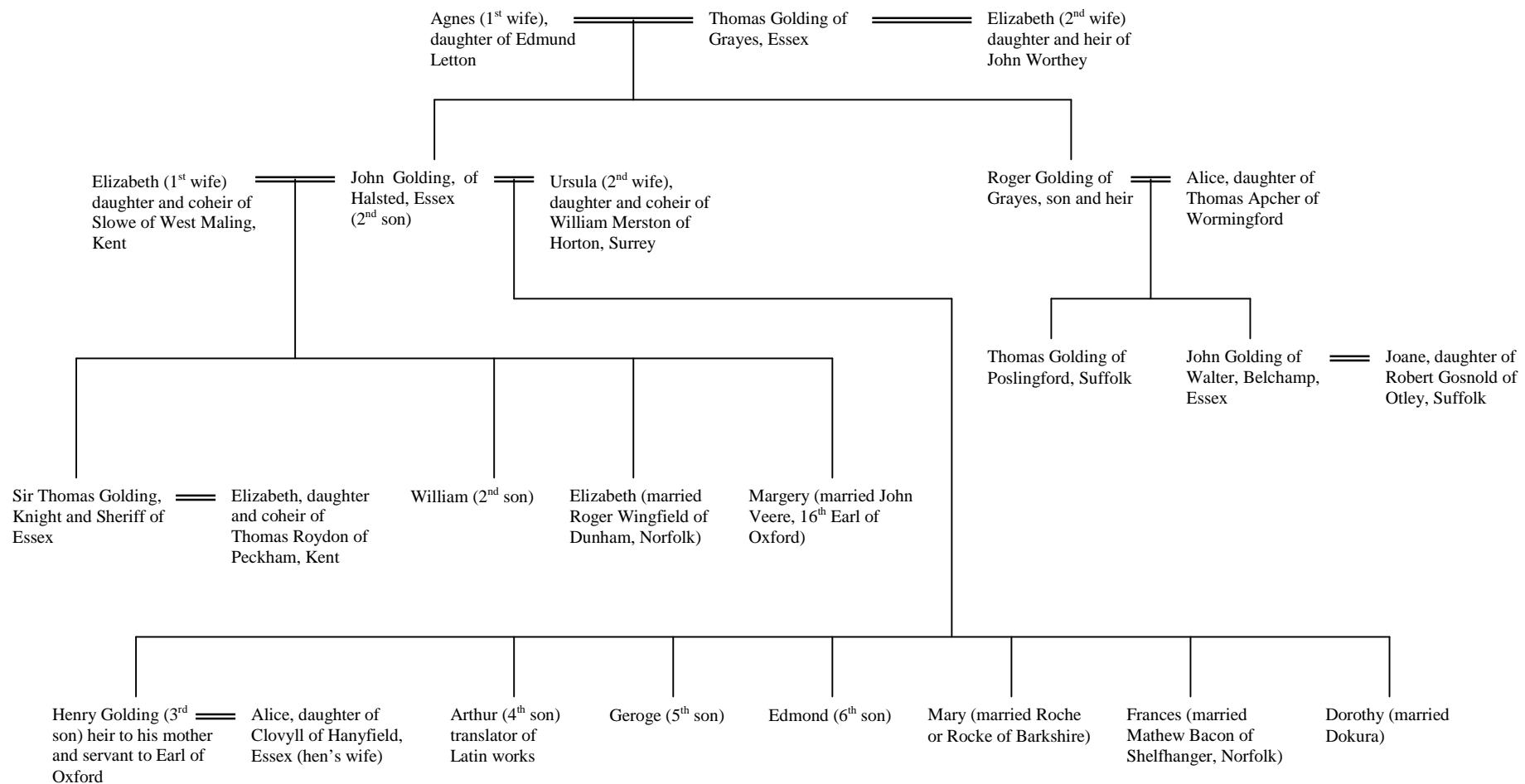
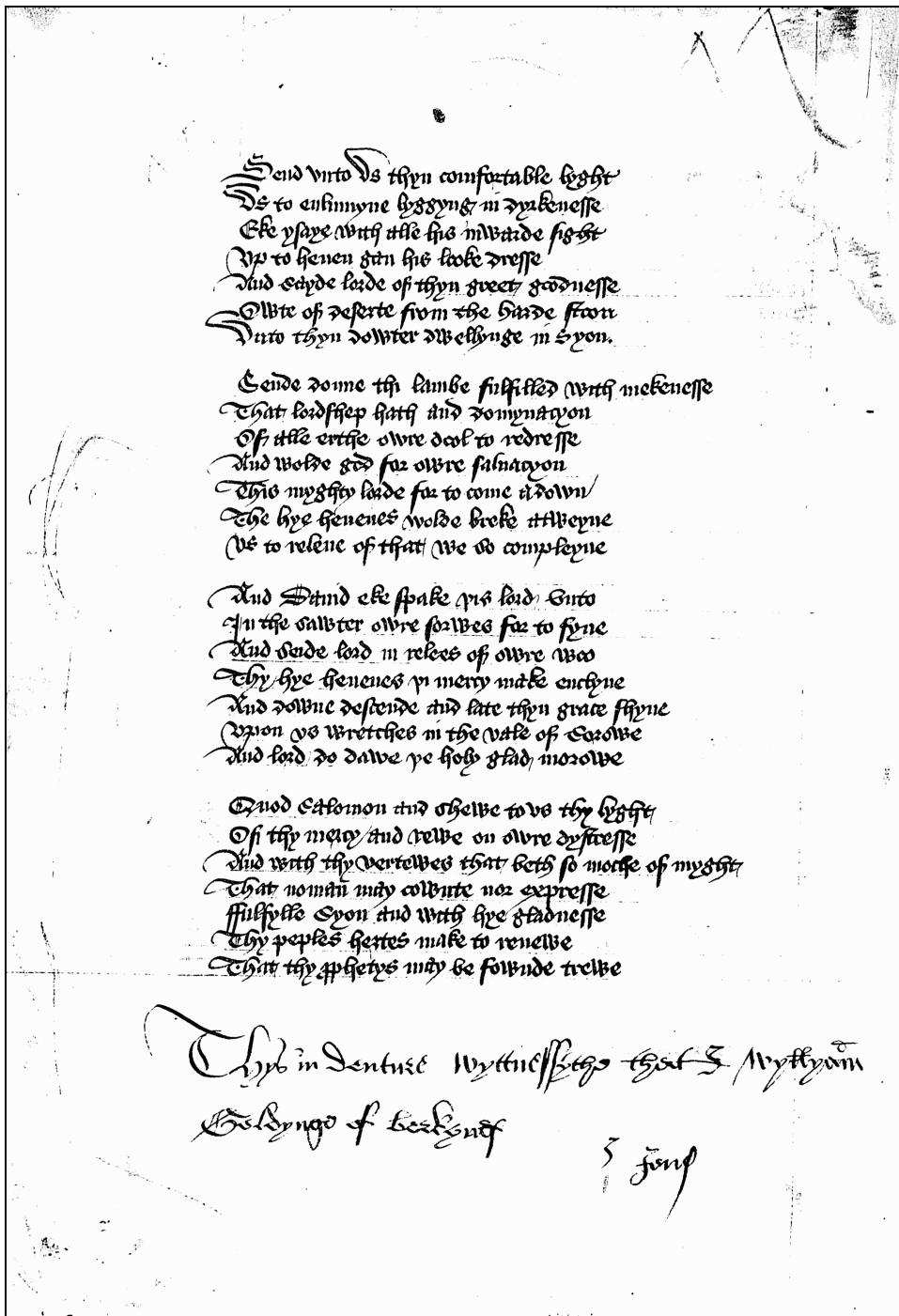


PLATE 4



GUL MS Hunter 232 (U.3.5) John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, fol. 57v:
 Showing a scrap of an indenture with the signature of William Golding
 [This indenture wytnessyng that I Wylyam | Goldynge of Berkynge]
The image is taken from microfilm and has been slightly cropped.

5. ANALYSING THE MARGINALIA: THE USES OF HUNTER 232

5.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. Firstly it is intended to discuss the historical context under which the annotators of the manuscript were living. Secondly the specific ways in which the manuscript was used will be discussed and analysed. In combining these two areas of research it is intended that the motivations behind the rather unconventional use of Hunter 232 will come to light – why did these particular people (at this particular point in history) use this manuscript in the ways that they did?

In order to achieve this outcome, the chapter is split into three sections. The first discusses the religious and political situation in England in the mid-sixteenth century (at around the time the Goldings were most active and when the majority of the marginalia appear to have been written). The second section (5.3) discusses the Goldings specifically and the evidence supporting their particular religious views and beliefs. The chapter then concludes with a section (5.4) discussing the specific uses of Hunter 232 and how these can be shown to be a result of the beliefs and opinions of the then owners of the manuscript. This section will also discuss specific examples of marginalia in the manuscript in relation to this argument.

5.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE REFORMATION

The reformation is, perhaps, the single most important sequence of events to occur in sixteenth-century Europe. It is, however, a complicated movement with many subtleties and is notoriously difficult to explain. Its origins, for instance, are convoluted and involve the gradual evolution and communication of ideas between different countries and individuals over a long period of time. That said, in order to understand the views of the Golding family and help explain their apparent neglect of Hunter 232, it is vital to understand the reformation and its origins. Such an understanding will provide the historical context behind much of the subsequent discussion in this chapter. Since the main interest of this dissertation lies in the study of a medieval manuscript, the discussion of the reformation will be carried out as succinctly as possible and shall focus almost exclusively on the movement as it affected England.

5.2.1 INTRODUCTION: THE REFORMATION

The history of England, and indeed of much of Western Europe, in the first half of the sixteenth century is in fact the history of the church. This statement is, of course, very artificial and a deliberate generalisation, however it does serve a point. It is true to say that at this time the state of the church was a matter of some controversy and that the most significant

source of debate across the continent was on the future of western religion. It is true, also, that during this time major changes in the doctrine of the Christian church and in the way that people experienced religion locally took place. These changes caused much conflict – military, academic, philosophical, political – and some not inconsiderable bloodshed. In England alone there would be several uprisings against the regime of reform and many heretics would be executed with typical Tudor brutality.

While the changes that took place in western religion at this time are generally referred to as ‘the reformation’ this title can be slightly misleading. The reformation was not, in fact, a single, cohesive, international movement. Rather it was a series of separate regional movements, with their own figureheads and often with individual theological stances. It might be more accurate to refer to the European Reformations rather than Reformation. While it is true that many of the reformers had broadly similar ideas, each country had its own unique situation and the specific motivation for a particular reformer beginning his work was almost invariably different. This is particularly the case in England where it is often argued that religious reasons were relegated to second place behind more political motivations for reform.

The significance of the reformation should not be underestimated. It was not simply a split with Rome; it was a radical restructuring of the doctrines of the church. Changes instigated at this time continue to affect the Christian religion today. Understanding the reformation and its origins is therefore crucial to understanding the history and political and social

situations of the early sixteenth century. In the last quarter-century scholarly understanding of the reformation has increased significantly. It is still the subject of major studies including the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, published in 1996 in four volumes; Eamon Duffy's 2001 publication *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*; *The Reformation* by Diarmaid MacCulloch, first published in 2003; and *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* by G. W. Bernard published in 2005, to name only a few. Modern critics such as Eamon Duffy, G. W. Bernard and Diarmaid MacCulloch have produced work in which they return focus to the primary sources, thus identifying and eliminating the errors and inaccuracies found in the standard editions of these sources. MacCulloch in particular spends much time redating the documents he works with and so providing a more accurate chronology of events.

Before commencing on any discussion of the reformation it is necessary to briefly clarify the terminology that will be adopted. As is so often the case in areas of scholarly debate, there is no consensus as to the appropriate terminology to be applied to reformation studies. Some even question the appropriateness of the term ‘reformation(s)’. Here this term is adopted for the practical reason that it is the one most often applied in the scholarly literature on the subject. Also, it can be seen as appropriate in that it implies that a change was being implemented. In this essay the ‘Catholic Church’ is not mentioned, rather the ‘traditional church’ – the Catholic Church is, in essence, a modern institution and different in significant ways to the church of the medieval period. Since this section

deals primarily with the reformation as it affected England, the term Protestant is not used. In the sixteenth century this was still seen as a foreign term and applied only to, for instance, the Protestant princes of the Schmalkaldic League and not to the English. (MacCulloch 1999: 2) Here, the convention of referring to those who broke away from the traditional church as ‘evangelicals’ rather than Protestants is adopted.

5.2.2 THE TRADITIONAL CHURCH

The word ‘reformation’ implies that some sort of change took place. In the case of the reformation it was a major change to the doctrine of the church and to the way that ordinary people could experience religion. With such a major change taking place it follows that in order to fully engage with the process of the change it is first necessary to discuss the nature of the western church prior to the reformation – the traditional church.

By the sixteenth century, the Christian church had been long established in Western Europe. It had remained virtually unchanged for over a millennium. The church operated a complex hierarchical structure of power. At the centre of the church was Rome and one central figure: the pope. The influence and power of the pope cannot be overstated. His influence stretched all across Western Europe and he had considerable sway in many countries. In all western countries, the pope had jurisdictional powers and could impose punishments and penalties on

particular countries or on individuals within those countries. The pope could summon individuals to Rome and put them on trial under canon law and could ultimately excommunicate any individual or state. Each country was required to pay annates to Rome every year. These were ‘fees amounting to one or two years’ income paid by bishops to Rome when provided to their sees’ (Bernard 2005: 54).

However, the greatest power that Rome exerted over the rest of Christendom was canon law:

Like every other European monarch, [the pope] needed a court (or *Curia*)...this Curia... became a law court with a scope as wide as Europe itself; it developed a new legal system, canon law, as part of a papal project for bringing the administrative perfection of the kingdom of heaven to a sinful world. Canon law...acted as an external authority to help...sort out major conflicts and personal problems. It was a universal code at a time when other legal systems in Europe were generally fragmented and underdeveloped.

(MacCulloch 2003: 28)

Canon law was not bound by national borders and was administrated all over Europe from Rome. Papal bulls were often sought in instances where a person wanted a special dispensation from the pope before commencing on a particular course of action. Alternatively, they might desire specific acknowledgement from Rome that the proposed course of action was legal under Canon law. For example, in November 1504 Henry VIII had received a papal bull prior to marrying Catherine of Aragon because she was the widow of his deceased brother, Prince Arthur.¹ In some instances, as McGrath (1999: 29) points out, anti-clericalism or more specifically anti-papal feelings could begin simply as a reaction to the level of power that Rome exerted or as an objection to the centrality of Italy and the

resulting dominance of Italians in the papacy and so in the governance of other countries.

5.2.3 THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE LAITY

The reformation could not have happened had not a considerable number of people come to view the established traditional church as deficient in some way, literally as being in need of reformation. It is true that there seems to have been a gradually increasing resentment of the clergy among the lay population around Europe. In many countries, the issues causing resentment were very similar and these applied to England just as much as to other countries.

Among the principle causes for concern among the laity was the notion that many of the clergy were in fact corrupt. This perceived corruption took many forms, including moral and financial corruption. Allegations of financial corruption were among the most irritating to the lay population and clearly contributed to feelings of anti-clericalism and in some cases directly contributed to the formation of centres of reformist activity. As Alister McGrath (1999: 27) observes when discussing the anticlericalism rife in some areas of France, ‘the clergy enjoyed exemption from most taxes. This exemption was the source of much popular irritation, especially in times of economic difficulty.’ Such situations, especially in the poorer rural areas, were bound to cause feelings of resentment to form among the local population. This served to

create a gulf between the clergy and their congregations. In France this gulf was widened even further by specific instances of neglect and examples of the apparent disregard of the clergy. For instance:

In the diocese of Rouen, there was a popular outcry over the windfall profits made by the church from selling grain at a period of severe shortage in the 1520s. Clerical immunity from prosecution in civil courts further isolated the clergy from the people

(McGrath 1999: 27-8)

Further corruption was apparent in the fact that in many cases the senior clergy received their positions through personal connections rather than through merit or their own spiritual worth. In some areas, for example, the senior clergy was almost entirely made up of members of the nobility.

McGrath (1999: 28) notices this trend in ‘diocese after diocese’.

The senior clergy, drawn as they were from the nobility, were in sharp contrast to the lower orders of the clergy. In many cases these people were poorly educated and often had received no formal training at all. McGrath describes the ‘poor quality rank and file clergy’ in Italy at this time:

It was common for parish priests to have virtually no training; what little they knew they gleaned from watching, helping and imitating older (though not necessarily wiser) colleagues. Diocesan visitations regularly revealed priests who were illiterate or had apparently mislaid their breviaries permanently. The poor quality of the parish clergy reflected their low social status.’

(McGrath 1999: 27)

It is easy to see why resentment and anti-clericalism would build up, particularly in poor areas. On the one hand the local clergy received special benefits and, at times, even abused their position as shown above,

while on the other they were often incapable, through lack of education and training, to carry out their duties. In some instances the local priests were illiterate, their only knowledge of the bible being what they had heard in the sermons of others. Diarmaid MacCulloch describes just how vital literacy was in order for the priest to carry out the functions of the church for his congregation:

The ability to read and write was not necessarily much use to laypeople; for clergy, at least, some knowledge of it was vital so that they could effectively conduct the Church's elaborate liturgy, which was contained in a rationally organised series of books, and also gain some access to the large amount of written commentary on the Church's central sacred text, the Bible. Not all clergy did very well in reading and writing, but it was considered deplorable if they did not.'

(MacCulloch 2003:27)

The ill feeling between the laity and the clergy caused by such incompetence and corruption was in many cases exacerbated by the frequent and often long periods of absence of some of the senior clergy. Alister McGrath (1999: 2) relates the amusing fact that the only service that Antoine du Prat, archbishop of Sens, was ever present at in his cathedral was his own funeral. Absenteeism was common all over the continent. As McGrath (1999: 28) has observed, the senior clergy often viewed their dioceses as merely a convenient 'source of unearned income'. Other instances of absenteeism were caused by the fact that the pope had the power to appoint his own bishops. They would often be Italian and be given dioceses in foreign countries. Their absences were caused by being called back to Rome for various duties to the pope. Such instances of absenteeism occurred in England where, for example, the Italian Lorenzo Campeggio, Bishop of Salisbury, was often in Rome

before the pope and so absent from his bishopric for long periods at a time (MacCulloch 1996: 50). Irrespective of the cause, the result was the same – people were deprived of what they considered the appropriate level of spiritual guidance.

The issues discussed above undoubtedly annoyed the lay population of Europe and in some areas can be shown to have been one of the major factors that allowed reformist movements to form and take hold in particular areas. Perhaps more worrying to some contemporary observers and certainly one of the main concerns of the reformers themselves was the evidence of moral corruption in all levels of the clergy. Most worrying of all to the early reformers was the alleged sexual immorality in many members of the clergy. As Diarmaid MacCulloch observes, one of the great principles of religious life for both the secular and the regular clergy was career-long celibacy. ‘Celibacy became officially universal in the West for secular as well as regular clergy after the second general Church council to be held at the pope’s Lateran Palace in Rome in 1139’ (MacCulloch 2003:28). MacCulloch goes on to observe that this is one of the major ways in which the clergy differentiated themselves from the laity.

That these issues of corruption were at the centre of the thoughts of the English reformers is evident from a number of sources. For instance, during the monastic visitations that began in England in 1535, the visitors asked a series of up to eighty-six questions, including some on sexual misconduct (Bernard 2005: 248-9). Prior to the reformation, monasteries had been subject to Episcopal visitation, though many were

exempt. Now all monasteries were to be visited (Bernard 2005: 245).

While it is obvious that the primary motivation of these visitations was to ensure that the Royal Supremacy was accepted and preached to the laity as often as possible, these other issues were also of importance.² Further evidence that there was a genuine desire to reform the monasteries comes in the visitors' efforts to address the problem of education:

Abbots were to keep one or two of their brethren at university...this is nothing new in itself, but it was now required since these "brethren after they be learned in good and holy letters when they return home may instruct and teach their brethren and diligently preach the word of God".

(Bernard 2005: 252)

Further questions addressed the sincerity of the vocation of those questioned (Bernard 2005: 250). Here then is an example of a genuine attempt, often over-looked or dismissed in histories of the reformation, to address the problems that had been found in the monasteries and to improve them through a process of monastic reform.

5.2.4 THE EUROPEAN REFORMERS

As has been shown, by the early sixteenth century there was general and widespread discontent, even resentment, of the clergy among the laity throughout Europe. While many despaired at the corruption of the ecclesiastical offices – where position was attained through personal wealth or influence rather than spiritual worth, where the clergy were financially and morally corrupt, uneducated and unfit for office, others

were troubled on a more fundamental level. On the continent some reformers began to view the problems among the clergy as symptomatic of a deeper problem. This problem had been ongoing, very slowly, for centuries and affected all Christians. In essence the problem was that these reformers, the most prominent of whom was Martin Luther, came to believe that over time the church had gradually moved away from its original doctrine. Worse than this, they felt that many of the practices of the church of the period had no justification or basis in the scriptures at all and instead were additions to the doctrine. In the traditional church of the sixteenth century there was a mixture of practices and doctrines directly based on the word of the bible and other non-biblical practices, often described as ‘unwritten verities’. An unwritten verity was essentially a practice that had become traditional in the church but ultimately had no biblical basis. For example, Alister McGrath (1999: 54) describes how originally the church had two sacraments (forms of worship to which particular significance was attached) but that by the twelfth century this had grown to seven. Diarmaid MacCulloch writes that archbishop Cranmer:

Saw most of the doctrines which he hated most as being twelfth- or thirteenth-century imports: “ceremonies, pilgrimage, purgatory, saints, images, works and such like, as hath these three hundred or four hundred years been corruptly taught.”

(MacCulloch 1999: 138)

The reformers held that these unwritten verities acted as a barrier between the faithful and the true word of the scriptures. The initial movement towards reformation, then, came from a desire by some to return to the

true, unchanged words and practices of the scripture. The early reformers like Martin Luther emerged from an academic background and this is of major significance for the Reformation. At around the same time that the reformation began to gain momentum, humanism – a new form of learning – was emerging from Italy and spreading across Northern Europe. In essence, humanism encouraged its scholars to return to source texts and so led to a ‘rediscovery’ of the classical writers. This theory was also applied to the scriptures and so new editions of the bible in Greek were published in the sixteenth century, such as that by Erasmus, published in 1516 (McGrath 1999: 53). Alister McGrath has shown that while Luther was not a humanist he did adopt certain humanist principles and many of his ideas were adopted by other humanists and transmitted through the international networks of humanist scholars.³ The main humanist influence on Luther was the desire to return to the source text – in this case the bible. When he published his Greek version of the New Testament, Erasmus discovered that the vulgate version of the bible was woefully inadequate and that a great number of the practices of the traditional church were in fact based on mistranslations from Greek into Latin (McGrath 1999: 54). Luther, in his quest to return to the scriptural sources, therefore utilised the new editions emerging in Greek and began to rethink the doctrines of the church.

Now is the time to consider exactly what were the practices that the reformers disagreed with? What were the unwritten verities and what changes did Luther make to the doctrines of the church? Among the most contemptuous practices for the reformers was the traditional church’s

attitude towards death. One of the major concerns of any Christian is the survival of the spirit after death. In the sixteenth century a very lucrative industry had developed around the myth of death. In the traditional church there were three levels within the afterlife. As featured in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, they were: hell, purgatory and heaven. It is the second of these levels that perturbed Martin Luther. Purgatory was effectively a middle state into which all people would go after death. The length of time a soul would spend there depended upon their actions prior to death and upon the prayers of those left behind.

The 'death industry' revolved around the notion of a purgatory. One could reduce the time that a dead relative would spend in purgatory by saying prayers for the departed's soul. Many members of the nobility would leave bequests in their wills to set up chantries or to pay for monks to say prayers for their soul in order to free it more rapidly from purgatory. Members of the laity with more meagre means often would be members of fraternities who all paid into a central fund and prayed for the souls of dead members. Collinson (2003: 108) quite succinctly describes this as 'a religion celebrated by the living on behalf of the dead'.

While the reformers disagreed with the need for prayers for the dead they saw the sale of indulgences as much more damaging. For the late medieval and Renaissance church, the sale of indulgences provided a lucrative income. An indulgence, which the receiver had to pay for, was effectively a way to reduce the amount of time spent in purgatory. The reformers were particularly aghast at this industry since it had no basis in the scripture and, rather worryingly, removed the need for redemption or

penance. Rather than avoiding sin and living a pure life, people could escape damnation and punishment, or at least reduce it, by buying an indulgence.

For Martin Luther the solution was simple. Through his reading of the scriptures in the uncorrupted Greek version he realised that the only thing necessary for the redemption of the soul after death was faith – this was soon to become one of the most contentious issues of the Reformation: the concept of justification through faith alone. In essence this theory eliminated purgatory and negated the need for prayers for the dead or the sale of indulgences:

All salvation was an act of God's grace, conveyed to a helpless and unworthy humanity by the divine gift of faith in Christ's saving work on the Cross, and not the result of any human initiative or good work.

(MacCulloch 1999: 5)

All that was necessary to save the soul was available to the individual: he simply needed to have true faith in God. No human action could save a person's soul, only God alone. The concept of justification by faith alone provoked great controversy at the time and continues to cause much debate among scholars of the reformation as well as modern theologians.⁴

Among the most controversial aspects was the idea that 'good work' was irrelevant to the salvation of the soul – no human action could affect the redemption of the soul. Salvation was external: an act of God, not a human act. Even among evangelicals, the precise nature of the redemption of the soul was the subject of much debate among the different schools of reformist thought, but in all evangelical circles, the commercial industry around death and purgatory ended.

5.2.5 THE ENGLISH SITUATION: HENRY VIII

It has often been remarked that the reformation in England had rather different origins when compared with the reformations on the continent. Whereas the primary motivating factor for change on the continent was religious – the reformers were restructuring the theology of the church – in England religious matters were secondary to the political manoeuvring of Henry VIII. Just as Alister McGrath identifies the growing gulf between the senior clergy and the peasant population as the major cause of the reformation in France, so too can the origins of the Reformation in England be identified. Whereas in France and on much of the continent the reformation was a ‘bottom up’ phenomenon – that is to say it was instigated by ordinary people, academics like Martin Luther – in England it was imposed in a ‘top-down’ method. Here the primary instigator of the changes in the religious practice of England was the reigning monarch, Henry VIII, and the set of circumstances which set the process in motion was the king’s search for an annulment to his first marriage.⁵

Henry VIII is an enigmatic figure in the history of England. Famous for his six wives and as the man who introduced Protestantism to England he remains a man of contradictions and still provokes fierce debate among historians. On the one hand he is depicted as a man with no clear religious views of his own, a man who was influenced by the religious ideas of whoever happened to be among his advisers or part of his inner circle at any given time. On the other he can be portrayed as having had clearly focused religious ideas of his own, a king who skilfully implemented his own form of religious change over the last few

years of his reign. In 2005 G. W. Bernard published *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, already mentioned above. This study flew against much of the previous scholarly work on the early English Reformation in forcefully arguing that Henry was in fact a very active participant in the making of religious policy during his reign rather than the puppet of a shadowy group of evangelicals that many histories portray him as.

Henry is often, rather inaccurately, portrayed as the man who introduced Protestantism to England. In reality he was extremely hostile to religious reform and viewed with grave concern the course of the continental reformations. It is true, however, to say that he did pave the way for a full Protestant reformation that began under the reign of his son Edward VI.⁶ Around 1527 Henry appears to have become convinced that his marriage to Catherine of Aragon was not legal. The primary justification for this was that he had married the widow of his deceased brother, Prince Arthur. This, he argued, contravened divine law and explained why the union had so far failed to produce a male heir. The marriage had produced a daughter, Princess Mary, who (following the king's marriage to Catherine being declared void by Thomas Cranmer – the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury – and the 1534 act of succession) would be bastardised (Duffy 2001: 86).

It seems highly likely that had the pope granted Henry his divorce, the Reformation would not have occurred in England or at least not until well after his reign. As it was, the pope refused his request and this began the king's path towards his eventual split with Rome. One of the

complicating factors of the King's case for the divorce was that the original marriage had been sanctioned under a papal bull by Pope Julius II, as mentioned above. This meant that in order to annul the marriage, the current pope would have to concede that Julius had acted erroneously. Henry's team argued that the marriage contravened the law of God and that not even the pope could go against the word of God, making the papal bull that authorised the marriage void. By this stage Henry was now completely estranged from Catherine and had begun a relationship with Anne Boleyn. He made it clear that the only option that he would accept was for the marriage to be annulled, with or without the pope's consent. By 1533 Anne was pregnant and it was imperative that the marriage be ended immediately (Duffy 2001: 86). The pope continued to delay making a pronouncement and so Henry acted without the consent of Rome. This is the single most important moment for the reformation in England. This decisive move by Henry set the reformist movement in motion in England and would allow all of the subsequent changes to occur.

Following the split with Rome, Henry began a programme of reform of the religious institutions of the land. His ministers Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer organised a visitation of the monasteries of England as mentioned above. Many scholars have assumed that the primary reason for the visitation was in essence a front for taking an inventory of the monasteries with the ultimate view of dissolving them and claiming their wealth. As shown above, G. W. Bernard has provided convincing evidence that in all likelihood there was, at first, a genuine

impulse to reform the monasteries, though it is held here that once the extent of the wealth of the monasteries became known to Henry it became too strong a temptation to resist. It also should be borne in mind that Henry felt extremely isolated and vulnerable following the split with Rome, fearing invasion by continental Catholic rulers. Furthermore he was aware that the monasteries had only submitted to the royal supremacy under duress and out of self-preservation. Bishop John Clerk, even refused to acquiesce to the submission of the monasteries (Duffy 2001: 88). The actions of such people protesting against the religious reforms and, particularly, the split with Rome, served to strengthen Henry's concerns about the vulnerability of his position – many people clearly still felt loyalty to Rome, the papacy and the old order. It was time to act decisively. The monasteries and the monks within them were a large, wealthy and influential group of dubious loyalty, who could conceivably attempt to engineer a return to the traditional church. In the Pilgrimage of Grace, it was believed that in many instances members of the clergy and of the monastic orders had assisted in the rising. When combined with the enormous wealth that Henry would gain in their dissolution, the fate of the monasteries must have been sealed. Here, then, is another example of religious reform in England occurring primarily as the result of political rather than purely religious motivation.

Ultimately though, reform under Henry only ever went so far. Diarmaid MacCulloch (1999: 4-5) portrays a man whose own religious views were full of contradiction and who wrestled with essentially traditionalist religious views and the reality of the reformed religion that

his regime had imposed on the realm. Many scholars talk of Henry's religious middle way and it is true that while he did instigate reform it was certainly not a reformation on a scale comparable with the continent.

Collinson (2003: 111-12) observes that Henry seems to have intended for his son to be brought up a protestant. This is not necessarily the case. Religion was not necessarily quite so simplistic, quite so black and white for him. As Bernard (2005: 591-92) observes, Henry's primary concern was that he secure the royal supremacy for his male heir. In fact Bernard explicitly refutes the claim that Henry VIII set up a Protestant regime to begin in his son's reign. Collinson is generally too dismissive of Henry VIII. This is a man, after all, who spent years doggedly pursuing a single goal – the annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Henry clearly did care very much about what he left behind, he cared in particular about securing the royal supremacy for his son. It is for this reason that he left his son surrounded by his most loyal servants and advisers. They may have happened to be evangelicals like Cranmer but this was secondary to the fact that they were loyal to the royal supremacy. Of course it is possible that Henry underestimated the strength of Cranmer's evangelical convictions – surely Cranmer would have seldom had an opportunity to air such views before a ruthless king clearly unsympathetic to strong evangelical views. Ultimately, however, this is irrelevant. Henry did leave Edward surrounded by largely evangelical advisers and during his reign he pursued a policy of further religious reform, going much further than his father's middle ground.

5.2.6 LAY REACTIONS TO THE REFORMATION

The dissolution of the monasteries brought onto the streets not protesters but opportunists who were eager to buy up monastic lands.

(Collinson 2003: 108)

Collinson is here being rather disingenuous. The vast majority of the population did not benefit financially from the dissolution of the monasteries and it was, of course, only the wealthiest members of society who could afford to purchase the former monasteries and their lands. He believes that the English did not care that Henry was instigating such significant changes in the church. This view does not hold water. Firstly it must be borne in mind that the lay population at this time was still largely illiterate. Since this was the case, it follows that there was relatively little opportunity for them to record their views and little chance of them surviving into the present day. Secondly it assumes that there was some opportunity for them to express their opinions. In the English reformation, the change was being led, regardless of his reasons, primarily by the reigning monarch and not a reformer as on the continent. This meant that to criticise the changes was to criticise the king himself. This connection was made explicit when the act of the Royal Supremacy came into effect. This required the population to swear an oath of allegiance to the king and explicitly to recognise him as supreme head of the Church of England. In the visitations mentioned above, the visitors questioned the monks on the royal supremacy and required them to swear an oath to the king as head of the church. In effect, from this time on, to go against the religious

changes was to go against the king and an act of parliament. This created an impossible situation for the laity. Time and again Henry had demonstrated how severely he dealt with dissenters and the laity would have been aware of this. Eamon Duffy (2001) mentions repeatedly how shocked the people of Morebath were at the changes taking place and at the executions of heretics and dissenters. So, short of an open rebellion against a ruthless and vindictive king, the lay population really had no option but to conform to the changes that Henry's regime imposed.

It must not be assumed, however, that the laity did not act in any way at all. Interestingly, what Collinson's view also does is to diminish the relevance of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This popular rising began in the north and was considered a genuine threat to the progress of reform.⁷

Other lay reaction was less violent though no less meaningful. When in June 1534, Hugh Latimer, a radical Protestant preacher, arrived in Exeter in order to preach the royal supremacy, he:

Had a hostile reception, being resisted by the Franciscans who would not let him into their church, and he was denounced by some of his hearers as a 'heretic knave' and threatened with being pulled down by the ears. Latimer had to abandon one of his sermons because of a spectacular nosebleed, which was of course gleefully hailed as the judgement of God on his heresies.

(Duffy 2001: 88)

The Pilgrimage of Grace aside, the general nature of the reaction to the reformation in England was peaceful. While many, particularly in the north were not pleased by the changes they saw, they simply did not openly protest.

Of course, it is clear that some of the population actually supported the programme of religious reform that began with Henry's split with Rome. Many members of the nobility seized on the opportunity to increase their land holdings through buying up the lands of the former monasteries. Others had a more genuine, religiously motivated reason for supporting the changes. A number of the grievances against the clergy that were felt by ordinary people around the continent, particularly in areas that would become reformist strongholds were also felt by the laity of England. Here, as elsewhere, the sale of indulgences was widespread. Absenteeism of parish clergy, as has already been shown, was also a common issue for many. MacCulloch (1999: 109-11), citing the work of John Fines, notes that certain areas of England, particularly in the southeast, were strongholds of evangelical belief. Interestingly, MacCulloch (1999: 111) notes that the 'distribution of known evangelical individuals represents an imperfect fit to the official forces either promoting or resisting reformation from the 1530s'. Presumably, then, other forces were influencing the population and many were making up their own mind on the religious changes. It might be noticed that the majority of the evangelical sympathisers seem to be in the south, in the counties around London, but MacCulloch warns against reading too much into this. London, he says, 'defies categorisation' and while evangelicalism was clearly popular in the capital, the centre of royal power, the population, initially at any rate, was permitted to make up their own mind (MacCulloch 1999: 111).⁸

Finally it is interesting to consider the effect of the continental reformations on England. It has been shown that Henry was deeply sceptical about the reformations on the continent. In effect, until he began his quest to divorce Queen Catherine, he was a staunchly traditional Christian with very conservative views. This was not the case among all of his advisers. In particular Thomas Cranmer held increasingly strong evangelical views, which would prove particularly significant in the years after King Henry's death.⁹ It seems likely that Cranmer's views were first harboured in his trips to the continent as Henry's ambassador. Here he would have experienced evangelicism first-hand and have taken his new ideas back home to England. Over the following years, Cranmer and Cromwell used every opportunity to further the evangelical cause for reform in England. They even began to organise 'exchange trips' abroad so that young graduates could go over and experience the new religion themselves (MacCulloch 1996: 257).

5.2.7 THE HENRICIAN REFORMATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

In reality Henry was a traditionalist and he essentially remained one throughout his life, albeit a traditionalist who had done what he had to in order to secure a divorce from an unsuitable marriage. Patrick Collinson observes that if Catherine of Aragon had borne him at least one healthy son, the reformation would not have occurred: 'Henry's need to be released from a marriage that could not provide him with a male heir was

the cause, or at least the occasion, of a religious revolution' (Collinson 2003: 110). This may well be the case, although it has been shown above that many of the social factors that led to reform on the continent were present in England. What is clear is that such reform would not have occurred under Henry had not the pope, as he saw it, forced his hand.

For Henry the split with Rome was primarily a political move – it was the only way to get his divorce in time now that Anne Boleyn was pregnant. However, for the architects of the reformation in England, Cromwell and Cranmer, it was the opportunity that they had waited for. It was, for them, a religious reformation that political circumstances had allowed them to begin under a king otherwise opposed to such change. For many scholars the dissolution of the monasteries is seen as another political move in order for Henry to secure himself against any religious reversal instigated by the monastic orders. This seems likely, although as shown above, G.W. Bernard does provide solid evidence that the initial visitation was a genuine attempt to reform them.

Bernard's *The King's Reformation* attempts to redress the balance in studies of the Henrician Reformation and to show that Henry had a clear religious point of view – his middle way – and that he was instrumental in the application of religious reform in England. Bernard proves the latter point admirably – Henry is shown time and again addressing parliament, amending publications, supervising the wording of acts of parliament. It is held here, however, that he fails in proving the former point. Henry is active in the application of religious policy but he is often merely supervising or adapting the ideas of others. Much of his

input is merely to water-down the wording of more extreme evangelical material. Following the suppression of the monasteries and the securing of the royal supremacy, Henry seems to have been unsure of how to proceed. His religious middle ground becomes increasingly blurred and, as MacCulloch (1999: 4) points out, in the last few years of his reign it became increasingly eccentric and difficult to follow.

The reformation changed religion all over Europe and was not restricted simply to the new splinter group that would eventually become Protestantism. While the traditional church disagreed with the reformists and their spiritual ideas, they realised that in order to survive they too would have to change. This led to a Catholic Reformation (sometimes called the Counter Reformation) in which some of the issues that bothered the laity about the traditional church were addressed, though the changes to the doctrines that the evangelical reformers favoured were not adopted. The church was still firmly against evangelicalism and changed only out of a need for self-preservation.

How were the reformist ideas communicated through England? Collinson (2003: 109) shows that neither a top-down, nor a bottom-up theory can fully explain the process – neither work on their own. A top-down origin for the reformation in England was mentioned above. This was, however, simply an origin and without the acceptance of at least part of the lay population and a reciprocal bottom-up movement, the reformation would not have lasted. It is significant that after only a few years of religious change, when Mary Tudor began her short-lived series of religious reversals, church attendance dropped significantly

(MacCulloch 1999: 106-7). This has been taken to show that by this time the lay population, had in general, accepted the reformed version of religion and resented this attempt to force them back to the traditional church's doctrines and practices. The exchange trips abroad and the gradual transmission of continental reformist ideas through the intellectuals of England mentioned above is one example of the beginning of a bottom-up movement. So while it started as a top-down royal imposition, it would clearly not have survived Henry's reign had there not been a simultaneous and equally powerful movement among the population to promote reform.

The descendant of reformed Protestant religion is still with us today. The changes that Henry VIII began in England secured the future of the reformation. Since the changes imposed on the population affected them so deeply and elicited such deep felt emotion, understanding the origins, history and aftermath of the reformation is vital in gaining a full understanding of England, or indeed Europe, in the early sixteenth century.

5.3 THE GOLDINGS' RELIGION

The majority of the changes connected to the reformation in England took place in the mid-sixteenth century. This is exactly the point at which the Goldings were becoming most powerful and prominent, both in Essex and in a wider national context. It follows that the reformation must have had

a major impact on them and the way in which they lived their lives. The remainder of this chapter will take the biographical details that have been learned about the Goldings and other people associated with Hunter 232 as well as the marginalia and use this to build a picture of the religious convictions of those people.

As shown in chapter four, there is evidence from 1569 that Sir Thomas Golding, in his role as sheriff of Essex, was enforcing government policy in relation to religious change. Over twenty years earlier, John Golding, his father, was also involved in what can now be viewed as the preliminary stages of the dissolution of the monasteries.¹⁰ It seems clear that, at the very least, the family were displaying reformist sympathies. At this time, however, publicly expressed religious views often contrasted strongly with privately held beliefs – many people still supported the traditional church, but felt unable to admit to this in public. It could therefore be argued that Sir Thomas Golding acted only in his professional capacity and that privately he held rather different views. There is, however, no evidence of this and, in the absence of such evidence, his views must be taken at face value. It can therefore be assumed that he was, like his father before him, a progressive evangelical.

While no direct evidence survives that conclusively shows Thomas Golding's religious views, one prominent figure in the Golding family, Arthur Golding, has left some evidence behind him. As was shown in chapter four, he was a prominent translator during this period. Perhaps more than any member of the family, he was instrumental in promoting the evangelical cause in England. He did this through

publishing translations of the works of continental reformers like Calvin. In 1571 he published Calvin's *Commentaries on the Psalms* for which he wrote a long and detailed preface (Golding 1937: 65). This preface was addressed to his now grown up nephew, the Earl of Oxford with whom, as was mentioned in chapter four, he had a close relationship. This piece of writing was:

a vigorous appeal to the young man and is expressive of Golding's sense of responsibility for the youth and his fear that he would desert the Protestant religion.

(Golding 1937: 65)

This is important to the current discussion because in this piece of writing, we have a member of the Golding family explicitly setting out his religious views and, crucially, attempting to influence the views of others. It must be accepted, then, that the evangelical beliefs of the family were genuine and deeply felt.

The dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent acquisition of their lands and buildings (and tenants) was irresistible for some people. For those who were involved, it helped to further their own wealth and influence and so secure their position for years to come. While no direct evidence of such practices came to light while researching this project, the Goldings certainly increased their prominence and importance in the community through their close involvement in the local administration of the reformation. Associates of theirs, like Thomas Emery, can be shown to be instrumental in the dissolution of the monasteries and probably benefited personally from this. Indeed in many ways the Goldings and their associates fit very closely, the stereotype of the sixteenth-century

evangelical. For upwardly mobile members of society, it could be beneficial for them to oust the local clergy and the inhabitants of the monasteries.

5.4 THE ABUSE OF HUNTER 232

As a result of the research carried out in chapter 4, above, to trace the lives of the people who wrote their names in Hunter 232, a number of biographical details have been presented. What, however, can be learned about these people by examining the ways in which they used this manuscript? A number of questions will be considered here. Firstly, are there any examples in the marginalia that specifically show the religious and political stances of the annotators? Secondly, does the fact that it was so heavily annotated reveal anything about their attitudes to the manuscript? Finally, can the nature of the text itself be said to have contributed to its treatment?

The first of these questions provides an interesting answer. Throughout the manuscript, not once is a specific evangelical view expressed in the marginalia. This is not as unusual as it might first appear. Not when taking into account the fact that virtually all of the marginalia are context-free and so do not react to the content of the poem and that, in general, the scraps of texts occurring in the marginalia record professional dealings. That the manuscript was owned by a religious owner is, however, obvious. This can be seen, for example, in the high number of

entries featuring phrases such as ‘in the name of the father’. In addition, there are several entries that refer the reader to biblical passages.¹¹

What is unusual, given what has been shown about the family who owned the manuscript, is an entry on folio 98v and repeated on 103v. This is a scrap of verse that reads:

The mas it hathe | bene usyd . and | never it refusyd . | a thousand yers and | more . a . hollye | churche it fyrste in | ventyd . them let vs | be contentyd as | our fathers were | before. a. | the masse is not fey | ned . but therin is con | teynyd . throw conse | cracyon . of the . | prest . a . at the | aulter wher he | standes . when he

This verse, appearing in the left-hand margin on each occurrence, and towards the top of the page, expresses clear traditionalist views. While this might seem unusual, it can actually be explained quite simply. The Goldings were clearly a religious family and so, presumably, were religious before the reformation. Prior to taking up their evangelical views, it stands to reason that they would have had opinions that strongly supported the traditional church and so it is not inconceivable that one of them would have written this verse and that they would have agreed with its sentiments.

The second of the questions posed at the head of this chapter concerned whether the high level of annotation could be seen to reveal something of the attitudes of the owners to their manuscript. This is more difficult to answer because the marginalia are almost all context free and seem to shed very little light on the opinions of the owners. On the other hand, it has been shown beyond reasonable doubt that the Goldings were very religious and held evangelical views.

It could be argued that the level of annotation in the manuscript was a way for the owners to show their lack of interest in, or even contempt for the main text. I do not believe that this is the case. It has been shown above that it is likely that some of the marginalia were written prior to the Goldings' religious conversion. This indicates that they saw this as a perfectly acceptable way to use their book. Indeed such a line of argument would be misguided since it would place modern ideas and connotations of the book onto medieval readers. W.H. Sherman (2008: xiv) has argued that 'not all of the uses to which books can be put should be described as "reading"'. This is an interesting sentiment. With Hunter 232, things were written in its margins from a very early stage – the only change is that after the reformation the volume and various types of marginal additions increased.

The third of the questions posed at the beginning of this section asked whether the nature of the poem itself might have contributed to its treatment by its owners? *Life of Our Lady* is a deeply religious text depicting the life of the Virgin Mary and the birth of Jesus Christ. Such a poem, then, has clear connections with the traditional church. A religious family of readers would have an obvious interest in owning and reading such a text. It follows, however, that if the same family went on to espouse strongly evangelical views, they might then have had considerably less interest in such a text.

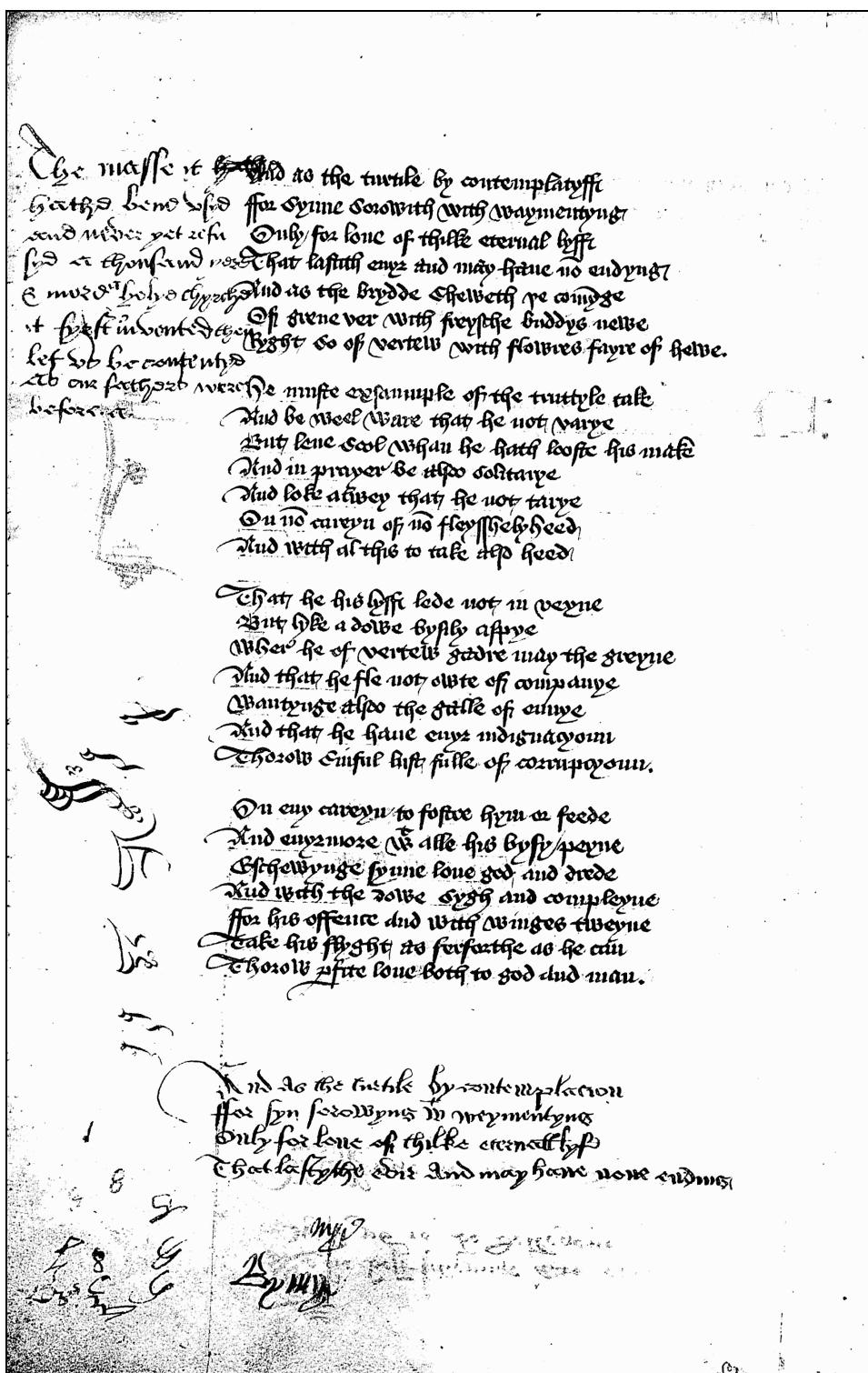
Clearly, then, the Goldings lost interest in this text at some point in the sixteenth century. Interestingly, this is the point at which most of the marginalia seem to have been written. It is possible that, having no

use for the text itself, they decided to use the manuscript as a form of scrap paper. This could explain some of the damage, particularly the sections of vellum that have been cut away. It also goes some way to accounting for the eclectic mixture of different types of marginalia. With no interest in the contents of the manuscript, the ways in which they used this book changed significantly. While the marginalia added to the manuscript prior to the reformation had been biblical references and verse such as the mass poem discussed above, now additions included scraps of letters and indentures and many trial letterforms. Throughout chapter three it was repeatedly suggested in the accompanying notes that some of entries were very likely to be the work of children. This indicates that the children in the Golding family were allowed to play (drawing doodles) and learn (mastering basic writing skills) with this manuscript. With Hunter 232, several generations of one family and their associates are using the manuscript in a variety of ways.

It is clear that the Goldings had no literary interest in the manuscript, but why did they keep it for so long? This can be easily explained. Manuscripts, even modest manuscripts, were expensive acquisitions. While the owners of this manuscript were upwardly mobile and increasingly prominent members of Essex society, they were not among the wealthiest of families. In the Middle Ages, manuscript ownership was considered a status symbol. It may have been that the Goldings considered it more desirable to continue owning a manuscript that no longer appealed to their tastes and retain the status that manuscript ownership was seen to bring than to dispose of it altogether. Additionally,

as can be seen in the volume of marginalia, the manuscript was obviously useful for the family to have around.

PLATE 5



GUL MS Hunter 232 (U.3.5) John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, fol. 103v:
Showing, in the left hand margin, the poem on the mass discussed above.
The image is taken from microfilm and has been slightly cropped.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 GENERAL REMARKS

This dissertation set out to provide a social history of Hunter 232. In order to achieve this it turned to the marginalia in order to gain an insight into its history. Through this, the names of numerous early owners were found and biographical details of several of them were unearthed. In addition, the research carried out in chapters four and five placed these people and the marginalia in general in a specific historical context and so was able to offer theories for explaining the specific uses to which these people put the manuscript.

It has been shown, in the course of this dissertation, that MS Hunter 232 was used by a number of different people over a period of time in the sixteenth century. The Golding family, in particular, were among the early owners of the manuscript and they have left their mark on it. As an increasingly prominent, upwardly mobile, upper-middle class family, a literary manuscript must have been considered an important possession for them. As has been discussed, ownership of manuscripts could be seen as status symbols, demonstrating that the owner was educated enough to be able to read and also wealthy enough to be able to buy or even to commission one.

As important as this manuscript undoubtedly was to its owners at one point, it was treated rather unusually. It is, however, impossible to

conclude with any real certainty exactly why the Goldings treated the manuscript in the ways that they did. The most likely explanation might be found in the fact that over time the interest of the general reader in John Lydgate began to wane. Indeed, it has been widely discussed in the scholarly literature on Lydgate that despite being extremely well regarded in his own time and in the century or so after his death, within a relatively short time he had been all but forgotten. It is feasible that the changing attitude that the Goldings showed towards this manuscript can be seen as an echo of the similar change in attitude to Lydgate seen more widely in society. It must be borne in mind that the works of John Lydgate, a monk and author, were often focussed on religious matters and so could be seen as heavily associated with the traditional church. This manuscript and its neglect could simply indicate a change in literary tastes.

The damage and abuse of Hunter 232 could be viewed as a way for the Goldings to show their contempt for the contents, but this seems unlikely. The most effective way of doing this would surely be to simply dispose of the manuscript. So why did they keep the manuscript? The explanation for this comes from a very brief consideration of who the Goldings were. A manuscript must have been a very expensive item for them and so something they might have felt unable to simply dispose of, even if they had no real interest in the contents.

Accounting for the unconventional use of this manuscript requires a number of explanations. Firstly the fact that the Goldings acquired evangelical ideas explains why they might have lost interest in it. Secondly, the fact that it was an expensive acquisition shows why they

might have been unwilling or unable to dispose of it. Thirdly, the fact that quire N was missing must have made it less practical to use the codex as reading material. Finally, it must have been convenient to have a book to hand that could be used as scrap paper. It is clear that many members of the family used the manuscript as scrap paper or a notebook. Some of the marginalia are possibly by children which indicates that they were using the manuscript to learn writing and to play (see, for example, the numerous doodles throughout). Other users were clearly impressed with the neat and attractive hand of the manuscript and so spent some time attempting to replicate those letterforms. A different set of users also used the manuscript in order to practice writing that was then set down in final draft form in another document (see the trial indentures, signatures and scraps of letters, etc.). As Sherman (2008: xiv) has observed, and as discussed above, there are numerous uses for a book, only one of which is reading. MS Hunter 232 is an excellent example of this.

The above theories have all suggested that the reason that the marginalia were written on the manuscript was because the religious views of the owners changed in such a way that they no longer had an interest in the text. The annotations reflect the fact that the manuscript was now seen, primarily, as a notepad or as scrap paper or was of use for providing exemplars of desirable hand writing to be copied and practiced. Such a theory, however, fails to explain the presence of the mass poem. This poem surely must have been written before the religious turnaround that the Goldings experienced? If this is the case then that means that some fairly large and intrusive marginalia had already been included in

the manuscript in the time before the reformation began. Why would this be the case? For this there are two possible explanations. The first is simply that the inclusion of doggerel verse in manuscripts was not unheard of and can be found in numerous other books of the same period. The second, which is preferred here, is that quire N was already missing. In chapter one it was stated that it is likely that quire N was missing from a relatively early stage. If this quire was indeed missing then the manuscript would be of limited practical reading use and this could explain why the owners began to use the book in the ways that they did. Obviously, this cannot be proven and so must remain mere supposition. If this theory is correct, however, it provides the interesting scenario that the extensive damage to the manuscript was itself precipitated by damage – if the quire was missing and the manuscript was not suitable for reading, then why not cut away small pieces when a scrap of parchment was required? Why not write, draw and scribble in the margins?

6.2 THE CLASSIFICATION OF MANUSCRIPT MARGINALIA

It seems virtually impossible to discuss marginalia without at least briefly discussing the various methods for classifying such content. In recent years several critics have offered systems for the classification of marginalia in manuscripts and early printed books. Of these the two most prominent are Elaine Whitaker and Carl Grindley. The former identified three main groups of marginalia that fell under the headings: editing,

including censorship; interaction, including devotional use or critique; and avoidance, which included doodling (Sherman 2008: 16). It is clear that in Hunter 232, almost all of the marginalia would be classified as part of Whitaker's third group. The title of this group is interesting in the context of this particular manuscript – it may be assumed from some of the discussions above that the owners and users of the this book were using it in this way to avoid interaction with the now undesirable text. Avoidance marginalia, then, is a key aspect of Hunter 232.

Following on from Whitaker, Carl Grindley expanded and adapted a much larger system for the description and classification of marginalia. This work began in his PhD research, some of which was discussed previously, and has been expanded on in subsequent publications. Grindley developed a complex system of three large groups of marginalia: one featuring marks with no relation to the text, such as doodles, pen trials and ownership marks; a second featuring marginalia with a slight relation to the book in which they were written, including letterforms and decoration copied from the main text: and a third that contained annotations that had a clear context in relationship to the text (Sherman 2008: 16-17). Grindley's system features a high volume of subdivisions and sub categories within these main groups and is therefore very thorough but also difficult to use. The majority of marginalia in Hunter 232 would be classed under Grindley's first and second groups.

This area of marginalia studies – their classification and categorisation – was not focussed on in this dissertation for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is held here that, while the classification of marginalia

can have some value in certain manuscripts, it can often be of limited use or lead simply to pedantic distinctions being made between what are ostensibly very similar types of marginalia. For instance, throughout the transcription of the marginalia it was often impossible to tell whether a letterform in a margin was copied from the main text or was simply a trial letterform in a contemporary secretary hand. For the purposes of this work, the distinction was not important but in the classification of marginalia, this would have been considered most important. The majority of the marginalia in Hunter 232 have no direct connection to the text. The classification of the marginalia could therefore be seen as having little practical value. Where such classification does have a use is in manuscripts and books (or more rarely libraries or collections) where a particular owner has annotated the pages using a particular (often unique) system to begin a dialogue of interpretation and analysis of the text.¹

The majority of the text written in the margins of Hunter 232 can be classified as either trial letterforms or drafts of documents, usually letters or indentures. The high number of names in the manuscript can be explained in connection with this. If the owners felt the need to practise writing scraps of letters and other documents, it is likely that the same people would have wanted to practice writing their signature.² Likewise, the very high volume of trial letterforms in the manuscript can be seen as an attempt to improve or perfect handwriting in preparation for writing these letters. At the time when the Goldings were active with the manuscript, the most commonly used hand was secretary hand. They might have viewed the anglicana formatta in the manuscript as a more

formal and impressive hand, leading them to attempt to replicate it in the margins so that it could be used later in their indentures and more formal letters.

6.3 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE VALUE OF MARGINALIA

Finally, this dissertation will close with some general remarks on the state of the study of marginalia today. As remarked upon briefly in chapter one, there has been a long-standing neglect of marginalia in the study of manuscripts. This is partly understandable. The modern reader is, after all, almost pre-programmed to value pristine texts – texts untouched by previous readers. This is, however, a modern ideal and one that the medieval reader would have found very alien. As W.H. Sherman (2008: 155) wrote: ‘the desire for clean books is not a historical or cultural universal’. In the time that the Goldings were active and long into the era of printing, it was common practice for readers to annotate their texts – indeed it was a necessary part of reading. At this point, more than at any other, reading truly was a process of communication. A dialogue and exchange of ideas could be carried out in the pages of manuscripts. Interestingly, this dialogue was not exclusively between the author and the reader but could be between the reader and his predecessors and successors; readers could carry on dialogues with other readers, adding to or taking exception with some of their views and annotations.

It is hoped that it has been shown that marginalia can provide a considerable amount of valuable information and should be considered a valid area of manuscript study. The early neglect of marginalia was wholly unjustified and, clearly, removed an important element of the medieval reading experience from scholarly consideration. This neglect was, of course, caused by the modern prejudice towards soiled books. Surely, however, if glosses and marginalia were considered important enough to be committed to paper in the first place and, in some cases, included in subsequent copies of the manuscript or even in printed versions, they are of sufficient importance to be studied today? Even a manuscript like Hunter 232, which contains very little in the way of context-driven marginalia can provide a great deal of valuable information about the history of that particular book.

In order to emphasise the importance of a large-scale scholarly reconsideration of manuscript marginalia, this work now ends on a word of warning. Time and again it has been remarked upon that it is vitally important not to dismiss the value of marginalia. Sherman (2008: 164), however, notes one very worrying case of neglect. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was not uncommon for the marginalia on manuscripts and early printed books to be obliterated in misguided attempts at restoration. The margins might be cropped or the folios bleached or otherwise cleansed of their contamination. In the case that Sherman describes, a large supply of marginal annotations have been bleached out in a first edition of John Milton's *Areopagitica*, almost obscuring them entirely. Palaeographical analysis of these annotations has

now revealed that they are almost certainly in the hand of Milton himself. Here, then, is a case of the previous disinterest in the study of marginalia actually harming the text itself and deleting the work of the author.

This seems horrific to the modern scholar and reader but, one suspects, that similar atrocities must have been committed countless times before. The main moral to be learned from this story is that marginalia, and indeed any of the contents of a book (not simply the text) are of value and deserve to be studied. Such studies will, no doubt, reveal a wealth of previously unknown detail and enhance our understanding of the texts, their reception and of their readers and owners.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

¹ Young and Aitken (1908) refer to it as incomplete, ending imperfectly on line 308 and so lacking Book VI, lines 309-462.

² Young and Aitken (1908) document 19 pages (almost one fifth of the MS) that have been ‘variously mutilated’.

³ See chapter 3 for a full transcription of the marginalia.

⁴ Interestingly, some of the copied letterforms attempt to replicate the anglicana formata forms of the main text. For a discussion of the various uses of the manuscript, see chapter 5.

⁵ It is interesting to note that new manuscripts of medieval texts continue to be discovered. For example in 1995, a small fragment of a manuscript in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge that had previously been used in a bookbinding was identified, by Stephen R. Reimer, as part of a lost manuscript of *Life of Our Lady* (Reimer 1995: 1-15). At the time of the 1961 Critical Edition of the poem, only 42 manuscripts of *Life of Our Lady* were known to survive and two of the known extant manuscripts (MS Mostyn Hall 85 and MS Mostyn Hall 257) had been missing since around 1920 and 1945 respectively (Lauritis et al 1961: 11-12).

⁶ At the time of writing this physical description (November 2007) I was not aware of Grindley’s pre-existing description. I have retained my own because neither of the previous two were entirely suitable for my needs and so as to limit repetition in the discussions that follow in the chapters below.

⁷ This checklist may be accessed at the following link (last checked 22 September 2008): <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/quadrivium/S_PalaeographyCodicology/3Checklist.php>

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

¹ I use the word ‘published’ in a looser sense than the modern meaning. Here it is taken to mean the making available to a reading public of any written text (whether printed book or manuscript).

² For an interesting and concise account of the development of the history of the book as an academic discipline and of the state of book scholarship prior to this, see Finkelstein and McCleery (2005: 7-27)

³ See chapter 6.3, below, for a discussion of a case where eliminating marginal annotations to a text (assumed to be non-authorial contamination, as outlined above) has in fact deleted handwritten authorial corrections and alterations to the text.

⁴ This issue involves the centrality of the author in textual production and is now one of the more fiercely debated aspects of book history.

⁵ This article was subsequently updated and republished in 1990 and is now included in Finkelstein and McCleery (2002). The references made in the present work are to the version of the article published in that volume.

⁶ In each article, the circuit under discussion is represented diagrammatically. It seems unnecessary to reproduce these here, but the discussion may become clearer if they are consulted in the works referenced.

⁷ One such example can be found in the Hunterian Collection of the University of Glasgow. For this, see MS Hunter 5: John Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes*. See also Plate 2 in the present work for an image from that manuscript.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

¹ Special Collection departments all over the world (and some modern editions of individual manuscripts) are beginning to make use of and to produce electronic versions of manuscripts. These eliminate some of the problems of the printed edition but also have limitations of their own. Images, even those of the highest quality, can be misleading and often lack detail that can only be seen when physically handling the manuscript. In the case of Hunter 232 and numerous other manuscripts, damage, particularly holes and tears in the vellum, can easily cause misreadings if the holes are not obvious in the digitised image. It must also be borne in mind that even in an electronic edition, an editor is involved and so, to a greater or lesser extent, the reader's experience of the manuscript is being controlled. This latter point means that many of the additional problems associated with the printed edition (outlined above) are also brought to the electronic version. Despite all of these issues, the electronic edition is a very useful tool and, provided it is used with caution and an awareness of the possible complications that may be encountered, is a very welcome innovation in the fields of book history, codicology and other associated disciplines.

² In some of these situations it is equally possible that the pen's point was sharpened.

³ This means that not everything that appears in the margin was considered marginalia – i.e. signatures, catchwords and foliation.

⁴ Note that abbreviations with superscript letters (i.e. 'w^t' for 'with') are retained and not expanded.

⁵ These abbreviations are straightforward: TM = top margin, LM = left margin, RM = right margin and BM= bottom margin.

⁶ These doodles are all in dry point and consist of 4 pentagrams and 1 grid shape.

⁷ The three <w> letterforms in the margins on this page replicate the anglicana formata <w> of line one of the main text.

⁸ The <w> letterforms in the marginalia again replicate an anglicana form from the main text. In this case it is a variant anglicana form of the <w> found on folio 1v.

⁹ Both 'fflowr' and 'more' (with a curving ascender indicating an abbreviated <e>) are copied from the main text, lines 8 and 23, on this folio.

¹⁰ These letterforms (all secretary hand) are written in joined-up handwriting and are clearly not intended to form a word. It seems likely that they are the result of writing practice, possibly the work of a child. For more discussion on this possible use of Hunter 232, see chapter 5.

¹¹ This is copied from line one of the main text on this page. Here the copyist makes an error, omitting the first <e> of 'frewte' and final <e> of 'tree'. The style is close to that of the main text, although the second <d> of 'comended' is more secretary in style. This copied text is positioned very close to the main text.

¹² This text and 'And from the flokke' (see note 13) are copied, relatively accurately, from the main text on this page.

¹³ This is copied from the same text, although this attempt is far less successful, particularly in the realisation 'flokke'. This suggests that the copyist would repeat his work until he was satisfied with the results.

¹⁴ Another example of the text being copied more than once. This example is, again, a less successful realisation of the anglicana forms than that on fol 2v.

¹⁵ The same text that was previously copied on fol 2v (and partially on fol 3r) in a close attempt to replicate the hand of the main text is copied here in a large secretary hand.

¹⁶ Copied from line 28 of the main text, 'With abyholdyng', making several mistakes. These mistakes could indicate that the copyist either did not understand what he was copying or that the anglicana hand was archaic enough by this time to prove problematic for him.

¹⁷ The repetition of the same name suggests a writer practicing his signature. For more detailed discussion of the names found in Hunter 232, see chapter 4.

¹⁸ This writing is clearly another practice of 'John' but smudging (represented in this transcription thus: *) obscures some of the letters.

¹⁹ All marginalia on this page are written in the RM at right angles to the main text.

- ²⁰ This doodle is a crude attempt to imitate the ornamental initial on this folio.
- ²¹ All marginalia on this folio are written in the RM at right angles to the main text.
- ²² These letters are elaborate capitals.
- ²³ Both of these lines (particularly the second) are in a large elaborate secretary hand and run at right angles to the main text.
- ²⁴ This name is almost certainly William Golding (see below in this chapter for more occurrences and see chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the names in Hunter 232). Here the Surname is smudged.
- ²⁵ This page features numerous doodles including 11 crude attempts at ornamental letters and 4 small animal drawings.
- ²⁶ This page contains 4 more ornamental initials, this time more elaborate attempts than on the preceding page.
- ²⁷ The text here copies part an explicit on this folio: ‘Here endith the Natiuite Off owre Lady | and bygynneth the Cownsel Of the Trynyte’. The copy begins with accurate anglicana forms, though the <e> of ‘endithe’ and ‘Natiuite’ are the rounded secretary forms. The realisation of the final word is so unclear that it could imply that the copyist struggled to read the writing he was copying.
- ²⁸ For more on names, see chapter 4 below.
- ²⁹ This doodle consists of a small line drawing of an indistinct form.
- ³⁰ This doodle is another attempt to replicate an ornamental initial.
- ³¹ For more on names, see chapter 4.
- ³² This word has been carefully copied from the main text. In the execution of the <t> the copyist successfully reproduces the shape and style of his exemplar and retains the distinctive dot beneath the crossbar.
- ³³ On this page, all marginalia in the TM and RM are written at right angles to the main text.
- ³⁴ This writing is very faint and mostly illegible.
- ³⁵ The doodles on this folio are both grid-shapes. They are possibly intended to be knotted crosses.
- ³⁶ This text is at right angles to the main text.
- ³⁷ This name appears twice, side by side. The second attempt may be after the point was sharpened – it is more precise and more elaborate. Below these are some of the letters of the name like ‘bytt’, obviously being practiced. For more on names, see chapter 4.
- ³⁸ This text is copied from the main text on this page. The copyist begins replicating the anglicana letterforms fairly accurately but by the second and third lines he begins to use increasing numbers of secretary forms, particularly the rounded secretary <e>. In the third line he copies the main text ‘bat’ as ‘y^t’. This shows that he clearly is able to read and to understand the text he is copying and is making a conscious decision to change it to the form he is more used to.
- ³⁹ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁴⁰ This text runs at right angles to the main text and is in a large bastard secretary hand.
- ⁴¹ Both this and the two following entries are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁴² These letterforms are written at right angles to main text.
- ⁴³ This and all marginalia below on this page are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁴⁴ This text could be part of a letter.
- ⁴⁵ The ink fades here.
- ⁴⁶ A doodle consisting of five childish stick-drawings of animals. Many of the doodles in the manuscript give the strong impression of being the work of a child.
- ⁴⁷ A doodle consisting of a small stick-drawing of a person.
- ⁴⁸ This name appears (upside down) twice. For more on names see chapter 4.
- ⁴⁹ This and the following two entries are written upside down in the TM
- ⁵⁰ This text runs at right angles to the main text and is a careful attempt at replicating anglicana forms
- ⁵¹ Grindley (1996: 34) suggests that this text is the work of a child.
- ⁵² For more on names, see chapter 4.
- ⁵³ This text and all other marginalia in the RM are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁵⁴ For more on names, see chapter 4.
- ⁵⁵ Both this and the following entry appear in the LM upside down.

- ⁵⁶ A small star-shaped doodle that is drawn in the lower left corner of the margin.
- ⁵⁷ 3 elaborate and fairly decorative uppercase letterforms are written here. These are trials for the initial <M> of the marginal text on this page. These and the marginal text on this page are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁵⁸ Doodles consisting of four square shapes are drawn in the bottom margin.
- ⁵⁹ The doodles on this page consist of four large cross-shapes with some interweaving.
- ⁶⁰ This and the following piece of text are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁶¹ Two very similar shapes to those on fol. 37v are replicated here.
- ⁶² Another interweaving shape similar to those described above, alongside two animal-like drawings in different stages of construction (neither are complete).
- ⁶³ This text is written upside down in the top margin.
- ⁶⁴ All doodles on this page are virtually identical, consisting of a large rectangle with a second smaller rectangle of the same width on top of it. This smaller rectangle is subdivided by diagonal, horizontal and vertical lines. It may be a drawing of a window, though as with most of the doodles throughout the manuscript, it is unclear exactly what the intended subject is. Again it is crudely drawn and probably the work of a child.
- ⁶⁵ A series of shapes drawn in the RM have been almost entirely obliterated by ink being smudged over them.
- ⁶⁶ This drawing is another shape similar to those on fol. 37v.
- ⁶⁷ All RM marginalia on this page are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁶⁸ All text on this page is written upside down.
- ⁶⁹ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁷⁰ This text replicates the explicit at the top of fol. 47r. Interestingly, this marginalia can be seen to serve a purpose connected with the main text in that the original explicit has been obscured by smudged ink.
- ⁷¹ This text is copied twice but large parts of it are obscured by a large ink stain or smudge.
- ⁷² A large ornamental initial <W> copied from the top of this page. The original is partially obscured by the same ink stain mentioned above.
- ⁷³ The text in the RM is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁷⁴ This text is written upside down.
- ⁷⁵ A large cross shape is drawn in the BM.
- ⁷⁶ This text is written upside down.
- ⁷⁷ All text and letterforms in the RM on this page are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁷⁸ These letterforms are all written upside down in relation to the main text.
- ⁷⁹ This is clearly a scrap of a letter. For a discussion of such marginalia, see chapter 5. This and the remainder of the text in the RM is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸⁰ All RM text on this page is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸¹ LM text on this page is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸² This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸³ This doodle is a drawing of some sort (though the subject is unclear) and is probably the work of a child.
- ⁸⁴ The letterforms in the RM on this page are written upside down.
- ⁸⁵ These two names (and the word ‘indenture’) are written in the RM upside down.
- ⁸⁶ Both this and the preceding entry are written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸⁷ This is written in the LM at right angles to the main text.
- ⁸⁸ This doodle consists of a large, childlike, drawing of a ship (possibly) with some out of proportion human stick figures.
- ⁸⁹ This word, possibly ‘father’, is cut off by the margin – a possible indication that the MS was cropped at some stage. Both this and the text in the RM are at right angles to main text.
- ⁹⁰ This writing is scored out and only a few letters are legible.
- ⁹¹ This text is written upside down in the LM.
- ⁹² On this page, text in the TM and RM is written at right angles to the main text.
- ⁹³ All text in the TM on this page is written upside down.
- ⁹⁴ A small grid-shape is drawn in the BM.

- ⁹⁵ This text is written as right angles to the main text and is the same phrase written twice and separated by a thick stroke (here represented thus: /). The differences in letterforms and style indicate quite clearly that this is the work of two different writers.
- ⁹⁶ Two doodles appear in the BM. Both are drawings of the same thing, but the subject is not clear.
- ⁹⁷ On this page, text written in the RM is at right angles to the main text.
- ⁹⁸ The doodles on this page are attempts at drawing ornamental initials.
- ⁹⁹ All writing in the TM is at right angles to the main text.
- ¹⁰⁰ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹⁰¹ This replicates the wording of line one of the main text and is written in a fair attempt at replicating the anglicana hand of the main text.
- ¹⁰² The doodles on this page are two large drawings of what may be sailing ships.
- ¹⁰³ This doodle features some shapes drawn in the margin.
- ¹⁰⁴ These words are written upside down in the RM.
- ¹⁰⁵ Text in this margin and in the RM is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹⁰⁶ This doodle is a small drawing of what appears to be a fish.
- ¹⁰⁷ This letterform and the text in the BM are written upside down.
- ¹⁰⁸ This TM text is written upside down.
- ¹⁰⁹ All text in the RM of this page is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹¹⁰ This text is written at rights angles to the main text.
- ¹¹¹ This text is probably the result of writing practice and could either be practice writing minims or writing numerals. The spaces and slashes separating some of the characters are replicated here just as in the manuscript.
- ¹¹² This text appears upside down in the TM.
- ¹¹³ Young and Aitken (1908) take Gode Daniell to be John Daniell. For a detailed discussion of the names in the manuscript, see chapter 4.
- ¹¹⁴ This word is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹¹⁵ This is copied from the first line of the main text on this page. It is written in secretary hand with no attempt to copy the anglicana forms of the exemplar.
- ¹¹⁶ This text is written at right angles to the main text in a large secretary hand.
- ¹¹⁷ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹¹⁸ One of the most accomplished doodles in the manuscript, this drawing shows a snake-like shape twisting round a pole. It is small and carefully drawn.
- ¹¹⁹ This text is written very close to the main text and copies the first line of this page.
- ¹²⁰ Copied, in anglicana style, from the opening three lines of this page.
- ¹²¹ Copied from an explicit on this page. A second attempt at copying it begins but is abandoned after only a few words.
- ¹²² This very large doodle is a drawing of a ship and is probably the work of a child.
- ¹²³ This doodle consists of an incomplete drawing of a man's head in profile. It is unrealistic and a very child-like attempt.
- ¹²⁴ This text partially copies the explicit of this section of the poem.
- ¹²⁵ These doodles consist of square shapes with patterns of lines inside them.
- ¹²⁶ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹²⁷ All text in the RM is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹²⁸ A small four-sided shape with rounded corners and diagonal lines running internally, this doodle is very similar to those described on fol. 87r.
- ¹²⁹ This is a copy of the opening words of the main text on this page. The copyist attempts to replicate the letterforms of the main text.
- ¹³⁰ A number of drawings of snake-like shapes wrapping around branches.
- ¹³¹ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹³² Both this and the preceding entry were written upside down in the LM.
- ¹³³ A very small drawing of a bird.
- ¹³⁴ Two small, very similar faces. The style strongly suggests that it is the work of a child.
- ¹³⁵ A very large, curved cross shape – almost like a Celtic cross.
- ¹³⁶ Two distinct sets of doodles: the first are flowing, curving lines; the second are sets of close-running parallel lines making a pattern.
- ¹³⁷ This text is written upside down.
- ¹³⁸ Simple shapes composed of sets of parallel lines.

- ¹³⁹ This text is written upside down and appears to repeat and continue the TM text of fol. 97v. Some of the text is smudged and now illegible.
- ¹⁴⁰ The doodles on this page are all simple patterns, crosses and grids.
- ¹⁴¹ This text runs at right angles to the main text.
- ¹⁴² These are very similar doodles to those on fol. 98r.
- ¹⁴³ A copy of the explicit on this page, closely replicating the anglicana letterforms.
- ¹⁴⁴ This text is copied, with some alterations, from the main text on this page.
- ¹⁴⁵ This text is written upside down and at a sloping angle. This is unusual – the vast majority of the marginalia in this manuscript are written in straight lines.
- ¹⁴⁶ All text in the BM of this page is written upside down.
- ¹⁴⁷ All text in the LM on this page runs at right angles to the main text. The second entry (true love...) appears to be part of a poem. Cf. fol. 98v.
- ¹⁴⁸ Young & Aitken (1908) record that text is being quoted here: 1 Jn. iv. 16 ‘to the intente’ instead of ‘to the ende’.
- ¹⁴⁹ This text is written at right angles to the main text.
- ¹⁵⁰ These two references have been written at different times – the pen has clearly been sharpened or changed between them. The handwriting of both is very similar, close enough in fact to suggest that they are by the same writer. However, it is interesting to note the spelling variations and the fact that in the first ‘chapter’ is written in full whereas in the second it is abbreviated using an ascending stroke.
- ¹⁵¹ This and all other marginalia in the BM are written upside down.
- ¹⁵² Two doodles: one unidentifiable, the other an attempt at an ornamental initial .
- ¹⁵³ This text is written in the LM in a hand of similar size to the main text. At several points it flows into the main text, making the original poem, especially in the first line of this page, difficult to read.
- ¹⁵⁴ This text is copied from the first few lines of the main text on this page – i.e. those lines obscured by the marginalia in the LM. This is interesting as it could suggest that one of the writers of the marginalia was interesting in maintaining the MS as a practical reading copy.
- ¹⁵⁵ This text is written in an uneven secretary hand in the space between the second and third stanzas.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

¹ A debt to the work of C.J. Grindley must be acknowledged throughout this chapter. He previously carried out some preliminary work on the provenance of Hunter 232 as an exercise in an early chapter of his PhD (Grindley 1996: 13-37). Of particular help was his discussion on the processes involved in carrying out provenance research. Invaluable as his work proved in beginning this chapter, not all of his conclusions are accepted in the present work.

² Full bibliographical details of these books can be found in the bibliography.

³ See, for instance, Knighton (1992) and Lemon (1856).

⁴ The *Victoria County History* has only been completed for thirteen counties. Of the remainder, twelve are continuing to publish volumes, while the others have abandoned the project altogether (Chambers 2005: 21-2). The *Victoria History of the County of Essex* is among the twelve Victoria Counties that remain active with Volume eleven expected in 2009 and volume twelve planned for publication in 2012 (source: <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/Counties/Essex/Publications?Session/@id=D_K_NMEdqcsc1Feyytn0ggm>).

⁵ For students matriculated at the University of Oxford, see Foster (1887-92); for those who studied at Cambridge University see Venn and Venn (1922-27).

⁶ It must be noted that many of these limitations do not apply in the current circumstances. The names associated with this manuscript were (male) members of society who held elevated positions and so have left behind numerous records of their lives.

⁷ If records had survived, it would have been interesting to learn whether the final quire was missing at the time of purchase and whether or not it was bound. I am inclined to believe that it was purchased unbound, that quire N was already missing and that the majority of the damage to the manuscript had already occurred.

⁸ Even when John is accompanied by a surname, it is still difficult to trace. In medieval times, just as in the present day, John was a very common Christian name.

⁹ As will be demonstrated in chapter 5, the religious and the political were very closely entwined at this stage in history.

¹⁰ The religious background of the period is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

¹¹ To aid in the comprehension of the relationships between members of the Golding family, a family tree follows section 4.2.2. See figure 1.

¹² Being appointed sheriff was a temporary position so a man like Thomas Golding would have had other business interests and means of earning money.

¹³ Considine's DNB entry for Arthur Golding mentions that the young Edward became a ward of William Cecil but that Arthur appears to have been heavily involved in the young man's affairs for several years.

¹⁴ Some of Golding's publications are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

¹⁵ The references to these women are all from the 1590s or later and so must refer to the generation following Arthur and Thomas.

¹⁶ One of John Golding's daughters, Mary, married 'Roche or Rocke of Barkshire'. This is clearly not the same person being referenced here.

¹⁷ It must be remembered that at this point the letters <y> and <i> were still more or less interchangeable.

¹⁸ The letter lists one- or two-dozen names for each county.

¹⁹ Henry Golding was at one point a servant to the Earl of Oxford and later a member of parliament, being elected in 1558. Considine (2004) observes that his election was probably due to the influence of Oxford.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

¹ The bull, issued on 26th December by Pope Julius II was received in November the following year, though the marriage did not take place until 1509 (Bernard 2005: 9).

² Bernard (2005: 247) admits that 'to argue that Henry's government sought to reform monasteries is to fly in the face of a powerful historiographical tradition that sees the ultimate dissolution of the monasteries as an essentially financial measure.' Bernard's arguments are in general convincing and are accepted here. While these initial visitations were designed to promote the royal supremacy and begin a wave of monastic reform, it does not hold that the ultimate dissolution was not financially motivated. It must be borne in mind that only after the visitations of the monasteries would the true extent of their vast wealth have become apparent to the authorities.

³ McGrath in fact argues that one of the main reasons that Luther's views were so widely transmitted throughout Europe is that he was initially mistaken as a humanist and so promoted as one of their own.

⁴ While much of this debate is interesting, it concerns the close examination of the minutiae of the works of the reformers and is ultimately not of concern here. A concise account can be found in McGrath (1999: 101-31)

⁵ For a detailed history of Henry's quest for the divorce see Bernard (2005: 1-72).

⁶ For a study of the Reformation under Edward VI, see MacCulloch (1999).

⁷ The Pilgrimage of Grace is a complex event, but of central importance to the reformation in England. It is discussed in detail in Bernard (2005: 319-404)

⁸ The same figures show the north was the area of England with the lowest level of evangelical activity. This partly accounts for the Pilgrimage of Grace, which was, of course, mainly focused in the northern counties.

⁹ The standard biography of Cranmer is MacCulloch (1996). There the gradual formation of his evangelical views is discussed in detail.

¹⁰ See chapter 4 for specific references and sources for this.

¹¹ For detail of such entries, see chapter 3.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

¹ See below for a further discussion of this sort of dialogue.

² In addition, the inclusion of ownership marks such as names in manuscripts is very common.

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