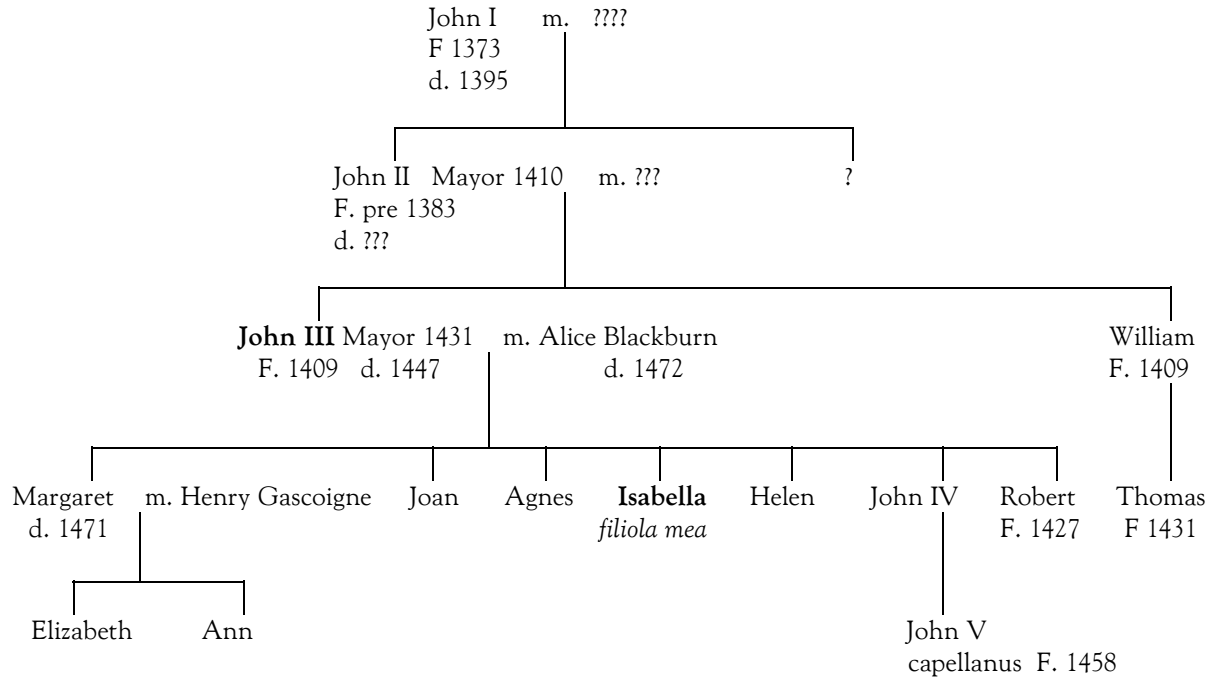


**CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS
AND THE ‘BOLTON HOURS’ 1:
Tastes in Lay Piety and Patronage
in Fifteenth-Century York.
*Pamela M. King***

The so-called Bolton Hours, York Minster Library MS Additional 2, is York's most famous illuminated manuscript. In its calendar pages four obits have been written in, to John Bolton (August 1445) and Alice Bolton his wife (September 1472), Agnes Lond (November 1472), and Thomas Scauseby (November 1482).¹ This has led to the assumption that it was commissioned by the Bolton family, and that it is they who are featured as donor figures in its illustrations, with corresponding effects on the dating of the manuscript. This Book of Hours is York's most significant surviving manuscript of secular devotion from the period during which the trade and craft guilds of the city produced their mystery plays, so it seems obvious to set book and cycle side by side as related testimonies to the devotional preoccupations and artistic taste of the late medieval lay mercantile elite of the city. The book contains a full-page miniature of Doomsday which may usefully be cited in discussion of the York Mercers' play on the same subject. Further investigation, however, readily reveals that the book's connection with the Boltons is no more secure than the Boltons' connection with any single play-producing guild. This paper aims to draw some preliminary attention to some of the inscrutabilities of the book, the cycle, and the civic devotional milieu to which both undoubtedly bear some sort of witness. In doing so, I hope also to suggest some of the ways in which the study of York Minster MS Additional 2 and the play cycle can, but also cannot, be seen as mutually informing.

Three John Boltons, grandfather, father, and son, wealthy merchants, traded in York in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The eldest was a mercer who died in 1395. John II, his son, was MP for York in 1400 and 1407, then Lord Mayor in 1410, and was buried in the Friars Minors' churchyard in Castlegate.² A lacuna in the Probate Registers between 1408 and 1426 means not only that his will does not survive, but that the wills of none of the potential commissioners of the manuscript, as we shall later see, can survive. His son, John Bolton III, fortunately does leave us a will (1445). It is his obit which is recorded in the Book of Hours. John III, who calls himself 'senior' in his will, was married to Alice,

BOLTON FAMILY TREE



M.A.T. fecit & delineavit

daughter of Nicholas Blackburn, the wealthy merchant who endowed his parish church of All Saints, North Street with some famous stained glass windows, including the one which shares a subject with the Mercers' play, the Corporal Works of Mercy.³ The Boltons with the Blackburns are securely positioned in York's mercantile élite in the first half of the fifteenth century, so may be presumed to have been involved with the Corpus Christi plays in some capacity. The one common feature of all the evidence reviewed recently by York *Doomsday* Project, however, is that it reveals that the relationship between the guild system in York and the mystery cycle is not as tidy as is often supposed. In particular, the correlation between mercantile wealth, the Mercers' guild, and the plays is not all that might be presumed. The history of the guild is well documented, but the Mercers' play of *Doomsday*, recorded in the 1415 *Ordo Paginarum*,⁴ precedes its incorporation. The guild developed around 1420 out of the confraternity of St Mary, the Trinity, and All Saints, which had formalised the charitable arrangements associated with the hospital on Foss Bridge from the 1370s. It was then constituted as a trade organisation only in 1432.⁵

Nevertheless, the guild was to become an important focus in the lives of some, like Thomas Scauseby. He was one of the hospital's founding brethren, then Master of the Mercers in 1443, 1451–2, 1458, 1462 and 1462–3. Thomas left money in his will, proved 4 December 1471, to the hospital in Fossgate, as well as for chantries in both St Michael le Belfrey and St Sampson's.⁶ The residue of Thomas the father's estate passed to the elder son, William, whom failing, Thomas, the younger son, was to inherit. It is important when we come to consider York Minster MS Additional 2 to recognise that the obit in the calendar (1482) commemorates not the father, but the son Thomas. Minor legacies in Thomas senior's will to *fili* John Blackburn, presumably son-in-law,⁷ to Blackburn's son, and to Scauseby's 'brother' William Blackburn, on condition that they collect his debts and attend to the governance of William Scauseby, demonstrate the close family connections between Scausebys, Blackburns, and thereby Boltons, which were apparently cemented in the succeeding generation. But Scauseby, it turns out, is going to be our only simple link between tradesmen, the Mercers' hospital, guild, and play, and the Boltons, and that is a very late one indeed for York Minster MS Additional 2.

When we consider York's mercantile élite in relation to the plays in the first half of the fifteenth century, we must recognise that there were a number of people engaged in trade in the city and involved in the plays, who were not all alike in wealth, influence, or guild allegiance. Many of

York's wealthiest merchants were not only not members of the Mercers' Guild but had no need of membership of any individual trade organisation. John Bolton, third generation Freeman and worth £62 per annum in 1436⁸ is a case in point. It is not until York encounters the economic decline of the mid-century that merchants seem to feel the need to join guilds as a matter of course. It seems that the major function of trades guilds may have been to protect the interest of smallish-scale retailers, and that major wholesalers had no real need to belong to protectionist organisations in York. The initial evidence suggests that the connection which the well-known merchants whose names are associated with York Minster MS Additional 2 had with the mystery plays may not at any stage have been with particular pageants so much as with the organisation of the cycle as a whole. Their society was the aldermanic group in the city which they moved into through wealth in due course, once they had purchased their freedom of the city. In fact both John Bolton II and III accomplished freedom as their birthright.⁹ Being an alderman, as well as belonging to religious and charitable confraternities such as the late fourteenth-century guilds of St Christopher or St George in the Minster, or after 1415 the late-formed Corpus Christi guild, was the only local association they needed to maintain. Their reasons were ostensibly social, charitable and devotional, though clearly they also carried business advantages. The evidence of the Hull shipping accounts shows that these men led a cosmopolitan life, co-operating with one another to trade through Hull with many cities in the Low Countries where many of them lived for part of their lives.¹⁰ Equally, a second look at some surnames in the Freeman's Rolls, such as Market, Wyman, and Tutbag, despite the initial impression that these might be English names, shows that the aldermanic class in York contained a number of aliens, some officially denized, others not.¹¹

Direct attribution of the commissioning of York Minster MS Additional 2 to the Boltons itself needs scrutiny. Costume and style point to a date too early for John Bolton III and Alice, even granted that Northern work for the mercantile middle classes may have been more old-fashioned than work produced for the court. On the other hand, the manuscript has a *terminus a quo* of 1405, the date at which Archbishop Richard Scrope was executed just outside York for raising a rebellion against Henry IV, which would place it in the lifetime of John II, whose will is lost. Scrope, whose failure to secure the protection of benefit of clergy caused general scandal, had courted and enjoyed the support of York's merchant élite and their parish priests by basing his manifesto against Henry IV not just on

legitimacy but on his record of excessive government. John Capgrave supplies one of many near-contemporary partisan accounts which demonstrates just how closely Scrope's rebellion was connected politically to the interests of the mercantile group in which the Boltons would at that time have moved:

Thei [Scrope, the Earl of Mowbray and the Duke of Northumberland] cleped onto hem þe cité of 3ork and mech of þe cuntré, and set up certeyn articles in cherch-dores, expressing what was her entent: —

First, þei desired þat þe puple of þe reme schuld haue fre elleccion of knytes of þe parlement aftir þe eld forme; the secunde, þat þer schuld be a remedie ageyns fals sugges|tiones, be which many men were disherid of her londis; the þirde, þat þere schuld be ordeyned a remedye ageyn þese greuouus taskes, and ageyn þe grete extorciones, and eke oppressing of marchauntis.¹²

The account continues to lay emphasis on how Scrope was defeated by deceit, being persuaded by the Earl of Westmoreland to dismiss the rebels. Another chronicler takes up the tale of Scrope's last words, uttered in the cornfield near Clifton on York's outskirts where he was executed. These reportedly included, 'Lat vs suffre deth mekely, for we shul this nyghte, be Goddis grace, be in paradis', and 'For His loue that suffrid v woundes for alle mankynde, yeue me v strokis, and I foryeve the my dethe'.¹³ Both chroniclers add the detail that after the archbishop's defeat, the citizens of York came out to meet the king when he arrived, barefoot and with halters around their necks.¹⁴ Both Capgrave and Thomas of Walsingham quote the popular verse of John of Bridlington,

Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subter arabunt
Pro nulla marca salvabitur ille hierarcha.¹⁵

Similar details are contained, along with an expanded list of Scrope's statesmanlike motives for the rebellion, in the Latin chronicles of York assembled by James Raine for the Rolls Series.¹⁶ The same chronicles tell of the special powers which were then attributed to the field in which Scrope was treacherously executed, a place of miracles and pilgrimage, as Capgrave puts it, 'tyl þe tyme þat þe kyng forbade it, up peyne of deth', and all imply with some relish that Henry IV's later reputedly leprous and shrivelled condition may be directly attributed to the heinous crime of permitting the condemnation of the saintly archbishop.¹⁷

The sensitivity of the political context of these events is clear, and explains why the Archbishop of Canterbury in December 1405 wrote to the president and chapter of York suggesting that people should not be prevented flocking to Scrope's tomb, but that trial of the miracles attributed to it should rather be used to kill off the undesirable emerging cult.¹⁸ As J.W. McKenna puts it, 'By the fifteenth century the political utilisation of popular cults was a recognised instrument of political factionalism, a double-edged sword of royal and anti-royal policy'.¹⁹ Scrope's rebellion was, therefore, potentially explosive, coming at a point when the Lancastrian succession's bid for legitimacy was so fragile. Scrope had to be condemned despite the pleadings of Arundel, then archbishop of Canterbury, and the refusal of William Gascoigne, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to try the case. The same Gascoigne's family, native to the East Riding, was later to provide the York Boltons with one of their opportunities for gentrification, when Margaret (died 1471), daughter of John Bolton III, married Henry Gascoigne, esquire.²⁰ After the restoration of York's liberties on 3 June 1406 there was a steady stream of pilgrims to Scrope's tomb in the Minster, the proceeds from which were used to rebuild the tower.²¹ Despite Henry IV's reconciliation with the pope in 1408, there are sundry testimonies to the continuing cult of Scrope. It was sufficiently strong at the accession of Henry V to cause him to appoint a Keeper of the Scrope Tomb,²² and by the mid century, Scrope had become firmly fixed in Yorkist martyrology, reinforcing the dynastic claims of Edward IV, and critically rivalling the Lancastrian proto-saint, Thomas of Lancaster, whose tomb was said to run blood when Henry VI was imprisoned in 1466.²³

Five Vicars Choral and one chaplain of the Minster took part in Scrope's rebellion, as did a number of parish priests and chaplains from the city and members of the mendicant orders. E.F. Jacob records that, after the defeat, the Franciscans were stripped but left to run away.²⁴ The royal pardon of August 1405 to the city of York for its part in the rebellion mentions mercers, as well as members of other crafts and trades in the city.²⁵ As Barrie Dobson puts it:²⁶

Most dramatically of all, it was popular enthusiasm for the 'glory of York' and 'loyal martyr of Christ' which came near to securing Richard Scrope's canonization in the face of Lancastrian opposition. The 'concourse of people' who came to worship at Scrope's tomb serves as a reminder that the most formal hierarchical church in

northern England was at the same time the centre of the most striking manifestations of popular religion and piety.

Those whose sympathies Scrope courted in the city were precisely those who, through membership of the big religious confraternities of St Christopher and St George, would have had lay association with the Minster, and would, therefore, have been those most likely to support the canonisation in the face of Lancastrian opposition. He is featured complete with halo, in a south choir transept clerestory window of the period in the Minster, opposite York's more securely sanctified St William.²⁷

In York Minster MS Additional 2, there are two full page miniatures of Scrope: on fol. 100^v he is shown with a woman (?) supplicant in a brown gown with her hair loose apart from a gold fillet, then on fol. 202^v he is shown again as an archbishop with a cross-staff in one hand and a windmill in the other. The iconography is not secure, but the windmill may be associated with miraculous crops said to have been gathered from the field in which Scrope shed his blood. The manuscript also contains prayers and suffrages directed to him and accompanying the first miniature. These are followed immediately by a verse prayer in Latin to the Five Wounds of Christ, associated with Scrope's last request for five strokes at his execution in memory of the Five Wounds. Devotions to the Five Wounds, which feature prominently in MS Additional 2 in a number of places, are a fashionable focus of lay piety of the period and do, of course, form a focus of the Mercers' pageant of *Doomsday*. York Minster's other Book of Hours, MS XVI K6, associated with the guild church of All Saints, Pavement, also features on fol. 27 a suffrage to Scrope based around his five wounds. The manuscript would, therefore seem to locate itself with Scrope-for-saint partisans in the period immediately following his death. A date no later than 1410 is accordingly the likeliest.

The obits in this manuscript are, then, much later than the likely date of its production, making it extremely unlikely that John Bolton III and Alice née Blackburn actually commissioned it. They could have commissioned it early in their lives, of course, but equally it could have been through virtually any local hands before someone saw fit to record the deaths of John Bolton III (1445), Alice his wife (1472), Agnes Lond (1472), and Thomas Scauseby (1482). And the suggestion that John and Alice Bolton are featured as the donor figures on fol. 33^r worshipping the Trinity with one son and one daughter seems particularly unlikely, since it suggests that Alice, who died in 1472, was already a wife and mother of quite old children by c. 1410. Nor were the Boltons a tidy nuclear family; from their

grandmother's will (10 March 1433)²⁸ we know the names of five daughters, Margaret (who married Roger Salvayn Esquire, then Henry Gascoigne Esquire, but when she died in 1471 asked to be buried in her father's tomb),²⁹ Joan, Agnes, Isabel, and Helen, and one son, John, though there must have been at least one more son (possibly Robert?) in 1447, when John Bolton III makes provision in his will for 'sons and daughters not yet married'.³⁰

His daughter Agnes may be the Agnes Lond mentioned in the obit, but this is also unlikely. There are a number of Lundes, Lound(e)s and Londs in the Freeman's Register for the first three quarters of the fifteenth century, none of whom is at the present state of our research firmly connected to the Boltons. Many are not engaged in trades which suggest likely connection with so wealthy a mercantile dynasty as the Boltons, but there is one merchant, Johannes Lound, free in 1469.³¹ On the other hand, a Thomas Lond was left 13/4 by Sir Stephen Scrope of Masham, brother of the archbishop and proto-saint in 1405/06, and a John Lund, woolpacker, whose will was proved on 24 January 1427 left his whole estate to a wife named Agnes, though she would have had to have lived on for another 45 years to be our Agnes Lound.³² Another possibility leads us to a family of Loundes who were minor gentry in the East Riding during the period, living at Cave, just outside Hull. Henry Lounde, Esquire, of Cave, was left 'a blake gown furred with funes, and a habirgoun of mylen, open before', by Sir Roger Salvayn, Knight, of York, in 1420.³³ Margaret Bolton, widow of Henry Gascoigne, apparently married a Roger Salvayn (not the son of the previous Sir Roger, but may have been related) in November 1434, so it is at least possible to conceive of connections between Salvayns, Lounds and, possibly Gascoignes, amongst the East Riding gentry, amongst whom John Bolton III, as a wealthy local merchant trading out of Hull, may well have successfully disposed his daughters in marriage. Whatever the connection, however, it is unproven that the Agnes Lond of the obit is John Bolton III's daughter, as Agnes Bolton was admitted to the Corpus Christi guild in her own right in 1440/41, though at that date, given that her mother did not die until 1472, she was probably still of marriageable age. Agnes is, in York throughout the period in question, a very common name.

It is, of course, possible that another John Bolton commissioned the manuscript. Perhaps the John Bolton (III) who died in 1445 received the book in his father's now missing will. John III was certainly too young in 1405-15 to have grown children, as he and his brother William became freemen only in 1409³⁴ when their father was Mayor. Conceivably on the

donor page we are looking at John III with his parents, brother, and sisters, if indeed we are looking at Boltons at all. The evidence of York wills suggest that here as elsewhere Books of Hours, or Primers, as they are known, were common testamentary bequests, and not just within members of the same immediate family. This one could have come into the hands of the Boltons or the Scausebys by any number of routes. All that is clear is that a member of one family or the other later chose to record in it the obits which have led to the attribution. Just one of many instances of a Primer passing between a wider circle of friends and relations comes from the will of John Shirwood, father of the bishop of Durham of the same name, who in his will of 1472–3 leaves his Primer to a Thomas Bolton, described as *consanguineo* of his (Shirwood's) wife, inevitably another Agnes.³⁵

John Bolton's fourth daughter Isabel is one of the more interesting candidates as sometime owner of the Hours and instigator of the recording of obits, as she was the recipient of a Primer in one of York's most interesting wills, that of William Revetour,³⁶ the parish priest executor of Nicholas Blackburn, Alice Bolton's father, and witness to John Bolton's brief will. John Bolton III when he died in 1445 mentioned no books in his will, but William Revetour two years later left among many others a copy of the *Prick of Conscience* to Alice Bolton, a Latin roll 'drawn from the Bible in Latin, with pictures', probably a Peter of Poitiers, to John Bolton (already dead when the will was proved, or is this John Bolton IV?), and, to Isabel Bolton whom he calls *filiola mea*, his goddaughter, he left a *primerum largum cum ymaginibus intus scriptus ad modum Flandriae*. The same man is famous for having left the Creed Play to the Corpus Christi guild with books and banner pertaining, some books compiled as six *pagina* (pageants or pages?) of St James the Apostle to the St Christopher guild, and some properties associated with their Corpus Christi play to the Girdlers.

Because of York's mercantile associations with the Low Countries, in addition, those who are looking for analogues for aspects of the cycle's design and production should pay close attention to what was current, both in the way of civic pageantry and in the production of religious works of art in general there in the same period.³⁷ Revetour's familiarity with things Flemish is attested by legacies to another family of York merchants, Thomas Tutbag and his wife Katherine: Tutbag was indisputably Flemish by name and origin. In his home town of Heist-op-den-Berg in Brabant to which he left legacies, the local tailor's shop is still run by a family called Tubbax, a name shared with at least one current Flemish politician.³⁸ It

does seem at least as likely that the so-called Bolton Hours is the book left to Isabel Bolton by William Revetour as that it was commissioned by John III and Alice Bolton, as is commonly assumed. Neither case can be proven. Of course the book is not written with a male cleric in mind, but what Primer is, as they are essentially books of lay devotional use? That Revetour owned one in 1447 may well have been the result of a previous bequest.

So we are left with a Book of Hours of York provenance which contains miniatures of many biblical scenes which are featured in the York cycle, and concluding with a Last Judgement in which the elements closely match those referred to in the play, but the book's attribution to John Bolton III does not hold up, and John Bolton III was not in any case a member of any of the city's trading companies. How then do we proceed in considering what this book may be able to tell us about the milieu which generated the York Cycle in a way which can help to inform our understanding of the plays? The words *ad modum Flandriae* that Revetour uses to describe the book he leaves to Isabel Bolton are important, for, irrespective of whether this is the book he left or not, those words could be taken to describe MS Additional 2. Although undoubtedly English in style and production, with a calendar of York use complete with insular saints, its main sequence of Hours conforms to a hybrid type which is a standard English variant of one produced in Flanders for the English market at the beginning of the fifteenth century.³⁹ According to the Flemish/English pattern, the full Continental sequence of Hours of the Virgin with accompanying miniatures, shifts at Prime into the briefer form of the Hours of the Passion with scenes from the Life of Christ. In the distinctively English variant, scenes from the Passion are inserted into the Hours of the Virgin so that the two sequences merge. This arrangement is also used in the other Book of Hours which is preserved in the Minster Library, MS 16 K 6, a book written for male use, featuring a Calendar for 1420, and containing the dedication feast of the parish church of All Saints, Pavement, York's guild church. The other characteristic of Flemish book production for the English niche market involved painting miniatures on single leaves and inserting them where required. The majority of the large number of miniatures in this book are organised in three independent gatherings, beginning at folios 33^r, 105^r, and 123^r, again suggesting the influence of Flemish-produced books familiar on the contemporary English market.

Other material in the MS Additional 2 places it squarely in the milieu from which the plays emanated. The body of the text is written for female

use, although Ker and Piper note that folios 169^v–171^v, prayers for indulgences, contain masculine forms.⁴⁰ It also contains an extra litany of female saints and adds Saint Sitha to the Calendar, a canonised household servant, popular in the North,⁴¹ as well as giving Saints Agnes, Margaret and John of Beverley non-standard red letter days. On the other hand, the main body of the book is bracketed by a number of pages in a different hand, acting as flyleaves in the current binding, which constitute a lengthy confessional clearly both lay and male in focus and written in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century secretary hand. In this, the persona confesses to having committed the Seven Deadly Sins, notably covetise, in not holding himself paid by the state and degree he finds himself in. In gluttony he has eaten and drunk more than he need many times, and he has kept late hours. He discusses his breaches of the Ten Commandments. In the closing pages he confesses to breaches of the sacrament of Matrimony and regrets that he has failed to perform the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy. The focus of the whole elaborate confession strongly suggests lay mercantile use: not only do the ways in which transgressions are expressed evoke the life of a busy man of affairs, the systematising of the confession around the Seven Deadly Sins, the Ten Commandments and the Seven Sacraments is drawn straight from lay devotional works such as the York-produced *Lay Folks Catechism*,⁴² and as such represents the staples of the practice of their faith for the urban middle classes. The same is true of much of the supplementary material in the book itself.

In addition to the calendar, composite Hours, Penitential Psalms and Litany, Hours of the Holy Spirit and Office of the Dead, the book contains various systems of repetitive prayers to Mary and to the name of Jesus, the Criss-Cross Prayer, Pater Noster, Ave and Creed. There are the poems to Richard Scrope and to the Five Wounds mentioned above, as well as a prayer to one's personal angel, and for one's father and mother. Another prayer to the Wounds is accompanied by a wounded heart, and one to the instruments of the Passion is also accompanied by an *Arma Christi* miniature. And there is a prayer in English which when said at the elevation of the Host will bring 2000 years indulgence at each recitation. This is a compendium of the paraphernalia of late medieval lay piety such as is reflected, in the treatment of episodes in the York Cycle, which are not really historical narrative so much as liturgical, meditative, and sacramental in overall balance and emphasis. The central focus on meditative details of Christ's Passion is there in protracted scenes of Trial and Buffeting, as well as Christ's *O vos omnes* speech from the Cross —

'Behold my head, my hands and my feet' — and the planctus lyrics which punctuate the Butchers' play of the *Death of Christ*. In addition, plays of *Baptism* and *Last Supper* expatiate in passing on the meaning of the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist, while the juvenile Christ before the Doctors delivers a lesson on the Ten Commandments. The whole cycle is punctuated by elevation lyrics — vernacular tropes on the moment in the liturgy when the host is raised and Christ's real presence invoked — from the moment Mary hails her new-born son in the *Nativity*, through the greetings of shepherds and kings to the cruelly parodic speeches of the buffeting soldiers. And *Doomsday*, the apocalyptic climax of the cycle reminds the well-to-do townsman of the need to perform acts of conspicuous charity to those less fortunate than himself. The Last Judgement miniature here seems always to have been where the rebinding puts it, as the last page in the book's formal arrangement, as it is blank on the verso, owing more to the narrative arrangement demonstrated by the Cycle than to that conventional in Books of Hours. In the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Books, *Doomsday* commonly prefaces the Penitential Psalms, the Office of the Dead, or the Seven Requests to Our Lord, and is then commonly superseded in most fifteenth-century Hours by a scene of David praying to the Lord. Kathleen Scott's survey⁴³ of decorative practices points to a frequency of frontispiece full-page miniatures in Books of Hours, beginning on the verso of folio 1, facing the first page of text, but says nothing of similar closing pages.

Two types of miniature painting dominate York Minster MS Additional 2, the full-page miniature — 47 in groups or gatherings — and the historiated initial. The full-page miniatures are either tableaux of events from the Old and New Testament and saints' lives, or pictures of saints as standing figures. These are, to adapt Kathleen Scott's categories, emphatic in function and meditative in relation to the whole text.⁴⁴ The main sequence of historiated initials by contrast is narrative. Scott observes that narrative illustration of manuscripts is uncommon accompanying narrative texts: 'it is, however, remarkable that liturgical and devotional texts with no narrative content were produced with pictorial narratives more often than any other type of true narrative'. Particularly in relation to the scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ integrated into the services of the day, she writes that narrative is created because 'simple diurnal time sustained the historico-religious events of Christ's life'.⁴⁵ In MS Additional 2, this narrative sequence of historiated initials testifies to an even closer physical relationship between written text and image than this suggests, as the

historiated initial does not introduce the scene from the Passion which is the subject of the text of the Hour in question, but illustrates the subject of the preceding Hour with which it is physically united on the page. For the arrangement of the text is such that the synoptic verse occurs at the end of the office for the Hour, so it may be two pages away from the opening initial, but by having the subject matter of the initials running one Hour in arrears, text and picture unite. For example, the office for None commences on fol. 66^v with an initial showing Christ carrying the Cross, picking up on the preceding line of text which reads, *Hora sext ih̄c est cruce condanatus*, and in turn as None closes on fol. 69^r with *Hora nona dominus ih̄c expiravit ...*, it is immediately followed by the initial for Vespers which shows Christ on the Cross with the wound in his side and blood running down his arms and legs.

The significant arrangement of these two dominant picture types in the Book of Hours also relates closely to the York Cycle, not in content so much as mode. The full-page miniatures in their gatherings, showing standing figures with attributes or iconographically familiar tableaux, are essentially processional. The intimate on-page connection between text and historiated initial in the hours themselves, on the other hand, forges narrative in the same manner as the cycle, where the selection, balance and arrangement of biblical historical episodes is also derived from the diurnal and cotidian cycle of worship with its focus on the feasts of Christmas and Easter and the significant liturgical readings from the season between. Further, the common practice of placing votive or donor figures in some of the full-page miniatures analogises the meaning of the feast of Corpus Christi itself, celebrating the power of the host to cause the geographically and chronologically specific to commune with the eternal. In short, to leave specific York merchants out of the question, but to focus on the whole material culture involved is to perceive the relationship between this book and the pageants in a way which helps us to understand the meaning of that well-known defence of mystery plays as a 'quick' as opposed to 'dead' book.

In a follow-up to this article, Meg Twycross will further examine the iconography, date, provenance and analogues of York Minster MS Additional 2, as well as some of the Yorkshire personalities through whose hands it may have passed. Undoubtedly English in style, but Flemish in influence, the manuscript and its relations have much to reveal about devotional tastes in the North of England at the beginning of the fifteenth

century which in turn informs our understanding of the culture of the York Corpus Christi Plays.

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NOTES

The late Peter A. Newton of the University of York first introduced me to York Minster Library MS Additional 2 in 1977, sharing with his graduate students his never-to-be-published reflections on its provenance and, in particular, the significance of the saints selected for inclusion in the gatherings of miniatures.

1. York Minster Library MS Additional 2, folios 30^v, 31^r, 31^v, 32^r.
2. R.B. Cook in *Some Early Civic Wills of York* (York Architectural Society Pamphlets: undated) 2 15 records a brief biography.
3. John Bolton III's will (York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Prob. II, fol. 107^v) naming his wife Alice as executrix, is summarised in Cook *Early Civic Wills* pamphlet 7, 11–12; Nicholas Blackburn's will (York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Prob. II, fols 605^r–606^r), in Latin with a codicil in English, is transcribed in *Testamenta Eboracensia 2* edited James Raine (Surtees Society 30: 1855) 17–21 and translated into English in P.J. Shaw *The Ancient Church of All Hallows, North Street* (York, 1908) 90–92, which also includes colour plates of the stained glass windows.
4. *Records of Early English Drama: York* edited Alexandra F. Johnson and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols (Toronto UP, 1979) 1 24.
5. Louise Wheatley 'The York Mercers' Guild, 1420–1502: Origins, Organisation and Ordinances' (unpublished MA thesis, York University, 1993) 8–105.
6. York, Borthwick Institute: Prob. IV, fols 169^r & ^v.
7. Ann Rycraft, in the York Craftsmen's and Women's Will Project database, suggests that he and William are wards.
8. *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Vol. 1: 1272–1558* edited Francis Collins (Surtees Society 96: 1896) 114
9. Cooke *Early Civic Wills* 2 15.
10. *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453–1490* edited Wendy R. Childs (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 144: Leeds, 1986 for 1984) *passim*; see Introduction xxi–xxv.
11. Meg Twycross 'Some Aliens in York and their Overseas Connections: up to 1470': forthcoming in *Leeds Studies in English*.

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12. John Capgrave *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* edited Peter Lucas, *EETS* 285 (1983) 227.
13. *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI written before the year 1471 ...* edited Rev. John Sylvester Davies (Camden Society 64: 1856) 33.
14. Davies *English Chronicle* 32; Capgrave 229.
15. Thomas Walsingham *Historia Anglicana* edited H.T. Riley (Rolls Series 28B: 1864) 270; Capgrave 228. Translated by Capgrave:

Pes schul þei tretyn; gile undir þat schul þei betyn.
For no maner mark schal be saued þat blessed ierark.
16. *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, Volume 2* edited James Raine (Rolls Series 71B: 1886) 304–311; 431–433; *Volume 3* (Rolls Series 71C: 1894), 288–94.
17. Capgrave 229; *Historians* 2 433.
18. *Historians* 3 291–92.
19. J.W. McKenna 'Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope' *Speculum* 45 (1970) 608–23.
20. *Testamenta Eboracensia* 3 edited James Raine (Surtees Society 45: 1865 for 1864) 187.
21. McKenna 'Popular Canonization' 614.
22. McKenna 'Popular Canonization' 618.
23. McKenna 'Popular Canonization' 622.
24. E.F. Jacob *The Fifteenth Century* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961) 58–62: see page 61. He says, however, that their 'exact provenance ... is uncertain'.
25. Jacob *Fifteenth Century* 62. The pardon as recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls does not cite any names recognisable as mercers or merchants. However, these names may appear in the Pardon Rolls, which we have yet to investigate.
26. Barrie Dobson 'The Late Middle Ages, 1215–1500' in *A History of York Minster* edited G.E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977) 44–109: see page 108.
27. David O'Connor and Jeremy Haselock 'The Stained and Painted Glass' in *A History of York Minster* 317–93: 377–78.
28. Margaret Blackburn: *Testamenta Eboracensia* 2 48. In 1435, when she died, she was living with the Bolton family in Skeldergate (50).
29. *Testamenta Eboracensia* 3 187–8. Her husband had died 14 years previously. She appears to have been married to or contemplating marriage with Roger

- Salvayn in 1434, when property is settled on the couple (*B/Y Memorandum Book* 115).
30. Cook *Early Civic Wills* 7 12. William Ormshead, maternal uncle of Alice Bolton, in his will dated 31 October 1435, leaves 20s each to 'the sons and daughters of John Bolton, alderman, and Alice his wife, my kinswoman, who shall not be married at the time of my death': Cook *Early Civic Wills* 7 13. A Robert Bolton, *mercator, filius Johannis Bolton, mercatoris* was made Free in 1428 (*Freemen's Register* 141), the year before Thomas Scauseby. John Bolton IV does not appear in the Register.
 31. *Freemen's Register* 190.
 32. Scrope: *Testamenta Eboracensia* 3 31–37, on page 36; Lond: York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. II, 525.
 33. *North Country Wills ... at Somerset House and Lambeth Palace 1383 to 1558* edited J.W. Clay (Surtees Society 116: 1908) no. XV, pages 31–32.
 34. *Freeman's Register* 114.
 35. York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. IVb, 118^{r-v}.
 36. York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. II, 137^r: *Testamenta Eboracensia* 2 116–118.
 37. Alexandra Johnson 'Traders and Playmakers: English Guildsmen and the Low Countries' in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* edited Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1995) 99-114 suggests connections, which are more systematically documented below in Meg Twycross 'Some Aliens' (see note 11 above).
 38. The shop in question may be seen on the road out of Heist towards Aarschot. Research undertaken by York *Doomsday* project with the help of a grant from Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek of Belgium and the British Council. For further findings in this area see Meg Twycross 'Some Aliens'.
 39. See N.J. Rogers 'Books of Hours Produced in the Low Countries for the English Market in the Fifteenth Century' 2 vols (unpublished MPhil thesis, Cambridge University, 1982)
 40. N.R. Ker and A.J. Piper *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 4 vols (Oxford UP, 1983, 1992) 4 786–791: see 788.
 41. Information from Peter A. Newton. See also his *The County of Oxford: A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass* (*Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevii*, Great Britain Volume 1: Oxford University Press for the British Academy: Oxford, 1979) 139.
 42. *The Lay Folks' Catechism* edited T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth *EETS OS* 118 (1901). See Anne Hudson 'A New Look at the *Lay Folks' Catechism*' *Viator* 16 (1985), 243–58 for the precedence of variant texts and manuscripts. This English verse version of Peacham's *Ignorancia sacerdotium* is integrated into the Register of Archbishop Thoresby of York for 25 November 1357 (fols 297^v–298^r). The

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English text is, in many manuscripts, attributed to John Gaytrick or Gaytrigge, a monk of St Mary's Abbey in York.

43. Kathleen Scott 'Design, Decoration and Illustration' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* edited Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge UP, 1989) 31-64: see 31, 35-46.
44. Scott 'Design, Decoration and Illustration' 35.
45. Scott 'Design, Decoration and Illustration' 46.