

ISSN 0287-1629

An International
Journal
of
Linguistic-Literary
Studies

POETICA

63

Yushodo Press Co., Ltd.

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'A Good Exampell to Avoide Diane': Reader Responses to John Hardyng's *Chronicle* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

In January 1543, three months after Henry VIII declared war on Scotland, the first of two editions of John Hardyng's *Chronicle* to be produced that month was issued from the printing press of Richard Grafton; from this moment forward Hardyng's reputation as an obsessive advocate of the conquest of Scotland was determined.¹ The verse *Chronicle*, which had been composed in the late fifteenth century, survived in two different versions, both of which purported to cover the history of Britain from the legendary settling of Albion to the middle of the fifteenth century. Hardyng's first version was presented to Henry VI in 1457, and survives in a single manuscript.² However, it is the second, shorter version, originally dedicated to Richard, duke of York, then re-dedicated to his son, Edward IV, that appears to have enjoyed greater popularity than the original, surviving in twelve complete manuscripts, three fragments and Grafton's two prints, which are derived from a manuscript of the second version, with a prose continuation to 1539 which Grafton added.³

Grafton, who does not appear to have had any biographical data on Hardyng other than what he could glean from the *Chronicle* itself, made the decision to edit the later version of the *Chronicle* in light of the appropriateness of the subject matter to England's contemporary conflict with Scotland. Following in Hardyng's footsteps, stylistically and thematically, Grafton dedicated his edition of the *Chronicle* to a patron with a vested interest in the conquest of Scotland, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, who, like his father before him, was appointed by Henry VIII 'To bee to the Scottes a sharpe scourge and rod':⁴

Lorde Thomas of Norffolke, duke moste gracious,
Of noble auncestrie and blood descended,

A captain right woorthie and auenturous,
 And from Scotland euen newly retended,
 Wher Englandes querele ye haue reuenged,
 In the behalfe of our noble kyng Henry,
 I wyshe you all health, honour, and victorie.

And because it hath pleased almightie God,
 In the right title and querele of Englande,
 To vse your stocke as an iron rod,
 Wherewith to scourge the falsehood of Scotland,
 In whom is no truthe ne holde of any bande;
 Ihon Hardynges chronicle, as me thought, was
 Moste mete to bee dedicated to your grace.⁵

Throughout the preface Grafton pays particular attention to the duke of Norfolk's recent exploits in Scotland in October and November 1542, in addition to the endeavours of his father, Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, under Henry VII in August 1497, and for Henry VIII at Flodden in September 1513. He concludes that the purpose of his dedicating the text to Norfolk was to help him to subjugate the Scots by providing an edition not only of the *Chronicle*, with its historical evidence in support of English hegemony, but also with the fruits of Hardyng's reconnaissance in that country appended to the end of the history in the form of his itinerary of Scotland, originally compiled for the convenience of Hardyng's sovereign should he wish to invade that realm.⁶

Wherefore thys chronycle of Ihon Hardyng,
 I haue thought good to dedycate to your grace,
 Because the same in euery maner of thyng
 Doothe best set out the nature of that place,
 With distaunce of tounes and euery myles space:
 Besechyng your grace to take in good parte,
 Myne honest labours and beneuolent harte.⁷

Had Grafton possessed a manuscript containing the map of Scotland that Hardyng inserted at the end of both versions of his text, and which accompanies three of the extant manuscripts of the second version, he would surely have reproduced it for Norfolk.⁸

Although what little modern criticism on the *Chronicle* there is tends to focus, like Grafton, on its anti-Scottish sentiments, this was not Hardyng's main concern. I have demonstrated elsewhere that Hardyng does not advocate the conquest of Scotland because he wished solely for Henry VI to reward him for the reconnaissance he undertook there, as many scholars have maintained, but rather that the *Chronicle* is 'conscientiously crafted in keeping with other fifteenth-century polemic discourses to highlight the politically unstable nature of England in the late 1450s and early 1460s.'⁹ It is Grafton's personal response to the text and the connections he saw that it had with the politically charged climate of his own times that caused him to focus on its anti-Scottish bias. Consequently, although the details Grafton provides are of historical interest, Hardyng's reputation suffered for over four and a half centuries, for Grafton's personal interpretation of the *Chronicle* and his concentration on the Howards' engagements over-emphasises Hardyng's Scottish policy and the belief that 'vnto the Scottes he coulde neuer bee frende.'¹⁰ Almost eighty years after Hardyng's death, Grafton believed that the tactical advantage of possessing geographical knowledge of Scotland from one who 'knew water, woode, toune, vale & hyll' would be just as beneficial to the current English sovereign and his magnates as it was in the author's time.¹¹

Interestingly, Grafton's comments about the credibility of his author appear to have sparked off a debate between him and his literary rival, the famous antiquarian, John Stow (c. 1525–1605) about the nature of authority and authorial integrity.¹² As already mentioned, Grafton does not seem to have been aware of the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*; Stow, however, was, and had evidently seen or obtained the only extant copy of the first version, Lansdowne 204. Stow's marginal annotations in Lansdowne 204 reveal that he read the first version very carefully, making frequent notes about Hardyng's use of other authors, and his references to miracles and relics, especially the Holy Grail.¹³ The annotations are particularly important as they demonstrate the nature of his interests and accentuate some of the differences between the two versions of the *Chronicle*, which undoubtedly led to his criticism of Grafton's edition.

He assumed, quite understandably, that Grafton had forged his text, trying to pass it off as Hardyng's work, and took great delight in telling him so. In the preface to the 1570 edition of *A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande* (STC 23322), in the section entitled 'The names of authors out of the whiche this summarie is collected', Stow wrote a scathing attack on Grafton stating that the chronicle compiled by Hardyng that he knew 'doth almost altogether differ from that whych was imprynted by Richard Grafton'. Grafton responded in

October of the same year, in his epistle to the reader in *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (STC 12151), maintaining his faithfulness to the manuscripts he possessed, and asserting that it was possible for a man to write more than one chronicle during his life. He added, 'I haue at this tyme a chronicle that beareth the name of Iohn Hardyng written in the Latyn tongue in prose', which, he taunted, he doubted that Stow had seen, nor would be able to understand. Unable to let this lie, Stow responded in his 1573 epistle 'To the Reader' in the *Summarye* (STC 23323.5), 'If hee haue any such booke, it is like that he would alledge it, as he hath done manye other authors, whereof I am better assured he hath neuer seene so muche as the outesyde of theyr books. If ther be no such Chronicle of Iohn Harding's, as he braggeth on, it is like I haue not seene it, and must needes be hard to vnderstande it.'

Whilst the anxiety both editors display concerning the falsification and use of historical materials may have its roots in the medieval topos of *translatio studii et imperii*, whereby authors saw a 'relationship between present and past cultures, and [...] the means by which cultural value and authority was transmitted from one period to another,'¹⁴ the stringent assurances that Grafton and Stow give to their own readers, that the version of the *Chronicle* they have read and used is authentic, has a renewed resonance in the early Tudor period, when the myth of the new Tudor dynasty was still being fortified, and chronicles written during the Wars of the Roses were of immediate interest to the Tudor historiographers.

Intriguingly, one of the surviving manuscripts of the second version of the *Chronicle*, reveals that the apprehension about the nature of authority keenly debated by Grafton and Stow was similarly raised by one of Hardyng's earliest readers and critics. In one of the twelve extant manuscripts of the second version, Princeton University Garrett 142, a fifteenth-century owner has made extensive marginal annotations in Latin and English, which question Hardyng's accuracy and personal bias. One such annotation occurs on fol. 134v, where the annotator has written a long refutation of the legitimacy of Philippa of Clarence, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence. The disgruntled reader has detected Hardyng's deliberate attempt to highlight the importance of Lionel's daughter and her progeny as the legitimate heirs to the English throne following the deposition and death of Richard II, and has squeezed a detailed rejection of her legitimacy into the margins around the verse.¹⁵ The note begins with the loaded question 'what if Iohn Harding, þe makere of þis booke, ybrouzt vp yn Sir Herry Percy's hous, [is] shewing favour to his lord and to encrece his birthe? Yn þat he was commendable, but, neþerþelese, hit is not lyke to be trewe þat

Philep shold be the dougter to Lyonell or þat he had eny issu which over-lived hym'. It then goes on to claim that Philippa was the illegitimate daughter of Lionel's adulterous first wife and James Audley. The argument is based on Sir John Fortescue's tracts in refutation of the Yorkist claim to the throne, namely *De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae*, *Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriae*, *De Natura Legis Naturae*, *The Replicacion Against the Claim of the House of York*, and *Of the Title of the House of York*.¹⁶ Upon hearing of his wife's transgression, the annotator argues that Lionel never wanted to see his wife again and he never returned to England, thus counteracting another of Hardyng's claims: that Lionel was buried on English soil at Clare:

and wherefore þe said Sir Leonell wold neuer see þe moder after þat, ne neuer wold come yn Englonde after [Garrett 142, fol. 134v]

Rumours of Lionel's disparate burial places had troubled Hardyng several years before when he was revising his text, prompting him to discuss the location of Lionel's tomb in one of his accompanying glosses.¹⁷ Consequently, by communicating his own anxieties about the nature of authority and the validity of his source materials, Hardyng, perhaps unwittingly, encouraged this particular reader, and others like Grafton and Stow, to question the merit of the materials they read; unfortunately this included his *Chronicle*. Authorial integrity is an ongoing concern for author and reader alike. The presence of Fortescue's argument suggests that the late fifteenth-century glossator was familiar with his work, or at least one of the works citing the story of Philippa's illegitimacy, within a few years of its composition. Felicity Riddy has suggested that the annotator was someone with 'a professional interest in history,' who attempted 'to undertake the hopeless task of checking Hardyng's chronology against biblical and other sources,'¹⁸ but there is also reason to believe that the hand belongs to the manuscript's original owner, a Lancastrian sympathiser who, for his own purposes, commissioned an edited copy of the *Chronicle* that Hardyng had revised for the Yorkist monarch Edward IV and his father, Richard, duke of York, during the Readeption of Henry VI (October 1470 to April 1471). The content of the longer notes made by this annotator, together with several other distinctive features of the text, highlight an anti-Yorkist bias and editing policy throughout the entire manuscript. First, the prologue in Garrett 142 is unique amongst the manuscripts of the second version, as it has been radically cut in order to omit all references to Richard, duke of York, his family, and York's claim to the English throne through his descent from Edward

III. Further glorification of the House of York is removed later in the *Chronicle*, and the final two stanzas of Edward III's reign and the pedigree of France that follows, detailing the Yorkist claim to the throne of France, are omitted. Since the pedigree occurs in most manuscripts of the second version of the *Chronicle*, and more importantly Garrett's sister manuscript, Hunter 400, it follows that the original owner did not require the Pedigree of France in his copy and asked for it to be omitted.¹⁹ Furthermore, many of the extensive marginal notes in the later sections of the *Chronicle* show the annotator's attempt to refute all anti-Lancastrian bias in the text and material pertinent to the Yorkist claim to the throne. The intimate relationship between the first probable owner, the scribe, and the adaptation and annotation of the *Chronicle* make Garrett 142 one of the most valuable manuscripts of the second version in terms of contemporary reader responses to Hardyng's work and the fluid political climate of late fifteenth-century England. What is important about the brief examples cited here is that they show that within only a few years of Hardyng's death in 1465 and the start of the *Chronicle's* initial dissemination, for one of the people commissioning a copy of it at least, the reading experience goes far beyond simply absorbing the text and accepting the author's authority as absolute. The act of incorporating one's own perceptions and comments into the marginalia around the body of the text is comparable with the medieval penchant for providing learned commentaries to important works, particularly scripture. The annotator of Garrett 142 is more than a mere reader; he is an editor, censor, critic and author himself. He has taken it upon himself to supplement and continue the history using his own knowledge, just as Grafton does in the sixteenth century by adding a prose continuation to the end of his edition and addressing the relevance of the text to his own times.

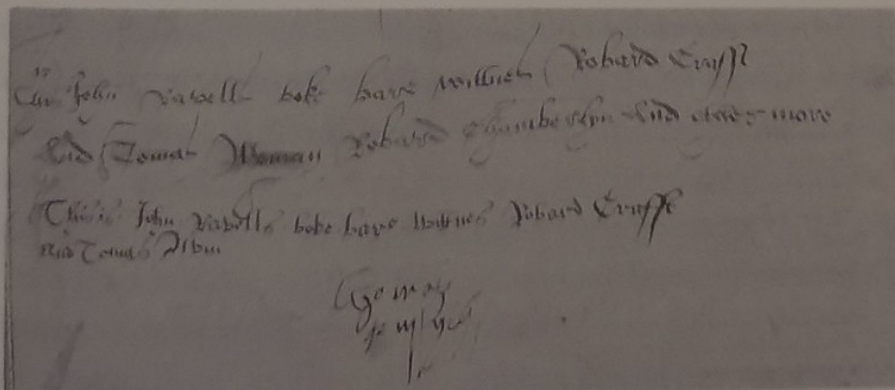
Further evidence of similar reader engagement with the text throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be witnessed in many of the other surviving manuscripts of Hardyng's work. In Egerton 1992, for example, a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand makes numerous brief glosses, many of which are concerned with the legitimacy of the text; the Arthurian sections of the *Chronicle* are a case in point. On fols 43v, 44v, 51v the hand has made notes such as 'false' and 'the bastard' next to several of the stanzas concerning King Arthur. This reader rejects the potentially spurious nature of Arthur's kingship, and, if two of the annotations later in the manuscript are by the same hand, appears to prefer references to events that are supported by tangible documentary evidence independent of the *Chronicle*.²⁰ On fol. 134v, for example, the hand notes that Hardyng's account of Edward Balliol's homage to

Edward III is attested by ‘The old records in þe Tour of London.’ The same reader can also be seen participating in the act of supplementing and continuing the text on fol. 145v, where the hand notes next to Hardyng’s reference to Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, that ‘The duke of Norfolke died after in Lombardye.’

Further evidence of readers participating in the act of critical reading, assimilating information and augmenting the text with a personal record of events which happened outside and beyond it, may be found in ten of the twelve extant Hardyng manuscripts of the second version, all of which contain brief marginal annotations dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²¹ Many of the annotations are typical of the glosses that occur in surviving chronicles, such as the *Brut*, with readers noting elements of the text which were important to them, such as the etymologies of place names, points of topographical interest, the reigns of kings, famous battles and such like;²² but some of the annotations also hint at a more intimate relationship between manuscript and owner by highlighting the random, and often incongruous, way in which past owners used their manuscripts as personal note books in which to record snippets of verse that appealed to them, contracts with acquaintances, and the names of people they knew. In these cases, it is the manuscript that seems to be considered important enough to record such precious information in for posterity.²³

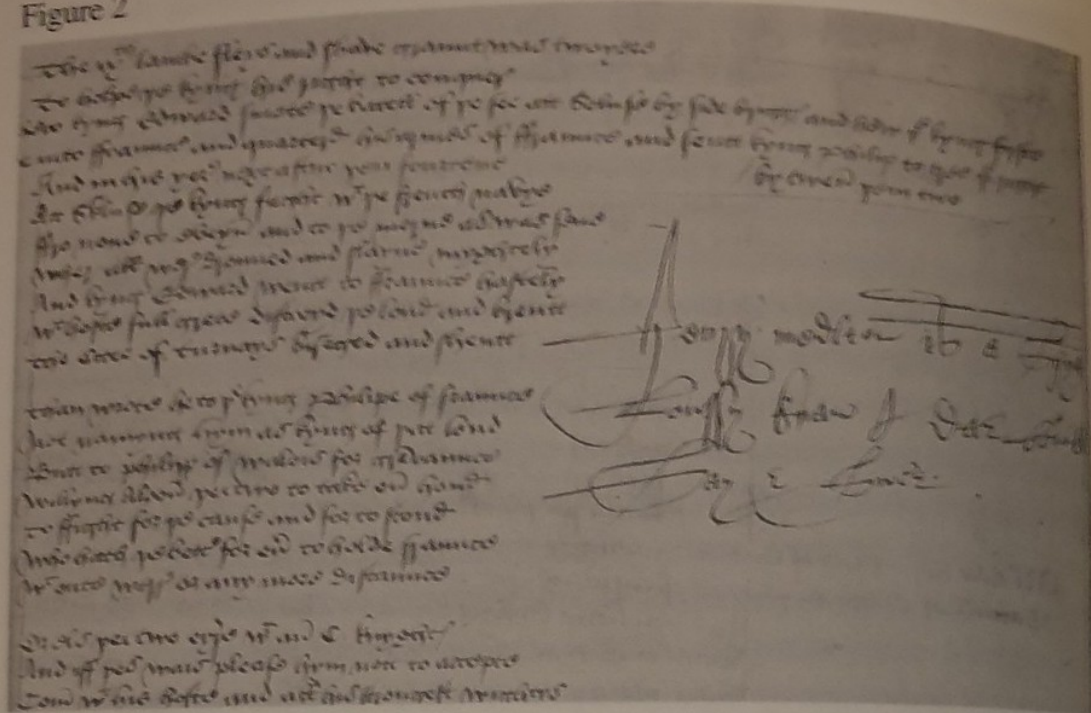
One such manuscript, containing verse and additional notes unrelated to Hardyng’s text, is Takamiya 6. On fol. 116v a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century owner, John Ravel, notes his status as the book’s owner, citing three of his acquaintances as witnesses to his ownership: ‘This is John Ravells boke, bare wittnes Robard Crafft and Tomas Numan, Robard Chamberlyn, and other more’ (Figure 1).²⁴

Figure 1



Takamiya 6, fol. 116v

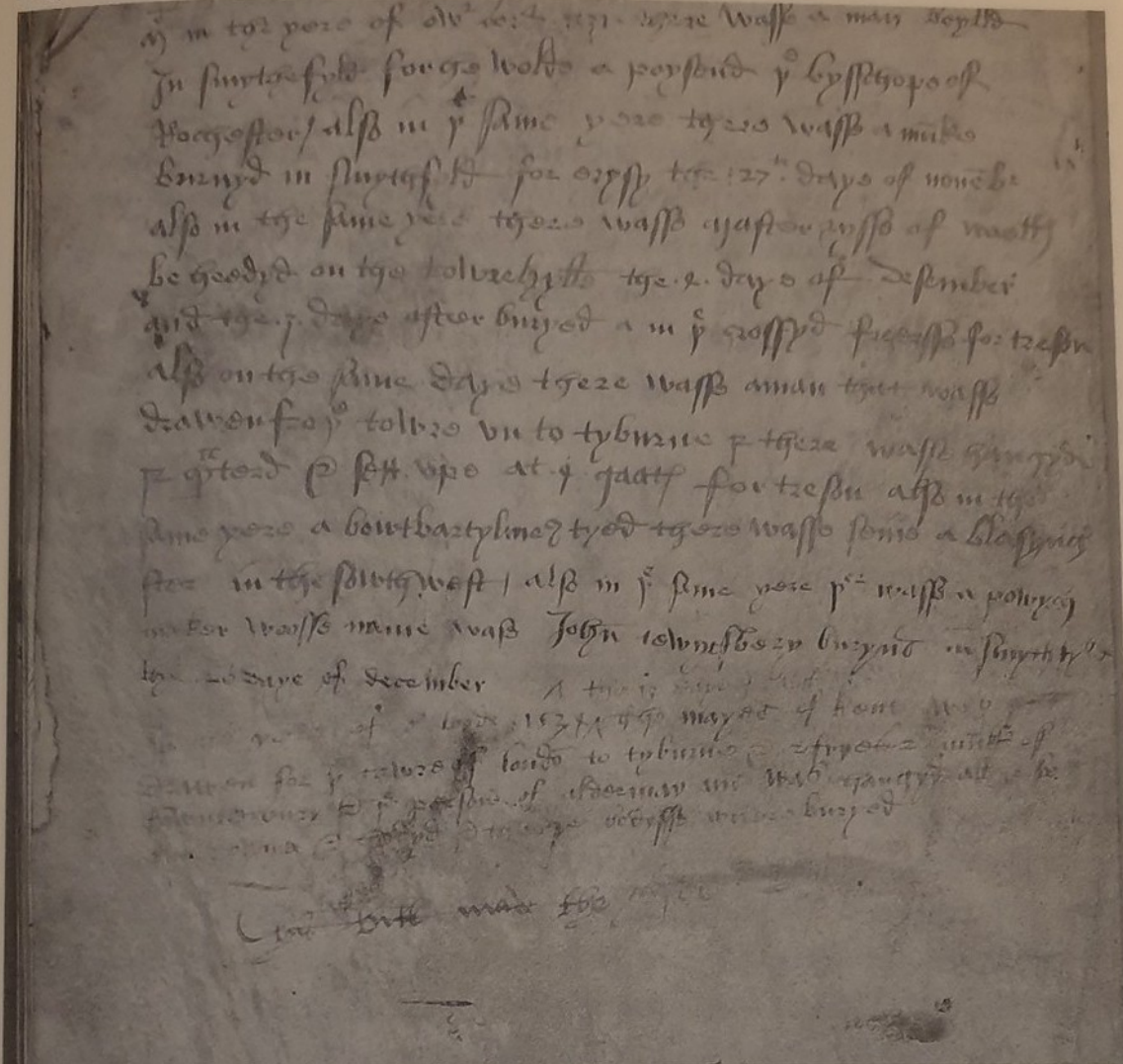
Figure 2



Takamiya 6, fol. 84r

On fol. 84r, another hand of approximately the same date insists that 'Henry Medlton is a shyte and lousy knav I dar bowth say and swer' (Figure 2).²⁵ At the back of the manuscript, following the 116 parchment folios of the *Chronicle*, an early sixteenth-century owner has inserted three additional leaves containing two religious lyrics and a series of notes concerning executions and events in the Smithfield area of London around the year 1531 (see Figure 3 and Appendix). These notes (on fol. 120v) stress a distinct concern with the region, and are comparable with entries for this period in the *London Chronicles* belonging to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, mainly Richard Hill's *Commonplace Book*, and John Stow's *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*.²⁶ Correspondingly, the lyric inserted on fol. 119v highlights a connection with the metropolis as it is extant in only one other manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A. xxv, a diary of a London citizen belonging to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

Figure 3



Takamiya 6, fol. 120v

Other features similarly point towards an early London provenance for Takamiya 6; the manuscript has textual affiliations with a group of Hardyng manuscripts connected with this area, either through their production in the capital, or the presence of early jottings citing London citizens or early jottings concerning the city in marginalia.²⁷ It is plausible therefore that the owner who oversaw the insertion of the final three folios was living in, or was in close proximity to, London, and wanted his own copies of items that he had seen circulating in the capital, as well as notes that were pertinent to the city's recent history; this person believed that the end of his Hardyng manuscript was an appropriate place to insert them.

Another fascinating insertion into a manuscript of the second version by a sixteenth-century owner can be found in Ashmole 34, where an early owner

wished to have a visual representation of the author. Lacking a real picture of Hardyng the owner inserted a woodcut of George, duke of Anhalt, by Lucas Cranach, adding the caption 'The Portrature of Iohn Hardyng Maker of These Chronicles.' As David Woolf has noted, this kind of image is an 'early anticipation of the engraved or woodcut authorial portraits in histories of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'²⁸ In addition to this, the marginalia in Ashmole 34 also highlight the concerns of the *Chronicle's* early audience; late fifteenth- and early sixteenth century hands make repeated annotations beside the text, accentuating an assortment of important details within the text, ranging from the activities of Brutus to the more recent battles at Wakefield and Northampton.²⁹ These readers have used the margins of the manuscript to mark parts of the *Chronicle* significant to their own interests for ease of reference. A peculiar hand responsible for one of the annotations in Bühler 5 can be seen doing the same thing. On fol. 45r of this manuscript a sixteenth-century hand, imitating a Gothic Black Letter script, writes 'A good exampell to avoide Diane'. The fact that the annotation appears to be addressed to a woman is interesting in itself, but the stanza the jotting occurs beside offers us a more intriguing insight into the possible motivation behind this reader's note. At this point in the manuscript, Hardyng's verses address King Edwin's immoral conduct and his ensuing demise through adultery; Hardyng's concluding proverbial statement, 'Thus synnes olde make shames come full newe,' seems to have caught the reader's eye sufficiently enough for him to emphasise the *Chronicle's* moral lesson with a marginal comment. Hardyng's text becomes a source of moral edification for the owner and for others known to him whom he anticipates will also partake in the reading experience.

Other annotations in Bühler 5 attest to an analogous, ongoing readership of the *Chronicle* beyond the renaissance. A late eighteenth-century hand, for example, makes numerous marginal notes from fols 45v to 54v, recording the names of the monarchs and battles mentioned in the narrative, and adding comments such as 'A crewell deathe for a kinge' besides the stanzas on fol. 50r detailing the death of Harold, son of Cnut; 'A faithfull lover to his ladie' (fol. 51r); and 'An example of a false treter to his kinge, God shewithe as apperes' (fol. 52r). This reader evidently had a specific interest in the period leading up to the Norman conquest, as the annotations accompany the period from the reign of Edgar to the accession of William the Conqueror; however, like the hand responsible for the gloss on fol. 45r, this later reader extracts examples of good moral conduct from the *Chronicle*.³⁰

Having examined, albeit briefly, some of the different ways in which readers

responded to Hardyng's text, what kind of provisional conclusions can be drawn about the ways in which early readers engaged with Hardyng's work? As highlighted at the beginning of the article, there is far too much material that warrants individual attention, such as the late fifteenth-century annotator of Garrett 142, to be able to make explicit assumptions or generalisations about how the earliest readers responded to Hardyng's *Chronicle*; nevertheless, the examples I have isolated for consideration illustrate readers of the *Chronicle* adopting a range of roles. There are readers that choose to single out specific elements of personal interest to them, such as the etymologies of place names, points of topographical interest, the reigns of particular monarchs, references to religious artefacts or saints, famous battles and so on. There are readers who participate in a wider ranging cultural debate about authority by challenging the author, and acting as corrector or critic, though they often appear to be doing so with a moral or political agenda of their own. Finally, there are readers who attempt to locate themselves, and their own times, in relation to past events by adopting the role of author themselves and appropriating part of the authority that authors like Hardyng himself attempted to procure by acknowledging, reworking and continuing the great historical works of previous chroniclers. These three categories are by no means exclusive, and indeed some readers can be observed in all three guises.

The one thing that does become clear, however, is that the overt highlighting, checking, cross referencing, correcting and commentating that takes place in the margins around the text in the extant manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, seems to prefigure, in a rudimentary fashion, the way in which modern scholars read and edit texts, in the sense that Hardyng's earliest readers are attempting to assimilate the information within the *Chronicle*, understand it, comment on it, and locate it within a wider, cultural frame of reference. This wider frame of reference is informed by the personal knowledge and experience of each reader, and the socio-political events that shape their own times. Ultimately, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century reader responses examined here facilitate our understanding of how early audiences of historiographical works received and used them; the earliest responses to Hardyng's work illustrate the material and intellectual value that readers assigned to their manuscripts, and the different ways in which the authority of historiographical works was received, questioned and reprocessed according to the shifting ideologies of each new generation of reader.

Appendix

Sixteenth-Century Notes Concerning London in Takamiya 6, fol. 120v³¹

M In the yere of our lord 1531 there wasse a man boylld/ in Smythefyld, for he wolde a poysend þe bysschope of/ Rochester. Also, in þat same yere, there wasse a munke/ burnyd in Smythfyld for erysy, the 27ti daye of Nouembur./ Also, in the same yere, there wasse Master Rysse of Waelles/ beheedyd on the Towrehylle, the 4 daye of Desember;/ and, the 3 daye after, buryed a [sic] in þe Crossyd Freersse for treson./ Also on the same daye there wasse a man that wasse/ drawn fro þe Towre vnto Tyburne, and there wasse hangyd/ and quarterd, and sett vpe at 4 gaates for treson. Also in the/ same yere, abowt Bartylmeustyed, there wasse senne a blasyng/ ster in the sowthwest. Also in þe same yere þer wasse a powych/-maker, woosse name wase John Tewytsbery, burynd in Smythfyld/ the 20 daye of December. / In the yere of our lorde 1534, <the 13 daye of April>, the mayed of Kent was drawn fro þe Towre of London to Tyburne, and 2 fry[er]es, 2 munkes of Cawntebury, and þe person of Aldermay, and was hangyd all and þere cut downe and hedyd, and ther þe bodysse where buryed

¹ A version of this paper was presented at The 2nd Nowton Court Colloquium on the History of the Book and Digitisation, 19th–21st November 2004. Since the manuscripts of Hardyng's *Chronicle* contain a fair number of marginal annotations, it is necessary to limit the discussion of reader responses to Hardyng in this article to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries only; later responses to the *Chronicle* are addressed more fully in my Ph.D. thesis (Sarah L. Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327–1464', University of Hull, 2004). Grafton's editions of the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* are STC 12767 and 12766.7 (formerly 12768). The two versions differ in minor ways on every page, mainly with regards to spelling but occasionally with expressions; the most striking difference is that the second version (STC 12766.7) has a much shorter prose continuation by Grafton for the reign of Henry VIII (only two folios in length). For further information on Grafton see William Herbert and Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London: Payne, 1785–90), I, pp. 501–38. For an overview of Tudor policy towards Scotland see Ralph J. Robson, *The English Highland Clans, Tudor Responses to a Medieval Problem* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989) and Cynthia J. Neville, *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

² The first version is found in London, British Library, Lansdowne 204, and is approximately 19,000 lines in length. Charles L. Kingsford and Felicity Riddy have

suggested that Hardyng began his composition in the late 1440s, but this supposition and the circumstances surrounding Hardyng's decision to write a history of Britain have been reevaluated in my Ph.D. thesis; see Kingsford, 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 462–82, and Riddy, 'John Hardyng's Chronicle and the Wars of the Roses', *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1996), 91–108. Professor James Simpson and I are currently preparing an edition of the first version for TEAMS Middle English Texts.

3 The manuscripts of the second version, which is approximately 12,600 lines in length, include: Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Arch. Selden B. 10; Ashmole 34; Douce 345; Douce 378; London, British Library MSS Harley 661; Egerton 1992; Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 400 (v. 2. 20); Tokyo, Takamiya MS 6 (formerly Helmingham Hall MS L. J. 10); Princeton, Princeton University MS Garrett 142; Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois MS Illinois 83; Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, MS English 1054; and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 5. The surviving fragments are Harley 293 (fols 77r–79r), Harley 3730 (fols 1r–1v) and London College of Arms 2. M. 16 (fols 76v–77v). Edward Donald Kennedy notes a fourth fragment, Harley 2258 (fols 33v–34v), but this is actually a paraphrase of Hardyng's account of the reign of Marius as found in Arch. Selden B. 10, fols 35v–36v; see Kennedy, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, vol. 8 of *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ed. by A. E. Hartung (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989), p. 2836. For a full discussion and description of all of the extant manuscripts and Hardyng's revision, see Peverley, 'John Hardyng's Chronicle', pp. 47–118. I am currently preparing a new edition of the second version of the *Chronicle* for Boydell and Brewer. Richard, third duke of York (1415–60), was the son of Richard, fifth earl of Cambridge (c. 1375–1415), and Anne Mortimer (1390–1411); sixth earl of March (1425–60), lieutenant of France (1436–7, 1440–5) and lieutenant of Ireland (1447). Edward IV reigned from March 1461 to September 1470 and April 1471 to April 1483.

4 Quotation taken from *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Woodfall, 1812), p. 5. The Howards were an extremely prominent family, particularly so in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Originally they were members of the East Anglian gentry who inherited their dukedom through marriage. The first duke of Norfolk, John Howard, and his son, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey (later to become the second duke), fought at Bosworth for Richard III; John was killed and Thomas was attainted, but his loyalty to the new king, Henry VII, eventually ensured his restoration to the dukedom. The tomb of the second duke recorded both his early affiliation with Edward IV and his education, stating that he 'was in hys yong age, ofter he had been a sufficient season at the gramer schole, henchman to Kyng Edward the iiiii'; see K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 42, 245. Fascinatingly, his interest in literature of a historical and military flavour is attested by the twelve books he took with him on his 1481 expedition to Scotland, which included a copy of Honoré Bonet's *Arbre des batailles*, a 'destrucion de troye' and Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*; see Anne Crawford, *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462–71, 1481–83* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), pp. xix, 277. Although all of the items were apparently written in French, not English, his books are representative of the general interest that the nobility and gentry had in such texts, suggesting perhaps another reason for Grafton's decision to dedicate the work to his son. Furthermore, the son of the third duke was the Henry Howard (c. 1517–47), earl of Surrey, famous for his literary works. Other important figures to whom Grafton dedicated his works include Edward VI, Lord Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and Sir William Cecil. For information on Howard and his father see Melvin J. Tucker *The Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second*

Duke of Norfolk 1443–1524, (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); D. M. Head, 'The Life and Career of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk: The Anatomy of Tudor Politics, 1473–1554' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Florida State University, 1978); Susan Elizabeth Vokes 'The Early Career of Thomas, Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey and Third Duke of Norfolk, 1474–c. 1525' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1988); and F. R. Grace, 'The Life and Career of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk 1473–1554' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1961).

5 Ellis, p. 1.

6 Hardyng claims to have undertaken a secret mission at the request of Henry V in order to procure documents relating to English sovereignty, and to obtain geographical details about Scotland in the event that the king decided to invade. Details of the mission are given on several occasions throughout both versions of the *Chronicle*, but most notably in the prologue to the first version; see, for example, Lansdowne 203, fols 3r–4r.

7 Ellis, p. 5.

8 The variant readings in Grafton's prints are most closely related to the following manuscripts: Douce 378, Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, and Takamiya 6. All of these are more widely related to the readings in Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, and Douce 345. Of these Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, Douce 345, and Takamiya 6 have connections with the London area (see Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 83–88, 91, 112–15). Thus, it is likely that the manuscript(s) Grafton used for his prints was similar to those used as exemplars for the Douce 378, Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, and Takamiya 6 group. None of these contains maps, or the additional prose passages appended to the end of several manuscripts (mentioning, amongst other things, Hardyng's upbringing in the Percy household, which Grafton fails to cite), but an interesting enigma is presented by the itinerary printed by Grafton, which does not relate to any of the itineraries in the extant manuscripts of the second version, but is in fact closer to the verse itinerary of the first version. It is possible that this itinerary was revised by Hardyng, and like the briefer itinerary, only circulated in a select few manuscripts, which no longer survive. The patron commissioning the work may have decided which supplementary items were required in their copy. Hardyng's Scottish map occurs in Lansdowne 204, the unique manuscript of the first version, and in Arch. Selden B. 10, Harley 661 and Harvard University MS English 1054, all manuscripts of the second version. For further discussion of all of the matters highlighted above see Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*'; for consideration of Hardyng's maps see Alfred Hiatt, 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' in *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton*, ed. by Jenny Stratford (Donington: Shaun Tyas: 2003), pp. 78–94.

9 See Sarah L. Peverley, 'Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12–17 July 2002* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 152–175 (p. 153). This matter is also discussed in more depth in Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*', pp. 138–229.

10 Ellis, p. 11.

11 Ellis, p. 11.

12 For a fuller examination of the argument between Grafton and Stow and its wider implications see Herbert and Ames, I, pp. 504–06; Ellis, pp. xviii–xix; Charles L. Kingsford, *A Survey of London by John Stow*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, lxxviii–lxxix; and Alfred Hiatt, 'Stow, Grafton, and Fifteenth-Century Historiography', in *John Stow (1525–1605) and the Making of the English Past*, ed. by I. Gadd and A. Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 45–55. An insightful study of the publication, readership and reception of medieval chronicles from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries may be found in D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern*

England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

13 See, for example, the annotations noting Hardyng's use of Gildas, Henry of Huntingdon, fols 9v, 28v, 39r, 41r, 41v, 49r, 66v, 67r, 78r, 120r, 120v, 136r). For an identification of Stow's hand in Lansdowne 204; see Colin Tite's "'Lost or stolen or strayed": A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. by C. J. Wright (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 262–306 (p. 303).

14 Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others, *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520* (University Park, PE: Penn State Press, 1999), pp. 7, 317.

15 As there were no explicit laws in fifteenth-century England regulating the descent of the monarchy it could be inherited by either an 'heir male' or an 'heir general.' In practice, the inheritance of the crown followed the rules of primogeniture governing the 'heir male' principle, ensuring that the inheritance of titles and lands passed to the oldest male. This model was commonly adhered to in matters concerning the inheritance of lay property and titles; however, when the male line failed, as it so often did in the late Middle Ages, an 'heir general,' or daughter, could inherit or pass on a claim over a younger male member of the family. Occasionally property and titles were divided between the heir male and the heir general to avoid conflict, but, as J. R. Lander states, it was 'impossible to apply such a compromise [...] to the Crown and Kingdom of England' (*The Wars of the Roses*, 3rd edn, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 2000, p. 5). The Lancastrian kings claimed descent through the third son and heir male of Edward III, John of Gaunt, whilst Richard, duke of York, claimed descent through the second son and heir general of Edward III, Lionel, duke of Clarence, who passed on his claim through his daughter Philippa. Until the later half of the 1450s, when the Yorkist genealogies began circulating with the heir general line of descent, York had traced his heritage through, and bore the arms of, Edward III's fifth son, Edmund of Langley, but this genealogical line was a questionable link as far as the English throne was concerned. For further details of York's descent and the propaganda circulated in support of his claim to the throne see Alison Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' the Reign of Edward IV,' in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Charles Ross (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), pp. 171–92; 'Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York in England in the Mid-Fifteenth Century, 1450–71' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales at Swansea, 1981); and R. A. Griffiths, 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Charles Ross (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), pp. 13–36. For further discussion of York's claim to the throne in Hardyng's *Chronicle* see Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 40–43, 196–229.

16 See S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the XV Century* (New York: American Scholar, 1966) and Margaret Lucille Kekewich et al, *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 202–3. Since the relationship between this annotator and the manuscript deserves further study in its own right, I limit myself to a discussion of this one annotation here. This example, other notes made by the same annotator, and the evidence pointing towards the manuscript's compilation during Henry VI's Readeption, are discussed in my study of Garrett 142 and its early owner in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 66:1 (2005), 140–72. Further information concerning this manuscript and its annotator may also be found in Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 93–99.

17 This topic has been explored more fully in Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 216–17.

18 Riddy, p. 104.

19 Those manuscripts of the second version in which no Pedigree of France is extant

generally point towards the initial inclusion of one (as, for example, in Takamiya 6 where half of the folio has been cut out of the manuscript), or an intention to provide one (shown, for example, by the catchword 'The Pedegree of ffraunce' on fol. 126v of Douce 345).

20 See fols 134v and 145v. It is difficult to distinguish between the two hands; both are similar in style and date, but as the annotations are brief it is difficult to say unequivocally that they were written by the same reader. However, given the nature of the glosses it is highly likely that they were.

21 See, the descriptions of Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, Douce 345, Egerton 1992, Garrett 142, Harvard 1054, Hunter 400, Illinois 83, and Takamiya 6, in Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*.'

22 See, for example, the notes about place names and battles in Ashmole 34, fols 9r, 10r, 77r, 158v, 172v and 173r, and Harvard 1054, fol. 24v, where a sixteenth-century hand notes the year of Christ's birth.

23 A notable example of this occurs in Hunter 400, where a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand refers to one 'Thomas Pycmore', first, on the recto of the third leaf of the fourth set of flyleaves, 'Thomas Pycmore I recommend me vnto yov Prayeng yov to Remember the mater betwix' is written backwards ('Samoht Eromcyp I Emdnemocer otnv voy Gneyarp voy ot Rebmemer eht retam eb/ xiwt'); a second reference, also written backwards by the same hand, occurs on the verso of the third leaf of the same set of flyleaves, reading 'Thomas Pycmore ys a knave' ('Samoht Eromcyp sy a evank').

24 I am extremely grateful to Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya for allowing me to use images from his manuscript and to Mr Masaaki Kashimura of the HUMI Project (Keio University) who shot and prepared the images.

25 A John Revell, son of Robert Revell (a grocer and alderman of London) is mentioned in London Letter Book L in the reign of Edward IV, and a Robert Chamberleyn is mentioned in London Letter Book K in a list of 'peautrers' for the year 1453; see *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book L, Temp. Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe (London: J. E. Francis, 1912), p. 321 and *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book K, Temp. Henry VI*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe (London: J.E. Francis, 1911). These merchants may or may not be linked to the jottings on fol. 116v. Similarly, one Thomas Newman, a bookseller in London (c. 1587-98), is known to have purchased a shop in St Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet Street, previously owned by Henry Middleton, a London printer (c. 1567-87). These two men may be the same Thomas Numan, a 'skrivener' of Aldgate Ward, and Henry Midleton of Farringdon Ward Without, who occur on the 1582 London Subsidy Roll. A Robert Chamberleyn is similarly listed on the same roll under Coleman Street Ward, and one John Revell appears in the 1541 London Subsidy Roll under Cripplegate Ward; see R. G. Lang, *Two Tudor Subsidy Assessment Rolls for the City of London 1541 and 1582* (London: London Record Society, 1993). The dates pertaining to the men in the Subsidy Rolls are not consonant with their fifteenth-century namesakes, but serve to highlight later characters who may, or may not, be connected to the jottings on fol. 116v. For further details of Henry Middleton and Thomas Newman see Ronald B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), pp. 192, 200; Henry Middleton is also mentioned in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Lesley Stephen and Sidney Lee, 22 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-22), XIII, pp. 349-50. I am indebted to Bethany Sinclair for calling my attention to the Tudor Subsidy Rolls.

26 The commonplace book compiled by Richard Hill, a London grocer, is a city chronicle, which survives solely in Oxford, Balliol College MS 354, fols 232-47. For

the period 1413 to 1490 the work is based on Richard Arnold's *Customs of London* (STC 782 and 783); Hill's own contribution extends the text from 1490 to 1536, when the chronicle ends. The piece is edited along with other items from Balliol 354 in Roman Dyboski, *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace-Book*, EETS ES 101 (1908), pp. 142–67; further discussion of the work may also be found in D. O. Browning, 'Commentary on MS Balliol 354' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1935) and W. P. Hills, 'Richard Hill of Hillend and Balliol 354,' *Notes and Queries*, 177 (1939), 452–56. For the entries relevant to the Takamiya 6 notes in Stow's *Summarie*, see STC 23319.5 (1566), fols 204v, 205r, 208r; STC 23325.2 (1590), fols 492, 496–97; and STC 23336 (1601), pp. 942, 959–61. For further information on the *Chronicles of London* in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century see Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicle of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002). A critical edition of the notes occurs in Appendix 5 of my Ph.D. thesis on Hardyng.

27 The manuscripts in question are Arch. Selden B. 10, Ashmole 34, Bühler 5, Douce 345, Egerton 1992, Illinois 83, and Grafton's printed editions of 1543. See Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 119–32 for further details.

28 Woolf, p. 16.

29 See, for example, fols 10r, 11v, 13r, 14v, 172v, 173r; some of the sixteenth-century annotations could conceivably belong to the person responsible for adding the woodcut.

30 For further discussion of later annotations and responses to Hardyng's *Chronicle* see Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,' pp. 47–118.

31 Scribal abbreviations have been expanded and signified in italics. Editorial emendations have been enclosed within square brackets and interlinear insertions have been indicated by triangular brackets.