# Medieval Manuscripts in Ushaw College Library: A Fragmentary History

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The church completed, other buildings next Successive rose – a library well stored With many thousand books, encased in shelves Of cedar wood, in useful bindings all, And all arrayed with classic skill and taste. (An Old Alumnus of Ushaw College)<sup>1</sup>

The city of Durham is known internationally for its rich medieval manuscript collections, both in its Cathedral Library and in the University Library's Special Collections on Palace Green, thanks in no small measure to the highly productive scriptorium and well-stocked monastic library of Durham's medieval Cathedral Priory. Indeed, efforts are now well underway to recreate these collections and reunite their surviving books digitally, thus augmenting both access to and awareness of them on a global scale. Perhaps less well known is Durham's other home for medieval manuscripts, located just a few miles from the peninsula upon which the aforementioned repositories are sited: the Big Library of the former Catholic seminary of Ushaw College near Ushaw Moor, founded in 1808.

Ushaw's Big Library is aptly named, for it easily – and quite deliberately – rivals, in splendour, size and contents, the great College libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> Built to house the College's burgeoning book collections, its construction was completed in 1851 after a design by Charles and Joseph Hansom; a previous design by famed architect Augustus Pugin had been rejected, less for aesthetic reasons than precisely because it was deemed too small.<sup>3</sup> Owing to its original purpose as a domestic library purely for staff and seminarians, Ushaw Library's rich collections were not publicly accessible until

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An Old Alumnus, *Records and Recollections of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw with Introductory Poem* (Preston: Buller and Son, 1889), p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid, p, 169; David Milburn, A History of Ushaw College: A study of the origin, foundation and development of an English Catholic seminary, with an epilogue 1908–1962 (Durham: Ushaw Bookshop, 1964), p. 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. T. Rhodes, Ushaw College Library (Durham: Ushaw College Durham, 1994), pp. 5–6.

after the College formally closed in 2011 due to a shortage of vocations. Shortly afterwards, an agreement was reached between the Ushaw College Trustees and Durham University, to manage and catalogue the collections for use by researchers;<sup>4</sup> by 2017, a major initiative had been announced in the shape of the Residential Research Library (RRL) Visiting Fellowships scheme, which from 2018 would offer international scholars the opportunity to come to Durham, take up residence at Ushaw and immerse themselves in all three of the city's major manuscript and rare book collections.<sup>5</sup>

The two authors of this article were amongst the first cohort of RRL Fellows in the winter of 2018/19, with Pohl holding a Lendrum Priory Fellowship and Tether a Holland Fellowship to investigate, respectively, the codicology of Ushaw's MS 6 and the identity of medieval book collections as a tool for public engagement. The projects merged around the topic of the origin and provenance of MS 6, where it soon became clear that only by understanding the genesis and historical development of the entire collection in which the codex resides would it be possible to narrow the options.<sup>6</sup> MS 6 thus became both the catalyst and vehicle for a more systematic and wide-ranging study that would seek to explore and reconstruct historical practices of medieval manuscript acquisition, organisation and management at Ushaw. This article presents the findings of that collaborative study. In an attempt to maintain a sense of the discovery process, as well as of the associated challenges (and the solutions developed to overcome them), MS 6 has been retained as a narrative driver that guides the reader through the argument as it develops, though the main objective is ultimately to set out as much as can be known about principles of manuscript keeping at Ushaw since its earliest days. In doing so, what follows should provide future scholars studying Ushaw's medieval manuscripts with a useful entry point into the collection's history, saving them the extensive archival excavation, and thus much of the preliminary 'leg work', so to speak, needed to trace the provenance of Ushaw's medieval books. More broadly still, the information presented here provides behind-the-scenes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Ushaw College and Durham University lighting an educational beacon' (13 June 2011) <https://www.dur.ac.uk/research/news/item/?itemno=12272>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'New international residential research library to be developed' (3 February 2017) <https://www.dur.ac.uk/news/newsitem/?itemno=30357>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For the theoretical approach to collections developed by Tether as part of her RRL project, see Leah Tether and Laura Chuhan Campbell, 'Early Book Collections and Modern Audiences: Harnessing the Identity/ies of Book Collections as Collective Resources', *RBM* 21 (2020), 26–39.

insights into the practices and practicalities of curating a medieval manuscript collection in a major Catholic archive that only recently opened its doors to researchers and the wider public.<sup>7</sup>

For scholars interested in MS 6, or indeed almost any of Ushaw's medieval manuscripts, the first port of call is likely to be the fourth volume of Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries (hereafter MMBL), edited by Neil Ker and Alan Piper. Unfortunately, no mention is made in this publication of MS 6's possible origin or provenance, and we only learn that it was '[w]ritten in England'.8 This is somewhat surprising, given that by the point Ker and Piper's catalogue appeared, hypotheses on the matter had been circulating, in published form, for about half a century. The credit for first bringing the manuscript to the attention of scholarship must go to a short article by Jacob Hammer published in Modern Language Quarterly in 1942.9 Born in Poland and educated in the Ukraine, Austria and at Columbia in New York, Hammer had been appointed to a fellowship with the aim 'to collate all existing twelfth-century manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae in English, French, Belgian and Italian libraries' as early as 1929.<sup>10</sup> Realising the enormous scope and logistical challenges of the task he had taken on, Hammer subsequently enlisted the help of fellow European medievalist, Wilhelm Levison. Having been forced to resign from his chair at Bonn and flee his native Germany during WWII, Levison in 1939 had been appointed as Honorary Fellow at Durham University (or, as it was called then, the University of Durham). Following a personal request from Hammer, he produced what remains the most detailed account of MS 6 to date, published in English Historical Review in 1943.11 Most of Levison's conclusions concerning the manuscript, however tentative, remain

<sup>11</sup> W. Levison, 'A Combined Manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon', *English Historical Review* 58 (1943), 41–51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This article is a developed version of the paper delivered by the two authors at the Durham Residential Research Library Inaugural Conference: Libraries, Learning and Religious Identities: Britain, Ireland and the European Context, *c*.1100–*c*.1900 (12 September 2019) under the title 'Hidden Treasures: Unexpected Medieval Discoveries in Ushaw's Collections'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> N. R. Ker, A. J. Cunningham, I. C. Watson and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–2002), IV: *Paisley to York*, ed. by Ker and Piper (1992), pp. 512–13 (p. 513).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jacob Hammer, 'Some Additional Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Modern Language Quarterly* 3 (1942), 235–42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Quoted from the short biographical-bibliographical sketch of Hammer on the website of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, where Hammer was a fellow for twelve months in 1929/30, < https://www.gf.org/fellows/all-fellows/jacob-hammer/>.

*communis opinio* to this day, with some revisions proposed by David Dumville in 1974 in the *Bulletin of the Board for Celtic Studies*.<sup>12</sup>

As noted by Levison, MS 6 is of modest size, measuring  $c. 125 \times 185$  mm. The book survives in a twelfth-century binding that shows signs of repair and restoration conducted during the twentieth century, when it was already in Ushaw's possession (see below). That this is unlikely to be the book's original binding is suggested by both its codicology (it is a composite codex) and the combination of its contents. As regards the latter, we are safe in principle to follow Levison's conclusions as established in 1943, at least for the purposes of the present article.<sup>13</sup> Prior to this pioneering study, the manuscript had been assumed to contain nothing but a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae, including the 'Prophecies of Merlin' by the same author. As Levison was right to point out, however, the book's middle sections (fols. 122r-226v) actually form a subsequent, if largely contemporary, addition made towards the end of the twelfth century, in which Geoffrey's text is 'blended', rather skilfully, with Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum.14 The codex shows ample signs of usage, such as in the form of various marginalia introduced by different readers from the late twelfth to the early sixteenth centuries. Levison viewed some of these marginalia to hold possible clues as to the book's origin. For example, when on fol. 16r a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century glossator notes that the 'opidum montis Agnet, quod Castellum Puellarum nunc dicitur' is 'now called Bamburgh' ('nunc Baenburc dicitur'), Levison surmised that this may place this glossator and, by implication, the book itself, not too far from Bamburgh Castle in Northumbria,

<sup>14</sup> The manuscript's contents are thus: *Historia regum Britanniae*(a) incl. 'Prophetiae Merlini' (fols. 3r–121v); *Historia regum Britanniae*(b) (fols. 122r–226v) incl. Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (fols. 124v–225v); fols. 226r–v = empty; *Historia regum Britanniae*(a) (cont.) (fols. 227r–242v) Also cf. Julia C. Crick, Historia Regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), pp. 317–18 (= no. 210) (p. 318); see also the description compiled in Ian Doyle's unpublished personal papers (AID C272; descriptions of all archival documents consulted for, and cited in, this article are provided in Appendix B). For more detail about the 'blending' of these two texts and the possible significance on the manuscript's medieval users, we once more refer the reader to the forthcoming discussion in Pohl, 'Nothing to See Here!' (cf. above n. 13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> David N. Dumville, 'The Origin of the *C*-Text of the Variant Version of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26 (1974–76), 315–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For a full codicological and palaeographical examination of MS 6, see the forthcoming study by Benjamin Pohl, 'Nothing to See Here! Hidden Changes of Authorship and Genre in a Twelfth-Century Manuscript (Durham, Ushaw College, MS 6)', in *Models of Change in Medieval Textual Culture*, ed. by Sofia Lodén and Jonatan Pettersson (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

or at least in the north of England.<sup>15</sup> Levison detected corroborating evidence for this theory in some of the other marginalia inserted elsewhere in the book by the same hand, such as that on fol. 29r concerning Ribchester in Lancashire ('Kair Peredur, quod nunc Ribbecestria dicitur'), as well as that on fol. 39r assigning the Scottish Isles to the metropolitan authority of York's archbishops ('Tercia [sedes] in Ebor(aco) Deira et Albania et insule').<sup>16</sup> Whether or not we choose to subscribe to Levison's hypothesis that these 'regionally specific' glosses place the book and its first-generation users in the regions now corresponding to the counties of Yorkshire and Northumberland - a healthy dose of scepticism is certainly advisable here -, there are additional palaeographical features which, unbeknownst to Levison and unnoticed by scholarship to date, almost certainly indicate an English origin. These include, most notably, the use of the Anglo-Saxon (and ultimately Germanic) runic letter form **b** ('thorn'), which can be found on a number of occasions throughout the manuscript, for example, on fol. 54v ('Dictum namque fuit, postmodum Britannice Caercarrei, Saxonice bangrastre, quod Latino nomine castrum [Corrigiae appellamus]').<sup>17</sup> The binding, too, has been identified as the product of an English workshop of the late twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> The question is whether this (northern) English *milieu* can be narrowed down further, and again Levison himself was quick to offer some suggestions that provide food for thought in this respect.

The late medieval (most likely late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century) notes on the flyleaves of MS 6 seem to suggest that the book was then kept in a book cupboard/room ('almari(ol)um'), perhaps as part of an institutional book

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Levison, 'A Combined Manuscript', pp. 44–46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 46–48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Michael D. Reeve, ed., and Neil Wright, tr., *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 129. On the use of **þ** in medieval Latin manuscripts from England, cf. M. B. Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, volume II, 1100–1400*, ed. by Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 110–35 (p. 128). Crick also describes the hand of the main scribe as writing 'English Protogothic minuscule', followed by a brief analysis of some main palaeographical attributes; Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, p. 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Graham Pollard, 'The Construction of English Twelfth-Century Bindings', *The Library*, Fifth Series XVII (1962), 1-22 (p. 2): even though Pollard does not identify MS 6 by its contents or call number, there can be little doubt that his reference to 'another [manuscript] at Ushaw College' with this style of binding relates to the book in question, since there are no others with twelfth-century bindings in Ushaw's collection. The same identification of the book mentioned by Pollard is made by Doyle in AID C270.

collection.<sup>19</sup> Levison tentatively related the name 'Thomas Killingbecke' written on the same flyleaf to the Killingbeck family of Chapel-Allerton and Allerton-Grange near Leeds.<sup>20</sup> The Killingbecks were tenants of the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall, Leeds, and they even appointed one of the community's late medieval abbots from amongst their own, Robert Killingbeck (1499-1501). Whether this ambiguous inscription is really enough to link the manuscript to Kirkstall Abbey and its local aristocratic benefactors remains open to discussion, but a Cistercian connection would not be altogether out of step with the manuscript's material and artistic execution, specifically its decoration, nor with the later-twelfth-century reception and manuscript transmission of Geoffrey's Historia regum Britanniae. As for the former, MS 6 is awash with decorated, pen-flourished initials whose reduced colour palette (mostly red and blue, but also some green; no gold leaf), plain design and deliberately modest artistic vocabulary (rudimentary floral flourishes) are very much in line with the traditions of manuscript decoration that can be observed in other Cistercian workshops around the time of MS 6's manufacture, but also, it should be noted, in no insignificant number of contemporary Benedictine communities.<sup>21</sup> Though Cistercian monastic libraries on the whole are commonly held to have invested less in the copying of historiographical texts than did many of their Benedictine counterparts throughout the Anglo-Norman world,<sup>22</sup> there are still at least five extant late-twelfth- and early-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> On the term 'almariolum/armariolum' and the type of (book) storage facilities usually described by it, see Richard Gameson, 'The Medieval Library (to *c*.1450)', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, volume I, to 1640*, ed. by Teresa Webber and Elizabeth Leedham-Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 13–50 (p. 14). The thirteenth-century 'armariolum' at Christ Church, Canterbury has been described as a 'book room between the transept and the chapterhouse' by Teresa Webber in her 'The Libraries of Religious Houses', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Erik Kwakkel and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 103–21 (pp. 112–13). <sup>20</sup> Levison, 'A Combined Manuscript', pp. 49–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See the pertinent examples and discussion in Anne Lawrence, 'Cistercian Decoration: Twelfth-Century Legislation on Illumination and its Interpretation in England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 21 (1995), 31–52 and Anne Lawrence, 'English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. by Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 284–99. We are very grateful to Michael Gullick and Patricia Stirnemann for taking the time to discuss the decoration of MS 6 with us at some length.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> C. R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian Libraries: The First Century', in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 328–45; Bernard Meehan, 'Durham Twelfth-Century Manuscripts in Cistercian Houses in Anglo-Norman Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–* 

thirteenth century manuscripts of Geoffrey's *Historia* (besides MS 6) which are known with some certainty to have originated in and/or belonged to English Cistercian houses,<sup>23</sup> with another ten coming from continental European Cistercian libraries between the mid-twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Indeed, both Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae* and Henry's *Historia Anglorum* formed part of a collective historiographical tradition and inclusive literary milieu which has recently been described as 'the Anglo-Norman historical canon', and as such their shared reception amongst monastic communities was perhaps more frequent and widespread than has sometimes been assumed, especially with regard to Geoffrey's work.<sup>24</sup> In light of the above, an English Cistercian origin for MS 6 remains possible, perhaps even likely, though it is impossible to be certain. If this were to be the case, it would make MS 6 part of a tradition of about half a dozen surviving copies of Geoffrey's *Historia* produced and circulating in England around the turn of the thirteenth century.

1193, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 439–49. On the reading of history in Cistercian communities, see Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002) and Elizabeth Freeman, 'Aelred as a Historian Among Historians', in *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167)*, ed. by Marsha L. Dutton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 113–46, and now also Richard Allen, 'History, Memory, and Community in Cistercian Normandy (12th–13th centuries)', in *The Downside Review* (= Special Issue 'History and Community', ed. by Benjamin Pohl) (forthcoming 2021).

<sup>23</sup> These are: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 13210 (from Robertsbridge in Sussex); Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3514 (Wales, possibly Whitland Abbey); London, British Library, MS Royal 13 D II (from Margam Abbey, South Wales); New Haven, CT, Yale University Library, MS 590 (from Roche, Yorkshire); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 514 (from Jervaulx, Yorkshire); see the descriptions and identifications in Crick, *Summary Catalogue*, pp. 6–7, 114–18, 183–84, 210–11, 221–23. Also cf. Jaakko Tahkokallio, 'Update to the List of Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Arthurian Literature* 32 (2015), 187–203.

<sup>24</sup> Jaakko Tahkokallio, *The Anglo-Norman Historical Canon: Publishing and Manuscript Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). See also Jaakko Tahkokallio, 'Early Manuscript Dissemination', in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Joshua Byron Smith and Georgia Henley (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 155–80; Jaakko Tahkokallio, 'Monks, Clerks, and King Arthur: Reading Geoffrey of Monmouth in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki, 2013); Julia C. Crick, Historia Regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991); also Georgia Henley, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Conventions of History Writing in Early 12<sup>th</sup>–Century England', in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Joshua Byron Smith and Georgia Henley (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 291–314.

Though Ker and Piper did reference Levison's 1943 article on MS 6 in their volume of MMBL (see above), they neither confirmed nor rejected his hypotheses as to the manuscript's possible origin and provenance, and perhaps we ought to treat their complete silence on the subject as a statement in its own right. Meanwhile, brief descriptions of the manuscript and its contents are also provided both in Julia Crick's Summary Catalogue of the manuscripts of Geoffrey's Historia regum Britanniae and in Diana Greenway's edition of Henry's Historia Anglorum. Crick lists the book's medieval provenance as '?Kirkstall (Cistercians)', and, following Levison, she draws attention to the 'Northern English interest evident in [the] annotations in [the] body of [the] manuscript, dating from before about 1200'.25 Virtually the same information is repeated by Greenway.<sup>26</sup> In his unpublished personal notes on MS 6 (only recently made available following his passing in 2018), Ian Doyle likewise reviewed and nuanced Levison's findings, but without adding substantially to them.<sup>27</sup> For the time being, we, too, can do little more than acknowledge that we are certainly dealing with an English manuscript - as now seems to be confirmed, amongst other features, by the use of  $\mathbf{b}$  –, made quite possibly (but not definitely) in a (northern) Cistercian house. A Benedictine origin, though perhaps less likely, also remains a possibility, and future research, which is currently being prepared by one of the authors of this article, might shed some light on this. With the origin and medieval provenance of MS 6 thus remaining something of a mystery, the question must be whether additional insights can be gained by approaching the subject from the opposite chronological direction, that is, by tracing its journey to Ushaw. In doing so, we shall now adopt a reverse perspective and work our way backwards from today's holdings through the College's history of manuscript acquisition and collection since the turn of the nineteenth century.

Today, Ushaw has nearly one hundred medieval manuscripts in total in the form of codices, fragments and rolls. The manuscripts numbered 1 to 45 constitute the 'core' collection, and these are mainly codices. Latterly numbered manuscripts are largely, though not exclusively, fragments found in the bindings of early-printed books held in Ushaw College's Big Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Crick, Summary Catalogue, pp. 317–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Diana Greenway, ed. and trans., *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, Historia Anglorum, *The History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. cxlii (= MS U). Also cf. Diana Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Manuscripts of his *Historia Anglorum'*, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987), 103–26 (p. 108).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> AID C272.

Acquisitions information for Ushaw's medieval manuscripts is scant at best.<sup>28</sup> Of the forty-five core manuscripts, accession records detailing their arrival at Ushaw exist for just fifteen (of which four are assumed rather than known).<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, MS 6 is not amongst those with known provenance. Nonetheless, since the majority of the medieval manuscripts for which there is acquisitions information are noted as having arrived at Ushaw as gifts or donations, it is not impossible, if currently unprovable, that MS 6 was similarly gifted to the Library at some point.<sup>30</sup>

Even if records pertaining to the accession of individual manuscripts are few and far between, there is some evidence that medieval books were kept in Ushaw's collections at least since it opened on its current site in 1808, with some of these probably having followed the seminarians from their former homes at Tudhoe, Crook Hall and Pontop (all Co. Durham).<sup>31</sup> It is unlikely, however, that any of the manuscripts accompanied the seminarians from the community's 1568–1794 home in the English College at Douai. Even though we can be sure that Douai's collections contained some medieval books,<sup>32</sup> not a single one amongst the handful of books (either printed or manuscript) that survived the French revolutionary troops' takeover of the English College and confiscation of its libraries in 1793 – an event that led to the Catholic seminarians' eventual flight to England –<sup>33</sup> seems to have made it to Ushaw.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Bernard Payne, 'The Ushaw Library', *Ushaw Magazine* 44 (1934), 199–214 (p. 201); a typescript of the oral paper delivered by Payne to the 'Ushaw Big Lads' Society' upon which this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> What little information exists has to be gleaned from a combination of studying labels and book plates in manuscripts bindings, and scanning a broad variety of Ushaw College's archival records, most profitably perhaps those in the section 'Ushaw College Administration: 4. Acquisitions', such as UC/AG4/1, UC/AG4/2, UC/AG4/5; but see also UC/AG1/1, UC/AG2/1, UC/AG2/2, UC/AG2/4, UC/AG3/2 for brief snippets of information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For details, see the column on 'accession' in the table supplied in Appendix A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Michael Sharratt notes the likelihood that the vast majority of medieval manuscripts arrived at Ushaw via donation in his 'The Origin and Growth of the Ushaw Library', *Northern Catholic History* 24 (1986), 22–34 (pp. 22–23); see also A. I. Doyle, 'The Significance of the Big Library Today', *Ushaw Magazine* 83 (1972), 3–6 (pp. 3–4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See unpublished document entitled 'History of Ushaw College' in UC/AG3/3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Rhodes, Ushaw College Library, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See the entry from the *Diary of Douay College*, reproduced as 'Narrative of the Seizure of Douay College, and of the deportation of the Seniors, Professors and Students to Dourlens', *Catholic Review and Review* 1 (1831), 457–66 (p. 459).

The first concrete evidence of the presence of medieval manuscripts in Ushaw's collection appeared in 1827 in Catholic Miscellany, where an anonymous visitor notes that the college's library held 'upwards of seven thousand volumes', including 'several illuminated manuscripts'.35 This was prior to the construction of the Big Library in 1851, when the College's original library was located in a large room adjoining the Vice-President's quarters in the main building's front gallery (first floor).<sup>36</sup> This visitor's testimony, then, seems to suggest that medieval manuscripts were kept amongst the rest of the holdings in the library's original location. Provenance work undertaken by the Ushaw librarians in 1997 revealed that books which had once been in the former library had been given diamond-shaped spine labels. Many of these books are still in existence today, and their labels intact, enabling staff to estimate that this original library had contained c. 8,200 volumes, which is not altogether out of line with the number given by the 1827 Ushaw visitor from Catholic Miscellany.37 Frustratingly, neither MS 6 nor any of the other medieval manuscripts retains one of these labels, if indeed they ever had them in the first place, which means that placing any one of them firmly at Ushaw before the building of the Big Library is impossible via this approach. A further piece of evidence for the presence of medieval manuscripts at Ushaw at an early stage is provided by an entry from the Rev. Joseph Cottam Fisher's journal, dated 29 September 1837, in which Fisher mentions that one 'Mr. Lawson, of Brough [...] seemed pleased with the illuminated MSS.' during a visit to Ushaw's library.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the most formal amongst the early records of medieval books at Ushaw occurs in the First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, published 1874, which records in passing that Ushaw 'possesses a large collection of Liturgical and Devotional manuscripts, chiefly of the 15th

article was based is in UC/AG3/3, as is the typescript of similar oral paper by Payne, albeit longer, hand annotated, with more detail and apparently delivered in 1966. See also Sharratt, 'The Origin', p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Anonymous, 'Ushaw College', Catholic Miscellany 7.61 (1827), 17-21 (p, 20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Sharratt, 'The Origin', pp. 24–25; Payne, 'The Ushaw Library', pp. 203–4; a floorplan showing the College's layout in 1837 and giving the original library's location is provided by Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College*, p. 145 (Plate 12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Librarian (Alastair MacGregor), 'General', Ushaw Library Bulletin and Ushaw Liturgical Review 4 (1997), 2–3 (p. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Joseph Cottam Fisher, 'Ushaw Papers: III. Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Joseph Cottam Fisher', *Ushaw Magazine* 15 (1905), 170–80.

century'.<sup>39</sup> MS 6 is, of course, a twelfth-century manuscript, and its contents can claim neither to be liturgical nor devotional. Whether or not it counts as illuminated is also debatable: as we saw above, MS 6 contains decoration in the form of coloured, pen-flourished initials, but neither gold leaf nor formal illumination figure anywhere in the codex. Given, though, that an uninitiated visitor might well have had an imprecise understanding of the term 'illuminated', leading him to use it in the most colloquial and general sense, a book like MS 6 could feasibly have been lumped into that category. Indeed, an 1889 retrospective, authored and published by former seminarian Evan Buller under the pseudonym of 'An Old Alumnus',<sup>40</sup> corroborates that Ushaw had – at least under Mgr Charles Newsham's presidency (1863–76), if not before – 'many valuable manuscripts, *some* of them beautifully illuminated' (our emphasis).<sup>41</sup> This confirms that Ushaw's medieval manuscript holdings in the nineteenth century were not limited to items that would be formally described as 'illuminated'.

Taken together, these early notices allow us to confirm the existence of medieval manuscripts in Ushaw's library collections since at least the time when it opened in its current location near Ushaw Moor in 1808, and likely before then, though identifying precisely which manuscripts these were remains impossible. Records are at least slightly more comprehensive for manuscript acquisitions after the 1840s (see Appendix A), the late 1840s being the period when Ushaw's library organisation became more formalised in preparation for its transfer into the new Big Library in 1851.<sup>42</sup> Since there is no post-1840 record of the accession of MS 6, it is not unreasonable to surmise that it probably arrived in the collection prior to that date, and that it might indeed have been one of the manuscripts recalled by the old alumnus in 1889 and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Joseph Stevenson, 'The Library of Ushaw College, near Durham', in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1870), pp. 91–93 (p. 93).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Buller went up to Ushaw in 1824; see 'Notice of death: Evan Canuce Buller', *The Tablet*, 14 January 1893.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> An Old Alumnus, *Records and Recollections*, p. 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Rhodes, *Ushaw College Library*, p. 6; Milburn, *A History*, p. 218. It was also in 1840 that George Errington engaged several students in an attempt to produce an alphabetical catalogue of the library, which would be Ushaw's first formal catalogue. The attempt was not long-lived, however, since reports exist from 1841 stating that it already required re-organisation. This first catalogue appears not to have survived, but relevant correspondence from 1840–41 can be found in UC/P26/1/E1/1–17 and UC/H52a. See also further discussions about cataloguing strategy from 1857 in UC/PA/G17 and UC/PA/G18(a).

previously seen *in situ* by both Mr. Lawson in 1837 and the anonymous Ushaw visitor of 1827.

Even today, there is no published catalogue comprising all of the medieval manuscripts at Ushaw, though Neil Ker and Alan Piper's Ushaw section in the fourth volume of MMBL covers most of the bound codices, including MS 6.43 Supplementing this is Michael Sharratt's unpublished 'Ushaw College Library Medieval Manuscripts Interim Handlist' of 1986, which covers MSS 1-45.44 In Sharratt's introduction, he states that his handlist is based on one compiled by Ian Doyle in 1976,45 which, in turn, was based on Ker's 1964 second edition of Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (though Sharratt mistakenly refers to Ker's book as 'Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries'),46 as well as on 'the index cards compiled by the Reverend Bernard Payne, Librarian at Ushaw from 1930 until 1977'.47 Some additional details, Sharratt says, come from Piper's preparatory notes for his contribution to the 1992 edition of Ker's MMBL, and we further learn that 'I [Sharratt] have also added extra details, mainly about ownership', though Sharratt does not allude to any sources for this additional knowledge of provenance. Sharratt's stated intention is that this 'interim' handlist was only meant to be used until such time that Ker and Piper's endeavour was published. Nonetheless, it remains the only complete listing of all of the 'core' medieval manuscripts (i.e., MSS 1-45) at Ushaw.

Sharratt's note about the existence of a set of index cards for the medieval manuscripts compiled by Payne is curious, since there are only two documented index card catalogues for Ushaw College Library, one in the current search room put together by Sharratt in the 1980s, and an older one in

<sup>47</sup> Sharratt, 'Interim Handlist', p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ker and Piper, *MMBL*, IV, pp. 505–51; codices covered are MSS 1–8, 10–24, 26–36, 41–43; for MS 6 see pp. 512–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> This is kept in a green ring binder in Durham's Palace Green Library, which is entitled 'Ushaw MSS Medieval and Lisbon, MSS 50–97'. A separate listing of the manuscripts (medieval and later) numbered 46 and upwards is also to be found in this folder, the sequencing of which seems to have been the work of Alastair MacGregor, Ushaw librarian between *c*. 1995 and 2009, as a continuation of the medieval manuscripts sequence 1–45; see the entry for GB–0298–UC/MS Ushaw College Manuscripts at <a href="http://discover.durham.ac.uk">http://discover.durham.ac.uk</a>>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Doyle's unpublished list, which was created for use in the SCONUL seminar he delivered at Ushaw on 24 September 1976, is contained within the transcript for his talk in AID B122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964); the first edition does not have entries for Ushaw books: N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 1st edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1941).

the Big Library, started by Arthur Hinsley in 1896 and completed by Edwin Bonney and some students in 1903.48 Upon consultation, neither of these card catalogues appears to contain details of MSS 1-45, though Sharratt's catalogue does have index cards for the fragmentary manuscripts numbered 46 and upwards.<sup>49</sup> In the wooden cupboard underneath the Big Library's card catalogue, however, is a loose card drawer with the label 'Binders, Early Printers, Manuscripts', which does in fact contain index cards, many in Payne's distinctive handwriting, relating to MSS 1-45 (Fig. 1). There are three discernible groups amongst these: one full set in Payne's handwriting, datable to 1958 at the earliest;<sup>50</sup> a close-to full set, again in Payne's hand, with a terminus *a quo* of 1943; a smaller group of later, mostly typed, cards datable to 1975–77. All three dates are surmised on the basis of bibliographical references given on the cards themselves and the presence of Payne's handwriting, which in itself requires all three sets to have been produced during his tenure as Ushaw's librarian (1933-77). Whilst the youngest and most incomplete set contains no card for MS 6, both earlier sets do, noting that MS 6's location at the time of their compilation was in the 'showcase' (Fig. 2). The manuscript's modern call number ('MS 6') only appears in the post-1958 card set, suggesting that the medieval manuscripts were properly sequenced by Payne between his card catalogues of post-1943 and post-1958. In support of this, Hammer, in his 1942 article, reports '[t]his MS. is still without a pressmark because it has been kept in the showcase'.<sup>51</sup> Though 'pressmark' is likely to be meant as a reference to a shelving location designator (about which more below), rather than to a manuscript sequencing system, this still serves to suggest that medieval manuscripts, in 1942, remained informally organised at Ushaw. Studies of other Ushaw manuscripts also support the notion that manuscript sequencing occurred in the interim of the two card catalogues' compilation, and they permit a further narrowing of this already confined chronological window to

<sup>51</sup> Hammer, 'Some Additional Manuscripts', p. 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Rhodes, Ushaw College Library, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> There is also one card that conceivably might refer to current MS 23, entitled 'Mary, Blessed Virgin B.V.M. Vita (MS)' offering a pressmark of XVIII.D.1.2 (the manuscript itself has a note of a former pressmark of XVIII.D.7.2), though there is not enough detail given to be sure the items are one and the same.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> MSS 44 and 45 are absent, since these fragments had not as yet been extracted from the bindings of Ushaw books; see Sharratt, 'Interim Handlist', p. 16.

between 1949 (the latest article to appear without a manuscript number)<sup>52</sup> and 1956 (the earliest study published with a manuscript number).<sup>53</sup>



Fig. 1: Loose card drawer labelled 'Binders, Early Printers, Manuscripts'

<sup>52</sup> N. R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Library', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949), 1–28 (p. 13) – the 'small fourteenth-century psalter with Norwich calendar' belonging to Ushaw listed here and designated as 'sine numero' is now known as MS 7.

<sup>53</sup> Otto Pächt, 'Panofsky's "Early Netherlandish Painting" – I', *The Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956), 110–116 (p. 113) where Ushaw's Book of Hours, referred to in n. 13, is designated as MS 10.

vellem MANUSCRIPT: Latin XII cent. 185 × 125 mm. Show - case FF. 242 GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH and HENRY OF Hibria Agum Butannias Hibria Argh Historia Anglorum. HUNTING DON For particulars see English Historical Review : Jan. 1943. a combined manuscript of Geoffery of Monthouth and Henry of Huntington. By her devision Bd in wooden boards coveres with plain parchat: clasps lost . Show case USHAL COLLEGE mediawal Manuscript MS. 6 Scoffrey of Monwoult and Henry of S. XII ex. completed Huntingdon. FF. 262 Several decades halis Henry of Huntingdon (Historia Anglorum) S. XII/XIII

Fig. 2: Index cards for MS 6 from post-1943 (top) and post-1958 (bottom) catalogues

MS 6's appearance in Payne's two earliest card catalogue locates it firmly within Ushaw's holdings since at least the 1940s, though Hammer and Levison's studies of 1942 and 1943, respectively, already confirm this. Levison's study contains the suggestion of an earlier presence for MS 6 at Ushaw, noting that a binding repair was carried out on the codex in 1939.54 This is documentable, albeit to 1938, thanks to notes made by Payne in the Library Business Register, where we learn that the manuscript was sent for repair alongside nine other books - to a certain 'Mr. Birdsall of Northampton' on 22 March 1938, and returned on 26 May of the same year (Fig. 3). Cost estimates are given alongside all items except MS 6, perhaps suggesting that it was an especially unusual item for repair (its twelfth-century binding is especially rare, of course) and thus required in-person appraisal first.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, a list of selected manuscripts and printed books written in Payne's hand features amongst the leaves of another archival folder of Ushaw's administrative documents which are given a collective date of 'mid-20th century'.<sup>56</sup> The purpose and precise date of this list are unclear, especially since the manuscript section contains a mixture of medieval codices and archival (non-medieval) manuscript documents. Given the import and - in many cases - obvious visual attractiveness of the items listed, this 'list of treasures' might be an inventory of items for an exhibition, perhaps in Ushaw's museum, or similar. The list's placement within the archival folder would suggest a date sometime in the 1930s, but this is impossible to prove since the items within Ushaw's archival folders are not always numbered (as is the case here). If this summation is correct, though, this list would be the earliest documented mention of MS 6 anywhere in Ushaw's archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Levison, 'A Combined Manuscript', p. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> This is contained in the (unpaginated) third volume of UC/AG2/2 (1–3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> UC/AG3/2; the medieval manuscripts noted in the list are enumerated in Appendix A.

Books given for building to Mr Builsale of Northampton Mar 22, 1938. Returnes 26 May. Durham abby Dook : Inigen 1512 XVAIH F.S.4 estimate 2. 0-0 X VIIL. F.5.3 " Hs of 12th cert .: Scoppen of Monmonth [ How care] Lyndewoode's Provinciale XVIII. F.6.4. Sie Pros More's Dialogue of Comfort ayanist inibulation c. 10/-Bacon's advancement of Learning: half calf linen sides: El .. 0.0 Robins (for E. Stephens). and 3 more items (10 books in all). XVIII. C. 5.8 P. Lombars 1516 grali-. C. 6.11. Canones 1588 gralis Antiphonale. 40/lele returnes at cos of May 1938 .

Fig. 3: Binding repairs of 1938 as per the Library Business Register (UC/AG2/2 (3))

Indeed, there is no reference to the codex prior to the 1930s, not even amongst the papers of several likely candidates from amongst Ushaw's alumni who might have found such a manuscript interesting. For example, in the papers related to the single biggest acquirer of books for Ushaw, Thomas Wilkinson (1793–1853), there appears to be no reference to his purchasing any medieval manuscripts amongst the many thousands of books he bought for the library.<sup>57</sup> The same is also true of the papers of the famed historian, John Lingard (1771–1851), who was formally associated with Ushaw from his ordination in the English College at Douai in 1782 through to his retirement from the role of Vice-

<sup>57</sup> Wilkinson donated at least 12,000 books to Ushaw and also contributed heavily to financing the building of the Big Library (Payne, 'The Ushaw Library', pp. 204–6); from whence he found the money for such endeavours has long been a subject for some debate, even at the time; see, for example, UC/P25/1/W1/364. For a detailed account of Wilkinson and his relationship with Ushaw's library, see David Milburn, 'The Rev. Thomas Wilkinson of Kendal', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 66 (1966), 432–48 (esp. pp. 441–48).

President of Ushaw in 1811, though correspondence in Ushaw's archives attests to a lifelong connection that lasted until his death in 1851, whereupon he was buried in the College cemetery.<sup>58</sup> Lingard donated all of his papers to Ushaw, and is perhaps best known for his (initially) ten-volume History of England,<sup>59</sup> which makes explicit reference to several twelfth-century writers of history, including Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon. Indeed, there is evidence of Lingard's intimate knowledge of both these authors amongst his own historical notes, including a multi-page commentary in imperfect French on Geoffrey's Historia.60 Lingard is also known to have donated a medieval manuscript to Ushaw shortly after he left for Hornby in 1812, and this manuscript is now MS 18, a Sarum missal that once belonged to Bishop Goldwell of Norwich. Lingard's gift is evidenced and commemorated by a bookplate inside the codex.<sup>61</sup> If any of Ushaw's notable alumni would have consulted MS 6, then, it would surely have been Lingard, but no documentary evidence exists to confirm this. Even amongst a series of letters from the 1850s that showcase external collectors' attempts to purchase, unsuccessfully, some of the more attractive of Ushaw's medieval manuscripts and printed books, MS 6 is not mentioned.<sup>62</sup> In sum, MS 6 entirely disappears from both published and

<sup>58</sup> See the biography accompanying the GB–0298–UC/P25 entry for Ushaw's John Lingard papers at <a href="http://discover.durham.ac.uk">http://discover.durham.ac.uk</a>.

<sup>59</sup> The History of England, from The First Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of William And Mary in 1688, 10 vols (London: Mawman, 1820). Lingard's work was reprinted and expanded on many occasions during the nineteenth century.

<sup>60</sup> UC/P25/2/7–14 in folder marked 'File 4 UC/P25/2/10'; furthermore, 'File 1 UC/P25/2/7' of the same group contains Lingard's working papers which reference Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia* twice, while a letter from Thomas Wilkinson to Lingard (UC/P25/1/Z1/162), meanwhile, attests to their mutual knowledge of Henry.

<sup>61</sup> See Sharratt, 'Interim Handlist', pp. 7–8; Ker and Piper, *MMBL*, IV, pp. 527–29; a fuller description is provided by E. Stephens, 'A Missal of James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich 1472–1499', *Ushaw Magazine* 57 (1947), 37–44.

<sup>62</sup> See UC/P35/C9, UC/PA/T45, UC/PA/T48, UC/PA/T49, UC/PA/T53–T58. The printed 'Sarum Antiphoner' is a recurrent item in this correspondence, and the book was eventually sold to William Maskell (presumably through the intermediary of James Toovey, whose correspondence about the book is frequent), who in turn sold it to the British Museum in 1856 where it now has the shelfmark Pr. Bk C.35.*l*.3; see David J. Shaw, 'Vellum Wrappers from a Sixteenth–Century Antiphoner', in *The British Library's Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts: The Yelverton Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 1994), pp. xxxvi–xl (p. xxxvii). Toovey also refers, in a letter to John Gillow (then President) of 10 March 1856 (UC/P35/C9), to what appears to be now MSS 5 (known as the Esh Missal), 8 (known as the Bobbingworth Psalter; described in E. Stephens, 'The Bobbingworth Psalter', *Ushaw Magazine* 49 (1939), 198–206) and possibly 18 (the missal of Bishop Goldwell donated by Lingard) as items he would be interested in purchasing, and for which he believes '30 £' to be a fair price.

archival records prior to the 1930s, but little can be read into this since the same happens to be true of nearly all of its other manuscripts, even those known by other means (usually annotations, labels or bookplates inside their covers) to have been in the collection before Payne's tenure commenced in 1933 (see Appendix A).<sup>63</sup>

What these archival records do reveal, however, is useful additional detail about the historical keeping of medieval manuscripts at Ushaw. Levison, we will recall, intimated that MS 6 was kept in the 'showcase' and was therefore without a proper pressmark, implying that non-showcase manuscripts would have been stored amongst other books on the library shelves. Payne's two earlier index card catalogues certainly seem to bear this out, since all manuscripts are either designated as 'showcase' or given a pressmark in 'Bay XVIII'. Bay XVIII is a section of the library with some notoriety, since it is a lockable bay, purportedly referred to by members of the College as 'Hell' due to the dubious content of the books kept therein, safe from the hands of impressionable seminarians.64 Bay XVIII seems also always to have housed especially valuable books, including incunabulae, just as it does today, presumably precisely because it can be locked.<sup>65</sup> Curiously, the number of 'showcase' manuscripts listed in Payne's card catalogues is too high for the available space in the surviving showcase, which has been in the Big Library since at least 1900,66 remaining in situ today, and which realistically might hold up to about eight codices at a time (Fig. 4). It seems likely, therefore, that some kind of rotational system was used. Indeed, such a system does seem to be

<sup>65</sup> 'History of Ushaw College' in UC/AG3/3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> There are four exceptions to this amongst the manuscripts: an 1878 binding repair to the codices now known as MSS 5 and 21 is noted in UC/AG2/2 (1); the Prayer Roll that was known as MS 29 (now British Library, MS Add. 88929) is described in Edward Charlton, 'Roll of Prayers Formerly Belonging to Henry VIII When Prince', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Second Series 2 (1858), 41–45; a letter from 1906–9 (dated 25 October) from one W. Wrennall (apparently an alumnus) to Edwin Bonney regarding the provenance of some of Ushaw's early-printed books refers also to the 'Bruges MS', which is presumably the codex now designated MS 10, a Book of Hours made in Bruges in 1409 (see UC/AG8/2); MS 10 is also discussed in E. Bonney, 'Some Prayer Books of our Forefathers', *Ushaw Magazine* 12 (1902), 273–87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See 'History of Ushaw College' in UC/AG3/3; see also Payne, 'The Ushaw Library', p. 199 and Bonney, 'Some Durham Abbey Books', p. 250. There is some contention, however, as to whether this so-called 'Hell' in fact refers to Bay XIX, which was formerly lockable (cf. below n. 70), or perhaps even to both Bay XVIII and XIX together.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> As attested by a photograph in the archives dated 'c. 1900' and catalogued as UC/AJ2/4/2/43; Bonney also refers to the showcase in the library in his 1905 article 'Some Durham Abbey Books', p. 250.

documented in the archives, if only for a brief period of two months in 1941, with a refreshment of the showcase's contents happening weekly (Fig. 5).<sup>67</sup> This raises the crucial question as to where 'showcase' manuscripts with no pressmark (like MS 6) were kept when not on display.



Fig. 4: Photograph of library showcase dated (on verso) c.1900 (UC/AJ2/4/2/43)

<sup>67</sup> UC/AG3/2 (3), page entitled 'Items exhibited in Sem. Library showcase' in Payne's handwriting, covering rotations of items between 1 February and 29 March 1941. Books with a tick against them are indicated to have been 'recovered and replaced in library'.

V = recovered + up lover in labora Books a chibited in San Library show-case - IFER 1941 & Chiere Mind : Both Both of Hours : Malterium Mediclane 1431 8 FER 1941 V hobbyngwath Proller 13 FEB 1921 Bruy apporting Cars biseman a Bp. + W. C. S. letter & Wiscow as low for Jan Onele 1808-1822 V Portificale v. conscietion da Bp. 22 FEB. 1941 J tacsmile of Ch. 2's Glamoryan Com I look of Catholic Duriting 1808 and. · hospiction of Colistic Courses ( Ledglay Park " at & March, K c.1798. " = 1 MAR 10" v Contances Bk of Hours : Esh. Missal. 8 MAR 1941 Aber Hebdon adarius, 1796 - 1806 - Persentes Persention Missal, 1615. " I love Times alles Hore J how Museur Chobie 15 MAR 1941 - Hs. q biscman's Fabiola " . Payers for conversion of England - hingands Hail, Queen of Meaven Durlan Liber Sacritic 22 Har Book in Durham Binder 29 Hay 1941. V Three old Ushaw playbills V Imitation of XE with parilies will wind. ille

Fig. 5: List of showcase items on rotation (UC/AG3/2 (3))

We have mentioned before that the earliest known attempts at cataloguing Ushaw's library (such as that by Errington) have not survived, but Rhodes refers to a slightly later, if unfinished, attempt at cataloguing the books by former librarian Josef Felton between 1877–86, which is contained in 'three huge volumes', but left incomplete due to Felton's departure for a Chair at the University of Bonn in 1886.<sup>68</sup> Uncatalogued today, but available for consultation upon enquiry to the librarian and archivist, Felton's herculean three-volume endeavour is the earliest surviving catalogue of Ushaw's holdings. A real treasure trove of information, the large-format volumes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Rhodes, Ushaw College Library, p. 15.

contain remarkable detail as to the library's former layout and organisation, including hand-drawn floorplans (Fig. 6).<sup>69</sup> However, even they contain only scant information on Ushaw's medieval manuscripts. Indeed, books kept in Bay XVIII and Bay XIX<sup>70</sup> are listed in a note dated 1886 as 'not catalogued' and 'regarding which the librarian only gives information'.<sup>71</sup> Bay XVIII does, however, host a lockable cupboard to this day, inside which (at least at the time of inspection) is a series of three envelopes which, quite remarkably, contain the clasps of several of Ushaw's medieval manuscripts and printed books, which are identifiable due to the labelling on the envelopes in Payne's hand (Fig. 7).<sup>72</sup> Bay XVIII's lockable cupboard thus seems highly likely to have been the former home for showcase manuscripts when not on display.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Josef Felton, 'Catalogue of the Ushaw College Library', 3 vols (1877–86), I, pp. 1–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Once also lockable, for which the gates have since been turned into bookcases that stand outside the Big Library's internal door.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Felton, 'Catalogue', I, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The clasps are noted as from the Norwich Psalter, the Sarum Missal (1527) and 'a 15th-cent. book on loan from Yealand Conyers'.

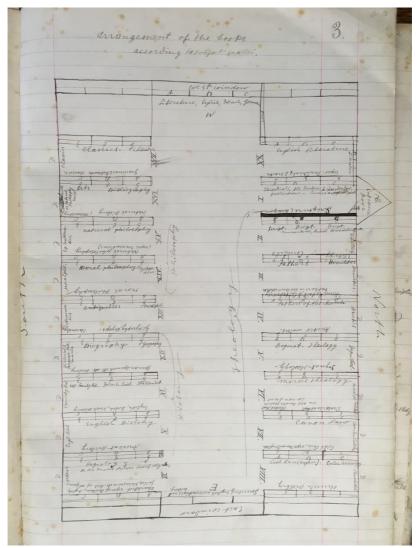


Fig. 6: Library floorplan in the first volume of Felton's 1877–86 catalogue



Fig. 7: Bay XVIII's lockable cupboard containing envelopes with clasps

To confuse matters, however, Felton's catalogue does contain formal entries for two of Ushaw's medieval manuscripts – a twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia* (now MS 32) and the 1468 *Sermones* of John Herolt (now MS 33). The entries reveal that neither of these items were kept in Bay XVIII during Felton's time (either on the shelves or in its lockable cupboard), though by Payne's time they had both been reassigned with Bay XVIII pressmarks (see Appendix A). Instead, under Felton they were apparently kept in Bay XX, wherein were otherwise housed works of literature, as Felton's floorplan indicates.<sup>73</sup> This suggests the possibility that some other manuscripts, perhaps even MS 6, might equally have been kept neither in the showcase nor on the shelves (or in the lockable cupboard) of Bay XVIII, but in amongst the earlyprinted books elsewhere in the Big Library. The results of a first-hand inspection of all of MSS 1–45,<sup>74</sup> which sought to discover historic pressmarks not revealed by any of the catalogues, are contained in Appendix A, but unfortunately this does little more to trace the journey of MS 6 prior to its time

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Felton, 'Catalogue', I, p. 3; see also current archivist Jonathan Bush's blog post, 'The Secrets of Bay XX', <<u>https://readdurhamenglish.wordpress.com/2015/07/17</u>/the-secrets-of-bay-xx/>.
<sup>74</sup> At the time of the inspection, the manuscripts were kept in three safes in the Lisbon Room in

the lower floor of the library complex.

as a 'showcase' manuscript under the tenure of Payne. In the end, therefore, we can only surmise a probable route of accession to Ushaw for this curious book based on what is known of other books in Ushaw's collection.

Given the possible origin of a northern English Cistercian house for MS 6 outlined earlier in this article, there is a possibility that MS 6 might also have followed the well-known route from the monks of Durham Cathedral Priory to Ushaw taken by several of Ushaw's early printed books and at least one medieval manuscript.75 The first President of Ushaw, Thomas Evre (1748-1810), brought with him the library from Stella Hall in Northumberland, a property that had previously belonged to Sir Thomas Tempest (c. 1642-92), whose name can still be found inscribed inside at least eighty books in Ushaw.<sup>76</sup> Almost half (thirty-nine) of these eighty books appear to have come to Ushaw from Durham Cathedral Priory,77 many of them directly with Eyre, while others have ex-libris inscriptions confirming an interim stop at the library of the secular clergy of Durham and Northumberland, the residence of the Vicars Apostolic on Old Elvet, Durham or, less frequently, missions such as those at Esh and Hexham or even the collections of individual clergy.<sup>78</sup> What connects the Tempest books now reunited at Ushaw is that the majority came into the Tempest family from the early-modern monks of Durham Cathedral Priory following the Dissolution under Henry VIII, as did many other books formerly owned by Tempest, manuscript and print alike, which are now kept in other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> MS 25 (late fifteenth-century *Liber Sacriste* of Durham Cathedral Priory). Additionally, the characteristic early-modern Oxford binding of the book that once contained as pastedowns the missal leaves now referred to as MS 9 is something common to many Durham Cathedral Priory books thanks to the presence of Durham monks at what was then called Durham (now Trinity) College, Oxford; see William Smith Mitchell, 'Ushaw College Bindings', *Libri* 7 (1957), 156–66 (p. 159); E. Stephens, 'An Ancient Missal Fragment', *Ushaw Magazine* 43 (1933), 89–97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> A. I. Doyle, 'The Library of Sir Thomas Tempest: Its Origins and Dispersal', in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T. A. Birrell*, ed. by G. A. M. Janssens and F. G. A. M. Aarts (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), pp. 83–93 (p. 91).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> The most up-to-date list – containing thirty-nine – is provided by the 'Durham Priory Library Recreated' project at <u>www.durhampriory.ac.uk/mediawiki/Priory\_Project\_list</u>. N. R. Ker's earlier assessment counts thirty books as having arrived at Ushaw from Durham via Tempest and Stella Hall: *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 61–76, while its 1987 update, now available in still-developing website form as 'MLGB3', gives thirty-eight: <a href="http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk">http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk</a>. <sup>78</sup> Doyle, 'The Library of Sir Thomas Tempest', pp. 91–92.

repositories.<sup>79</sup> These books by and large seem to have been the monks' personal, rather than communal property,<sup>80</sup> and given the frequent exchange of such books between northern monastic houses and Durham in the later Middle Ages,<sup>81</sup> this offers a possible, and perhaps likely, route for MS 6's journey to Ushaw.

In conclusion, aside from a couple of mid-twentieth century purchases, Ushaw's manuscripts seem mostly to have arrived as donations or gifts to the College, though some (MS 6 included) may well have been part of the foundational collection that came to Ushaw with its first President, Thomas Eyre, from the library at his previous home at Stella Hall, formerly owned by the bibliophile, Thomas Tempest. In Ushaw's first library, manuscripts appear to have been kept in amongst the other books, neither separated out nor catalogued. Their shelving alongside printed books seems to have continued upon their transfer to the new Big Library in 1851, though some manuscripts at this time were given formal pressmarks, with most being allocated to the shelves of the lockable Bay XVIII, whilst at least two of them went to Bay XX. Since *c*. 1900 (possibly earlier), some manuscripts became designated as 'showcase' items and were displayed on a rotational basis; those not currently on display seem to have been kept in the lockable cupboard in Bay XVIII. Whilst non-showcase manuscripts were shelved elsewhere in Bay XVIII.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p. 83; fourteen medieval manuscripts from Durham Cathedral Priory now in the British Library's Harleian collection were formerly owned by Tempest; see C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: a Study of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts* [...] *in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972), pp. xx, 325. Details of Durham Cathedral Priory books arriving to Ushaw via this route are provided by Edwin Bonney, 'Some Durham Abbey Books in the College Library', *Ushaw Magazine* 15 (1905), 247–63 and Bernard Payne, 'More Durham Abbey Books in the Library', *Ushaw Magazine* 62 (1952), 41–47. Several letters from one W. Wrennall, an Ushaw alumnus, were sent to Edwin Bonney around the time of the publication of his article in the *Ushaw Magazine* on this subject (sent between 1906–9; see UC/AG8/2). Wrennall seems to have been personally familiar with the earliest library holdings at Ushaw, as well as some of its most important figures, like Lingard; he proposes some thoughts as to how Tempest's books made their way to the College (none of which materially contradict Bonney's account).

<sup>80</sup> A. J. Piper, 'The Libraries of the Monks of Durham', in *Medieval Scribes: Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar, 1978), pp. 213–49 (pp. 241–48); A. I. Doyle, 'The Printed Books of the Last Monks of Durham', *The Library*, Sixth Series 10 (1988), 203–19 (pp. 204–5); Bonney, 'Some Durham Abbey Books', p. 248.

<sup>81</sup> Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 2, 213–16, 232, 252.

systematisation came with the tenure of Bernard Payne as librarian 1933–77, whose meticulous record keeping shows that he arranged for binding repairs, catalogued manuscripts more than once and sequenced them between 1949 and 1956, providing the call numbers still in use today.

Since about the 1980s, all of the manuscripts were placed into safes and, with the exception of six manuscripts sent to Palace Green Library between 2011 and 2013 for the consultation of Professor Richard Gameson (appointed Professor of the History of the Book at Durham University in 2006),<sup>82</sup> the Ushaw manuscripts remained in these safes until 2019. All remaining medieval manuscripts were then moved to Palace Green due to its preferable conservation and consultation arrangements, and it is there that they currently reside. Whilst this means they are now kept in more favourable conditions and are more easily accessible to future RRL fellows and other researchers in a stateof-the-art manuscript reading room, it also means they are divorced from their home and from the cognate archival collections that tell the history of their acquisition, organisation and management recounted by this article. Paradoxically, had that been the case when the authors took up their Fellowships at Ushaw just two years ago, this article might never have been written. As well as requiring the usual consultation of archival folders, documents and manuscripts that could be ordered individually at short notice, the research necessitated the perhaps more unusual first-hand inspection of, and immersion in, Ushaw's physical collections and spaces. For example, it was only through being physically present in the Big Library that we discovered the previously unknown loose index card drawer, Felton's three-volume catalogue of 1877-86, including its notes on library organisation and hand-drawn floorplans, and the lockable cupboard in Bay XVIII containing envelopes of manuscript clasps. Even more significantly, we were able to study the manuscripts collectively, not just one-by-one, but actually side-by-side - to the point where, under the watchful eye of archivist Dr Jonathan Bush, we were permitted to remove all the manuscripts from the safes and inspect them in one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> A computer-typed inventory in one of the safes, entitled 'Medieval Manuscripts' and dating from the early 2000s, albeit with hand annotations datable up to *c*. 2014 (due to various date references given), reveals not only to which of the three safes each manuscript was allocated (noting that MS 35, in 2010, remained on a shelf in Bay XVIII due to its size, and that the manuscripts kept at Palace Green Library for Professor Gameson were MSS 10, 11, 12, 20, 22, 24), but also that a formal valuation of all manuscripts had been undertaken. A different list of the Ushaw manuscripts with identical valuations, but dated 1993, is contained amongst Ian Doyle's papers in AID B122.

sitting. Not only did this yield the findings summarised above, but also the accidental (re-)discovery of a number of other significant items, first and foremost an original charter from the first year of King John's reign that would garner considerable scholarly and public interest.<sup>83</sup> Since future RRL Fellows and researchers may no longer be able to replicate these experiences due to the recent relocation of Ushaw's manuscripts and other material objects, this article's snapsnot, timely captured, might assist them when discovering their own hidden gems amongst the medieval manuscript holdings of Ushaw College Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Benjamin Pohl, 'An Original Charter of King John at Ushaw College, Co. Durham (Ushaw MS 66)', *Northern History* (2019), 138–51. Further items of curiosity included: a document from the 2000s providing valuations of all manuscripts (cf. above n. 82); a 1980s book recounting the less-than-pleasant experience of a seminarian at Ushaw; a piece of cloth purportedly from the tomb of St Cuthbert that had been mailed to Ushaw in 1898, and which was in 2003 considered 'A Forgotten Relic' according to the note of the same title in *In Illo Tempere: The Bulletin and Liturgical Review of Ushaw Library* 22 (2003), 2–3. Since it is still uncatalogued, this description remains apt.

# Appendix A: Concordance of Ushaw College Manuscripts, including details of known provenance and history of cataloguing

Current MS call number	Description	Accession to Ushaw/ known provenance	Illuminated/ decorated?	1880s Felton's 3-volume catalogue	1930s? List of MSS in UC/AG3/2	Post-1943 Index card catalogue	Post-1958 Index card catalogue	1975–77 Index card catalogue	1980s Index card catalogue (search room)	1986 Sharratt's interim handlist	Historic pressmark/ call number on MS/box	Additional notes
1	Bible (13th cent.)	Unknown	Decorated incl. gold leaf	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	
2	Bible (13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	Not included	Ŷ	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	'Ushaw College MS 2' in 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> cent. hand?	
3	Folio Bible (early 14 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Thomas Eyre to library of secular clergy to Ushaw	Decorated incl. gold leaf	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	'Ushaw College MS 3' in 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> cent. hand?	
4	Bible (12 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Crawshaw, accession to Ushaw 1946	Decorated	Not included	N	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
5	'Esh' Missal (mid-15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Ushaw was built in the estate of Esh Hall – likely gifted	Elaborately decorated with gold leaf	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	Rotated in showcase 1 March 1941 (UC/AG3/2 (3)); note of payment for 1878 binding repair UC/AG2/2 (1))
6	Geoffrey of Monmouth/ Henry of Huntingdon <i>Historia</i> (12 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	Was in showcase in 1940s (see Levison); binding repair note 1938 (UC/AG2/2 (3))

7	Psalter (13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	Not included	Ν	XVIII.D.7.3	XVIII.D.7.3	Y – no location given	No card	None	XVIII.D.7.3	
8	'Bobbingworth' Psalter (early 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Library of Vicars Apostolic to Ushaw	Elaborately decorated with gold leaf; may have been partially illuminated	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	Rotated in showcase 8 February 1941 UC/AG3/2 (3))
9	Missal leaves (12 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Found in Durham Priory book (thus probably acceded to Ushaw via Thomas Eyre)	Decorated	Not included	Ν	XVIII.B.2.13	XVIII.B.2.13	No card	No card	XVIII.B.2.9	XVIII.B.2.13	Book that contained the leaves now at XVIII.C.3.10
10	Bruges Horae (1409)	Unknown – enclosed letter dated 1874?	Illuminated	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	
11	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown but inscription: John London, 18 September 1799	Illuminated	Not included	N	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
12	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Illuminated	Not included	N	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
13	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but bequeathed in Iveson's will to Francis J. Hall, Christmas 1907	Decorated with gold leaf and historiated initials	Not included	N	No card	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
14	Horae (early 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but ownership inscription: Family Meynell (1696)	Illuminated	Not included	N	No card	Showcase	Y - no location given	No card	None	None	

15	Horae (early 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but ownership inscription: An Jains (1689)	Decorated with gold leaf	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
16	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	John Yaxlee to Vicar Apostolic to Ushaw	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.D.7.10 formerly in showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	XVIII.D.7.10	
17	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Bought at Johnsons, Cambridge by Joseph Edelston (1886), handed down to Alice Edelston; donated to Ushaw (1953)	Illuminated	Not included	Ν	Showcase; N.B.: loose card; may be later addition	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
18	'Goldwell' Missal (14 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Given by Lingard from library in Hornby to Ushaw (1812)	Decorated with gold leaf	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
19	Albertus Magnus, Compendium theologice veritatis (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	Not included	N	Card but no location given	XVIII.D.7.1	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.D.7.1	XVIII.D.7.1	
20	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown - but at Ushaw prior to 1882, due to a loan sticker of unknown origin with that date; seems at one point to have been sold/owned in France due to pencil note in French inside	Illuminated	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	

		front cover										
21	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but possible purchase due to price noted in pencil	Illuminated	Not included	N	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	Note of payment for 1878 binding repair (UC/AG2/2 (1))
22	Horae (late 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)		Illuminated	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None	
23	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown – but possible purchase due to £10 price noted in pencil	Decorated	Not included	Ν	Showcase	Showcase	No card	No card	None	None – but 'no. 3 of illuminated MSS' in 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> cent. hand?	
24	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown but 18th C ownership inscription: Sir John Anstruther	Illuminated	Not included	N	No card	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	Binding repair note made by B Payne 7 November 1936 (UC/AG2/2 (3))
25	Durham <i>Liber Sacriste</i> (late 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Durham Priory Book - thus probably via Thomas Eyre to Ushaw	N	Not included	Y	XVIII.F.5.11	XVIII.F.5.11	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.F.5.11	XVIII.F.5.11	Rotated in showcase 22 March 1941 (UC/AG3/2 (3))
26	Vita Beate Virginus (late 13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Rubricated - some red initials	Not included	N	No card	XVIII.D.7.2	Y – no location given	XVIII.D.1.2	None	XVIII.D.7.2; former pressmark too damaged to read	
27	Prayer Book (early 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unsure: ownership mark of Charles Boardman (1894), who was known for donating books to Catholic institutions	Decorated with small amount of gold leaf	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.D.7.5	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.D.7.5	XVIII.D.7.5	

28	Speculum Christianorum (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Given to Ushaw by T. Dawson, 1843	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.D.7.8	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.D.7.8	XVIII.D.7.8	
29	Henry VIII Prayer-Roll (after 1485)	Given to Ushaw by O'Reilly (1862) – now London, British Library, MS Add. 88929	Illuminated	Not included	Y	Showcase	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	N/A	Sold to the British Library 2009/10
30	Horae (15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but 19th C ownership inscription: M.O./F.R.	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.D.7.4	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.D.7.4	XVIII.D.7.4, formerly '32' in 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> cent. hand?	
31	Horae (early 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown, but ownership inscription: G.V. Bose	Some red decoration	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.D.7.7	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.D.7.7	XVIII.D.7.4, formerly 'MS 18' in 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> cent. hand?	
32	Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia</i> (late 12 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	XX.F.3.3	Y	XVIII.F.5.6	XVIII.F.5.6	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.F.5.6	XVIII.F.5.6	
33	J. Herolt, Sermones (1468)	Unknown	Some red decoration	XX.D.1.17	Ν	XVIII.F.5.7	XVIII.F.5.7	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.C.5.7	XVIII.E.3.?, crossed out, replaced by XVIII.F.5.7	
34	Antiphonal (15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Elaborately illuminated	Not included	Ν	XVIII.F.5.5	XVIII.F.5.5	No card	No card	XVIII.F.5.5	XVIII.F.5.5	
35	Gradual (mid-15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Highly decorated, some gold leaf, some historiated initials	Not included	Y	XVIII.F.1.19	XVIII.F.1.19	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.F.1.19	XVIII.F.1.19	
36	Eberhard of Bethune, <i>Grecismus</i> (late 13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.C. Top shelf box; formerly XVIII.G. (possible error?)	XVIII. C top shelf in box; formerly XVIII.F.5.8	No card	XVIII.C.10	Section XVIII	

37	Bihisti, <i>Khasma</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> half 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	Illuminated	Not included	Ν	XVIII.F.5.8	XVIII.F.5.8	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.F.5.8	XVIII.F.5.8	
38	Coptic Prayer Roll (undated)	Unknown	N	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase; formerly XVIII.F.5.8	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
39	Recusant Roll (undated)	Unknown	N	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
40	Recusant Roll (undated)	Unknown	Ν	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase	Y - no location given	No card	None	None	
41	Ritual (early 13 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	On loan from Coniston since 1965	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	XVIII.B.2.14; formerly XVIII.G.3	Y – no location given	No card	XVIII.B.2.14	XVIII.B.13	
42	Pseudo-Bernard/ Augustine, <i>Meditaciones</i> (late 14 <sup>th</sup> early 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Amongst belongings of Edward Tuohey, 1938; given by G Culkin to Ushaw, 1965	Decorated	Not included	Ν	Showcase; N.B.: loose card; may be later addition	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
43	Horae (16 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Given by Lisbon College (1974)	Illuminated	Not included	Ν	No card	Showcase	Y – no location given	No card	None	None	
44	Fragment of lectionary (mid-8 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Found in a Durham Priory book binding, thus likely from Thomas Tempest, possibly via Henry Rutter	Decorated	Not included	Ν	No card	No card	No card	No card	XVIII.B.1.2a	XVIII.B.? (torn); note inside, 'fragments from XVIII.B.1.2'	
45	Fragment of St. Jerome (9 <sup>th</sup> cent.)	Unknown	N	Not included	Ν	No card	No card	No card	No card	None	XVIII.B.7.10 (book for which it was a wrapper)	

# Appendix B: Ushaw College and Palace Green Library archival documents consulted and/or cited

Many archival folders consulted contained little or no relevant information, but we include them here for the purpose of exclusion in any future related study. Items cited in the article are marked with (\*).

### Ushaw College Library Catalogues

1884 catalogue in 3 volumes (compiled by Josef Felton 1877–1886)\* Index card catalogue – Big Library (compiled by Arthur Hinsley/Edwin Bonney 1896–1903)\* Index card catalogue – Ushaw Library search room (compiled by Michael Sharratt 1980s)\* Index card catalogues in drawer under Big Library card catalogue: post-1943 (compiled by Bernard Payne)\* post-1958 (compiled by Bernard Payne)\* 1975–77 (compiled by Bernard Payne)\* 'Ushaw College Library Medieval Manuscripts Interim Handlist' 1986 (compiled by Michael Sharratt) NB: kept in green ring binder with title 'Ushaw MSS Medieval and Lisbon, MSS 50–97', Palace Green Library, Durham\*

#### Ushaw College Archival Documents

Eyre Papers: 1. Eyre Family Papers

UC/P13/1/59 (1 Apr 1788) Thomas Eyre (Stella Hall) to Edward Eyre books: list of books not sent via Newcastle including some from Dunkirk and requesting a list of those still required

Eyre Papers: 2. Eyre Correspondence

UC/P13/2/257 (29 Dec 1809) Arthur Storey to Thomas Eyre: making over his books to Eyre and a valuation of his books

Eyre Papers: 3. Personal Papers

UC/P13/3/3 1792 Copy of will of Thomas Eyre, esq.

#### George Errington

UC/P26/1/E1/1-17 (9 October 1838-10 July 1851) An alphabetical catalogue of Ushaw's library (3 March 1840)\*

John Glover

UC/P26/1/G6/1-6 (10 March 1842-6 January 1852) John Glover to Charles Newsham: donations to Ushaw (21 July 1844)

John Lingard Papers: Correspondence (Original Letters)

UC/P25/1/C7/1-3 (13 October 1898-12 January 1819) Joseph Curr to John Lingard: extracts from manuscripts on medieval history

UC/P25/1/M3/1-70 (14 April 1818–29 August 1827) Letters from John Lingard to Joseph Mawman, mostly on publication of Lingard's *History of England* 

UC/P25/1/N2/19 (18 February 1840) John Lingard to Charles Newsham: Mr Rutter's bequest of money and books, list of books to be donated to Ushaw

UC/P25/1/R1/1 (2 December 1826) W. J. Robertson to John Menzies: advice for Lingard on the usefulness of his library's printed works and manuscripts

UC/P25/1/T1/69 (12 October 1844) John Lingard to Robert Tate: manuscript and book references on Anglo-Saxon history

UC/P25/1/W1/364 (22 January 1849) and 365 (26 Jan 1849) John Lingard to John Walker: questioning the source of Thomas Wilkinson's financial ability to buy books for the new library\*

UC/P25/1/W7/1-5 (6 September 1826-4 September 1827) Thomas Wilkinson to John Lingard: mostly extracts from printed and manuscript sources and checking references

UC/P25/1/W8/1-3 (7-29 September 1826) Irving Wilkinson to John Lingard: quotations and extracts from various printed and manuscript sources

UC/P25/1/Z1/41 10 Aug 1805 John Lingard to (?) Orrell: the progress of the building of Ushaw College, donations to the college

UC/P25/1/Z1/162 ([?1840 x 1849]) Thomas Wilkinson to John Lingard: answering Lingard's research enquiry (including reference to Henry of Huntingdon)\*

UC/P25/1/Z1/171 ([?1820–1851]) Notes by Lingard from manuscript sources

UC/P25/7/226-227 (7-14 June 1836) C. P. Cooper to George Oliver (with a transcription of an earlier letter from Lingard to Cooper): queries from the Manuscripts Commission on the publication of records

UC/P25/7/240 (23 Aug 1831) John Lingard to Robert Gradwell: Mr Maccan's manuscript volumes

UC/P25/7/241 (21 Sept 1831) John Lingard to Robert Gradwell: sending him a small manuscript

UC/P25/7/6 (1 Jan 1839) John Lingard to Henry Howard of Corby: commenting on various primary sources

UC/P25/7/220 (15 Feb 1839) John Lingard to George Oliver: comments on other manuscripts

UC/P25/7/827 (28 Oct 1842) and 828 (9 Nov 1842) John Lingard to Mark Tierney: manuscripts from the Throckmortan family

John Lingard Papers: Research Papers

UC/P25/2/5 (March 1800) Journal by John Lingard with record of notes on historical reading

UC/P25/2/7-14 ([1800-1851]) John Lingard's working papers, mostly relating to *History of England*\*

Loose Photographs

UC/AJ2/1/24; 4/1/13; 4/2/25-75 Various photographs of Big Library\*

Old Miscellany Collection: Old Miscellany B: Evan Buller

UC/P35/B24–29 (22 February 1867) Thomas Gillow to Evan Buller: purchasing books

Old Miscellany Collection > Old Miscellany C: Gillow (Allotment Defence Association)

UC/P35/C9 (10 March 1856) James Toovey to [?John Gillow]: disappointed that Ushaw will not sell rare and curious books\*

Photograph Albums

UC/AJ1/5/19; 10/10; 14/141; 29/27; 2/2/1; 2/2/33; 2/2/37; 2/3/11; 2/4/27; 2/4/35; 2/10/11; 2/25/17 Various photographs of Big Library

Thomas Gillow

UC/P26/1/G4/1-2 (11-14 Oct 1843) Thomas Gillow to Charles Newsham: donations to the college

Thomas Grant

UC/P26/1/G10/1-25 (27 May 1845-19 December 1852) Thomas Grant to Charles Newsham: purchasing books (27 May 1845), advising on prices of books (3 March 1846)

Ushaw College Administration: Library Records

1. Administration

UC/AG1/1 ([1930 x 1939]) Library Memorandum Book\*

Ushaw College Administration: Library Records

2. Finance

UC/AG2/1 (1852–2000) Divine's Library Account Books\* UC/AG2/2 (1–3) (1862–1879, 1890–1901, 1935–74) Library account and memoranda books\* UC/AG2/4 (mid–late 20<sup>th</sup> C) Valuations of rare books in Ushaw Library\*

Ushaw College Administration: Library Records

3. Services and Collections

UC/AG3/2 (mid-20<sup>th</sup> C) Papers relating to the collections in Ushaw College Library, including particulars of illumination in Ushaw College manuscripts\*

UC/AG3/3 (mid-20<sup>th</sup> C) Misc. published and unpublished articles on list and collections of Ushaw College Library\*

Ushaw College Administration: Library Records

4. Acquisitions

UC/AG4/1 (1871–30 July 2001) Papers related to acquisition of archives and printed materials for the Library\*

UC/AG4/2/1-4 ([1960]-May 1991) Divines' Library acquisitions registers\*

UC/AG4/5 (February 1937-May 1990) Accessions registers for Ushaw Library\*

Ushaw College Administration: Library Records

8. Other Library Records

UC/AG8/2 (28 March 1906–5 October 1909) Letters to Edwin Bonney from W. Wrennall re. provenance of certain books in the Big Library\* UC/AG8/3 (30 May 1894–1995) Papers concerning the publication of the *Ushaw Magazine* 

UC/AG8/4 (3 March 1939–January 2004) File of miscellaneous items relating to the library

Ushaw College Administration: Management Records:

9. Other Administrative Papers

UC/AA9/2 [1930]-1991 Papers, including articles and correspondence, on the history of Ushaw College

Ushaw College Administration: Photographic Material:

Loose Photographs: Other Loose Photographs

UC/AJ2/9/57-107b [20th Century] Photographs of books and manuscripts in Ushaw College Library

Ushaw College Administration: Photographic Material

Slides

UC/AJ3/1/29 [?1960] Page from a medieval manuscript in Ushaw College Library

Ushaw College Administration: Objects and Museum Records:

4. Museum Collections

UC/AL4/2 (1842–June 1894) Record book of acquisitions to the museum; includes name of donor and description of items donated

Ushaw College History Papers

UC/H52a (15 November 1841) Michael Gibson to George Errington: the current state of cataloguing\*

UC/H17 (25 September 1799) Vincent Eyre to Thomas Eyre: acquisition of books

UC/H139 (4 May 1870) Joseph Stevenson at Oscott to Robert Tate: Ushaw manuscripts borrowed by Mark Tierney, and his position on the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Ushaw College Manuscripts

UC/MS/151/25 (previously UC/MS36/25) (29 December 1848) Letter from Charles Hansom to Charles Newsham: arrangements for the building of new library

Ushaw Presidents' Archive: Letters from Mark Tierney to Charles Newsham UC/PA/G17 (14 July 1857) Mark Tierney to Charles Newsham: suggestions for cataloguing the Ushaw Library\* UC/PA/G18(a) (27 July 1857) H. Gough to Mr Stewart: arrangements for cataloguing the Ushaw Library\*

Ushaw Presidents' Archive: Presidents' Archive T

UC/PA/T45 (29 November 1855) Charles Newsham to Nicholas Wiseman: seeking Wiseman's advice on the potential sale of books to the publishers [Toovey]\*

UC/PA/T48 (10 November 1855) Charles Newsham to Nicholas Wiseman: [?Toovey]'s possible purchase of the Sarum Antiphoner from Ushaw College, with an enclosed letter to [?Towney]. [Sold eventually to British Museum, 1856]\*

UC/PA/T49 (13 December 1855) James Toovey to Charles Newsham: thanking him for sending the volume\*

UC/PA/T53-T58 (23 November 1855-4 March 1856) James Toovey to Charles Newsham: various correspondence re. Sarum Antiphoner\*

Vincent Eyre Manuscripts: Volume I

UC/P28/1/1 ([?1810]) List by Rev John Kirk of cases of manuscripts belonging to the late Thomas Eyre or Nathaniel Eyre now in the possession of John Lingard

### **Palace Green Library Archives**

A. I. Doyle Papers: Durham Research Files

AID B122 (1960–2003) Ushaw Library: history and sources evidence, correspondence and lists, including of medieval MSS at Ushaw and Carmelite books for Ushaw\*

A. I. Doyle Papers: Personal Research Files

AID C243–284 [1950s–2010s] Research Files: 270. Ushaw Medieval MSS; 271. Ushaw Medieval MSS (2nd Folder); 272. Ushaw College Mss.1–6; 273–84. Notes on individual Ushaw Medieval MSS\*