

The Medieval Manuscripts in Leeds University Library

Oliver Pickering and Katja Airaksinen

The online publication in September 2008 of some 685 images of illuminated pages in Leeds manuscripts, opening the collection to the world, has prompted this wider survey of the University Library's medieval holdings. Twenty-seven manuscripts qualified for the digitisation project in containing illumination. There are as many manuscripts again in terms of codices, along with a considerable number of documents and fragments.¹ The most important items came to the Library in 1936 as part of the Brotherton Collection, the private library amassed in the 1920s by the Yorkshire industrialist Sir Edward Allen Brotherton, who was ennobled shortly before his death in 1930 as Baron Brotherton of Wakefield. But this event will be treated here as the main highlight in a broader account of benefaction to and acquisition by Leeds University Library.

Lord Brotherton's collection, when it arrived, gave the Library's medieval holdings both coherence and substance, but he had earlier joined with other local benefactors in 1925 in presenting a single medieval manuscript, a copy of the Anglo-Norman didactic verse treatise, *Le Manuel des péchés*, counted amongst the general run of the Library's manuscripts (MS 1).² This is a relatively modest production of the early fourteenth century, having a two-column layout typical of vernacular verse manuscripts of that date, with the initial letters of each line slightly offset and picked out in red. There are significant omissions from the text, which the scribe is said to have treated 'fort librement'.³ However, the Library first acquired a medieval manuscript, a copy of Juvenal's *Satires* (MS 4), in October 1921, a purchase (for five guineas) from a bookseller's catalogue. This manuscript was written, probably towards the end of the fifteenth century, by the Paduan scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito, two pages being reproduced in James Wardrop's *The Script of Humanism* (Oxford, 1963).⁴ MSS 2 and 3

¹ The great majority of the codices receive detailed descriptions in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III: *Lampeter-Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 18-71. The present article excludes consideration of the Library's medieval Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts.

² The manuscript bears the armorial bookplate of William Constable Maxwell (1804-76) of Everingham Park, Yorkshire. A cutting of a detailed newspaper article about the manuscript and its contents, by Professor Paul Barbier, kept with it, states that it and another manuscript of the *Manuel des péchés* (sold at the same time) once belonged to the Duchess of Norfolk, 'who had, no doubt, inherited them from her father, Lord Herries'; the information presumably derived from the catalogue of the unnamed book dealer from whom MS 1 is said to have been purchased.

³ E. J. F. Arnould, *Le Manuel des péchés: Étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII^{me} siècle)* (Paris, 1940), p. 384

⁴ It was described earlier by R. H. Martin, 'A Juvenal Manuscript in the Brotherton Library', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Literary and Historical Section* 6 (1948), 361-63, where two pages are also reproduced. The manuscript bears a bookplate reading 'Henrici Alani', i.e. the prolific nineteenth-century editor of Latin classics, Henry Ellis Allen.

followed in 1925 and 1926 respectively, again as a result of benefactions by local donors: a huge volume of the *Faits des Romains*, produced in mid-fifteenth-century France,⁵ and the possibly contemporary *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, a (Latin) record of evidence for land-ownership in that part of North Yorkshire.⁶ The prominence of French manuscripts amongst the Library's medieval acquisitions at this period was owing to the enthusiasm of Paul Barbier, then Professor of French in the University.

Meanwhile Sir Edward Brotherton had begun collecting. In February 1922 the manuscript of the *Towneley Mysteries*, the Wakefield cycle of medieval mystery plays, came up for sale at Sotheby's. Brotherton was approached by the Corporation of Wakefield in an appeal to keep the locally important manuscript in the region. Although he was outbid by the American dealer, A. S. W. Rosenbach, with the result that the *Towneley Mysteries* went to the Huntington Library, California, the experience inspired Brotherton and his niece-in-law, Dorothy Una Ratcliffe, to begin building a collection of outstanding importance and scale during the remaining years of the decade, up to his death in 1930. By the time the collection came to the newly finished Brotherton Library in 1936, it contained some 35,000 printed books and pamphlets, 4,000 deeds, 30,000 letters, and 400 manuscripts – amongst them, twenty-seven medieval manuscripts.

In 1926 the first published guide to Brotherton's manuscripts and books, published when they were still kept at his home at Roundhay Hall, already listed thirteen medieval manuscripts, now Brotherton Collection MSS 1-12 and 23.⁷ They were mainly finely illuminated fifteenth-century French and Flemish books of hours acquired as a group from the London bookseller Charles James Sawyer. Fourteen further medieval manuscripts were acquired between 1926 and 1931, now Brotherton Collection MSS 13-15, 20-22, 24, 31-33, and 100-103.⁸ Some were possibly also bought from Sawyer, but as with most of the Brotherton Collection, no record of their acquisition now survives.⁹

The most magnificent illumination amongst the Brotherton Collection's medieval manuscripts is French. The sequence begins with an exceptionally fine fragmentary French

⁵ Once in the possession of the Poor Clares of La Guiche, near Blois, and later in the collection of Paul Barrois, which passed to Lord Ashburnham; sold in the Ashburnham-Barrois sale at Sotheby's on 10 June 1901. It is listed as X₁ in Louis-Fernand Flutre, *Les Manuscrits des Faits des Romains* (Paris, 1932). See also Brian Woledge, 'Un manuscrit des *Faits des Romains*', *Romania* 59 (1933), 564-66.

⁶ MS 3 is not described by Ker, who may have considered it sixteenth-century. Mid-fifteenth-century is the opinion of A. Hamilton Thompson, in a handwritten letter kept with the manuscript. A flyleaf bears the ownership inscription of 'James Raine, Durham' (1791-1858), followed by a note of successive ownership by his son 'Chancellor [James] Raine of York' (1830-96) and (from 1899) of 'John Tinkler, M.A., Vicar of Caunton, Notts.', the writer of the note.

⁷ *Roundhay Hall: The Library of Col. Sir Edward Allen Brotherton, Bart. LL.D.* (Leeds, 1926).

⁸ For BC MS 104, a composite manuscript and printed volume, see below.

⁹ Possibly because of the circumstances in which Brotherton's private librarian, J. A. Symington, who had come with the Collection to the University, was made to leave his position in 1938, following various irregularities; see John Smurthwaite, *The Life of John Alexander Symington, Bibliographer and Librarian, 1887-1961: A Bookman's Rise and Fall* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1995).

Book of Hours associated stylistically with the workshop of the Bedford Master (BC MS 1).¹⁰ The standard of illumination suggests a wealthy patron, possibly a member of the royal house of Valois or the English court in Paris, but the shield in the Gemini Calendar miniature has been left empty of arms, and it is not known whether the patron died before the manuscript was finished or the manuscript was never personalised. Quires have been lost both within and at the end of the manuscript, with the result that the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, and other texts are now missing, but the Penitential Psalms survive, introduced by a large miniature portraying King David surrounded by a border that has eight medallions depicting scenes from his life, including the beheading of Goliath and events from the story of David and Bathsheba.

Brotherton also owned the splendid Book of Hours began c. 1450-55, possibly for the Burgundian courtier Antoine de Crèveœur (BC MS 4).¹¹ The thirty original miniatures in the manuscript are thought to be the work of the Mansel Master and his assistant, an anonymous illuminator employed in his workshop.¹² From about 1460 the manuscript was owned by Hugues de Mazijnghem, a nobleman recorded in 1446 as working for the bishop of Cambrai, Jean de Bourgogne, who had the arms of the patron portrait changed to his own and his name added in the prayer below. Around 1470-75 new prayers were included and miniatures illuminated by two artists from Bruges, Willem Vrelant and the Master of Edward IV, for later owners of the manuscript, the couple represented in the miniature of the Mass for Corpus Christi.¹³

¹⁰ Suggested by J. J. G. Alexander; see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, p. 24.

¹¹ Much recent scholarly work has been done on this manuscript by Marc Gil. See his contribution to *Fragments d'une splendeur: Arras à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. Annick Notter ([Arras], 2000), pp. 86-89, and his 'D'Italie du nord en Artois. Le portrait de saint Bernardin de Sienne des Heures d'Antoine de Crèveœur, vers 1450-55: Leeds University Library, The Brotherton Collection, Ms. 4', in *Tributes in Honor of James Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (London, 2006), pp. 207-18. See also *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe Le Bon. Exposition organisée à l'occasion de 400e anniversaire de la fondation de la Bibliothèque Royale de Philippe II, le 12 avril 1959* (Brussels, 1959), p. 64, item 57; and François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1449-1520* (Paris, 1993), p. 73.

¹² L. M. J. Delaissé suggested that the Mansel Master was assisted by Simon Marmion the younger, working at Valenciennes, where he was active from 1458 (see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, p. 34), but Gil has since attributed the work to the usual assistant of the Mansel Master, the anonymous artist whom Gil has named 'Vigneteur à l'herbier'; see his 'D'Italie du nord en Artois', p. 208.

¹³ See Marc Gil, 'Du Maître du Mansel au Maître de Rambures: Le milieu des peintres et des enlumineurs de Picardie, ca. 1440-1480' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1999), and his 'D'Italie du nord en Artois', pp. 207-18. See also Thomas Kren and Scott McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles, 2003), p. 296.

Another remarkable mid-fifteenth-century French manuscript in the Collection contains a Psalter, the Hours of the Virgin in the Use of Paris, Breviary offices, and various prayers and hymns (BC MS 2); the twenty-seven miniatures are of exceptionally fine quality. The book was perhaps made for a senior ecclesiastic or a private layperson, but no contemporary evidence of ownership has been established. There are two more French Books of Hours in the Collection. The better of the two, a fine late fifteenth-century volume, with the Hours of the Virgin in the Use of Paris, has twelve large miniatures in arched compartments attributed to the Master of the Cardinal de Bourbon or his workshop (BC MS 5).¹⁴ The decorated borders that occur throughout the manuscript in the outer margins of each page are especially good, utilising designs of flowers, fruits, birds, insects, animals, grotesques, and acanthus foliage. The final French Book of Hours was made at the turn of the sixteenth century for the Bouer family, whose arms are included in the manuscript (BC MS 8).¹⁵ The artwork in the Bouer Hours is of varying quality, with the Passion miniature showing the most skill. The manuscript belonged to one Marie de Cumières in the sixteenth century and to the well-known book-lover J. B. D. Guyon de Sardière (d. 1759) in the eighteenth century.

In addition to codices, Brotherton purchased a manuscript of a Universal Chronicle written in fifteenth-century French and illuminated with sixty-four roundel miniatures; it takes the form of thirty-nine large membranes pasted together to make a roll over seventeen metres long (BC MS 100).¹⁶ It was sold at Sotheby's on 9 May 1923 as part of the Rosenheim collection (lot 275), but Brotherton probably acquired it some years later from a bookseller. The text, set out in a varying number of parallel columns, contains an integrated pagan and biblical history of the world, with genealogical trees linking biblical figures, popes, Roman emperors, and kings of England and France.¹⁷ It ends with an account of the reign of Louis XI of France. Much work has been done in recent years to identify manuscripts of this

¹⁴ Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, p. 270.

¹⁵ As identified by J. B. Rietstap in his *Armorial général* (Gouda, 1861); see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, p. 41.

¹⁶ For a short account, see O. S. Pickering, 'The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 251-56.

¹⁷ The anonymous chronicle on the kings of France known as *A tous nobles*, contained within the Universal Chronicle, has been the subject of a series of recent articles by Marigold Anne Norbye, BC MS 100 being noted in her 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War: The Evidence of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 297-319, and "'A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires": The Multiple Transformations of a Fifteenth-Century French Genealogical Chronicle', in *The Medieval Chronicle*, V, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2008), pp. 175-96. See also her 'The King's Blood: Royal Genealogies, Dynastic Rivalries and Historical Culture in the Hundred Years War. A Case Study of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2004).

Universal Chronicle, and at the time of writing the Brotherton Collection copy is one of forty-five known to be extant.¹⁸

As well as Books of Hours made in France, the Brotherton Collection has fine examples of work from the Low Countries. The most remarkable is a Book of Hours written in Middle Dutch with a Utrecht Calendar. There are small but very detailed initials and accompanying sumptuous border decorations of extremely high quality painted by the Master of the Adair Hours in about 1490 (BC MS 7).¹⁹ He was also responsible for the seven large historiated initials at the beginning of the main text sections, some of which are unconventional in their choice of subject. One of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, working sometime between 1500 and 1510, then painted the eight full-page richly coloured miniatures that stand opposite the beginning of hours and prayers; they were inserted later (the rectos are blank) but planned from the outset, as can be deduced from the choices made within the pictorial cycle of border decorations. The manuscript was sold at the Huth sale at Sotheby's on 2 June 1913 (lot 3799). It is not quite so certain that Brotherton acquired this volume from Sawyer, but it is very probable.

Brotherton undoubtedly acquired from Sawyer two very small late fifteenth-century Books of Hours from the Low Countries, with the miniatures in both cases possibly by a French artist. One of them was written in Flanders for the English market, with prayers added in England at the end of the manuscript (BC MS 3). It boasts twenty-two full-page miniatures painted on singletons, bound either into the quires or at the front of them. The other Book of Hours has fourteen full-page miniatures, including a patron portrait of a young man kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child (BC MS 6). The Hours of the Virgin are in the Use of Rome and begin with Lauds, accompanied by a miniature for the Visitation containing an unidentified merchant's mark. The written space in this manuscript is only 52 x 32 mm, but the minute script, 2 mm in height, is clear and attractive throughout.

There are two further small, late fifteenth-century Books of Hours from the Low Countries. The better of them includes pages with framed borders depicting naturalistic flowers, birds (particularly peacocks), and insects on gold backgrounds, along with scenes showing hunts and a couple receiving the Holy Spirit (BC MS 9). There is evidence that in the Hours of the Virgin these pages were originally preceded by miniatures painted on the verso of singletons, subsequently excised.²⁰ The other book is a simple late fifteenth-century volume with its Calendar and the hours of St Katherine and St Agnes written in Middle Dutch (BC MS 14). In addition to its contemporary decorated borders of rather crude style,

¹⁸ Norbye, 'Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness', pp. 318-19. Lisa Fagin Davis is currently preparing an edition of version H of the Universal Chronicle, which is that represented by the Brotherton copy; see her 'Scrolling through History: *La chronique universelle*, Boston Public Library Ms. Pb. Med. 32', in *Secular Sacred: 11th-16th Century Works from the Boston Public Library and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, ed. Nancy Netzer (Boston, 2006), pp. 43-50.

¹⁹ It is item 97 in *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, ed. Henri L. M. Defoer, Anne S. Korteweg, and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 280-82.

²⁰ Personal communication from Dr Scot McKendrick.

cut-out coloured initials and other decoration from fine early thirteenth-century manuscripts have been pasted into blank spaces.

The final Brotherton Collection manuscript from the Low Countries is a small and bulky late fifteenth-century Psalter wholly written in Middle Dutch (BC MS 24). In the fifteenth or sixteenth century it belonged to the Augustinian canonesses at Oudegein, near Jutfaas, in the province of Utrecht.²¹ The manuscript has its original binding of calf bearing a pattern of fillets over wooden boards, and preserves also its original division-markers made of red and green fabric balls attached to strips of vellum glued to both sides of the fore-edge of leaves, so as to mark the beginning of the most important texts in the volume.

The only Italian Book of Hours in the Brotherton Collection is a handsome late fifteenth-century volume with an architectural frontispiece and three further full-page miniatures with borders decorated with flowers, curled leaves, berries, putti, and antique vases (BC MS 10). It was made in northern Italy for a person named Nicholas, who is included in prayers. In 1845 it belonged to Henry J. Milbank of Trinity College, Cambridge, and its nineteenth-century binding of blue velvet with a silver clasp and corner pieces may have been prepared for him. Another Italian manuscript in the Collection is a late fifteenth-century book containing texts relating to the Carthusian Order, including the treatise *De forma prima electionis* written by the monk Guido de Pisis, a member of the Carthusian house in Bologna (BC MS 13). The opening text of seventeen leaves, on the statutes and privileges of the Carthusians, was heavily annotated by its sixteenth-century owner, partially in Spanish.

Brotherton also bought two small early sixteenth-century German prayerbooks from Sawyer. Particularly remarkable is the one filled with depictions of highly realistic birds, flowers, and insects, painted in rich colours with shadows cast on to gold grounds, possibly by the German artist Jacob Elsner (BC MS 11).²² The other, very small prayerbook, which has full-page miniatures mainly of saints, is of a lesser quality but is distinguished by a generous use of gold in backgrounds (BC MS 12). It was written in Bavaria, possibly in the diocese of Augsburg: the Calendar includes the feast of St Afra (7 August), who was martyred in Augsburg, and the dedication of the cathedral church of SS Ulrich and Afra in the same city (28 September).²³ In 1596 the manuscript belonged to Jacobus Reutlinger of Überlingen on Lake Constance, who had some prayers added at the end.²⁴ The now worn nineteenth-century velvet binding, fitted with brass clasps decorated with small hearts, shows remnants of its vibrant fuchsia colour.

²¹ Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, p. 60.

²² Suggested by J. J. G. Alexander; see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, p. 47. For Elsner, see Edmund Schilling, 'Dürer und der Illuminist Jacob Elsner', *Phoebus* 1 (1946), 135-44.

²³ Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, pp. 48-49. Feast days in red also include those of St Othmar, founder of the Abbey of St Gallen, and St Magnus, a possible disciple of St Gallus, thus suggesting an origin nearer Lake Constance, where the manuscript is found later in the sixteenth century.

²⁴ The inscription on the last leaf reads: 'Jacobus Reutlinger Vberlingen: est possessor huius libri anno 1596'.

Also from Germany are three chained medieval manuscripts. Between 1453 and 1454 a Bamberg scribe naming himself 'Nicolaus notulista' wrote a manuscript of 449 leaves containing additions by Paulus Burgensis to Nicholas of Lyra's commentaries on the Bible and the Psalter (BC MS 101). It later belonged to John of Helb, who founded the chained Pfarrbibliothek at Ebern, near Bamberg, in 1463, and the contemporary binding from the Ebern library still survives: pigskin over wooden boards with metal bosses, strap-and-pin fastenings, and a chain attached to the top edge of the back cover.²⁵ Another chained manuscript contains Hugh of St Victor's treatise *De vanitate mundi*, and other works, mainly sermons, all in the hand of the prolific copyist, Johannes Sintram, a Franciscan friar from Würzburg (BC MS 102). The first text finishes with an explicit in Sintram's hand noting that the work was copied in 1412 at Oxford. He probably completed the manuscript in the following years back in Würzburg. The contemporary binding is red leather over wooden boards, with a central clasp and a chain attached to the top of the back cover.²⁶ The third chained manuscript in the Collection is a mid-fifteenth-century manual for Franciscan friars, written probably in north-west Germany; it includes texts on preaching, privileges, and the inheritance of property (BC MS 103).

Finally from Germany is a manuscript of Bede's *Expositio super septem epistolas canonicas*, written probably in the first half of the twelfth century (BC MS 22).²⁷ It is likely to have been made at the Benedictine abbey of Reichenbach, Bavaria, which owned it in the later twelfth century, as is evident from the copy of a deed added at the end of the main text, recording the donation of an estate to the abbey by a woman called Irmgarth, by the hand of Conrad of Biburch (the names of numerous witnesses follow).²⁸ The late medieval binding, seemingly replacing an earlier one, is red leather over wooden boards, with leaves from twelfth- and fourteenth-century service-books used in the pastedowns.

Three medieval manuscripts in the Brotherton Collection of 1936 appear to have originated in England. A large Book of Hours made in the 1470s, most probably in London, had two artists working together on the decoration: the initials are in an English style, whereas the borders show Netherlandish influences (BC MS 15).²⁹ Numerous, presumably post-medieval erasures have been made to its English rubrics and to references to saints

²⁵ For BC MS 101, see Ernst-Günther Krenig, 'Nachrichten über die ehemaligen Pfarrbibliothek in Ebern', *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1960), 293-99, and Sigrid Krämer, 'Neue Nachrichten über die ehemalige Pfarrbibliothek von Ebern', *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 28 (1976), 36-47.

²⁶ For more on Sintram, see Dorothy K. Coveney, 'Johannes Sintram de Herbipoli', *Speculum* 16 (1941), 336-39, and Theodore C. Petersen, 'Johs. Sintram de Herbipoli in Two of his Mss', *Speculum* 20 (1945), 74-83.

²⁷ Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, pp. 57-58.

²⁸ See Deborah Smith, 'A Study of the "Bede" Manuscript (MS. 22) in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library' (unpublished BA dissertation, Department of Fine Art, University of Leeds, [1990]).

²⁹ See Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6:2 (London, 1996), p. 340.

and the Virgin Mary. Frequent sixteenth-century inscriptions in the Calendar connect the manuscript with named families, specifically those of Braddyll, Talbot, White, Tomlinson, Smyth, Sproate, and Ingleby. John Braddyll (d. 1578) may have acquired it from Whalley Abbey, Lancashire, while bailiff in charge of dispersal of the abbey's lands and property following its suppression in 1537.³⁰

The other two English-produced volumes are of particular textual interest: a twelfth-century manuscript of Cicero, and a fifteenth-century manuscript of Duns Scotus. The copy of Cicero's *De Officiis* (BC MS 21) is from the library of the eighteenth-century bibliophile Dr Anthony Askew.³¹ Although it appears to have travelled to Italy before the end of the fifteenth century, the style of script suggests it was made in England. A large number of interlinear annotations have been added in contemporary and later hands, many of the later scribes unfortunately changing the text for the worse; but within the approximately sixty extant manuscripts of the text, the Brotherton Collection copy is important as one of the earliest surviving examples. An interesting physical feature is the number of medieval repairs that have been carried out: for example, leaves have frequently been patched up by sewing pieces of vellum to the edges or secured to stubs by stitches along the length of the inner margin.

The early fifteenth-century copy of *quodlibeta* (theological disputations) by John Duns Scotus, in a bulky volume now rather stiff to open, is written in an attractively consistent hand, and is particularly fascinating for the rich contemporary glosses that accompany the text throughout (BC MS 20). The book has the 'Nobilis ira' binding stamp of William Stuart (1798-1874),³² and the bookplate of Tempsford Hall, Bedfordshire.

The Roundhay Hall catalogue shows that by 1926 Brotherton had purchased 117 volumes from the library of Thomas Evelyn Scott-Ellis VIII, Baron Howard de Walden (1880-1946). Amongst them is a manuscript of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* produced probably in Spain in the early fourteenth century (BC MS 23); the text is densely written in black ink in two columns, with elaborate red and blue pen-work. Howard de Walden had had these volumes bound by Rivière and Son at the beginning of the twentieth century to imitate much earlier binding styles, as was the contemporary fashion. The binding of the *Legenda aurea* is dark red morocco with a cream leather panel on the front cover, tooled with miniatures in medallions and with decorated borders.

³⁰ Michael G. Brennan, 'The Book of Hours of the Braddyll Family of Whalley Abbey (University of Leeds, Brotherton MS. 15)', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 146 (1996), 1-30.

³¹ See further below. The description of the manuscript in R. H. Martin, 'A Twelfth-Century Manuscript of Cicero's *De officiis*', *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 1 (1951), 35-38, notes that an annotated copy of Askew's sale catalogue held in Cambridge University Library records that the manuscript was sold to a Mr Lambert for 10s 6d.

³² Information derived from the database of armorial bindings begun by the late John Morris and now being taken forward by Philip Oldfield.

Lord Brotherton also acquired three medieval manuscripts in Greek, all said once to have been part of the celebrated classical library of the collector Anthony Askew (1722-72) and so presumably bought as a group by Brotherton from a single bookseller, along with the Cicero manuscript (BC MS 21), which was apparently also once in Askew's library.³³ Brotherton Collection MS 31 consists of three volumes of astronomical and astrological content, the work of a variety of scribes, but it may be the product of a single Byzantine monastery of the later fourteenth century. Volume 1 has extracts from Ptolemy's *Almagest* and other of his works, and from the Greek commentators on the *Almagest*; volume 2 contains an unidentified astronomical treatise organised on a Ptolemaic basis; while volume 3 is a compilation of astrological and astronomical excerpts.³⁴ Brotherton Collection MS 32, datable to the thirteenth century, is a copy of the questions and responses relating to pastoral theology attributed to the seventh-century monk Anastasius of Sinai, but probably compiled in the ninth or tenth century. Brotherton Collection MS 33 is an incomplete eleventh-century copy of the Psalm commentaries of the fifth-century theologian Theodoret.³⁵

One other manuscript from Brotherton's own collection remains to be described, Brotherton Collection MS 104. This forms the first part (140 leaves) of a composite volume of manuscript and printed works, shelved with the Collection's incunabula; it was evidently not shown to N. R. Ker, for it fails to feature in his catalogue. The manuscript portion, on a variety of paper stocks, comprises theological and didactic works, including sermons, all of them in Latin. It falls into four sections, written in southern Germany at different times in the second half of the fifteenth century, a total of nine scribal hands being visible. The final section is contemporary with the three incunabula (dated 1477-78) with which the whole manuscript is now bound.³⁶

The arrival of the Brotherton Collection represented the climax of the Library's pre-war medieval manuscript acquisitions. Collecting has continued since then, but on a smaller scale. In the post-war period the Library as a whole benefited from numerous donations by

³³ The assertion of Askew provenance is made in John Alexander Symington, *The Brotherton Library: A Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Collected by Edward Allen, Baron Brotherton of Wakefield* (Leeds, 1931), p. 3. Comparison with the catalogue of Askew's manuscripts as sold in March 1785, *Bibliotheca Askeviana manu scripta* ([London, 1784?]), appears to confirm the matter, as there are four items listed that plausibly, if not certainly, match the manuscripts in question: Brotherton Collection MS 21 / lot 442; MS 31 / lot 596; MS 32 / lot 610; and MS 33 / lot 611 (?).

³⁴ Vol. 3 is described in detail in S. Weinstock, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, IX: *Codices Britannicos* (Brussels, 1951), pt 2, pp. 78-81. It was used in *Heliodori ut dicitur in Paulum Alexandrinum commentarium*, ed. E. de Boer (Leipzig, 1962), and *Hephaestionis Thebani Apotelesmaticorum epitomae quattuor*, ed. David Pingree (Leipzig, 1974).

³⁵ We are grateful to Professor Malcolm Heath for his assistance with these Greek manuscripts.

³⁶ See O. S. Pickering, 'A Sermon-Related Latin Manuscript in Leeds University Library', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 28 (1991), 61-64.

T. E. Harvey, who in April 1948 presented five medieval manuscripts: a late fourteenth-century Italian copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (MS 110); a *Tractatus de veneno* (MS 115, England, fourteenth century), a work then attributed to Robert Grosseteste but now recognised as by Malachias Hibernicus; another copy of the *Legenda aurea*, supplementing the one in the Brotherton Collection (MS 122, possibly Low Countries, later thirteenth century);³⁷ a volume of tracts by the Carthusian monk Jacobus de Jüterborg (MS 123, Germany, late fifteenth century, on paper); and a gospel book from Italy with finely decorated initials (MS 124, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century), apparently made for the Benedictine abbey of St Sixtus in Piacenza. Dr Harvey, from a prominent Leeds Quaker family, had retired as Independent Progressive MP for the Combined Universities in 1947. There is some evidence that he bought his medieval manuscripts from booksellers' catalogues in the first years of the twentieth century. Two of them had once belonged to the great Victorian collector Sir Thomas Phillipps.³⁸

MSS 110 and 115, for an unexplained reason, are not noted in Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. MS 115, apparently written in England despite a fifteenth-century (?) ownership inscription naming the monastery of Rouge-Cloître near Auderghem in Brabant, Belgium, contains a short text in northern Middle English apparently referring to the service for Easter Day, written crossways on a leaf at the end of the book. It has not previously been printed:

In this wordes ij thingges are sheued that tis day eli kirk mas gret sollempnite, that is at say of cristes fro ded to lif vpraying & oure gastly fedyng, & tis tuo an vndirstanding of two partis of reghtwisnes, that is of wikkednes fleeng & gud doing; thurg cristis bodili raysing we ar taght.³⁹

³⁷ It also contains, as a former front pastedown, a leaf from Josephus that Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, III, p. 20, identifies as of the early tenth century, making it the earliest piece of medieval manuscript in the Library's collection.

³⁸ MS 110 was Phillipps 9382, and MS 123, Phillipps 9539. MS 115 bears the bookplate of William Henry Dutton (whose library was sold at Sotheby's on 8 December 1903), at the foot of which is written in pencil 'Bibliothèque de Th. de Joughe'. An inscription in MS 122 records its presentation to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Jacques, Liège, in or before 1312. It bears the label of 'Sylvanus P. Thompson F.R.S.' (1851-1916) inside the front cover; earlier it had belonged to Paul Barrois, and was sold at the Ashburnham-Barrois sale at Sotheby's, 10 June 1901 (see n. 5 above).

³⁹ In this transcription lineation, punctuation, word division, and capitalisation have been modernised, abbreviated words have been expanded, and the Middle English letter 'thorn' is represented by 'th'. A rendering into modern English might be: 'In these words [of the Easter Day Mass?] are shown two things that Holy Church treats with great solemnity on this day, that is to say Christ's resurrection from death to life and our spiritual nourishment, and this [is to lead us] to an understanding of two aspects of righteousness, that is to say fleeing wickedness and doing good. We are taught these through Christ's resurrection.'

Two manuscripts wholly in Middle English then followed two years later, in May 1950, purchased for the Brotherton Collection from different booksellers (Maggs Bros and Francis Edwards). Both contain copies of the widely circulated didactic poem known as the *Prick of Conscience*, one containing no other work, the other having the poem (now lacking its opening 1,129 lines) as the first item in an anthology of religious verse and prose. The former, Brotherton Collection MS 500, has been dated by scholars to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and has been localised dialectally to north-west Worcestershire. The latter, Brotherton Collection MS 501, is dated internally to the 1450s, and may have been written for the use of a religious community in southern Lincolnshire. It has a more professional and stylised appearance than the rather crudely written Brotherton Collection MS 500, though changes in the colour of ink and size of script suggest copying over a period of time.⁴⁰

These two were joined in June 1958 by a third Middle English manuscript (BC MS 502), when Brotherton Collection funds were used to buy a later fifteenth-century copy of John Mirk's *Festial*, a collection of sermon materials here arranged in distinct *temporale* and *sanctorale* sequences; following this is a Latin *sequentiale*, with a partial interlinear gloss in English.⁴¹

Other medieval manuscript acquisitions in the post-war period have been more miscellaneous in nature. All but one have taken the form of further purchases for the Brotherton Collection, with an emphasis on manuscripts with North of England connections, partly to 'justify' the acquisition of medieval manuscripts by the Library on occasions when supplementary funding from external grant-giving bodies was required. The single exception is MS 498 in the Library's main manuscript sequence, an unprepossessing Book of Hours from the later fifteenth century, included among the large number of books bequeathed to the Library by the book-collector R. A. Hellewell of Bradford in 1952. It is rather worn and damaged (it lacks a Calendar) and has minimal pictorial decoration. The hours are of the Use of Autun, and certain prayers are in French.

Of the four medieval manuscripts acquired for the Brotherton Collection between 1982 and 1990 – a sudden resurgence of activity after a considerable gap of years, but not, as it turned out, long-lived – the most important by far was the purchase of the Anonimalle

⁴⁰ For the localisations, see Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 55-57. For BC MS 501, see O. S. Pickering, 'Brotherton Collection MS 501: A Middle English Anthology Reconsidered', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 21 (1990), 141-65, and the references there given. A first account of the double acquisition, with facsimile reproductions of specimen pages, was given in K. M. Humphreys and J. Lightbown, 'Two Manuscripts of the *Pricke of Conscience* in the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds', *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 7-8 (1952), 29-38.

⁴¹ For an edition of the *Festial* portion, see M. F. Wakelin, 'An Edition of John Mirk's *Festial* As It Is Contained in the Brotherton Collection MS' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2 vols, 1960).

Chronicle, through Bernard Quaritch, in 1982 (BC MS 29). This celebrated chronicle manuscript, written (in French) at St Mary's Abbey, York, in the later fourteenth century, was edited in part in 1927 when it was in the possession of Sir William Ingilby; it was later owned by H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence.⁴² More recent scholarly work has brought the manuscript renewed prominence.⁴³ It is a thick, workmanlike volume, undecorated, the chronicle itself preceded by a miscellany of short historical texts, variously in French and Latin.

That acquisition was followed by that of the Beverley Prayer Book in 1983 (BC MS 16), and of two Books of Hours in 1987 and 1990 (BC MSS 17 and 18). The Beverley Prayer Book, formerly in the collection of the Marquess of Bute,⁴⁴ is dated c. 1425 and is remarkable for having each office given first in the Use of Sarum, then modified for the Use of York. It was almost certainly written for use in what is now Beverley Minster, but its small size suggests personal ownership and there are particular connections with the Tyrwhit family of Beverley (though the rather minimal illumination features a variety of presumably local coats of arms). The Book of Hours that is now Brotherton Collection MS 17 was probably written in the Low Countries for the English market, towards the end of the fourteenth century. Additions to the Calendar point to use within the York diocese. It has a broken binding and has suffered the excision or mutilation of many leaves, but these features also add to the book's interest, opening up the binding structure and showing what can happen when a medieval manuscript is not regarded as a treasured object. But this Book of Hours was never a high-quality product. Brotherton Collection MS 18, a small fifteenth-century Sarum *Horae* (but containing a long memorial to St William of York), is notable for being the work of one William Watyr, a scribe who twice names himself in the manuscript. The decoration is undistinguished. Blank leaves have encouraged additions in English by later hands (most interestingly, some enigmatic verses), a phenomenon seen also in Brotherton Collection MS 17 (two early-sixteenth-century stanzas).⁴⁵

But although there have been no further acquisitions of medieval manuscripts by Leeds University Library itself, its holdings were boosted in 1985 by the arrival on long-term deposit of Ripon Cathedral's old library. The several thousand printed books, largely

⁴² *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381: From a MS. Written at St. Mary's Abbey, York, and Now in the Possession of Lieutenant Colonel Sir William Ingilby*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927). This and the other more recent acquisitions are not catalogued in Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III.

⁴³ *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1307 to 1334, from Brotherton Collection MS 29*, ed. by Wendy R. Childs and John Taylor (Leeds, 1991); Diana B. Tyson, 'Three Short Anglo-Norman Texts in Leeds University Library Brotherton Collection MS 29', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52 (2008), 81-112.

⁴⁴ It was sold in the Bute sale at Sotheby's on 13 June 1983, as lot 13, having been Bute MS 117.

⁴⁵ See O. S. Pickering, 'Two Tudor Poems in a Latin Book of Hours', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 25 (1994), 159-66 [MS 17]; and 'Brotherton Collection MS 18 and its Riddling Middle English Verses', in *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya*, ed. Takami Matsuda, Richard A. Linenthal, and John Scahill (Cambridge and Tokyo, 2004), pp. 223-32.

assembled by Anthony Higgin, Dean of Ripon from 1608 until his death in 1624, contain within their bindings a large quantity of fragments of medieval manuscripts, still to be studied in detail.⁴⁶ Along with the printed material came a small number of medieval manuscript codices, again mainly collected by Higgin, Ripon's medieval library having been thoroughly dispersed at the Dissolution.⁴⁷ There is at least some variety to compensate for the small numbers, and indeed only one of the eight manuscripts is a Book of Hours: this is Ripon MS 9, another fifteenth-century Low Countries production apparently for export to England, with medium-grade illumination (no miniatures), now rather worn. The other seven manuscripts have more interest, not least because six can be identified in Higgin's own library catalogue. Ripon MS 1 is a substantial Latin Bible produced in England (Oxford?) c. 1260, the text (including a double Psalter) laid out in two columns interspersed with eighty-two small historiated initials of high quality.⁴⁸ The impression of accomplished workmanship is only slightly marred by evidence that the man responsible for the running heads was expecting a different order of biblical books from that followed by the scribe. The volume has suffered serious water damage at some point in its history, and many leaves at the back of the book have been laid down on to modern paper.

Ripon MS 2 is a large thirteenth-century theological compilation principally of the works of Anselm, produced in England. It is one of Higgin's manuscripts bearing evidence of earlier, medieval ownership by northern religious houses, in this case the Dominicans of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. MSS 3 and 4, of the mid-twelfth century (they were probably once bound together), contain a glossed Apocalypse and Catholic Epistles (MS 3) and Berengaudus's Apocalypse commentary and a glossed Lamentations of Jeremiah (MS 4); they belonged to a religious house at Bridlington. MS 5 principally contains an early thirteenth-century copy of Petrus Riga's verse Life of Christ, the *Aurora*, preceded by mid-twelfth-century copies of three partial tracts by Hugh of Saint Victor; here a previous ownership inscription is that of a private owner, 'Arthure Dakyns', probably from a Yorkshire family. Of special interest is MS 6, a copy of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, said by its scribe to have been completed in 1400 at Frieston, a cell of Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire (Benedictine), but bearing an apparently early fifteenth-century ownership inscription naming Mount

⁴⁶ The most significant vernacular fragment (designated Ripon Cathedral MS Fragment 5) is the bifolium from an English version of *Mandeville's Travels* used as a wrapper for a printed pamphlet of 1573. See A. C. Cawley, 'A Ripon Fragment of Mandeville's Travels', *English Studies* 38 (1957), 1-3.

⁴⁷ See Jean E. Mortimer, 'The Library Catalogue of Anthony Higgin, Dean of Ripon (1608-1624)', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Literary and Historical Section* 10 (1962), 1-75. The Ripon codices are catalogued in N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV: *Paisley-York* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 204-15.

⁴⁸ See Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1250-1285*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 4: 2 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 123-24; and Flora Ward, 'A Thirteenth-Century English Bible: Ripon Cathedral Library MS 1' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2005).

Grace Priory in North Yorkshire, the Carthusian house where Nicholas Love produced his famous English version of the same text, the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*.⁴⁹

Finally amongst the Ripon codices, MS 8 is a lectern-size Psalter, without decoration, datable to 1418 and containing at the end a long section devoted to the Office of St Wilfrid of York and Ripon. The volume may conceivably have been in use at Ripon in the Middle Ages, but its known association begins only with its presentation to what was by then Ripon Cathedral by the Marquess of Ripon in 1874. The manuscript bearing the designation MS 7, on the strength of a fragmentary *Breviarium Eboracense* of the mid-fifteenth century (essentially a Calendar) is now shelved with the Ripon Dean and Chapter Archives (also on long-term deposit in Leeds University Library) on the basis of its other, sixteenth-century documentary contents; it is item 432 in that collection.

Some fifty-four medieval manuscripts have been surveyed for this article: not a huge collection, but one with much variety and many highlights. What has hardly been touched on is the less well-defined (and certainly less well-catalogued) background against which these fifty-four sit: the large number of manuscript fragments and historical documents, notable amongst which are the medieval fabric and account rolls, chapter acts, and court papers within the Ripon Dean and Chapter Archives,⁵⁰ and a collection of twelfth-century deeds relating to property granted to the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Heaton, Bradford. As will be clear from the references given in this article, the medieval manuscripts in Leeds University Library have not been neglected by scholars, but much work remains to be done. It is to be hoped that the online availability of images from the illuminated manuscripts will stimulate further research.

[As published in *Bulletin of International Research* [Leeds], 14 (2008), 3-23, except for the removal of outdated URLs and of the four illustrations: from BC M 6, f. 13r, BC MS 10, f. 13r, BC M 22, f. 22v, and Ripon Cathedral MS 1, f. 23r (detail).]

⁴⁹ For a recent discussion of the manuscript, see Felicity Maxwell, 'An Investigation of the Ripon Cathedral Manuscript of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008).

⁵⁰ The Ripon documents are listed in Leeds University Library's handlist of the Dean and Chapter Archives, available online from the Special Collections website.