

THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF SIR WALTER COPE (d. 1614)

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WRITING in 1942, Neil Ker referred to the big post-medieval collectors of English medieval manuscripts—‘men such as Parker, Burghley, Dee, Cotton, Lumley, Cope, Allen and Savile of the Banke’.¹ With the exception of Cope and Burghley all of these had been the subject of some attention and all have since been studied more closely.² Burghley, of whose scattered manuscripts Ker himself made several lists in the 1940s but to which he never devoted his full attention, is at last being investigated³ and it is the intention of this paper to throw some light on the last remaining unstudied figure, Sir Walter Cope, one of the founding benefactors of the Bodleian Library. This account is based on one of my Lowe Lectures in Palaeography given at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1983⁴ and, like a paper on John Twyne based on another of these lectures,⁵ does not aspire to say the last word on the subject. The reason is the same in Cope’s case as in Twyne’s: we cannot work towards a complete list of what he owned because there is no proper catalogue of his collection. For both Twyne and Cope there are, however, helpful factors. In Cope’s case they are the existence in the Bodleian of over forty manuscripts which he presented in 1602 and the existence of a catalogue of sorts which lists theological and philosophical works and identifies copies of manuscripts in which they may be found. On the negative side, diminishing the usefulness of that catalogue, is the absence from virtually every identified manuscript of any sign of Cope’s ownership or use of it. It is inconceivable that all his manuscripts will ever be identified.

The identity of Sir Walter Cope will be known to students of late Tudor administration and of the career of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.⁶ He was the youngest of three sons of Sir Edward Cope, whose father was Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, Oxfordshire. Sir Anthony was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Katherine Parr. Walter’s eldest brother died in 1606 without having made any great stir in the world but his brother Anthony became one of the first baronets and established a line that lasted until 1972. The date of Walter’s birth is not known. He died in 1614, having been Member of Parliament and successively a Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Master of the Court of Wards. Having ‘made his fortune under the Cecilian umbrella’⁷ he built himself

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

a great house to the west of London called Cope Castle, which was the early stage of the house that later became celebrated under the name Holland House (Cope's daughter having married Henry Rich, Earl of Holland). The house was the centre of a large estate of nearly 500 acres comprising most of northern Kensington and running from Campden Hill almost as far south as the present Fulham Road.⁸ Lavishly stocked with curiosities and pictures, on which Cope was reported to spend a lot of money,⁹ the house attracted visits from the nobility, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the King of Denmark.¹⁰

The starting-point for a study of Cope's manuscripts is the group of volumes which he gave to the Bodleian Library in 1602. They are listed in the Register of Benefactors¹¹ under that year, plus one, now MS. Auct. D. 5. 9 (*A sine numero* ii in the list of Cope's manuscripts below), given by him to Thomas James in 1600 and presumably given by James to the Library within the next few years. Working through these, one finds that a number are of very high quality, many are in superb condition, and most contain almost no evidence of post-medieval use or ownership. Six or seven of the books are outstanding. MSS. Bodley 340 and 342 (B13 and B14 in the list below) are a pair of Rochester Cathedral Priory volumes of the first half of the eleventh century containing the homilies of Ælfric.¹² Both are very beautiful, both are in fine condition, and apart from a few sixteenth-century glosses in Bodley 342 both are free from post-medieval marks. MS. Bodley 819 (B26), a Bede on the Proverbs of Solomon, was written in Jarrow or Monkwearmouth in the second half of the eighth century and was later at Durham Cathedral Priory.¹³ It is a beautiful book, if austere and undecorated, in fine condition. MS. Bodley 426, fols. 1-118 (A63), contains a rare text, Philip Presbyter on Job. It is in a fine insular minuscule of the mid-ninth century, probably written in Wessex but later at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.¹⁴ MS. Bodley 97 (A150) also comes from St. Augustine's, although it was earlier at Christ Church, Canterbury. It is a beautiful little book, an eleventh-century Aldhelm written in a fine English Caroline minuscule, its beauty and interest increased by its being (like many Cope manuscripts) still in an old wooden board binding covered with (in this case later) whittawed leather.¹⁵ The boards of the binding probably date from soon after the writing of the manuscript.¹⁶ MS. Auct. D. 5. 9 (*A sine numero* ii), which Cope gave to James, is good of its kind—a typical small thirteenth-century bible, not in truth very legible but with good illuminations.¹⁷ MS. Auct. D. 1. 8 (B5) is a glossed gospel harmony from the Cluniacs of Northampton. If not to be ranked

with the great glossed books it is nevertheless a fine copy, still in its binding of wooden boards with later whittawed leather covering. To these Bodleian volumes one must add a handsome thirteenth-century French life of Edward the Confessor, now Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ee. 3. 59 (B2),¹⁸ and a finely illuminated fourteenth-century bible from Bologna, now at Wolfenbüttel (B28).

Mentioning only a few of Cope's volumes already raises the questions, where and how did he obtain them? To the first question no answer is apparent. The last known medieval provenances include a large group from Kent (nine from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, A33, A61 (?), A63, A143, A150, A170, A184, A186, B12); two or three from Christ Church, Canterbury (A71, A125, A150); two from Rochester Cathedral Priory (B13, B14); and one each from Bilsington (B8), Dartford (B11), and Faversham (A78). Other manuscripts were at St. Bartholomew's Priory, London (B28), Winchcombe Abbey (A13, B1), Malmesbury Abbey (A58), the charterhouses of Sheen (A64, B17) and Witham (A91), Durham Cathedral Priory (B26), Ely Cathedral Priory (B30), Bury St. Edmunds Abbey (A63), Reading Abbey(?) (A196), Norwich Cathedral Priory (A113, B9), Salisbury Cathedral (B15), St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton (B5), Warden Abbey (A128), Oseney Abbey (A200), the Bonshommes of Edington (A *sine numero* i), the executor of a fourteenth-century canon of Lincoln via a sixteenth-century dean of Wells (A *sine numero* ii), Warwickshire, perhaps Kenilworth (B12), and Yorkshire (A57), perhaps Essex (A107), Suffolk (A177), and Clifton, Somerset (B20). They stretch across the length and breadth of the country and include some of the great monastic houses like those of Canterbury and small places like Witham in Somerset, Sheen, and Warden, whose manuscripts tended to find their way to the hands of small, local collectors. Cope lived too long after the dissolution of the monastic houses to be a John Twyne, or Prise, or Thomas Dackombe,¹⁹ or Savile the Elder, or other of the local collectors who, for reasons either religious, sentimental, or simply opportunist, picked up books within a few months or years of their scattering. But he does not seem to have been like John Theyer either, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century was still able to pick up books from, predominantly, the West Midlands region.²⁰ In establishing Cope's sources we are not helped by the absence of post-medieval signs of personal ownership from most of the books. Sir John Prise did, in fact, own MS. Bodley 447 (A110), a nice if ordinary Bede, but nothing is known of its origin or where it was immediately after his death in 1555. MS. Bodley 98 (B6), owned by a

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

minorite of Namur perhaps as late as 1584, is nevertheless an English manuscript, owned by an unknown John Wyght between 1584 and Cope's acquisition of it. MS. Bodley 548 (B21), which has clear indications of a Warwickshire origin, was owned by a Henry Joliffe who may be the ex-Dean of Bristol who died in exile in Louvain in 1573. It is likely that Cope or an agent picked up his books from a variety of sources, among which we must presumably include the book trade, about whose operations in this respect so little is known.²¹

The absence of post-medieval signs of ownership extends also to marks made by Cope himself and this makes it difficult to deduce any motive for Cope's collecting the books. When one finds that Cope came from an Oxfordshire gentry family one's first thought is that he was a recusant or church papist, types very common in Oxfordshire and which include some notable manuscript collectors from other parts of the country. There is, however, no evidence that he was, and indeed his family, far from having popish tendencies, were well-known puritans, whose home became a centre for puritan activities that spread far beyond the boundaries of the county.²² Was Cope, then, a scholar? If he was, he was of the kind that leaves no trace of use in his books—no notes, no name, not even the untidy pen trials which the English were so prone to make in their books at this time. There is one published work to his name, a defence of his patron, Robert Cecil;²³ it contains a few Latin tags but he needed no medieval manuscripts for them. If he was not a scholar was he at least an antiquary? The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he was; indeed his name is recorded in the four primary lists of members of the College of Antiquaries, and Arthur Agarde, who was certainly a member, refers to him as a fellow Antiquary.²⁴ In investigating the College of Antiquaries, however, Dr. Van Norden 'found no record of scholarship that would have entitled him to belong to such an order, nor even an interest in historical research' and concluded that 'there is almost as little reason for including Walter Cope as for including Hugh Broughton' (whose claims to membership she had just demolished).²⁵ An even more dismissive notice by Joseph Ayloffe appeared in the appendix to his 1771 edition of Thomas Hearne's *A Collection of Curious Discourses*: 'Cope Sir Walter: Mr Stow in his survey of London stiles this gentleman his worshipful friend. But history hath not preserved any further account of him.'²⁶ That one who owned 500 acres of Kensington and has been described as 'a remarkable man'²⁷ should be so dismissed seems hard, and indeed Ayloffe's apparently complete ignorance of his identity is odd, since his name at least

is found in Agarde's preface to his calendar of the records of the Exchequer, a work that retained its usefulness into the nineteenth century,²⁸ and it should have been known to Hearne's editor. But no, Cope seems to have been neither a scholar nor an antiquary.

It even seems that the credit Cope has been given (in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) for helping Agarde with his calendar is based on a misreading of what the latter wrote in his preface. Following compliments to Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, to whom the preface is addressed, Agarde thanks 'two most worthy gentlemen Preservers and gatherers of auncient monumentes of Antiquities That I know (vizt.) my singuler good Master Sir Walter Cope under whome I serve as deputie Chamberlaine, and Sir Robert Cotten, who assisted me in distinguishing the nations and supplieing in time originalles of treaties which heretofore have bene careleslie lost out of the Kinges Tresauries'. 'Who' almost certainly refers only to Cotton, well known for giving help of the kind that Agarde mentions, and Agarde's reference to Cope is probably no more than conventional politeness towards an immediate superior.²⁹

The probability is that Cope should be classed as a *virtuoso*, a member of a class of dilettanti who made their appearance in England at the end of the sixteenth century. The *virtuoso* was a gentleman who liked to display scholarly interests, and increasing wealth and leisure in late Elizabethan and Jacobean times gave him the chance to develop.³⁰ Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, who died in 1646 in possession of the Arundel Marbles, has been called the father of virtuosity in England. He also owned a fine collection of manuscripts, a type of possession not mentioned by Bacon, Evelyn, and other contemporary writers on virtuosity who often commented derisively on the collections of curiosities put together by the *virtuosi*. 'Coins or pictures', writes Houghton, 'shells or insects, none are valued for use, neither for the advancement of learning, but for individual gain: they are valued themselves because they arouse curiosity and stimulate delight and because their knowledge or collection guarantees a social recognition.' Writers on the *virtuosi* do, however, admit printed books to the types of material found in their collections and it is surely more than a coincidence that the rise of the *virtuosi* should be contemporary with the appearance of the large-scale, often aristocratic, collector of medieval manuscripts. Sir Walter Cope, who tried to borrow some antiquities from Cotton with which to impress the visiting King of Denmark,³¹ seems to fit this category well. The emotions aroused in him by contemplating his manuscripts may not have been dissimilar from those aroused by the sight of

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

the hairy caterpillar, the sea mouse, the horn and tail of a rhinoceros, the unicorn's tail, the remora, the torpedo, and many other strange objects recorded by Swiss and German visitors to Cope Castle.³² Few of the manuscripts, except perhaps the glossed gospel harmony, MS. Auct. D. 1. 8 (B5), and the Bolognese Bible, now at Wolfenbüttel (B28), seem likely to have made a strong visual appeal to him. Even the fine Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, MSS. Bodley 426 (A63) and Bodley 819 (B26), would probably appear uncouth to him and he can have had neither visual nor textual pleasure from such manuscripts as the *Distinctiones theologicae* in MS. Bodley 98 (B6), the *Virtutum et vitiorum exempla* in MS. Bodley 107 (B7), and the *Summa de poenitentia* in MS. Bodley 127 (B8). Yet the Philip Presbyter text in MS. Bodley 426 (A63) is rare and so, in England, was the *Capitularium* of Abbot Ansegis of Fontenelle (A146, not found). Did Cope have someone to advise him on his acquisitions or is his very mixed collection, combining treasures and the undistinguished, a natural outcome of indiscriminate trawling?

For reasons and from sources about which we cannot be clear, Cope built up a considerable collection of manuscripts which ran, it seems, to at least 215 volumes. John Dee's catalogue of 1583 contains 200 manuscripts and we know that he had about 150 more; the Savile of Banke catalogue lists 280; the Lumley Library had about 400. Cotton's, by the time of Sir Robert's death, had about 800. The figure of 215 is not, therefore, exceptional, but it is still noteworthy. Of this number so far only about one-quarter have been found and for lack of marks in the manuscripts and even more from the absence of a catalogue to tell us what we should be looking for it is unlikely that many more will be recognized. Yet we are not entirely without a catalogue of Cope's collection for when in 1600 Thomas James, soon to be Bodley's first Librarian, published his *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigienses*, primarily a catalogue of the Oxford and Cambridge college libraries, he included at the end separate lists of theological and philosophical manuscripts. To some extent these are indexes to the catalogues but they also contain references to the contents of two private collections. These are the manuscripts of Lord Lumley, marked 'Bibl. L.' in the lists, and of Sir Walter Cope, marked 'G.C.' or 'Bibl. G. Copi'.³³ What makes James's lists particularly useful is that each work listed is said to be in volume number so-and-so in the Cope library. For example, Hugo de S. Victore, *De sacramentis* is in volume 9. Not infrequently several references are made to a volume and so one can build up a contents-list for the book which helps identification: an example is A58 in the lists below. Extracting all the Cope

79

et sibi ut ignoscatur orauit. statim
 fuit fuerat: ab eis oculis elapsus est.
 ad beatum franciscum rediens: uita
 retulit. et usque in fine deuotus in
 te permansit. : Quod passio christi fuit
 et patitur. caro eius fuit tenuissima. et
 ac afflicta et fuit uapitata et mul-
 ta quod caro uiuacior: tanto magis et
 fugit. Caro autem christi non solum
 mangit: sed uera uita que deus et hu-
 ouem. uiuunt et sunt. : Item quod quod
 huiusmodi statu moritur: tanto dolor eius
 per autem Ihesu. 33. annu. : Item quod
 aut ut multum gaudium simul maneat.
 et eis dolor abinuenit separari. sed sum-
 mi fuit corpori christi esse cum anima sua. quod
 et tranquillitas maxima. Ideo ob
 huiusmodi separationis facit et sudor et tan-
 te sanguis. : Item non potest aliquid magis de-
 suo perfectibili gloriam. et quod magis
 tanto magis dolor. sed que anima christi anima
 cor.

ut ut facia tibi. Paton. et unde
 la agitur de caritate. In euangelio predic-
 ic per quam uobiscum spes sequitur de mul-
 ta que fuit per fidem. : Quadruplex in-

puerit. de quod
 stondo. et de la
 tempore et
 san. Et est
 in celo uito. et
 talis ostendit
 non huiusmodi et. et
 et et per.
 non in ma. et
 xii. ad hunc ex-
 et. i. jo. 3. qui
 huiusmodi et deus.
 uauit non in-
 rus eger. : Item
 na ut defuit. et
 di diuina que
 et. et decretum
 ut ut luna
 nily sunt uari-
 buita domo su-
 quid ut que de-
 tur ab ipse cen-
 occidentem. et
 actionem et quod
 feli. se. i. oia
 statum ostendi

Fig. 1. A flyleaf of MS. Bodley 196 showing Cope's number '49'

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

references provides references to ninety volumes, the lowest numbered 3 and the highest 215.³⁴ Assuming that at least 215 numbers were applied to manuscripts and that none referred to printed books, and deducting from that the ninety manuscripts to which James refers, we are left with 125 for which we lack the vaguest description. One soon finds too, that not all of James's descriptions are helpful. Unless one finds a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth with '199' on it, it is not helpful to know that Cope's copy of this common text had this number: even less helpful is it to know that his copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* was numbered 215. Nevertheless, successful identifications of Cope manuscripts based on multiple descriptions in James's *Ecloga* will be found in the lists below, at A13, A117, A167, A177, and A184.

The obvious place to search for Cope manuscripts that correspond to James's lists is, of course, among the group which he gave to the Bodleian. Here twenty-five of James's titles are certainly to be found, and perhaps one more. The other twenty or twenty-one in the Bodleian gift presumably correspond to some of the unidentified and undescribed manuscripts between 1 and 215 that James listed, but that still leaves many untraced. Again and again one runs up against the difficulty caused by the lack of pressmarks, ex-libris and ex-dono inscriptions, signatures, and annotations. Only four manuscripts bear Cope's name (B1-4) and his hand has not been recognized in any. What is astonishing is that only four of the identified manuscripts show any trace of the numbering system referred to by James. MS. Bodley 426, pt. 1, has '63' on fol. 1 and is 63 in James's list; MS. Bodley 556 is identified by James as MS. 75 and on a paper label stuck round the original parchment cover inside the present cover 'vol. 75' duly appears, though it has been altered to 'vol. 24'; MS. Bodley 145, identified by James as MS. 56, has that number at the top of the first page of text, and in a similar position in MS. Bodley 158 is the Cope number 68. Cope manuscripts did, then, bear numbers: one can only ask where they have all gone to. The discovered manuscripts by no means lack numbers: in twenty-six manuscripts, usually at the top of the first page of text, there are numbers between 3 and 193 often written in a rather faint and wispy way (see Fig. 1), but except in the four manuscripts mentioned above, these numbers never correspond to Cope's. As they do not belong to any Bodleian series they are presumably Cope's, perhaps numbers applied when they were *en route* to the Bodleian but ignored once the books had reached the Library. It is possible that numbers may have been lost from bindings, for in spite of the medieval appearance of Cope's

bindings only two or three of them are completely medieval: the others, although retaining their old boards, have been re-covered.

Apart from providing a possible explanation for the absence of so many Cope numbers, the replacement of the leather of such a quantity of Cope bindings is interesting. At first sight the whittawed covers all look medieval but one soon observes that many share not only a general appearance that distinguishes them from the others but that they share also the remains of fabric ties, often yellow, let into the wooden boards through four slits in the leather. Since the manuscripts come from a variety of sources the style, both in general and in details, must date from Cope's time at the earliest, but as precisely the same style of binding with the same kind of yellow double ties is found on MS. Bodley 320, undoubtedly one of the great consignment that reached the Library from Exeter Cathedral in 1602, the same year as the accession of Cope's volumes, it seems that the whittawed bindings were put on in the same place, presumably Oxford.³⁵ Further, the same style is found on MS. Bodley 61 (SC 2023) which by coincidence had belonged to Thomas James and was given to the Library in the same year, and on MS. Auct. F. 3. 5 (SC 2684), received from an unknown source by 1602. Also MSS. Auct. F. 3. 5 and Bodley 61 share with the Cope manuscripts Auct. D. 1. 8 (B5), Bodley 220 (B10), and Bodley 461 (A107) pink and white or blue and white headbands which, having been inserted before the covers were put on, further prove that the covers date from Cope's time or from the manuscripts' early years in Oxford. Although these coloured headbands, a feature that came into use in the sixteenth century, are lacking from MS. Bodley 651 (A78), it is evident that, whenever its covers were put on (and there is every reason to believe that that was later than Cope's time) it is a replacement cover, for the pastedowns are stained from contact with an earlier leather binding. Likewise, MS. Bodley 457 (B20), now covered with white whittawed leather but still showing on its boards the traces of pink leather, and MS. Bodley 392 (B15), which in addition to its present white whittawed leather binding has the remains of an earlier white whittawed leather binding. This, then, would seem to have been a Bodleian or at least Oxford style of the period and if this is so it adds a little to our knowledge of the history of bookbinding, for few surveys or exhibition catalogues of bindings pay much attention to whittawed covers and the general assumption appears to be that they dropped out of use in the mid-fifteenth century when tanned leather became popular.³⁶ Further investigation may reveal whether it was a style used elsewhere in Oxford:

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

having craftsmen to hand to cover these Bodleian books suggests a continuing tradition. It is also interesting to speculate on the motive for using this kind of binding on the Cope and Exeter and other '1602' books. Was it chosen to match similar covers on companion volumes for aesthetic reasons or was there an element of antiquarianism in the choice?

Another group of Cope manuscripts is bound in limp vellum, sometimes with the remains of yellow ties and sometimes attached over an existing medieval leather or vellum cover. MS. Bodley 1 (A71) has had yellow ties added to the medieval vellum cover. MS. Bodley 556 (A75) helps to date these vellum covers and, indeed, to date the appearance of the yellow ties on the Cope books that are bound in wooden boards and whittawed leather, for around the spine of the inner (medieval) vellum cover is the label mentioned above as bearing Cope's number '75': this shows that the outer vellum cover dates from after his time.³⁷ A third group of Cope manuscripts remains in medieval and sixteenth-century leather bindings, evidently those that were considered to be in a fit state to go straight on to the shelves when they reached the Library. All this accords with Bodley's practice of requiring donors either to present books that were fit to go onto the shelves at once or to pay the cost of repairing and binding them.³⁸ It is likely too that the yellow or ochre colour on the edges of Cope's manuscripts (perhaps chosen to match the yellow ties) dates from the books' arrival in Oxford, where coloured edges were often employed to distinguish the various works in a composite volume.³⁹

We have, then, evidence of a library which contained at least 215 volumes. We know something about the *contents* of ninety-five volumes (James's ninety plus a few others that can be identified) and between fifty-eight and sixty-three altogether have been identified (i.e. the Bodleian gift of forty-six plus others, of which five are uncertain). Five, and perhaps five more, are among the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Library (A117, A167, A184, B3, B4; A12, A13, A61, A186, A196?); one (A177) is almost certainly a Royal Manuscript in the British Library; one (A192) is perhaps at Stonyhurst College; one (B2) is in Cambridge University Library; one (A200) is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford; one (B28) is in Wolfenbüttel; one (A170) is in Brussels. Just how and when most of them reached their present or immediate post-Cope homes is quite unclear. But in addition to the Bodleian gift of 1602 there are signs of movement in the first years of the seventeenth century. In 1600 Cope gave the little thirteenth-century bible now Bodleian MS. Auct. D. 5. 9 to James (A *sine numero* ii);

by 1602 Cotton had acquired A117 and he may have had his others at the same time. By 1608 Cope's Polychronicon (A170), which had been Dee's, had passed to Cornelius Duijn of Amsterdam (that is the one now in Brussels) and the present Stonyhurst MS. 26 (A192), also Duijn's, may have reached him at the same time. In his will⁴⁰ Cope said nothing about books. As he died heavily in debt, those that remained in his possession may have been sold to raise money and some earlier disposals may have been made for this purpose.

One would also, of course, like to know more about the Bodleian gift. Was Cope, or James, or Bodley the prime mover? On 15 May 1601 Bodley wrote from London to James, by then his Librarian, 'Among Mr Copes bookes I will picke out the best, and reteine more then I meant at the first. Howbeit I would intreat yow to send me a full note of those which in your iudgement yow take to be the chiefest.'⁴¹ Bodley's interest in exercising his right to select may well account for the high quality of much of the Bodleian group but since James had learned much about Cope's collection while working on his *Ecloga*, and had been given a bible by Cope (A sine numero ii), it seems most likely that once Bodley began to gather books for his library the existence of the Cope manuscripts came to James's mind and that he brought about the transfer. There is an unexpected hint in the *Ecloga* that already by 1600, the year of its publication, the 'Bibliotheca G.C.' was in Oxford: 'Oxon. in Bib. G.C.' is what James says of one of the items in MS. 68. Another item in the same volume, now MS. Bodley 158, is said to be in 'Exempl. 1 Priuat.' Surely the first of these must be an error on James's part—nothing like that is said of any of the other items in the volume. Or had negotiations about a transfer of the Cope manuscripts begun before the *Ecloga* was published, and did 'Oxon.' slip in by mistake? Or had the books indeed been transferred? Sir Thomas Bodley's letter of 15 May 1601 quoted above can be read in two ways, either meaning that he had the books in London but required James's comments on them before he could choose the best, or that James had them in Oxford and that therefore James's written comments were essential before he could choose. At this time it was Bodley's custom to remain in London and have books delivered to him there for later transfer to Oxford and he communicated with James by weekly instructions and reports,⁴² and on the whole it seems more probable that Cope's books were in London.

Many years ago Neil Ker made one of his wise remarks. Writing of the apparently vanished contents of the medieval libraries, he wrote

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

'The libraries of some important houses seem to have disappeared completely. We should beware of thinking that they really have disappeared.'⁴³ The same is probably true of the Cope manuscripts and it is likely that a good many Cope books are in regular use, unrecognized, in our libraries. One cannot, of course, assume that all survive today. For the survivors the most likely present homes are the collections that were being built up at the beginning of the seventeenth century—Cotton's, Lumley's, Archbishop Bancroft's and Archbishop Abbot's, both now at Lambeth Palace, Archbishop Ussher's at Trinity College, Dublin, the great collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, the Bodleian, and the Arundel collections in the College of Arms and the British Library. Because of Cope's connection with the Cecil family some may have passed into their hands but I know of none at Hatfield House and can pick out no obvious ones from the catalogue of the Burghley sale of 1687.⁴⁴ The number of Cope manuscripts discovered in the Cotton collection suggests that, as one might suppose, it may be the biggest repository of Cope's historical manuscripts (of which we have, of course, no record). As for the general pattern of distribution, it may or may not be significant that it is manuscripts near the beginning and end of the numerical list that fall outside the Bodleian gift: before A56 and after A153 in the list below only two Bodleian manuscripts are found, of which one did not come with the Cope books in 1602 and the other seems to have been separated from them (A *sine numero* i and ii). It may be that in these early years of the Library's development, when Bodley and James held the view that it should have a theological bias, their first interest was in selecting theological manuscripts from Cope's collection. Judging from the *Ecloga*, as rearranged in numerical order below, there was only a 5.1 per cent larger number of theological and philosophical manuscripts between nos. 56 and 153 than elsewhere (47.4 per cent as against 42.3 per cent), or 46 out of 97 as compared with 50 out of 118. The difference is not enough to explain Bodley's and James's apparent interest in the central numbers and that may, in fact, be illusory.

There is, however, one other possible hiding place for Sir Walter Cope's manuscripts—in the now dispersed library of the descendants of his brother Sir Anthony, whose great-great-grandson the 6th baronet, who died in 1749, bought Bramshill Park in Hampshire in 1699. There the family had a small library, which was catalogued in 1772 or before. The catalogue, now in the Bodleian,⁴⁵ lists two dozen manuscript books and a number of court rolls, as well as several hundred printed books. One hundred years later the collection was again surveyed for the Royal

Commission on Historical Manuscripts, with more or less the same results but with one or two discrepancies.⁴⁶ A third list of sorts can be reconstructed from a sale catalogue, for the Bramshill Library was sold in 1913.⁴⁷ Is it too much to hope that some of Sir Walter's manuscripts may be amongst them? The Bramshill manuscripts with known provenances came from Durham, Kenilworth, Waverley, Witham, and Winchcombe, as wide an area as that from which Sir Walter's came and one just as lacking in a pattern. Or is there a pattern in that Winchcombe, Witham, and perhaps Kenilworth supplied manuscripts to both collections? Although it seems impossible to make any connections between items in Thomas James's lists and items in the three Bramshill lists, one may take comfort from the fact that not all the Bramshill manuscripts were theological or philosophical and so, even if Walter Cope's, would not have found a place in James. And the general lack of numbers in Walter Cope's non-Bodleian manuscripts renders insignificant the fact that no numbers can be found in the few Bramshill manuscripts that have been traced (a mere thirteen) and seen.⁴⁸ There is, however, one piece of evidence which suggests that some of Sir Walter Cope's manuscripts could indeed have found their way to Bramshill. A manuscript of Ambrosiaster on the Epistle to the Romans, no. 6 in the 1772 Bramshill catalogue, no. 4 in the H.M.C. list and now in a seminary library in California (B1), is said in the supplement to De Ricci's *Census*⁴⁹ to have belonged to Winchcombe Abbey and thereafter to Sir John Prise (at least one of whose manuscripts was owned by Sir Walter Cope), then to Sir John Cope, Sir William Cope, Sir Walter Cope, and Sir Anthony Cope (he who sold the Bramshill Library). Sir John is either the 3rd or the 6th baronet, Sir William either the 2nd or the 12th, but a Sir Walter is unique: he is not one of the line of baronets but must be our Sir Walter Cope, knight. Even if one swallow does not make a summer, it does provide a basis for hope: perhaps other Bramshill manuscripts belonged to Sir Walter Cope.

Examining the manuscripts gathered by some collectors of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can often tell one quite a lot about both the manuscripts and the collectors. That is true of large-scale collectors like Prise, Parker, Cotton, Dee, and Thomas Allen and of small-scale collectors like Thomas Dackombe and John Lyndon, Dean of Crediton.⁵⁰ It seems to me, however, that this does not hold true for Cope except as regards the bindings of such of his manuscripts as are in the Bodleian: we learn no more about one Cope manuscript from its presence in the same collection as another than we can learn

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

from the manuscript itself, and apart from the impression that Cope was a *virtuoso* we learn nothing of his tastes and interests. A more positive view can, however, be taken of his collection as a whole. No other English collection of the time can, of course, be compared to Parker's or Cotton's but if we compare like with like and put Cope's collection beside those of Dee and Allen (always remembering that of those collections we have contemporary catalogues which give us a much more accurate idea of them than we can ever have of Cope's) we find that it stands comparison well. For sheer richness in materials from medieval monastic houses, indeed, Cope's surpasses both and from the point of view of both textual importance and codicological interest it contains some real treasures. Although time has in some ways not treated Cope's memory too well he deserves to be remembered in Oxford as a founder benefactor from whom Sir Thomas Bodley himself acquired nothing that is negligible and a number of books that are most precious.

¹ N. R. Ker, 'The migration of manuscripts from the English medieval libraries', *The Library*, 4th ser., xxiii (1942-3), 1-11, reprinted in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London and Ronceverte, 1985), pp. 459-70.

² See Ker, ed. Watson, p. 470, for references to studies of these men.

³ By Miss Pamela Black (Mrs. Selwyn), for a doctoral thesis for the University of Wales.

⁴ I am obliged to the President and Fellows of Corpus for permission to use the material here. The revision owes much to the interest of Dr. B. C. Barker-Benfield.

⁵ *The Library*, 6th ser., viii (1986), 133-51.

⁶ The basic facts are in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. For Cope and the Cecils see M. Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts* (Oxford, 1966).

⁷ Prestwich, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁸ *Survey of London. Volume XXXVII: Northern Kensington* (1973), p. 101. See also the Earl of Ilchester, *The Home of the Hollands* (London, 1937), pp. 5-6.

⁹ G. von Bülow, 'Diary of the journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., vi (1892), 1-67. In 1721 George Vertue noted the one-time existence of these pictures, including Holbeins, adding: 'Quere if some of these old pictures still remain in Holland hous.' He later noted 'yes lately many did': see *The Eighteenth Volume of the Walpole Society . . . Vertue Note Books Volume I* (1930), p. 88.

¹⁰ *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, Memoirs xii, pts. 1 and 2, 1939), nos. 98, 57, 153; London, British Lib., MS. Cotton Julius C. III, fol. 108 (see further n. 31 below).

¹¹ Printed in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, i (Oxford, 1953), 79-122, but the original gives titles in a fuller and more informative form.

¹² O. Pächt & J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, iii (Oxford, 1973), no. 42; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*

(London, 1975), pl. 118. MS. Bodley 342 has the additional interest of containing 'the earliest scrap of Netherlandish that has been recorded in England' (see K. Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Review of English Studies*, ix (1933), 1-12 (for this see p. 11)).

¹³ Pächt & Alexander, op. cit., no. 8; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii (2nd edn., Oxford, 1972), no. 235; E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), pl. xxxviii; *Scriptorium*, xii (1958), pl. 22; *Manuscripts at Oxford: an Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt . . . held in the Bodleian Library Oxford . . .*, ed. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford, 1980), II.7, fig. 2.

¹⁴ Pächt & Alexander, op. cit., no. 6; J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978), no. 40, pl. 36; Lowe, *CLA* ii, no. 234; *MSS. at Oxford*, II.3; A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), no. 88, pl. 7.

¹⁵ Pächt & Alexander, op. cit., no. 280.

¹⁶ G. Pollard, 'Some Anglo-Saxon bookbindings', *The Book Collector*, xxiv (1975), 130-59, no. 7.

¹⁷ Pächt & Alexander, op. cit., no. 476.

¹⁸ For facsimile see M. R. James, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford, Roxburghe Club, 1920).

¹⁹ For Sir John Prise see N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', *The Library*, 5th ser., x (1955), 1-24, reprinted in Ker, ed. Watson (see n. 1 above), pp. 471-95. For Dackombe see A. G. Watson, 'A sixteenth-century collector: Thomas Dackombe, 1496-c. 1572', *The Library*, 5th ser., xviii (1963), 204-17.

²⁰ A study of John Theyer, 1597-1673, remains to be written. For the present see *The Dictionary of National Biography* and British Museum, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), i, p. xxvi.

²¹ A little more is, however, known than that noted by R. W. Hunt, 'St John's College donors', *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard* (Oxford Bibliographical Society, n.s., xviii, 1975), 63-70 (see pp. 68-9). Sir Simonds D'Ewes's accounts occasionally contain entries for purchases of manuscripts from booksellers: see A. G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London, 1966), e.g. List H nos. 60, 80, 115, 136(?), 146, 149, 150(?), 163(?), 173, 174(?), 177(?).

²² *Victoria County History, Oxford*, ix (1969), 119.

²³ 'An apology for the late Lord Treasurer Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury', printed in J. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa* (London, 1781), i, 119-33.

²⁴ Linda Van Norden, 'The Elizabethan College of Antiquaries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1946), pp. 163, 194.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 259.

²⁶ *A Collection of Curious Discourses*, ed. J. Ayloffe (Oxford, 1771), ii, 427.

²⁷ J. Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958), p. 234.

²⁸ It was printed by F. Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (London, 1836), ii, 311-35.

²⁹ The copy of Agarde used here is British Lib., MS. Lansdowne 137, one of a number of contemporary copies. The quotation above is from fol. 2. The Latin title, as in a copy at Hatfield House, reads 'Compendium Recordorum in Archivis Domini Regis . . . in ordinem digestorum per Arthurum Agarde deputatum Walteri Cope militis.' The Hatfield copy bears an introductory note from Agarde to Salisbury which acknowledges his debt to Salisbury, Cotton, and Mr John Bingley: no reference is made to Cope. See Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Ninth Report, Salisbury xxi* (1970), 272.

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

³⁰ W. E. Houghton, 'The English virtuoso in the seventeenth century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, iii (1942), 51-73, 190-219; A. MacGregor, 'The cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth-century Britain', *The Origins of Museums: the Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. O. Impey and A. MacGregor (Oxford, 1985), pp. 147-58.

³¹ London, British Lib., MS. Cotton Julius C. III, fol. 108: 'I ame threatened by Some abowte the Kinge of Denmarke that he purposes if he can gett from the Kinge to steale to my howse to see my Cabynett abowt x of the Clock. If you can Lend me some antiquities yow maye doe me a pleasure.' The date must be 1606. A similar letter, *ibid.*, fol. 109, dated 30 March 1607, asks Cotton to send antiquities and 'a note of ther names as yow were wount to doe'.

³² MacGregor, *op. cit.* (n. 30 above), p. 148, referring to C. Williams, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937), pp. 171-3, and G. von Bülow (see n. 9 above).

³³ It is presumably a sign of the importance and accessibility of Cope's library that it features in the *Ecloga*. One supposes that James could have used the Cotton library, of which his nephew Richard was later to be Librarian, but in the late 1590s it still had thirty years of growth before it and in any case was always stronger in history than in theology. The Royal Library at St. James's, rich in monastic manuscripts even before the accession of Lumley's books a decade later, would seem another alternative but it may not have been open to James. Perhaps something depended on the availability of a clerk to supply the information: James's preface to the *Ecloga* thanks Lumley and Cope for communicating their titles but that chore must surely have been done by a minion.

³⁴ One cannot be certain, but it is probable that all the numbers indicate manuscripts. At this date manuscripts and printed books were normally shelved and listed separately and the distribution of numbers—3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, and so on—leaves little space for groups of books. With one exception the gaps in the numbers are never more than four or five digits: the exception is 201-9, admittedly big enough to accommodate a block of nine printed books. Cope's range of manuscripts was, however, wider than just theological and philosophical and it is reasonable to suppose that the numbers missing from James's list were applied to manuscripts on other subjects.

³⁵ Most of the whittawed leather Exeter bindings in the Bodleian differ from Cope's in having round ties like shoe-laces rather than flat ribbon-like ties and have a blind criss-cross pattern on the cover, usually decorated further with blind-stamps.

³⁶ See, for example, Bernard C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique* (London, 1963), p. 117. I am obliged to Dr. Mirjam Foot for discussing the matter with me and examining some of the bindings in question.

³⁷ MS. Bodley 29 (SC 1876), not a Cope manuscript, has a limp vellum cover with the remains of a blue fabric tie. It probably came to the Library in 1603 or 1604.

³⁸ *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James . . .*, ed. W. G. Wheeler (Oxford, 1926), p. xvii.

³⁹ Strickland Gibson, *Some Oxford Libraries* (London, 1914), p. 73.

⁴⁰ Public Record Office, P.C.C. 66 Rudd.

⁴¹ *Letters of Bodley to James*, p. 4.

⁴² Ian Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 8, 12.

⁴³ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of the Surviving Manuscripts* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks no. 3, 2nd edn., London, 1964), p. xxix.

Bodleian Library Record

⁴⁴ *Bibliotheca Illustris: sive Catalogus variorum librorum . . . viri cujusdam praenobilis . . . olim defuncti . . . Novemb. 21 1687* (London, 1687).

⁴⁵ MS. Eng. misc. c. 307.

⁴⁶ Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Third Report* (1872), Appendix, p. 242.

⁴⁷ Sotheby, 4 March 1913.

⁴⁸ The Bodleian Library owns three: MSS. Lat. th. d. 46, from Winchcombe (Bramshill cat. no. 7, H.M.C. no. 2, Sale cat. no. 9); Lyell 48 (H.M.C. no. 21, Sale cat. no. 203); and Lyell empt. 11 (H.M.C. no. 22).

⁴⁹ *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, ed. W. H. Bond (New York, 1962), p. 13.

⁵⁰ See A. P. D[eeley], 'Mugge-Mason MSS.', *Bodleian Library Record*, ii (1941-9), 91-2.

APPENDIX

Sir Walter Cope's Manuscripts

List A comprises manuscripts noted by Thomas James in his *Ecloga*, part 2. They are listed in 'Cope number' order as indicated by James, the absence of a number meaning that James does not mention it. Titles follow James's wording and punctuation and are followed by a page reference to part 2 of the *Ecloga* in square brackets. List B comprises manuscripts not listed by James, in alphabetical order by place, and with two manuscripts added at the end which, though not Cope's own, were temporarily in his hands.

The chance has been taken to record a few addenda and corrigenda to the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*. Bindings are dated according to the definition of Graham Pollard, 'Describing medieval bookbindings', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1973), pp. 50-65, whose first period covers the years 1000-1100, second period 1100-1230/50, third period 1230/50-1450, and fourth period 1450-1500. If, however, the date of the text provides a *terminus ante quem non*, 's. xv' is used rather than 'third period, late'. The expression 'Cope binding' indicates the style of binding commonly found on Cope manuscripts in the Bodleian: see pp. 270-1 above. A reference to Pächt & Alexander (see below) is made only when that work contains an illustration of the manuscript. Remarks such as 'an ordinary manuscript' are not intended to express an opinion of the value of the manuscript from the point of view of text or illumination or rareness, but simply to give an idea of how it may have appeared to a collector like Cope.

The following abbreviations and abbreviated titles are used:

BL
DNB
Emden, *BRUO*

British Library, London
The Dictionary of National Biography
A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9)

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

Emden, BRUO 1501-1540	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to A.D. 1540</i> (Oxford, 1974)
Emden, <i>Donors</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>Donors of Books to S. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury</i> (Oxford Bibliographical Society Occasional Publication no. 4, 1968)
HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
James, <i>Anc. Libs.</i>	M. R. James, <i>The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover</i> (Cambridge, 1903)
Ker, <i>Cat. Anglo-Saxon MSS.</i>	N. R. Ker, <i>A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> (Oxford, 1957)
Lowe, <i>CLA</i>	E. A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> , ii (2nd edn., Oxford, 1972)
Pächt & Alexander	O. Pächt & J. J. G. Alexander, <i>Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966-73)
SC	<i>A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford</i> , 7 vols. in 8 (Oxford, 1895-1953, repr. 1980)

LIST A

3. Mayro Fr. *Scriptis . . . Conflatus* [p. 46]; Bacon, Rog. *Rogerina maior & minor* [p. 79].
Not found. MS. Bodley 429 contains the F. Mayro texts but not Bacon's and there is no reason to connect it with Cope.
5. Lullius Raymundus, *In lapidario, De lumine, Ascensus et descensus intellectus, Ars principiorum, Theorica Testamenti* [p. 93].
Not found.
7. Grostheadus, vel Lincolniensis, *De prognosticationibus aeris* [p. 89]; Sacrobosco Io. *De sphaera* [p. 100].
Not found.
9. Opera Hugonis de S. Victore, *De sacramentis* [p. 40]; Iohannicius, *Isagoge* [p. 91]; Sybillæ, *Versus ex translat. Aug.* [p. 103]; Opera Aristotelis Græcè & Latinè. *Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum de observatione humani corporis* [p. 66].
Not found.
11. Vincentius. *Speculum historiale* [p. 105].
Cf. MS. Bodley 636 (SC 2002), given to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602. But item 1 consists only of extracts from the *Speculum* and, more important, Bodley 636 may be Cope MS. 153 below.
12. Normannus Gu. *Transtulit lib. Bestiarum* [p. 95].
Perhaps BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian A. VII, s. xiii. On fol. 2 is 'liber

Bodleian Library Record

dominj Thome dackom' 156(?)7': on him see A. G. Watson, *The Library*, 5th ser., xviii (1963), 204-17, where this MS. is not recorded.

13. Bedæ opera . . . *De natura rerum* [p. 19]; Halpericus, *De arte calculatoria* [p. 89].

Perhaps BL, MS. Cotton Tiberius E. IV, badly burned in the Cotton fire of 1731. From Winchcombe Abbey, from which Cope had at least one other MS. Once a very handsome twelfth-century book which, if Cope's, must have been amongst his finest.

17. Horatius [p. 90].
Not found.

19. Opera Aristotelis Græcè & Latinè. *Secreta secretorum* [p. 66].
Not found.

20. Arator. *Scriptis versus De Historia Apostolica* [p. 9]; Alanus Magnus, *Anticlaudianus* [p. 77]; Iuuenalis [p. 91].

Not found. No *Anticlaudianus* MS. combined with the other texts is recorded by M. T. Gibson, N. F. Palmer, and D. R. Shanzer, 'Manuscripts of Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*', *Studi Medievali*, forthcoming.

23. Silius Aeneas. *De miseria Regibus seruientium. Sententiæ ex Seneca. Transtulit orationes Demosthenis de Alexandro Magno recipiendo vel refellendo* [p. 102].
Not found.

24. Macer. *De herbis* [p. 94]; Viriuasius [*sic*]. *De herbarum virtutibus* [p. 104].
Not found.

25. Crescentinus P. *Liber ruralium commodorum* [p. 84].
Not found. Lambeth Palace MS. 174 is one of several unprovable possibilities.

29. Chiluenuz. *De scientia annorum Arabum* [p. 82]; Iardagird Alex., *De scientia annorum Arabum* [p. 91]; Sacrobosco Io. *De sphæra* [p. 100].
Not found.

33. Iordanus. *Liber de plana sphæra* [p. 91]; Plato. *De Timæo* [p. 97]; Ptolomæus. *Centilogium cum comment. Haly* [p. 99]; Sacrobosco Io. *De sphæra* [p. 100].

Not found. Apparently D.13 G.3. in the library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (James, *Anc. Libs.*, no. 1112).

35. Solinus Iulius [p. 102].
Not found.

40. Alphonsus. *Tab. & Canones* [p. 77]; Campanus. *Theorica* [p. 82]; Ptolomæus. *Centilogium cum comment. Haly* [p. 99]; Thebyth Bencoral [*sic*]. *De imaginatione motus 8. Sphæra, super 2. Circulos* [p. 103].
Not found.

41. Puleyn, Rob. Anglus. *Scriptis Sententias de Trinitate* [p. 52].
Not found. On Pullen see Emden, *BRUO*, also F. Courtney, 'Cardinal Robert Pullen', *Analecta Gregoriana*, liv (1954), 21, for the two known

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

surviving MSS., neither of which can be Cope's. In the Christ Church Canterbury catalogue (James, *Anc. Libs.*), no. 1330 was 'Summa M. R. Pulli de Trinitate'.

43. Aurelii Augustini Opera *De vera & falsa pœnitentia* [p. 15]; Opera Aristotelis Græcè & Latinè. *Secreta secretorum* [p. 66].
Not found.
44. Valerius Maximus. Gallicè [p. 104].
Not found.
45. Boëtius. *De disciplina scholarium* [p. 80].
Not found.
48. Athelredus abbas Rieuall Anglus. *De vita & moribus quorundam regum Angliæ* [p. 79].
Not found.
50. Anselmi opera *Meditationes de passione* [p. 7].
Not found.
56. Aurelii Augustini Opera *Contra Iulianum* [p. 14].
MS. Bodley 145 (SC 1915), s. xi². At the top of fol. 1 are '56', perhaps the Cope number, and the remains of a title 'Augustinus contra Iulianum < . . . >', s. xvi. These seem to be in the same ink. The MS. is a fine example of insular Caroline script. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over medieval wooden boards, with new spine. Yellowed edges. According to SC this is the exemplar of MS. Bodley 134, from Rochester Cathedral Priory. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
57. Lyranus Nic. *In Euangelistas* [p. 45].
MS. Bodley 857 (SC 2760), s. xv¹. Fol. 1^v: 'Iste liber constat Willelmo Marschall cappellano de Pesholme', perhaps Peasholm, Scarborough, Yorks. A similar inscription is on fol. 82, where there is also 'Expliciunt sermones . . . Quod Castell de Wyroull [Wirrel?]', followed by an erasure over which Marschall has written his name. Another erasure, perhaps of an owner's name, is on fol. 127^v. Fol. 1 is a leaf from another MS., on the verso of which is an account in verse of Henry VI's visit to York in 1448. In pink whittawed leather binding over wooden boards, s. xv, with remains of a chain staple at top centre of front cover. A good, large copy. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
58. Bedæ opera *De natura rerum* [p. 19], *De temporum ratione* [p. 19]; Paschasinus [*sic*]. Scripsit *Epist. de Pascha* [p. 50]; Proterius. Scripsit *Epistolam de ratione Paschæ* [p. 51]; Halpericus [*sic*]. *De arte calculatoria* [p. 89]; Herefordensis Rob. *De annis Domini vel excerpta de Chronica Mariani* [p. 90]; Higginus [*sic*]. *De Sphæra cœlesti* [p. 90].
MS. Auct. F. 3. 14 (SC 2372), s. xii in. At top of fol. 1 is '72'. From Malmesbury Abbey: partly in William of Malmesbury's hand. 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over medieval wooden boards: that the leather is a replacement is shown by the impression of an earlier cover

on the front and back flyleaves and by a stain on the latter which comes from a now covered or removed nail. Remains of fabric double ties. Yellowed edges. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

61. Reginaldus. *Scriptis. Versus de S. Malcho & aliis* [p. 52].

For the six surviving MSS. see L. R. Lind, *The Vita Malchi of Reginald of Canterbury* (Urbana, 1942). One is German, one was and is at Merton College, Oxford, one (MS. Digby 65) was probably in Thomas Allen's hands in Cope's time. The Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 40 is the most likely MS. for identification with John Dee's MS. M173 in R. J. Roberts and A. G. Watson, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London, The Bibliographical Society, forthcoming); it was previously owned by Rochester Cathedral Priory. MS. Laud Misc. 500 is another possible Dee MS. but is less likely than MS. Laud Misc. 40. So far as is known either could have been Cope's. The most probable identification with Cope's MS. 61 is, however, BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian E. III, from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, but no proof is possible.

62. Necham Alex. *De naturis rerum* [p. 47], *De natura rerum* [p. 95].
Not found.

63. Philippus Presbyter. *Scriptis in Job* [p. 51].

MS. Bodley 426 (SC 2327), fols. 1-118, s. ix med. On fol. iv^v is 'Di. III. G^a IIII Liber sancti Augustini Cantuariensis' (James, *Anc. Libs.*, no. 137). '63' at top of fol. 1 is presumably Cope's number and the fact that it is trimmed shows that it was put on before the book was bound. Also on fol. 1 is a St. Augustine's title followed by 'cum A'. Written in a fine insular minuscule, for illustrations of which see n. 14 above. Part 2 of the volume, containing letters of Petrus Blesensis, s. xv, from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, is A145 below. The binding is an Oxford one, calf, with blind centrepieces, over pasteboards, s. xvi ex or xvii in, and with evidence of ties. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

64. Anselmi Opera . . . *Meditationes* [p. 7]; Opera S. Bonaventuræ . . . *De descriptione Angeli* [p. 22], *De passione meditationes* [p. 22]; Cassiodorus, *Scintillarium Scripturarum* [p. 25]; Vthredus. *Scriptis Meditationes* [p. 57]; Boëtius, *De consolatione Philosophiæ* [p. 80].

MS. Bodley 797 (SC 2649), s. xv. On the front pastedown is '〈Liber Johannis Hunte de Cherbury . . . pertinet magistro doctori Bury Augustinensium〉' and on the back pastedown is 'Johannes Hunte', perhaps in the same hand as the rubrics. On fol. 1^v is 'Conventus Clar', i.e. the Augustinian convent at Clare, of which Bury was a member in 1460, and on the front pastedown is 'Liber domus Ihesu de Shene ex dono Magistri Johannis Bury Augustinensis in sacra theologia professoris', i.e. the charterhouse at Sheen. On Bury see Emden, *BRUO*. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards of s. xv, with remains of leather straps replaced by textile double straps. Yellowed edges. '18' on fol. iv and '180' at top of fol. ii. Not an attractive MS. though decent of its kind. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

66. Berengwiddus. Scripsit *In Apocalypsin* [p. 20].
For many possible (and other impossible) MSS. see F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, ii (1950), no. 1711.
68. Armachanus Ric. Scripsit *Contra fratres mendicantes* [p. 9], *Propositionem in Consistorio coram Domino P. & Cardinalibus ac praelatis ad utilitatem Cleri ac pop. Christiani contra fratres mendicantes* [p. 9]; Guilielmus de S. Amore. Scripsit *Tract. de periculis nouissimorum temporum* [p. 35]; Nicolaus G. Scripsit *Tract. epistolarum* Exemp. 1 Oxon. in Bib. G.C. [p. 48]; Remington Gu. Scripsit *Conclusiones positas contra errores fratrum mendicantium ab Armachano*. Exempl. 1 Priuat. [p. 53].
MS. Bodley 158 (SC 1997), s. xv in. At top centre of fol. 1 is '68.', presumably Cope's number. In the second-last item above, 'Oxon. in Bib. G.C.' may be no more than a prophetic error, but see p. 272 above. In the last item 'Priuat.' must refer to Cope's copy. A very ordinary MS. on parchment of irregular size. Speckled calf binding over pasteboard, s. xviii¹, new spine. Yellowed edges. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
71. Albinus Fl. Anglus Scripsit *Breviarium de Virtutibus & Vitijs* [p. 3].
MS. Bodley 1 (SC 1840), s. xiii in. At top right of fol. 1 is '103'. From Christ Church, Canterbury (no. 77 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with remains of yellow ties. Pink and white silk headbands, yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
72. Mayro Fr. *De indulgentijs* [p. 46]; Parisiensis Io., vel Gu., *De indulgentijs* [p. 49]; Pecock Ran. [sic], *Epistolam ad Gu. Godard S. Theologiae doctorem & resp.* [p. 50]; Cato, *Disticha cum applicatione ad Scripturam* [p. 82].
Not found. For Reginald Pecock see Emden, *BRUO*. No copy of the work was known to V. H. H. Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock* (Cambridge, 1945): see Appx. II, Non-Surviving Works.
75. Nicodemus, *Epistolæ de passione & resurrectione Christi* [p. 47].
MS. Bodley 556 (SC 2340), s. xii ex. Inside the present 'Cope' binding of limp vellum is an earlier cover of whittawed leather, round the spine of which is a paper label with 'vol. 75' on it, presumably Cope's number, altered to '24'. Up the spine runs the remains of another paper label bearing the title and '75'. At the top of fol. 1 is '41' and at the foot is '193.' Yellowed edges, and the remains of yellow ties on the outer cover. An ordinary MS. but with good initials. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
78. Lombardus P. Scripsit *Libros 4 Sentent.* [p. 44].
MS. Bodley 651 (SC 2295), s. xiii¹. On fol. 131, a flyleaf, is 'Iste liber constat domino Ricardo ap Llu alias Lewys quondam capellano parochialis ecclesie beate Marie de Fauersham anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} lix^o.' At the top of fol. 1 is '148'. In a 'Cope' binding of white

Bodleian Library Record

whittawed leather over medieval wooden boards: that the leather is a replacement is confirmed by stains of tanned leather from the earlier binding on the pastedowns. Remains of fabric double ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

82. S. Brigitta, *Reuelationes eius habentur* . . . [p. 23].

MS. Bodley 169 (SC 2030), paper, s. xv. On fol. 113 is 'Constat Johanni Ro<lynh>', partly erased and rewritten. On fol. v, part of a parchment leaf containing a record of a case before the ecclesiastical court in Konstanz, is a title in textura, 'Reuelaciones Brigitte', s. xv. Similar titles are on the lower and upper foreedges. For the watermarks cf. Briquet 2639 (Ferrara, 1415) and 4017 (Zürich, 1417). In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over medieval wooden boards, with remains of leather straps on upper cover. Clapsed in the English manner from upper to lower covers. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

83. Prosper. Scripsit *De vita contemplatiua & actiua* [p. 51].

MS. Bodley 126 (SC 1990), c.1100. At the top of fol. 1 is '33'. In a medieval parchment cover inside a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with remains of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. A good if not grand copy. Pächt & Alexander, iii, no. 52, pl. vi. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

85. Aurelii Augustini opera *Abusionum gradus* [p. 10]; Cassianus Io. Scripsit *Collationes* [p. 25].

MS. Bodley 800 (SC 2658), s. xii¹. At top of fol. 1 is 'J. foxus' but the book is not to be found in the list of Foxe's books in BL, MS. Lansdowne 815, fols. 95-96^v. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over twelfth-century wooden boards, turned and rebored at least twice. Faint remains of double ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Pächt & Alexander, iii, no. 158, pl. xv. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

87. Parisiensis Io. *Flores* [p. 96].

MS. Bodley 185 (SC 2087), s. xv¹. On fol. ii^v, 'Thomas <Digges>' (s. xvi); on fol. 116 'William Digges' (twice, s. xvi), 'Codex Guillelmi gresson' (s. xv), 'Thomas Digges' (s. xvi). Thomas Digges may be the mathematician, d. 1595 (see *DNB*). The contents-table on fol. ii^v, a title on fol. 1, and notes on fol. 116 are in Gresson's hand. At top of fol. 1, '114'. A binding of nineteenth-century leather probably covers medieval wooden boards and the old pastedowns show stains that indicate an earlier leather binding. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

91. Alphonsus P. Scripsit *De confutatione Iudæorum* [p. 4].

MS. Bodley 801 (SC 2659), s. xv¹. '21' on foredge. On fol. 1, 'Liber domus beate marie de Witham ordinis Cartus' ex dono magistri Johannis Blacman': no. 6 in list of books presented by Blacman to Witham in Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 154, fols. 1-2^v: on him see Emden, *BRUO*. On fol. 268, 'Stephanus Battmanus huius librij possessor.' On him see

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

DNB and references by M. B. Parkes in G. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, a Facsimile of Corpus Christi College MS. 61, with introduction by M. B. Parkes and E. Salter (Cambridge, 1978), p. 12. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over medieval(?) wooden boards, with remains of double ties. Yellowed edges. A good copy. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

97. Opera S. Bonaventuræ, . . . *Stimulus amoris Anglicè* [p. 22].
MS. Bodley 480 (SC 2020), s. xv. Fol. 64^v, 'My Lady Marques Dorsettes booke' (s. xv/xvi), and verses ending 'Credo videre bona domini in terra viuentium / S and B belongs to me. ijs.' These verses are in Stephen Batman's hand (on whom see under A91 above) and he has also supplied missing text on two paper leaves at the beginning. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards, with evidence of double fabric ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS., but with some good initials. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
98. Rupescissanus Io. vel Io. de Rupescissa. Scripsit . . . *Prophetias* [p. 53].
Not found.
99. Amadisius Gallus, *Historia fabulosa* [p. 78].
Not found.
100. Gilbert Mon. & Abbas Westmonast. Scripsit *Contra peccata cogitat. locutionis & operis* [p. 32]; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De topographia Hiberniæ* [p. 88].
Not found.
101. Aurelii Augustini Opera *Ad Fortunatum Episcopum commonitio* [p. 13]; Cassiodorus, *Scintillarium Scripturarum* [p. 25]; Opera B. Leonis. *De conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum* [p. 44].
Not found.
102. Albertus Magnus. Scripsit . . . *De adhærendo Deo nudato intellectu & affectu* [p. 2].
MS. Bodley 856 (SC 2625), s. xv¹. '24' at top centre fol. 1. Binding of mottled calf, s. xvii ex or xviii in, rebaked. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
105. *Glossa ordinaria & interlinearis* . . . *In Mathæum, & Marcum* [p. 61].
Not found. Also A120 below.
106. Cassiodorus . . . Scripsit . . . *In Psalmos* [p. 25].
Not found. Also A121 below.
107. Sidrac Philosophus, *Fountaine de toutes sciences, Gallicè* [p. 102].
MS. Bodley 461 (SC 2451), s. xiv¹. Fol. 274^v has names, s. xv, of John and William Marlinges or Merlinges of Thaxted, Essex, Thomas Marmyon, and P(?) Young. In 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards with cushion bevel, with new spine. Green and pink silk headbands. A good copy. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

Bodleian Library Record

110. Bedæ opera . . . *De tabernaculis & vasis eius, ac vestibus sacerdotalibus* [p. 19].

MS. Bodley 447 (SC 2680), s. xii¹. At foot of fol. 1, '20.' On fol. i, 'Jo. Prise vindicauit hunc librum a tinearum morsibus', and on fol. 1, 'Jo. Prisei, 1553'. For Prise see n. 19 above. The binding may be a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over medieval wooden boards, but with evidence of a single tie, not a double tie in the usual 'Cope' manner. Yellowed edges. A good but not grand copy. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

113. Lillushull Io. Scripsit *Manuale sacerdotis* [p. 44]; Parantinus Bernardus. Scripsit *Tract. super totum officium Missæ* [p. 50].

Cope's copies of these works are in two of the MSS. he presented to the Bodleian in 1602 but no MS. has been found which contains both. James probably erred in giving both the Cope number 113. (a) MS. Bodley 549 (SC 2298), ss. xiv and xv. At top of fol. 1 is '8.5.' In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards, s. xv, with new spine. Yellowed edges. A good ordinary copy. (b) MS. Bodley 787 (SC 2627), paper, s. xv. At top of fol. 1 is '〈Liber ecclesie sancte〉 trinitatis norwyc' ex dono fratris Johannis Elyngham'. On fol. 113^v is 'J. Marton monachus norwyc', and a similar inscription is on fol. 114. Yellowed edges. A good ordinary copy.

115. Aurelii Augustini opera . . . *Enchiridion* [p. 12].

Not found.

117. S. Hieronymi opera . . . *De viris illustribus* [p. 34]; Murinus. Scripsit *De erectione* [sic] *Paschali* [p. 47].

BL, MS. Cotton Caligula A. XV, fols. 3-118, s. viii². The MS. contains both texts, and James's faulty title (*recte* 'de ratione paschali') evidently derives from a faulty rubric on fol. 82^v, 'Disputatione Murini . . . derectione paschali.' On fol. 3 is 'Ro. Cotton 1602.' For illustrations see Palaeographical Society, 1st ser., pl. 145; British Museum, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum: part II, Latin* (1884), ii. 166; Lowe, *CLA* ii, no. 183.

119. *Glossa ordinaria & interlinearis* . . . *In actus & Apocalypsin* [p. 61].

Not found.

120. *Glossa ordinaria & interlinearis* . . . *In Mathæum, & Marcum* [p. 61].

Not found. Also A105 above.

121. Cassiodorus . . . Scripsit . . . *In Psalmos* [p. 25].

Not found. Also A106 above.

125. Opera Ambrosij . . . *De laude virginum* [p. 5], *de Virginitate* [p. 6]; Beleth, Io. Parisiensis. Scripsit *Summam de ecclesiasticis officiis* [p. 19].

MS. Bodley 196 (SC 1897), c. 1300. At top centre of fol. iv is '49.' and on fol. iv^v is '23.'. On fols. 3^v and 4 is 'Johannes Dygun', and the Christ Church Canterbury marginal marks found in the MS. (on which see

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

N. R. Ker, *British Museum Quarterly*, xiv (1940), 85) suggest that he was probably the last prior of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Emden, *BRUO* 1501-1540) and not, as *SC* states, the man of that name who was a recluse of Sheen. On fol. ii^v is the erased name 'John Godfrey' (s. xv). In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards. Yellowed edges. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

127. Euclides. *Geometrica* [p. 86].
Not found.
128. Athelredus abbas Rieuall Anglus. *De 11. oneribus* [p. 79].
MS. Bodley 139 (*SC* 1909), s. xii². At top centre of fol. 1, '62'. On fol. 1 are also the remains of a Warden Abbey ex-libris, 'L< > de War < >'. Speckled calf binding, s. xviii in. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
133. Lignanus [*sic*] Io. *Tract. de bello* [p. 92].
Not found.
137. Innocentius. *Scriptis De contemptu mundi* [p. 41].
Not found.
141. Haymo ex Anglo-Saxonum genere. *Scriptis . . . Breuem expositionem Canonum* [p. 36].
Not found.
143. Infirmarius Rob. *Scriptis Narrationes de Seth filio Adam* [p. 41].
MS. Bodley 600 (*SC* 2390), s. xiii. On fol. 1 is '138', and various St. Augustine's, Canterbury, inscriptions on that leaf include 'Liber Roberti: Infirmarii: cum A' and 'D VIII Ga VI' (no. 1562 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). 'Legenda & similia' in hand of s. xvi ex on fol. i. In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with remains of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
145. Blesensis P. *Epistolæ* [p. 21], *Super Iob* [p. 21].
MS. Bodley 426, fols. 119-263 (*SC* 2327), s. xv. Part 1 of the MS. is A63 above. The Benefactors' Register, p. 47 (but not the printed version in *SC*, p. 83), makes it clear that Cope's MS. contained both Philip Presbyter *In Job* (A63 above) and 'Petri Blesensis Opera'. On fol. 119, in the first capital letter of the *Epistolæ*, are the arms of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. For the binding of the whole volume see A63 above.
146. Ansegisus abbas, *De legibus imperatorum* [p. 78].
Not found. The text is rare in England. For the text and many MSS., none of which seems likely to be English or Cope's, see Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, *Capitularia regum francorum tomus i* (1883), pp. 383-450. To these should be added Bodleian MS. Hatton 42, part 3 (fols. 189-204), but it contains excerpts only and as it lacks a title one wonders how James could have recognized it.
150. Adelmus Anglus. *Scriptis De laude virginitatis* [p. 1].
MS. Bodley 97 (*SC* 1928), s. xi. At top centre of fol. 1 is '108.'. On fol. i

Bodleian Library Record

- are 'Dii^a G Vus' and 'SX.', the pressmark and twelfth-century lettermark of Christ Church, Canterbury (no. 48 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*), and 'de librario Sancti Augustini Extra Cantuar' (but not in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). Also on fol. i is '1565 Anno Elizabethæ Regine 7^o. W darell possessor huius libri.' On Darrell, Sub-Dean of Canterbury etc., see *DNB*. A beautiful little book, bound in contemporary wooden boards (no. 7 in Pollard's list of Anglo-Saxon bindings, for which see n. 16 above) but with a 'Cope' covering of white whittawed leather and with a new spine. Yellowed edges. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
153. Grostheadi opera . . . *Testamentum* 12. *Patriarchum* [p. 35].
 ?MS. Bodley 636 (SC 2002), parchment and paper, s. xv. At the top of fol. 1 is '31'. Cope MS. 11, q.v. above, contained the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, excerpts from which are in the present MS., but on the whole, identification of MS. Bodley 636 with Cope MS. 153 seems probable. On fol. 224 is 'Iste liber constat domino J. peny . . .' (s. xv). In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with the remains of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
154. Biblia linguis varijs scripta vel in parte, vel in toto . . . Gallicè. *Pars Biblie à Tobia inclusivè* [p. 60].
 Not found.
160. Westmonasteriensis Math. *Flores* [p. 105].
 Not found.
162. Anglicus Io. Scripsit *De vitis Sanctorum Wallensium* [p. 6].
 Not found. For Joh. Anglicus, presumably John of Tynemouth, see C. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (Oxford, 1901), i, Introduction, but no separate MS. containing the lives of Welsh saints is known.
167. Bedæ opera . . . *Numerus et nomina librorum eius* [p. 19]; Alex. Magnus, *Ad Aristotelem de mirabilibus Indiæ* [p. 77]; Gildas Badonicus, *De Britannicæ excidio* [p. 88]; Monumethensis Galfredus, *Historia* [p. 95].
 BL, MS. Cotton Nero D. VIII, fols. 1-175, s. xiii in. A reasonably certain identification since all the above texts, with others, are present. On fol. 3 is 'J. Stow(e)'.
169. Bedæ opera . . . *Libellus de locis sanctis* [p. 19].
 Not found.
170. Bertelet, Io. *Polychronicon* [p. 80].
 Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS. 3097 (9903), s. xiv. On fol. 6^v is 'Polichronicon id est cronica plurium temporum fratris Iohannis Bertelot'. De libraria sancti Augustini Cantuariensis distinctione x^a gradu iii^o and on fol. 163^v is 'Liber de studio sancti Augustini Cantuariensis' (no. 932 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). The inscription is evidently the source of Thomas James's wrong ascription of authorship. For Bertelot see Emden, *Donors*, p. 6. John Dee's 'Jupiter' mark is on fol. vii (M122 in Roberts and Watson (see A61 above)). On fol. 3 is 'Cornelij Duijn Aemstelredamensis Hagae

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

Comitis Hollandiae anno Domini MDCVIII^o.’ On him see M. Coens, ‘Les Manuscrits de Corneille Duyn donnés jadis à Heribert Rosweyde et conservés actuellement à Bruxelles’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxvii (1959), 108–34 (this MS., p. 132), and N. R. Ker, ‘English manuscripts owned by Johannes Vlimmerius and Cornelius Duyn’, *The Library*, 4th ser., xxii (1942), 205–7.

172. Giraldus Cambrensis. *Historia vaticinalis de conquestu secundo Hiberniae* [p. 88].

Not found.

176. Bedæ opera . . . *Historia Ecclesiastica* [p. 19].

Not found.

177. Alex. Magnus, *Ad Aristotelem de mirabilibus Indiae* [p. 77]; Diaconus Paulus [p. 85]; Eutropius. *Lib. abbreviatorij de rebus Rom.* [p. 86].

Probably BL, MS. Royal 15 C. VI, s. xii, which entered the Royal Library in 1616 as the result of an exchange of manuscripts with Cotton, whose signature ‘Ro: Cotton’ is on fol. 4. It contains all the texts listed above. It has annotations by Augustine Styward and on fols. 1 and 130^v are respectively ‘Aug. styward’ and ‘Aug. styward mei possess.’ He was mayor of Norwich in 1532, 1546, and 1566 and his MSS. tended to have an East Anglian if not Suffolk connection: a note on fol. 1 of this MS. probably refers to Chipley, Suffolk.

178. Bedæ opera . . . *Historia Ecclesiastica* [p. 19]; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De secunda expugnatione Cambriae* [p. 88], *Historia vaticinalis de conquestu secundo Hiberniae* [p. 88].

Not found.

180. Higden, Rad. *Polychronicon* [p. 90].

Not found.

184. Bedæ opera . . . *Maior codex de vita & virtutibus Augustini, sociorumque eius* [p. 19]; *Relatio Bedæ de S. Laurentio Anglorum Archiepiscopo* [p. 19].

BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian B. XX, s. xii¹. Fol. 1, top left, ‘45’. The first tract is extant in only two manuscripts, this and BL, MS. Harley 105, which also contains the second tract and which was at one time also owned by Cotton. Identification with Vesp. B. XX is, however, suggested by the St Augustine’s Canterbury pressmark ‘Di. X^a. Gra. I’ on fol. 1, followed by ‘in hoc libro continentur hec maior codex <bede> de uita et uirtutibus sancti augustini sociorumque liber sancti Augustini Cantuariensis’, and, on fol. 197, at the beginning of a new section, the rubric, in conspicuous display capitals, ‘Incipit relatio venerabilis Bede presbiteri de sanctissimo christi confessore Laurentio anglorum archiepiscopo.’

186. Sprott Tho. *Chronica* [p. 102].

?BL, MS. Cotton Vitellius D. XI, fols. 39–69, paper, s. xv, burned; or MS. Cotton Tiberius A. IX, fols. 107–80, s. xiv in; or London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 419, s. xiv, from St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury

Bodleian Library Record

- (no. 129 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). It was part of Archbishop Abbot's collections. For the known MSS. see A. H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1934), pp. xx-xxvi.
188. Martinus Pœnitentiarius, *Chronicon* [p. 94].
Not found.
192. Bedæ opera *De natura rerum* [p. 19]; Huntington H. *Historia Anglorum* [p. 91].
?Stonyhurst College, MS. 26, s. xii²-xiii in. Inside back cover is 'Cornelij Duijn Aemstelredensis Hagae Comitit Hollandiae' and inside the front cover are his name, a contents-list in his hand, and his number G 4/3. Since Duijn owned Cope's MS. 170 above it is not unlikely that Stonyhurst MS. 26 came to him from Cope too. On Duijn see under MS. 170 above. On a sixteenth-century binding strip visible before fol. 128 is 'ecclesia cath. exon' and on the front pastedown is 'Collegii Anglic' Societ. Iesu' (s. xvii).
193. Hildegardis Abbatissa. Scripsit . . . *Prophetiam super statum totius Ecclesiæ, & præcipuè super hijs quæ contingent in diebus fratrum prædicatorum* [p. 38].
Cf. MS. Bodley 158, item 4, but that is Cope MS. 68 above.
196. Gemeticensis Gu. *Historia Normannica* [p. 88].
?Cotton Vitellius A. VIII, fols. 5-100, s. xii. The MS. is part of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 177/120, which bears the ex-libris of Reading Abbey: see Jos. M. M. Hermans and Elizabeth van Houts, 'The history of a membrum disiectum of the Gesta Normannorum Ducum, now Vatican, Reg. Lat. 733 fol. 51*', *Medelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, N.S., ix/x (1982-3), 79-94, 219-26 (for this see p. 85 and n. 40).
199. Monumethensis Galfredus. *Historia* [p. 95].
Not found.
200. Buttonius, Gu. *De abbatia Oseneiæ* [p. 81].
Oxford, Christ Church, Chapter Library, s.n., s. xiii ex (G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958), no. 733). Bears an inscription in Cotton's hand that it was given to him (c. 1625?) in exchange for a MS. of the annals of Burton Abbey (now BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian E. III, item 1). In 1586 the cartulary was in Cope's hands when Robert Glover made transcripts from it, now in Bodleian MS. Tanner 12, fol. 72. Transcripts were also made from it between 1580 and 1590 by Robert Beale, who noted that it belonged 'to Mr Walter Cope servant to the Lord Treasurer': they are now in BL, MS. Add. 32100. James's ascription of authorship to Gu. Buttonius comes from a misreading of the name of Abbot William Sutton, who ordered the compilation of the cartulary, on fol. 362. Edited by H. E. Salter, *Cartulary of Osenei Abbey*, 6 vols. (Oxford Historical Society, lxxxix etc., 1929 etc.).

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

210. Orosius, *De orimesta Mundi* [p. 96].
Not found.

213. Houenden Rogerus. *Chronicon* [p. 91].
Not found.

215. S. Isidorus. *Scriptis . . . Lib. Etymologiarum* [p. 41].
Not found.

[*sine numero.*] *Biblia linguis varijs scripta vel in parte, vel in toto . . . Latine . . . in Bib. G.C. ter . . .* [p. 60].

(i) ?Bodleian MS. Auct. D. 5. 14 (SC 1849), s. xiii ex. SC remarks that 'this appears to be the "Biblia Lat." given by Sir Walter Cope in 1602, but proof is lacking. It was certainly in the library in 1605.' On fol. 576^v is 'Edyndon liber' (s. xv), i.e. the house of Bonshommes of Edington, Wiltshire. On fol. 578^v are caution notes of William New of that order (on whom see Emden, *BRUO*) in the Langton Chest, Oxford, in 1463/4 and 1465. On fol. 257^v is 'James Mathewe clerk' (s. xvi). Binding of wooden boards, s. xvi in(?), covered with gold-stamped and tooled leather, s. xvi². Gilt edges. A good MS. of its kind, with good illuminations (Pächt & Alexander, iii, no. 476, pl. xlvii).

(ii) Bodleian MS. Auct. D. 5. 9 (SC 3050), s. xiii ex. On fol. 4^v, 'William Turner deane of Welles [d. 1568] & doctor of phisicke & professor of diuinity' and 'Liber < > Thoma James oxonio-cantabrigien-sis, ex dono Gualteri Copi Armigeri, amicj sui integerrimi. Apr: 8. 1600. Tolle et lege. Aug.' On fol. 5 is 'Iane Turner' and on fol. 3, 'Dominus Robertus Swerby magister de cantaria Cantelon in Lincoln Cathedral et Willelmus Hawes socius eiusdem cantarie executores Naseby' (s. xiv in). For Swerby cf. Emden, *BRUO*, Severby de Barton, Robert de. He was rector of Boultham, Lincs., in 1334 and 1335. In a green velvet binding, s. xvi, with gilt edges and golden-coloured ties. Good borders and initials (Pächt & Alexander, iii, no. 474). Probably given to the Bodleian by James between 1605 and 1611.

(iii) ?MS. Bodley 155 (SC 1974). *Evangelia*, s. ix. A very tentative suggestion, based only on the facts that the MS. had reached the Bodleian by 1602 from a source now unknown, and that it had belonged to Stephen Batman, two of whose MSS. Cope owned (A91 and A97 above). Batman's ex-libris is on fol. iii, 'Stephan batman the tru onor of thys booke which coste xx [*sic*]'. Previously owned by Barking Abbey, Essex. In a limp vellum binding with evidence of leather ties. Red stained edges. A very beautiful MS. (Pächt & Alexander, iii, no. 41, pl. iv).

LIST B

1. Camarillo, California, St. John's Seminary, Doheny Library, MS. 50. Ambrosiaster, *In epistolas ad Romanos etc.*, c. 1130. No. 4 in the Cope sale, 4 March 1913; the sale catalogue records the names of successive baronets

Bodleian Library Record

- of the Cope family in the book and also that of Sir Walter Cope, not one of the line of baronets and presumably our Sir Walter. Evidence that the MS. comes from Winchcombe Abbey is deduced from the binding's being by the 'Fishtail binder' of Oxford: see N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', *The Library*, 5th ser., x (1955), 1-24, reprinted in Ker, *BCL* (see n. 1 above), pp. 471-96. HMC 3rd Rep. Appx. (1872), p. 242, no. iv.
2. Cambridge, Univ. Lib., MS. Ec. 3. 59. *L'Histoire saint Edward le rei*, s. xiii. On fol. 1 is 'pille hám lámpeorc: [William Lambard]; Au Monser Cope son Treschier Amye, Envoia Guill. Lambard cest Poésie.' M. R. James, *La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei* (Roxburghe Club, 1920), p. 12, suggests that this may be Sir Anthony Cope (1548-1614) but his brother Sir Walter is much more likely. On fol. 1 is also 'Laurens Nowell 1563'. A handsome MS.
 3. London, BL, MS. Cotton Julius E. IV, vol. 1, fols. 10-88. Thomas of Elmham, *Vita et gesta Henrici quinti*, s. xv. Fol. 10: 'Rob. Cotton Bruceus ex dono Walter Cop militis 1603'.
 4. London, BL, MS. Cotton Tiberius C. VIII. *Register of Tattershall family of Lincolnshire*, s. xv². In BL, MS. Harley 6018, fol. 158 is a note by Cotton that he had lent to Robert Bowyer 'A Book of parchment of diuers Evidences of Tateshall and other part [*sic*] of Lincollshire it was once Sir Walter Cope. Foll. in vellum old.'
 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 1. 8 (*SC* 2761). *Unum ex quatuor*, s. xiii¹. On fol. i, 'Iste liber constat domo sancti Andree de Northampton', and on fol. 1, 'Liber sancti andree norht' E3'. In 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards, with remains of ties. Blue and white silk headbands, edges perhaps yellowed. Quite a fine glossed book. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 98 (*SC* 1943). J. de Voragine, *Distinctiones theologicae*, s. xv in. An English MS. but bearing on fol. i 'frater < > anno(?) 158[.] hoc utitur frater philippus huglize minorita Namurcensis'. The date '1584' read by *SC* is difficult to confirm although no better suggestion can be made, and since the inscription is now upside down in the book, on a paper flyleaf conjugate with the endpaper, there is a faint doubt about whether the inscription refers to the book. On fol. 1, 'Jhon' Wyght' (s. xvi ex). In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with evidence of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 107 (*SC* 1959). N. de Hanapis, *Virtutum et vitiorum exempla*, s. xv in. At foot of fol. 1 is '26'. In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with evidence of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary though clearly written MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 127 (*SC* 1991). T. de Chabham,

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

- Summa de poenitentia*, s. xiv¹. At top of fol. 1, '32' and '98', written round earlier 'De poenitentia' in an italic hand. On fol. 125^v, 'Iste liber constat Prioratui de Bilsyngton Cantuariensis diocesis de dono domini Johannis quondam Vicarij de Newecherche . . . Precij xiijs iiijd', perhaps John Whetyng, vicar 1403 (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, xiii. 464-5). A similar inscription, 'Hunc librum legauit . . .', is on fol. 1. In a 'Cope' binding of limp vellum with remains of yellow ties. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. but in good condition. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 151 (*SC* 1929). W. de Amore, *Collectio catholicae et canonicae scripturae contra pericula imminencia ecclesiae*, s. xiv in. Fol. 1, 'Liber ecclesie Norwycensis per magistrum Adam de Estone monachum [*sic*] dicti loci' and Norwich pressmark in red, 'X XL. VI'. Bound in wooden boards (third period) covered with blind-ruled reversed calf of s. xvi ex or xvii in, with holes in leather where straps may have fitted. A small label with printed '10' is stuck round the front cover: cf. MS. Bodley 746, B23 below. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. but good of its kind. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 220 (*SC* 2103). *Devotional tracts in English*, parchment and paper, s. xiv. Fol. 1, '124' at top left. In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards. Blue and white silk headbands, yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. but good of its kind. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 255, fols. 1-44 (*SC* 3010). *Commentarium in regulam S. Augustini*, parchment and paper, s. xvi in. Fol. 2, at top, 'B.58.', possibly a Bodleian number. Coat of arms of Cressener on fol. 44, probably indicating ownership by Dominican nuns of Dartford, of which Elizabeth Cressener was prioress from 1487 until her death in 1536 (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xi. 533-4). She is to be distinguished from another of that name, nun at the dissolution (*ibid.* xiv (i), 251) who became prioress of the convent in exile (*Victoria County History, Kent*, ii. 188-9), and is mistakenly associated by Pächt & Alexander (iii, no. 1179, pl. cix) with this MS. Unlike fols. 1-44, which have yellow edges, fols. 45-72 have not: this largely confirms the suggestion in *SC* that the two parts of the MS. came together after Cope's time, between 1620 and 1635. Fols. 1-44 were presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 299 (*SC* 2473). J. de Friburgo, *Summa confessorum*, s. xiv. At top centre of fol. 1, '82.'. On front paste-down, 'Summa . . . fratris Willelmi de Biholte quondam prioris sancti Augustini Cant', 'Distincione <1½ lines erased>', and 'De librario sancti Augustini Cant'. Dist. X Gradu I' (no. 1812 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). On Biholte (Byholte) see Emden, *Donors*, p. 7. Reversed calf binding of s. xvi ex or xvii in over wooden boards (third period), with remains of bluish textile ties. Yellowed edges. A good, clean copy with fine borders and initials. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

Bodleian Library Record

13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 340 (SC 2404). Ælfric, *Homilies*, in Anglo-Saxon, s. xi¹. At top of fol. ii, '90.', on fol. i, 'A', and on fol. iv, 'B.'. From Rochester Cathedral Priory: see Ker, *Cat. Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, no. 309. Gold-ruled leather binding, s. xvi ex or xvii in, new spine. Gilt edges. A very beautiful MS., a companion to B14 following. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
14. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 342 (SC 2405). Ælfric, *Homilies*, in Anglo-Saxon, s. xi¹. Like its companion volume B13 above, from Rochester Cathedral Priory: Ker, *Cat. Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, no. 309. With a few glosses in secretary hand. Binding of speckled calf, s. xviii, with gilt edges. Like its companion volume, a very beautiful MS. Pächt & Alexander iii, no. 42, pl. v. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
15. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 392 (SC 2223). Eusebius, *Sermones*, s. xi¹. At top of fol. 1 are a title 'Eusebius monachos [*sic*]' (s. xvi) and '3', but the figure is not like other 'Cope' figures. Inside front cover, 'Iste liber est Sancte Marie Sarum . . .', i.e. Salisbury Cathedral. 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards (second period), new spine. Slits, now sealed, have been made for ties. Yellowed edges. Under the 'Cope' binding are the remains of an earlier white whittawed leather binding, the turnover on the front board bearing the offset of fol. 1, from which it is now separated by an inserted leaf, fol. i, on which are early Bodleian pressmarks, holes and stains from Bodleian chaining, and an instruction 'to be chained againe' (s. xvii in). Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
16. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 416 (SC 2315). *Religious tracts*, in Middle English, c. 1400. Occasional annotations in secretary and italic hands of s. xvi² or xvii in and with a paper title-page in an italic hand of the same date. Binding of s. xix possibly with medieval sewing: the many flyleaves, fols. i-ix, are perhaps evidence of an intermediate binding. Yellowed edges. Some leaves are lacking at the beginning but it is a good, clean copy, written in textura. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 417 (SC 2316). Ps. Bonaventura, *Meditationes*, s. xv. Fol. v, at top, '20'. Fol. 150^v, 'pertinet domui de shen', i.e. the charterhouse at Sheen, Surrey. Binding of s. xix. Yellowed edges. A fine, large, clean copy. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
18. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 448 (SC 2395). *Rosarium theologiae*, s. xiv². On fol. vi^v, '32.' and title in italic hand of s. xvi. On fol. v^v, '2-6'. Speckled leather binding, s. xviii. A good clean copy with good initials and borders. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 456 (SC 2412). Richard Rolle, *De emendatione vitae*, etc., s. xv². Fol. 1, at top, '167'. Fol. iii^v, 'Iste liber

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

Constat Domino Ricardo Wydeuill Comiti le Ryviers Et dominus de Wymington', and coat of arms (3rd earl, d. 1491). In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. but in good condition. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.

20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 457 (SC 2413). W. Peraldus. *De septem vitiis capitalibus*, s. xiv¹. Fol. 1^v, 'Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego dominus vicarius ecclesie de Clyfton' (s. xv in). In a 'Cope' binding of white whittawed leather over wooden boards, new spine, with remains of textile ties. Traces of an earlier pink whittawed leather binding remain on the insides of the boards. An ordinary MS. but good of its kind. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 548 (SC 2296). *Sermones*, s. xiii¹. Fol. ii, top centre, '129.'. Also on fol. ii, 'Sum henrici Joliffe', s. xvi; on fol. 165^v, 'John braben' and 'Joh. lychfeld', both s. xv. A table of contents has been added in an archaizing hand of s. xv. Fols. 165-7 are binding leaves, fol. 165^v containing accounts of 18-19 Richard 2 (1395-6) relating to Salford Priors or Salford Abbots in Warwickshire, property belonging to the Augustinian abbey of Kenilworth. Joliffe may be the man of that name recorded in *DNB* who was rector of Bishop's Hampton or Hampton Lucy in 1538 (a few miles from Stratford and about 10 miles from Salford), canon of Worcester in 1542, and Dean of Bristol, 1544-8. On fol. 167 are notes on a nunnery in Coventry. Blind-ruled leather binding of s. xvi ex or xvii in over wooden boards (third period, after 1395-6). With remains of fabric ties. New spine, yellowed edges. Now an inferior MS. as twelfth-century MSS. go, but it has been spoiled by trimming. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
22. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 584, fols. 71-150 (SC 2356B). W. Hilton, *Scala perfectionis* (part), paper, s. xv. The whole volume has red-stained edges but fols. 71-150 show traces of another stain on some leaves. A very ordinary MS., perhaps Cope's least distinguished, but a clean copy. Presented by him to the Bodleian in 1602.
23. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 746 (SC 2768). P. Lombardus, *Sententie*, s. xiii². A tentative suggestion but not an improbable one. The MS. 'appears to have come to the Library in 1603 or 1604, but that is not certain' (SC) and there are several signs that it may be a Cope book. The binding is of white whittawed leather over wooden boards in the Cope style, and with traces of pink fabric double ties; a large '47' is at the top of fol. 6; the edges are yellowed; as in MS. Bodley 151, B9 above, there is the remnant of a label on the edge of the front cover with a number '14' (or perhaps with a third digit); the medieval provenance was St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Other numbers, 'Cod. 11' and '6' are on fol. i^v. The Canterbury ex-libris is on fol. 1: 'Distinctione vi^a. Gradu ij^o' and 'Liber sententiarum de adquisitione fratris Johannis godcheap'

Bodleian Library Record

- (no. 507 in cat., James, *Anc. Libs.*). For Godcheap (Goodcheap) see Emden, *Donors*, p. 10. With good illuminations.
24. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 782 (SC 2603). W. Peraldus, *Sermones dominicales*, c.1400. Fol. 1, top centre, '185'. An erased account on fol. 129 may record payments to the scribe or the illuminator. Speckled calf binding over pasteboards, s. xvii ex. Yellowed edges. An ordinary MS. but with good initials and borders and in good condition. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 25. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 809 (SC 2668). P. Blesensis, *Remediarum conversorum*, s. xiv. A tentative suggestion based on the fact that the MS. was given to the Library by Thomas James in 1601 and that '56' on fol. 1 is in a hand resembling one of those that supplies Cope numbers. In a pink whittawed leather binding over medieval wooden boards (third period) with remains of the strap from a strap and clasp fastening.
 26. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 819 (SC 2699). Bede, *Super parabolas Salomonis*, s. viii². On fol. vii^v, '22.'. Written in Jarrow or Monkwearmouth and later owned by Durham Cathedral Priory: the Durham MS. now BL MS. Harley 4688 was copied from it there in s. xii. Of considerable palaeographical importance: written in a fine minuscule and with Latin glosses of ss. ix/x. In a leather binding over pasteboards, c.1600, with holes for cord thongs, new spine, with traces of blind rolls on the leather: the presence of a Cope number on a flyleaf suggests that the binding was on the book in Cope's time. For references to illustrations and to some of the considerable literature see n. 13 above. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 27. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 825 (SC 2714). *Tractatus juridici*, paper, s. xv². On fol. 1, 'Thyrleby', s. xv². Mottled calf binding, s. xvii ex or xviii in. Yellowed edges. A very ordinary MS. Presented to the Bodleian by Cope in 1602.
 28. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Extravagantes 25.1. *Biblia*, s. xiv. John Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), ii. 23, writing of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, describes a bible given to the priory of St. Bartholomew by John Whyt, Master of the Hospital, and with additions made at the instance of John Wakeryng by John Coke. Stow adds that 'since the spoyle of that Library I haue seene this booke in the custody of my worshipfull frend, Mr Walter Cope'. Inscriptions in this MS. by Cok(e) on fols. 493^v, 498, and 501 show that it is the book seen by Stow. The bible to which these additions are made is a finely illuminated Bolognese production. For description see *Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Bd. 15, Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppen Extravagantes, Novi und Novissimi*, beschrieben von Hans Butzmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1972), pp. 9-21.

The Manuscript Collection of Sir Walter Cope

MANUSCRIPTS WHICH PASSED THROUGH COPE'S HANDS

29. Untraced. Lambeth Palace MS. 138, fol. 289a, has a note, 'I haue Titus Livius in Lattyn at Large And surely here is not th'one halfe thereof Translated', after which another hand writes, 'As I remember Stowe toulde mee this was Sir Walter Copes hand to whome he had lente his booke. [It appears, in fact, to be in the hand of the writer of fols. 289-314, who signs himself on fol. 314^v "fra. smith".] I Intreated Sir Walter to lend me the booke, but he hath itt not, hauinge lent itt longe synce to my Lo: Staffourde wheare it was lost. Master Camden I think once sawe itt Itt is a booke wourthy the recovery.' It is possible that the copy Cope had was a printed text but the degree of interest shown in it suggests that it was a manuscript. Whether it was at any time Cope's property is more dubious.
30. London, BL, MS. Cotton Titus A. I, fols. 1-54. In 1599 Arthur Agarde, in his tract on the measurement of land,* mentioned 'a Booke entitled Restauracio Ecclesie de Ely (which Master Cotton lent me & nowe Master Cope hathe)' and noted 'twoe places worthe the notinge. in the ix leafe are theis wordes Et non Invenerunt de terra que mulieris Jure fuisset nisi unam Hidam per Sexies xx. acras & super hidam 24 acras. Item in Cap. 13 In Wilberham emit Abbas ab Alfuino et Vxore eius Duas Hidas Duodecies xx acras.' Of the several MSS. containing the text† MS. Cotton Titus A. I, fols. 1-54, alone more or less fits Agarde's description. The first quotation is found on fol. 9 (numbered 7 or 83 in Agarde's time) and the second on fol. 8, where the readings, as in all MSS., are 'Wilbertune' and 'ab alfuino et uxore sua sisted'. Agarde's variants are probably due to slips. What clinches the identification is (1) that the chapters are numbered in a hand of c.1600 and that the chapter referred to by Agarde as '13' is so numbered although other MSS. refer to it as 23; and (2) that on fol. 1, a flyleaf, Agarde noted one of the facts that he quoted, 'Hida terre sexies^{ti} acras continet < . . > xxiiii . . .'. Since the MS. is now in the Cotton collection, Cope can have had it only temporarily but it provides evidence for his contacts with Agarde and Cotton on matters of mutual interest.

* London, BL, MS. Cotton Faustina E. V, fol. 17, printed in Thomas Hearne, *Curious Discourses* (Oxford, 1720), pp. 26-7, and *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, ed. Roger Gale (London, 1722), Appx., p. 10.

† For the manuscripts see E. O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis* (Camden Society, 3rd ser., xcii, 1962), Introduction.