

## Andrew Holes and John Burgh: Two Wykehamists, One Manuscript Collection<sup>1</sup>

A learned man, a pious man (beyond what can be expected of northern Europeans), a man given to giving alms and to buying books. The fifteenth-century Florentine book-seller, Vespasiano da Bisticci, took a liking to Andrew Holes, and the reasons are not difficult to fathom. Vespasiano spent his retirement writing potted biographies of his former clients, among whom he included just three Englishmen, an earl (John Tiptoft, of Worcester), a bishop (William Gray, of Ely) and the sometime royal proctor at the papal curia, Holes.<sup>2</sup> All three, during their time in Florence, parted with their money in Vespasiano's shops and, in Holes's cases, bought so many manuscripts that he suffered the problem of having excess luggage when he eventually left Italy: Vespasiano claims that, in order to take all his books home with him, he had specially to hire a ship.

For a long time, very little was known about Holes's manuscripts; Vespasiano's words had to be taken on trust. In the mid-twentieth century, the first—and still important—reconstruction of Holes's biography could identify only three extant books which had been owned by him, and it was assumed his library had been lost during the religious upheavals of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A transformation in our knowledge came a few decades later with the careful palaeographical research of A. C. de la Mare and the investigations into his ecclesiastical and intellectual career by Margaret Harvey.<sup>4</sup> This work increased the number of known volumes once owned by Holes to twenty-four; to that, this article adds four, though it also notes that we must reject one identification proposed by

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<sup>1</sup> For their assistance in the preparation of this article, I must thank the library staff of New College and, in particular, Christopher Skelton-Foord. I would also like to thank the Archivist of Salisbury Cathedral, Emily Naish, for her generous help. The following abbreviations are used:

A&T = J. J. G. Alexander & E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries* (Oxford, 1985).

Bennett = J. W. Bennett, 'Andrew Holes: A Neglected Harbinger of the English Renaissance', *Speculum* 19 (1944), 314–55.

BRUO = A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1958).

de la Mare, 'New Research' = A. C. de la Mare, 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence' in A. Garzelli ed., *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525*, 2 vols ([Florence], 1985), I, 393–600.

DH&EH = [Bodleian exhibition catalogue] *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism* (Oxford, 1970).

Hanna & Rundle = R. Hanna and D. Rundle, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Magdalen College, Oxford* (in preparation).

Harvey = M. Harvey, 'An Englishman at the Roman Curia during the Council of Basle: Andrew Holes, his Sermon of 1433 and his Books', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), 19–38.

P&A = O. Pächt & J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1966–73), Rundle, 'Imperfect knowledge' = D. Rundle, 'Our Imperfect knowledge: John Dygon and Joanna Greenwood *versus* Andrew Holes' in C. Saunders et al. ed., *Middle English Manuscripts and their Legacies. A Volume in Honour of Ian Doyle* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 71–95.

Thomson, *Oxford* = R. M. Thomson, with the assistance of J. G. Clark, *The University and College Libraries of Oxford* [Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues], 2 vols (London, 2015).

Watson, *D&Dox* = A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. A. Greco, 2 vols (Florence, 1970–76), I, 311–13; the life of William Gray precedes it at pp. 307–310; that of Tiptoft is at pp. 417–420. On Gray, the fullest discussion of his books remains R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), pp. xxiv–xlv, supplemented by DH&EH, pp. 24–28. On Tiptoft, see now D. Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 174–227 (with earlier literature listed).

<sup>3</sup> Bennett, esp. p. 324. She also notes a lost Bible mentioned in another copy, Oxford: New College, MSS 3–4, given by Thomas Bekynton, who is discussed below; the Bible is presumably the 'melior biblioteca' which passed through the hands of John Middleton, as discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> Albinia (Tilly) de la Mare first discussed Holes in DH&EH, no. 29–31. The full extent of her discoveries is revealed in Margaret Harvey's seminal 1991 article; see also ead., 'A Sermon by Andrew Holes, 29 December 1432', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 108 (1994), 161–182.

Harvey. Furthermore, this article provides new information which sheds fresh light on Holes's immediate circle.<sup>5</sup>



New College Library, Oxford, MS 201, f. 1r—showing Holes's coat-of-arms and annotations by Johannes Baerts  
This and following images © Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford

<sup>5</sup> Some of what follows was adumbrated in Rundle, 'Imperfect Knowledge', while other elements of Holes's career will be expounded more fully in my *Instaurations in the Making: England and the identity of Italian Renaissance Humanism* (in preparation).

About half of the manuscripts listed below are in New College (and at least four others escaped from the library long ago) for Holes was a Wykehamist through and through. To reach the college at Winchester, to where he was admitted in 1407, involved the first of the long journeys he undertook in his life: at his entry to the school, he was recorded as being the son of a knight of the Wirral (from what was later called a ‘bleak and moorish tract’ of that area).<sup>6</sup> Andrew moved to New College in 1412 and was admitted a fellow on 30 October 1414.<sup>7</sup> At the College, he studied both laws, canon and civil, eventually vacating his fellowship five and half years later, on 30 March 1420, when his clerical career was beginning. He was not to be forgotten by his *alma mater*: forty years later, in a frontispiece to the so-called ‘Chaundler manuscript’ which is surely etched on the memory of any Wykehamist, an image of him—though with little attempt to be individual—appears among the modern luminaries, at bottom left in the foreground, looking in veneration on the Founder.<sup>8</sup>

Holes’s first benefice was in his native county, at Davenham (thirty miles east of his birthplace); towards the end of the decade, he was made archdeacon of Anglesey and further appointments were to follow, in northern England, in Wales, the Midlands and in London, though he was an absentee from all of these: from 1429 until 1444, he was resident in Italy, following the papal curia, which was first in Rome and then in Florence; Holes also travelled to Padua where he gained his doctorate in canon law.<sup>9</sup> It was while he was abroad that he was provided to the chancellorship of Salisbury Cathedral, and it was in the close that he spent much of his life after his return, in later years dividing time between there and Wells, to the archdeaconry of which he was appointed in 1449. He died on 1 April 1470, being close to his three score years and ten, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, with an epitaph which, in listing his honours, noted that he had been the royal proctor at the curia ‘per annos plures’ (‘for many years’).<sup>10</sup>

Neither his epitaph nor any other contemporary English source gives a sense of the interest and significance of his book collection. His will, which we discuss later, hints that it was substantial, but gives no sense of its range. Yet, even before A. C. de la Mare set to work, there was some inkling of its novel nature. Among the three surviving manuscripts with which Josephine Bennett was acquainted, she sensibly posited that one had been bought by Holes before he left for Italy, but the other two were produced there, including a humanist copy of Cicero’s orations.<sup>11</sup> The implication which Dr Bennett took from this and Vespasiano’s *vita* was that Holes was a harbinger of the Renaissance in England; that insight was corroborated and enriched by the meticulous research of Prof. de la Mare. The latter sometimes described her work, with winning self-deprecation, as marginal, because some of her discoveries were made by paying close attention to the margins of manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Her *modus operandi* (some would now call it a ‘methodology’) for re-constructing a book collection was to work out from those books which had undeniable evidence of having been in the particular person’s possession, to take careful note of all aspects of those codices—their script, decoration and

<sup>6</sup> BRUO follows T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars* (London, 1888), p. 35 in giving his home ‘Bromston, Cheshire’ though there is no such place: the family estate of Brimstage (5 miles south-west of Birkenhead) must be meant (with the unadmiring quotation from G. Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 3 vols (London, 1819), II, 240). BRUO has the year of entry as 1408, but Kirby’s information is preferred here. Andrew’s father, Sir Hugh Holes or Hulse, was serjeant-at-law in Chester and justice of the King’s Bench from 1394, and so later settled in Watford, Hertfordshire; on his career, see M. J. Bennett, ‘Sources and Problems in the Study of Social Mobility: Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 128 (1979), 59–95; his will (the original of which is at Hertfordshire Record Office, ASA/1AR, ‘Stoneham Register’, fol. 15) is calendared at W. Brigg ed., *The Herts Genealogist and Antiquary*, 3 vols (Harpenden, 1895–99), I, 232–3.

<sup>7</sup> Details from BRUO.

<sup>8</sup> Oxford: New College, MS 288, fol. 4, often reproduced. For discussion of the images, see K. L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols (London, 1996), II, 310–313.

<sup>9</sup> G. Zonta and G. Brotto ed., *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno mccccvi ad annum mcccc* (Padua, 1922), no. 1320 and 1321 (p. 283).

<sup>10</sup> The tomb no longer survives but the epitaph is transcribed from Salisbury: Cathedral Archives, CH/1/13 by A. R. Malden, ‘A Salisbury Fifteenth Century Death Register’ in *The Ancestor*, ed. O. Barron, ix (1904), 28–35 at p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> The one he bought before going to Italy is [3], the Cicero is [21] and the other one known to Bennett is [10].

<sup>12</sup> I remember her saying this to me on one of our first meetings, over tea in Convocation Coffee House, c. 1995.

any annotations—and on the basis of matches in other books be able to associate with that collector other volumes even when they lack explicit statements of ownership. It was on the basis of her identification of marginalia which she could attribute to Holes that Margaret Harvey, in her seminal article, was able to build an intellectual profile of this Wykehamist. That discussion still stands as richly informative but can now be revised in two details.

The first revision is a negative one—and acts as a reminder that any research is only ever provisional. One work that, according to Harvey, Holes read ‘with considerable care’ was Petrarch’s *De vita solitaria*.<sup>13</sup> It was highly plausible that Holes would have owned this work, given he owned the same author’s letters.<sup>14</sup> However, as de la Mare later realised, the annotations, including a distinctive angled *manicula* which she once attributed to him, were not in fact his. This has a couple of ramifications. First, it removes a connexion between Holes and another owner of the volume, the recluse of Sheen, John Dygon. An association between the two rather different characters—the well-travelled Holes and the reclusive Dygon—would have been intriguing; instead, while their careers did have some similarities, there is no definite evidence of a direct link between them.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes we advance knowledge by decreasing the stock of what we thought we knew but, in this instance, it is not entirely a loss of knowledge: we can now give a name to the annotator of *De vita solitaria* who was once misidentified as Holes. He was called Thomas Wyche and was a long-term fellow of Oriel in the mid-century who was a keen reader of at least eight other codices—and so the second ramification is that we have another scholar who deserves to be the subject for a discussion at another time and another place.<sup>16</sup>

The second revision to our understanding of Holes’s annotations is more substantial and provides the heart of this article. In collecting her list of interventions she identified as his, de la Mare was aware that there were two styles of script and of *manicula*. One included a stubby and impressionistic small pointing hand, and in notes used a gothic cursive which at times showed some Italian influence. The other was more florid, with lettering where the textura-influenced contrast of angles on the strokes created a spiky aspect. As these frequently appear on the same page, de la Mare assumed that they were by the same person and so took all of them to be by Holes. It is not an unreasonable assumption: late medieval scribes of a professional standard were not alone in being able to shift between scripts; some collectors too were capable of, as it were, switching hands. For both phenomena, there are examples among the manuscripts of New College.<sup>17</sup> On this occasion, a discovery which has not before been fully discussed in print, reveals the arguably more interesting situation that there were two men at work often on the same page.<sup>18</sup> What is more, we can now identify that other person.

We can make that identification because of one of a pair of strays from the New College collection.<sup>19</sup> They were seen in the library in the 1530s by England’s proto-antiquary, John Leland, but must have left soon after during the disruptions of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> They were in England in private hands until the late seventeenth century; they were sold at auction in 1682, migrating to Paris and the collection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (who died the following year), and subsequently entering the French royal library. Both volumes were made in Italy and both show

<sup>13</sup> [i]; Harvey, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> [23].

<sup>15</sup> See R. Hanna, ‘John Dygon, Fifth Recluse of Sheen: His Career, Books, and Acquaintance’ in S. Kelly and J. J. Thompson, *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 127–141, and for the rejection of the link, Rundle, ‘Imperfect Knowledge’, pp. 77–80.

<sup>16</sup> For Wyche, see BRUO sub nomine; I have an article in progress reconstructing his books from his annotations.

<sup>17</sup> For a scribe who had several scripts, witness Thomas Candour, whom I have discussed in ‘The scribe Thomas Candour and the making of Poggio Bracciolini’s English reputation’ in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 12 (2005), 1–25. For a collector, note the range of annotations and ownership marks left by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, on whose books see briefly *DHe&EH*, no. 108 and 109.

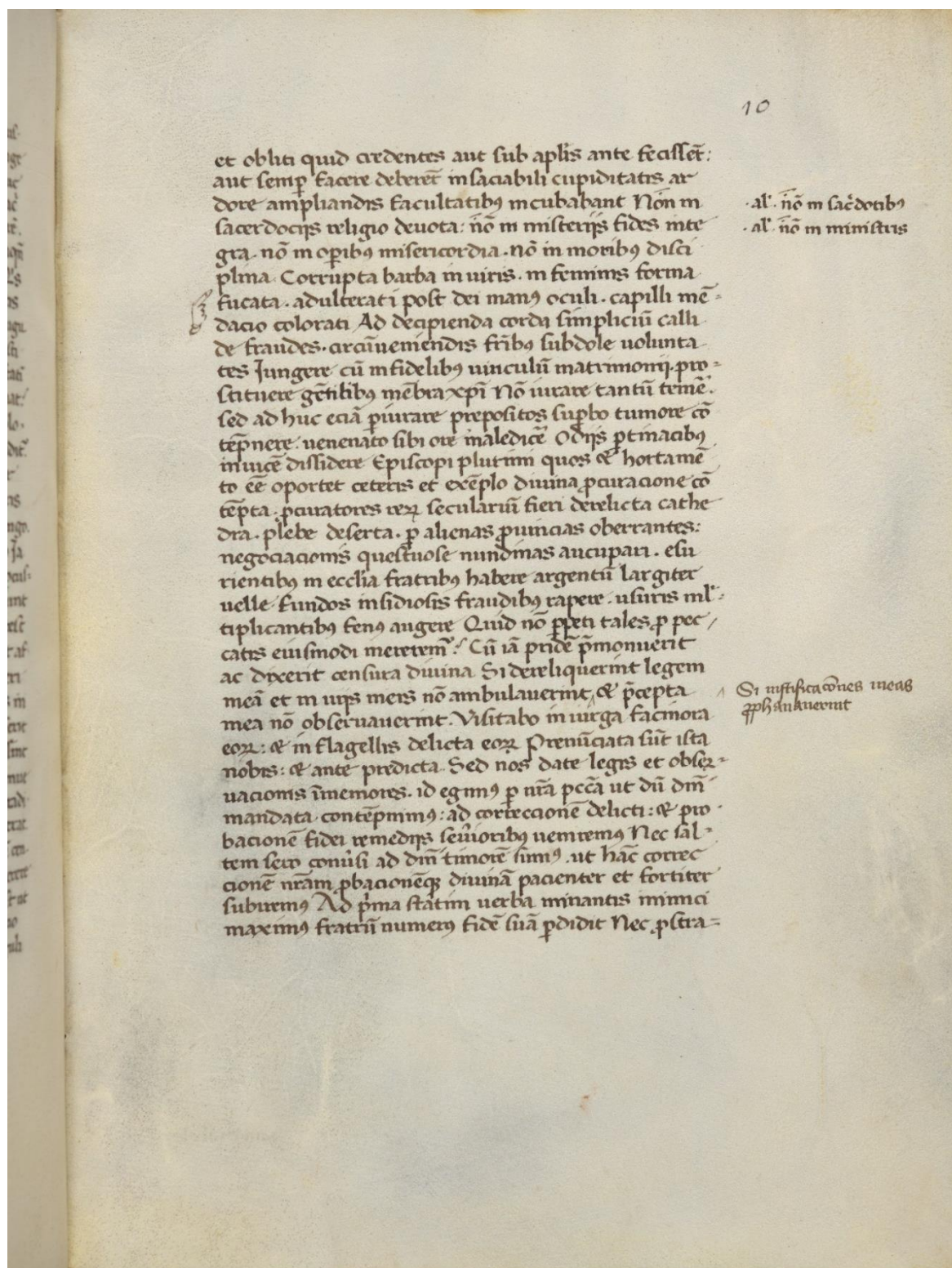
<sup>18</sup> My discovery relating to these two manuscripts was briefly mentioned in Thomson, *Oxford*, UO77.40–41.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscripts are [24] and [25].

<sup>20</sup> Thomson, *Oxford*, UO77, with these manuscripts as nos. 40 and 41, and [2]—another *Salutati* volume—as no. 39.



interest in the works of the late Florentine chancellor, Coluccio Salutati (*d.* 1406); both also include marginalia, including a stubby *manicula*, in one of the styles known from Holes's manuscripts. The revelation comes with the second part of one of the codices, where a second fascicle is added providing Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria* in a hand which is not Italian but English—and this is the same hand as the spiky annotations. Moreover, this scribe ends his stint by providing an explicit concluding with his name: 'Johannes Burgh'.



New College Library, Oxford, MS 132, f. 10r—showing Holes and Burgh both annotating on the same page

So, we can now differentiate between the two sets of marginalia, with one set (with the stubby *manicula*) attributable to Andrew Holes and the other (in the spiky style) to John Burgh. We can also infer that Burgh could act professionally as a scribe, a fact that chimes with the sparse biographical evidence we have for him.<sup>21</sup> He is identifiable as, like Holes, a gremial Wykehamist, though a generation younger and from a different part of the country. Born in Salisbury diocese, he entered Winchester College in 1425 and New College five years later (we can estimate then that he was born about 1418). He was a fellow from 1432 until 1444, but he had already left Oxford a few years earlier. We know this because of a letter from one alumnus of the College to another: Thomas Bekynton—later bishop of Bath and Wells but, at the time he was writing, on 13 May 1441, King’s Secretary—wrote a letter of introduction for Burgh recommending him to none other than Andrew Holes.<sup>22</sup> Bekynton aimed to gain Holes’s favour for Burgh by emphasising his Wykehamist credentials, an example of the ‘old school tie’ before neckwear was invented: the circle around Bekynton was to prove particular assiduous in cultivating bonds through a shared educational background. At the point Bekynton wrote, Burgh was travelling to Florence; from his scribal work, it is apparent that he stayed and became a member of Holes’s household. We can infer that he was one of the companions who travelled back to England with Holes when the latter said his final farewell to the curia and took up his position at Salisbury.<sup>23</sup> Burgh also settled in the cathedral precincts and acted as a notary, describing himself as ‘clericus Sarum dioceseos’.<sup>24</sup> Confusingly, there was another notary of the same name at work for the cathedral chapter at the same time, distinguished by being of Norwich diocese.<sup>25</sup> Our Burgh last appears in the records in early 1453. Any subsequent career he had is not known, and we might hypothesise from his absence from the will Holes drew up in 1467 that he predeceased his master.<sup>26</sup>

This provides a bare outline of his career and how it came to follow Holes’s own. A stronger sense of the intellectual camaraderie between the two men exudes from the pages of Holes’s manuscripts. It is clear that Burgh was often set to work correcting the text of the books that Holes either had produced or bought. This laborious activity, however, gave him the opportunity also to engage with the texts, and he sometimes added annotations responding to its content. Often, when we see ‘nota’ in the margin, we imagine it as a note-to-self; in these cases, the imperative might have been intended as guidance to his busy master, directing his attention. This is not to say that Holes himself was above close reading: he too at times corrected the text of his books and, as we have had cause to mention, sometimes draws his own *manicula*. There is not so much a master-servant relationship on display as a learned partnership. There are parallels to this in the same decades—another example would be the archdeacon of Ely, Richard Bole, and his secretary, Theoderic Werken—and such cases remind us that, for many owners, their manuscripts were not entirely private, available to them alone, but instead were a shared resource within their household.<sup>27</sup>

While we can see both his secretary and Holes himself active in his books, it is more difficult to construct a chronology of their engagement with the manuscripts. Most of those which survive were made in Italy: Vespasiano da Bisticci talked of Holes having many scribes in his employ and, Burgh aside, we can name one of them, Johannes Baerts from the Low Countries but working in

<sup>21</sup> BRUO *sub nomine*; Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> *Bekynton Correspondence*, I, 225–6.

<sup>23</sup> Holes’s leave to return is at *Calendar of Papal Registers*, VIII (London, 1909), p. 296 (8 February 1444).

<sup>24</sup> Salisbury: Cathedral Archives, B/1/5/2, fol. 7, printed in A. Malden ed., *The Canonization of Saint Osmund* (Salisbury, 1901), p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> This Burgh was responsible for the Chapter Book for 1447–1457, Salisbury: Cathedral Archives, CH/1/11 (previously named after him); the script is distinct from that of our John Burgh. The consequence of this is that the tentative suggestion in BRUO that they are the same person should be rejected.

<sup>26</sup> Bennett, ‘Harbinger’, p. 327 equates this John Burgh with the man who was provided to the prebend of Grindale (York) in 1465 (her date of 1455 is an error) but BRUO shows that this was a separate person, a Balliol graduate.

<sup>27</sup> On Bole and Werken, see Rundle, *Renaissance Reform*, pp. 129–34.

Florence (there is a similarity here with Theoderic Werken, mentioned in the preceding paragraph).<sup>28</sup> Presumably, the work of correction occurred soon after production. At the same time, Holes's own script shows some changes—at times his northern European cursives becomes, as it were, accented with Italian features, including a humanist-influenced tall final *s*. It certainly seems in some cases that Holes returned to his books to reacquaint himself with their texts.<sup>29</sup> What is less clear is how far his reading and book-purchasing continued after he was back in England. There is only manuscript which is likely to have reached him in these later years, and this is one for which its connexion with him has not previously been noticed. It is a twelfth-century copy of Horace which has attracted some attention as it was owned by the school-master and author, John Seward, who died in the first days of 1436.<sup>30</sup> He bequeathed his books to a friend but this volume was sold and eventually reached Holes: if we take it that he acquired it some years after Seward's death, it could only be after his return to England.

If he made only a few additions to his collection after his Italian years, he also allowed a small diminution of his library. There is one manuscript of his which must have been a prized possession, the sole copy of the last and most substantial work of an author in whom he showed great interest: it provided the *De laboribus Herculis* of Coluccio Salutati.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps, in fact, it was because he treasured it so much that he gave it away, for the recipient was someone it would have been difficult to deny and whose favour many wanted to gain, as he was the Protector of England and heir presumptive to the throne, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. The handing over of this manuscript, then, was an exceptional event and, for the most part, it seems that Holes kept his books with him, presumably in his house of Leaden Hall in the cathedral close at Salisbury until he died.<sup>32</sup>

Holes's will dates from three years before his death. Among his various requests and bequests, more space is given over to discussing jewels and clothing than books. He mentions four liturgical volumes, a Bible, texts of canon and civil law, and 'libri mei tam juris canonici quam civilis'; he wanted the legal books to be distributed by his executors among the Oxford colleges which were in need of them.<sup>33</sup> Of the three men he appointed executors, two were Oxford graduates a generation younger than himself, and the third, another decade or so junior, migrated there from Cambridge, but only one of the triumvirate, John Baker, was a Wykehamist.<sup>34</sup> He ensured at least one manuscript not alluded to in the will, the copy of Cicero's orations, reached New College. More generally, it seems that the executors took charge of Holes's whole library and distributed them as they saw fit: Baker's colleague, John Middleton, gave Holes's copy of Bartolomeo da San Concordio's guide to confession, the *Summa de casibus*, to the Carthusian house at Witham, Somerset in 1477; presumably, up to then, Middleton had kept it in his possession, as he did Holes's 'melior bibliotheca' ('better Bible'), which the will left to him on condition it passed to New College after his death.<sup>35</sup> That manuscript, along with four others, are now in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford—an appropriate location, given

<sup>28</sup> For manuscripts produced by him, see [4], [5], [10], [16], [19]. For the phenomenon of Low Countries scribes in Italy more generally, see E. A. Overgaauw, 'Nederlandse copïisten in Italië' in J. M. M. Hermans ed., *Middeleeuwse handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988* (Grave, 1989), pp. 251–67.

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., [22] and [24].

<sup>30</sup> [6]. On Seward, still essential is V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and his Circle', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941–43), pp. 85–104 [reprinted in id., *Kings and Chroniclers* (London, 1982), as ch. VII].

<sup>31</sup> [26]. For Holes's 'Salutatianism', see Rundle, *Instaurations*.

<sup>32</sup> For possible exceptions, see [3] and [ii] below. Holes's house in Salisbury (he also had a residence in Wells) is recorded at Salisbury: Cathedral Archives, CH/1/13, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> The will is TNA, PROB 11/5/458, partially transcribed in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* 4 (1904), 566–9. Some of the material relating to books bequeathed to Oxford is extracted by Thomson, *Oxford*, UO130.

<sup>34</sup> Alongside John Baker (Winchester 1432; New College 1436), the other executors were William Crowton (Oriell; St Mary Hall, principal, 1436) and John Middleton (Cambridge, incorporated BCnL. Oxon 1453), for all of whom see BRUO.

<sup>35</sup> [10]. My statement in Rundle, 'Imperfect Knowledge', p. 82 that Holes himself left the book to Witham is itself imperfect: it makes the assumption that Middleton was acting as Holes would have wanted—the monastery is among those named in his will as a recipient of his liturgical silverware and goldware—but I accept that may over-read the evidence.

that its founder, William Waynflete, was nephew to Holes by marriage.<sup>36</sup> It is possible but not certain that some of Holes's manuscripts, following the stipulation of the dispersal of his law books, reached Magdalen soon after his death. What is clear is that New College did not receive his whole library but it did gain the largest part of it. Most of them still remain among what is one of Oxford's largest college collections of manuscripts. Yet, we also know that some have escaped from the College's ownership.

We have already had cause to mention the visit, in the mid-1530s, of England's leading antiquary, John Leland, who (as was his wont) made notes of what caught his eye in the collection, and those included some that we now know to have been owned by Holes. Even by the time he visited, departures from the College library had begun, and in subsequent years the collection was to suffer more losses.<sup>37</sup> By the time of the first union catalogue of college manuscript collections, Thomas James's *Ecloga* of 1600, all those seen by Leland but now no longer in New College went unmentioned; we can assume that they had already reached private hands. It is impossible to estimate how many were similarly 'privatised' and are now lost.<sup>38</sup>

The emphasis on the past two paragraphs has been on the books' ownership by Andrew Holes. That is because the association with a man whom Vespasiano da Bisticci remembered as a voracious book-collector allows us to reconstruct these volumes' history. This short discussion, however, has complicated the matter by re-introducing another alumnus of the College who, up to now, has been little more than a name. John Burgh was patently an able scribe and also a close reader. His working alongside Holes is a reminder of the conviviality of bookish activities—we might say its collegiality. We might even claim that such sharing, eschewing any exclusionist possessiveness, was a central virtue in the Wykehamist identity as it was being developed in the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Waynflete's mother, Margery Brereton, was sister to the William Brereton who married Holes's sibling, Philippa: Bennett, p. 330 (n. 3).

<sup>37</sup> I touch on an early departure in D. Rundle, 'Good Duke Humfrey: Bounder, Cad and Bibliophile', *Bodleian Library Record* 27 ([2015 for] 2014), 36–53 at p. 42. See also Thomson, *Oxford*, pp. 1106–1107.

<sup>38</sup> T. James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600).

<sup>39</sup> On the development of educational identity, see J. Catto, 'Towards the Courtier: The University Formation of Public Servants in the Age of Richard Fox' in J. Watts ed., *Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600* [*History of Universities* 32] (Oxford, 2019), pp. 9–21.



## APPENDIX: MANUSCRIPTS OWNED BY ANDREW HOLES

The intention is to clarify the signs of Holes's ownership by identifying and distinguishing between annotations by him and by his secretary, John Burgh. The entries, therefore, are intentionally succinct, and concentrate on those elements at the expense of a fuller discussion. Even within those confines, the references to annotations are intended to be indicative, not exhaustive.

The list of manuscripts owned by Holes is ordered alphabetically by present institutional location, ending with the one codex in private ownership. It is followed by one possibly from his library and, finally, by those for which previous claims of association with him have to be rejected. These last are separated from the preceding entries by being numbered in Roman rather than Arabic numerals.

The format of each entry is:

**[number]** SHELFMARK—brief details of contents (place, date where approximate using the system perfected by Ker (see *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, II (Oxford, 1977), p. vii))—information on scribe and/or illuminator—clarification of evidence for the ownership by Holes, and signs of reading by him or by Burgh. Brief comment on provenance.

Bibliography

For those manuscripts where the association with Holes has previously not been noticed, the shelfmark is placed in bold.

**[1] CAMBRIDGE: UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS II.i.38 (part II)**—Demosthenes and Aeschines, trans. Leonardo Bruni (Italy, s. xv<sup>1/4</sup>)—Holes adds his manica at fol. 73, 83, 85, 96, 109<sup>v</sup>, 110, 112<sup>v</sup>, 114, 142<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>v</sup>; his marginal line at fol. 74<sup>v</sup>; and textual corrections at fol. 123, 132, 136<sup>v</sup>, 140<sup>v</sup>, 149<sup>v</sup>, 153. It is possibly Burgh who corrects the text at fol. 110. An elegant upright manica with thin cuff and a loop signifying the forearm (perhaps scribal) appears at fol. 103, 113<sup>v</sup>. It seems to have been brought together with part I (Boethius, in English trans. by Chaucer, s. xiv ex.) late, by the seventeenth century, to judge from the plain binding. The fascicle owned by Holes is possibly the volume of 'Orationes eiusdem [sc. Leonardi Aretini]' seen in New College by John Leland.

Association with Holes previously unnoticed. For Leland's record, see UO77.43: one would expect the phrasing to refer to some of Bruni's original orations, but Leland may have been reporting succinctly the opening words of the manuscript: 'Leonardi Aretini prefacio in Oraciones Demosthenis . . . '.

**[2] LONDON: BRITISH LIBRARY, MS Cotton Caligula A XVI (part II, i.e. fol. 65-155)**—Coluccio Salutati, letters (Italy, s. xv<sup>1</sup>)—a fascicle constructed independently of the Martinus Polonus (England, s. xiv<sup>1</sup>) with which Cotton bound it, as shown by its original leaf signatures (fol. 66 = 'a2'). Holes provides non-verbal interventions: a marginal line (fol. 66, 66<sup>v</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>, 78, 87<sup>v</sup>, and a flag nota-mark (fol. 112, 136<sup>r&v</sup>, 139, 141). Burgh corrects the text, both by adding passages in the margins and with interlinear insertions: fol. 68, 75, 77, 80<sup>v</sup>, 83<sup>v</sup>, 84, 86, 89, 90, 94, 94<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>, 98<sup>v</sup>, 102<sup>v</sup>, 106, 111<sup>v</sup>, ?114, 118<sup>r&v</sup>, 121, 122<sup>v</sup>, 126, 131<sup>v</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>v</sup>, 138<sup>v</sup>, 145, 146; the final recto (fol. 155) is also in his hand. *Maniculae* also by Burgh: fol. 67, 70, 74<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 103<sup>v</sup>, 128, 142, 143. It appears to have reached New College, and there are some minor signs of later use but no explicit sign of provenance before it reached Cotton.

Harvey, p. 32. For its presence in New College, see Thomson, *Oxford*, UO77.39.

**[3] OXFORD: BODLEIAN, MS Bodl. 247**—Guillelmus de Monte Laudano, commentary on Clementines (England, s. xiv<sup>med</sup>)—identifiable as Holes's by the inscription at fol. 289<sup>v</sup>, which reads: *Andreas Holes archidiaconus Anglesie* followed by a flower; that Holes does record any other clerical position he held suggests that he wrote this soon after his appointment to the archdeaconry, c. 1428.

Early annotations, at time dense (e.g. fol. 71<sup>v</sup>), by at least two hands (see, e.g., fol. 74 for a comparison). One of these is keen to add citations to ‘Jo. de Ly’, i.e. Giovanni da Legnano (d. 1383) (e.g., fol. 16<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>). Similarly, an early fifteenth-century English reader shows an interest in the recent writings of Francesco Zabarella (d. 1417) (e.g. fol. 101, 109<sup>v</sup>, 122). There are a few instances of Holes’s *manicula* (e.g. fol. 64<sup>v</sup>, 107, 121, 122), but the majority of mid-fifteenth century annotations are by yet another hand, often writing a *manicula* where the hand turns back on its wrist which is shaped like a triangle with a double base (e.g. fol. 62, 65, 159, 165, 189<sup>v</sup> etc). These interventions, which are not paralleled in other Holes volumes, may suggest that he parted with the book in his lifetime.  
Bennett, p. 235; P&A, iii, no. 635; Harvey, p. 31.

[4] OXFORD: BODLEIAN, MS Bodl. 339—*Somnium Viridarii* (Florence, 1439)—signed and dated at fol. 291<sup>v</sup> by its scribe, Johannes Baerts. First folio removed for its illumination, the remains of which are visible on the stub. It is identifiable as belonging to Holes by the coat-of-arms at the foot of p. 3. The only early marginalia, however, are scribal corrections; neither Holes nor Burgh intervenes. This volume presumably reached New College, and the title at p. iii (the former pastedown) may be in the same hand that writes the second note at the front of New College, MS 249. If so, it left the institution and entered private hands in the sixteenth century; three owners write their names at the former from pastedown: John Whithell, William White (‘presbiter et in legis bacc.’, presumably the fellow of New College, 1544-1554: J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1891–92), p. 1617) and John Greaves. Watson, *De&DOx*, no. 78; A. C. de la Mare, ‘Further Italian Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library’, in E. Sesti ed., *La miniatura italiana tra gotica e Rinascimento*, 2 vols (Florence, 1985), I, 127–154 at p. 132 (correcting the attribution in P&A, I, no. 668); Harvey, p. 35.

[5] OXFORD: BODLEIAN, MS Rawl. G. 48—Lactantius, *De ira Dei* and *De Dei opificio*; Quintilian, ‘de laudibus poetarum et oratorum’ (i.e. *Institutio*, X.49-91, imperfect)—scribe is Johannes Baerts, unsigned but dating it, at fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, to 1439, when he was in Florence—Watson comments that ‘annotations *passim* are in Andrew Holes’s hand’. It is important, however, to distinguish between the different sets of marginalia in this manuscript. Throughout the codex, there are textual variants added by the scribe both between the lines and in the margins. In addition, Burgh provides a similar service in the opening leaves: his spiky script provides textual corrections in the margins at fol. 2, 5<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>, 15, while his interlinear corrections stop at the same point. Holes’s own script appears just once, correcting the contents list to *De Dei opificio* at fol. 25.

Watson, *De&DOx*, no. 638; Harvey, p. 33.

[6] OXFORD: MAGDALEN COLLEGE, MS lat. 15—Horace (England, s. xii<sup>med</sup>)—it has been known that in the early fifteenth century, this manuscript was owned by the classicising London schoolmaster, John Seward, but it has not been noticed before that it was, in the following decades, in Holes’s hands: he adds glosses, often interlinear, in the last two items (fol. 73, 74<sup>v</sup>-75, 77<sup>v</sup>-82, 84<sup>v</sup>-86, 108-120). The script he uses here with the tall ascenders but round-backed **d** and the tapering final **s** suggests influence from his time in Italy.

Association with Holes previously unnoticed: Hanna and Rundle.

[7] OXFORD: MAGDALEN, MS lat. 113—Peter Lombard on the Psalms (Italy, s. xii<sup>3/4</sup>)—this manuscript has no marginalia by Holes, but it does have several by Burgh (e.g. fol. 3, 3<sup>v</sup>, 4, 5, 5<sup>v</sup>, 6–8, 10, 17, 28, 30<sup>v</sup>, 34, 37, 37<sup>v</sup>, 38, 39<sup>v</sup>, 40, 52, 52<sup>v</sup>, 76, 119<sup>v</sup>, 127, 132<sup>v</sup>, 133, 138, 152<sup>v</sup>, 168<sup>v</sup>, 173<sup>v</sup>, 174, 175, 178, 182<sup>v</sup>), with a couple comprising solely a trefoil (fol. 26, 35). It has been suggested that it was also annotated by John Dygon, who spent his last years as the recluse of Sheen, but, as I have argued elsewhere, this should be rejected.

Harvey, p. 32; A&T, no. 878; Hanna and Rundle; Rundle, ‘Imperfect Knowledge’.

[8] OXFORD: MAGDALEN, MS lat. 135—Aquinas, comm. on New Testament, I (Florence, 1439 × 1440)—this has a companion volume in MS lat. 136, which is by the same scribe, thus allowing us to date the production of this codex. It includes annotations by Holes (fol. 23, 35, 47<sup>v</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>, ?126, 146<sup>v</sup>). *DH&EH*, sub no. 31; Harvey, p. 32; A&T, no. 923; Hanna and Rundle.

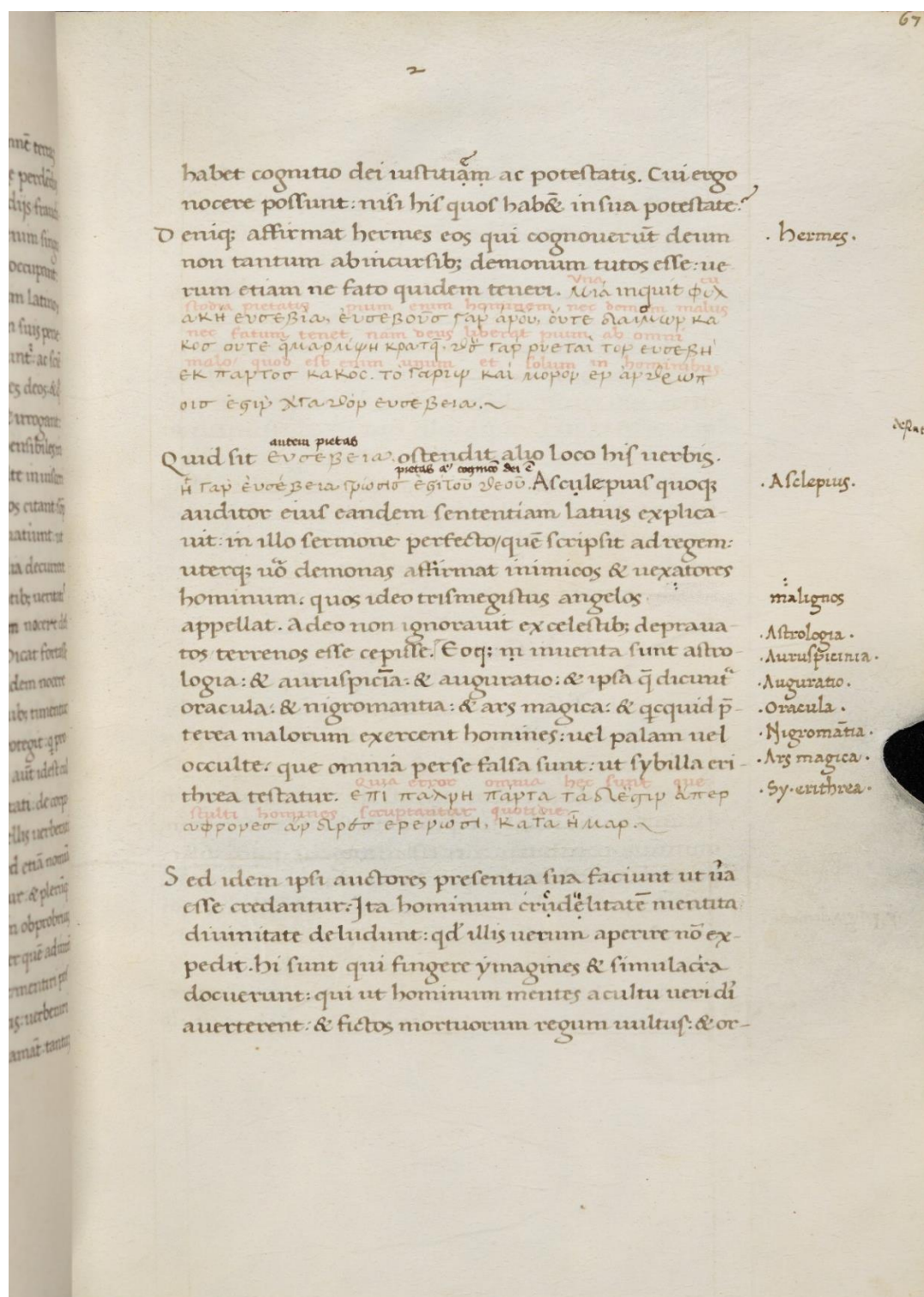
[9] OXFORD: MAGDALEN, MS lat. 136—Aquinas, comm. on New Testament, II (Florence, 1440)—companion volume to MS lat. 135, by the same scribe, who dates this manuscript. This also has annotations by Holes (fol. 257<sup>v</sup>, 258, 258<sup>v</sup>, 259<sup>v</sup>). *DH&EH*, sub no. 31; Harvey, p. 32; A&T, no. 924.

[10] MAGDALEN, MS lat. 191—Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Summa de casibus*—signed and dated at fol. 203<sup>rb</sup> by the scribe, Johannes Baerts, to 1440, when he was in Florence—Holes adds mainly non-verbal annotations (fol. 22, 23<sup>v</sup>, 27, 56, 56<sup>v</sup>, 57). His ownership is corroborated by a note added after his death, at fol. ii<sup>v</sup>: ‘Magister Johannes Mydelton Vnus executorum testamenti magistri Andree Holes Wellensis / archidiaconi donavit istum librum Priori et conventui domus de witham ex bonis dicti M. / Andree M.cclxxvii.’ Bennett, p. 325; *DH&EH*, no. 30; Harvey, p. 31; Watson, *D&DOx*, no. 833; Hanna and Rundle.

[11] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 63—Aquinas, commentary on the Epistles of Paul (Padua, s. xv<sup>1/4</sup> and Florence, s. xv<sup>2/4</sup>)—made for an owner whose coat-of-arms has been partially erased: it has a patriarch’s cross above a shield with a maze (tincture unclear) on an argent field. Holes therefore bought this manuscript second-hand, and the second half, made in Florence (fol. 123–289), was presumably added at his request. At the start of the manuscript, he himself corrects the text (fol. 1, 2–4<sup>v</sup> etc), as does Burgh (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>, 8, 9–13<sup>v</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>, 17 etc). At later leaves, Holes also adds his trefoil (fol. 38) and sometimes his marginal line (e.g. fol. 55<sup>v</sup>, 62, 73<sup>v</sup>, 106). A&T, no. 927 and 981; Harvey, p. 32.

[12] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 131—Cyprian, *Epistolae* (Italy, s. xv<sup>1</sup>)—written probably by a northern scribe working in Italy on smooth parchment; it has a companion in MS 132. Holes intervenes particularly in the opening folios (e.g. fol. 1<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>, 9, 12, 19, 23, 49 etc), sometimes also adding his manicule (e.g. fol. 10, 12, 12<sup>v</sup>), a marginal line (e.g. fol. 8, 8<sup>v</sup>, 12, 13<sup>v</sup>, 17 etc) and trefoil nota-marks (e.g. fol. 2<sup>v</sup>–5, 33 etc). Burgh begins annotating at fol. 55<sup>v</sup> (variants introduced by ‘.al’); he adds frequent notes and corrections (e.g. fol. 59, 60, 67, 67<sup>v</sup>, 69, 70, 70<sup>v</sup>, 72, 79, 80, 80<sup>v</sup>, 82, 83, 85<sup>v</sup>, 88–89, 97<sup>v</sup>, 113, 123 [cropped], 130<sup>v</sup>, 134, 148<sup>v</sup>–49, 150<sup>v</sup>, 153 etc) and a trefoil nota-mark similar but not identical to that of Holes’s (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>, 57, 66, 70<sup>v</sup>, 77, 78, 84 etc). In its original Italian blind-stamped binding (with signs of nails from two New College chain-staples at bottom outer corner of top board). Harvey, p. 33.

[13] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 132—Cyprian, *Opera* (Italy, s. xv<sup>1</sup>)—a companion volume to MS 131 in terms of mise-en-page, but by an Italian scribe writing ‘semi-gothica’, who also provides corrections and alternative readings in the text-script in the margins. In contrast to MS 131, this manuscript has delicate filigree initials. Holes’s interventions are few: maniculæ (fol. 2, 10, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17), a marginal line once (fol. 16) and, more regularly, his trefoil nota-mark (e.g. fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2, 3<sup>v</sup>, 4, 7, 12<sup>v</sup>, 57 etc). Burgh corrects the text frequently (fol. 10, 33, 36, 44, 49, 50, 61, 67<sup>v</sup>, 69, 75, 78, 84, 89, 101, 113) and also his uses own trefoil mark (e.g. fol. 37, 41<sup>v</sup>, 44, 78<sup>v</sup> etc). In its original Italian blind-stamped binding (with signs of nails from two New College chain-staples, one covering the other, at bottom outer corner of top board). A contents list in a current secretary script (s. xv ex.), presumably added in New College, at fol. i<sup>v</sup>. Harvey, p. 33.



New College Library, Oxford, MS 133, f. 67r—showing the addition of Greek after Holes notes its absence

[14] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 133—Lactantius, *Institutiones Divinae* (Florence, s. xv<sup>2/4</sup>)—written in *littera antiqua* throughout, with gaps originally left for Greek passages, which have then been supplied in small capitals, with the original scribe then adding an interlinear translation in rubric. What is striking is that these insertions seem to have been requested by Holes himself: at fol. 64<sup>v</sup>, 67, he writes in the margin next to the sections for Greek ‘deficit’, which would obviously only be relevant before they were added; at the latter of these, Burgh adds interlinear translations to two short Greek phrases. So, it would appear that Holes commissioned the manuscript, had sight of it at an early stage,



and required the insertion of the Greek. There are three levels of marginalia. One hand writes a spiky humanist script; this has been identified by de la Mare as being in the hand of Guglielmino Tanaglia (1391-1460); this person adds paratext at start and end of the volume in praise of the author. In the text, he also adds prominent marginal lines interrupted by a set of curves, and an elegant manícula with shading (e.g. fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>). Burgh corrects the text (e.g. fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, 7, 9, 10–11, 14<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 16, 17<sup>v</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>, 25, 26, 28<sup>v</sup>, 39, 40, 41<sup>v</sup>, 46, 50, 55<sup>v</sup>–56, 195), and, on one occasion glosses the text: at fol. 15, next to the reference to ‘Europa’, he writes ‘agenoris filia de qua Ouidius in fine secundi metemorf| |’. His interventions are greatly outnumbered by Holes, who adds his manícula (e.g. fol. 27<sup>v</sup>, 29, 44, 45, 49, 52, 59, 60<sup>v</sup>, 61, 71<sup>v</sup>, 81, 82, 85<sup>v</sup>, 89, 94<sup>v</sup>, 100<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>v</sup>, 135, 139<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>v</sup>, 165, 182<sup>v</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup>, 206 etc), occasionally notes names and terms (e.g. fol. 27, 121, 191<sup>v</sup>), and frequently corrects the text. It appears that he did this in two stages: at the first stage, his script is entirely gothic and appears both in the margin (e.g. fol. 33, 37, 41<sup>v</sup>, 55, 58, 61, 70<sup>v</sup>, 84, 85<sup>v</sup>, 98<sup>v</sup>, 109, 109<sup>v</sup>, 123, 146, 150, 162<sup>v</sup>, 192<sup>v</sup>, 197, 219<sup>v</sup>) and interlineally (e.g. fol. 26, 56, 61<sup>v</sup>–62, 68<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>, 77, 87<sup>v</sup>, 95, 98, 104, 116, 142, 209, 210). He then appears to have returned and, at this point, not only imitates Tanaglia’s ‘alius’ abbreviation but also experiments with letter-forms, most often a tailing final **s** but also a slanted-back (‘uncial’) **a** as well as providing some letters with tall ascenders (e.g. fol. 110, 113<sup>v</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>, 118<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>, 123, 128, 134<sup>v</sup>, 138, 141, 146, 147, 153, 161, 204, 235, 240 etc); this is to say, he is responding to the graphic stimuli before him on the humanist page. Both English hands, as well as that of Tanaglia, appear at fol. 41 (Holes drawing his manícula in the inner margin, and a note in top half of outer margin; Tanaglia writes ‘Seneca’ below, and near foot, Burgh provides a correction).

Harvey, p. 33; A. C. de la Mare, ‘Vespasiano as Producer of Classical Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century Florence’ in C. A. Chavannes-Mazel & M. M. Smith, *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: production and use* (London, 1996), pp. 166–207 at p. 176.

[15] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 155—Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Dialogus inter Iohannem et Literam* (?Padua, 1379)—assumed to be the presentation copy to Cardinal Tommaso da Frignano (*d.* 1381), this manuscript has the ownership note of Coluccio Salutati below the explicit (fol. 36), as well as the characteristic marks of a book from his collection (fol. 1) and two pages are annotated by him (fol. 7, 22). There are other signs of early readership: there is a thin, humanist-influenced script at fol. 5, which Kohl plausibly proposes is Niccoli’s, and a set of notes in a cursive with some cancelleresca influence (fol. 10, 15<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>, 20 [‘contra feminas’], 21<sup>r-v</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>, 27–29<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, 35). The most frequent annotator, however, is Holes, often marking solely with his manícula but also adding some marginal notes (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2, 3–4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>, 7, 8<sup>r-v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>–14, 15<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>–21, 22–23, 24, 25<sup>v</sup>, 26, 28<sup>v</sup>–29, 30–31<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>–33, 34). There is no sign of Burgh in this manuscript. After its arrival in New College, a further intervention was made (fol. 6: ‘vxorem fuge’, s. xvi<sup>2/4</sup>).

Ullman, *Humanism*, pp.199–200; A&T, no. 909; Watson, *De&DOx*, no. 847; B. Kohl, ‘Readers and Owners of an Early Work of Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna: Oxford, New College, MS. D. 155’, *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 95–100 (with example of Holes’s annotations at pl. 7).

[16] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 201—Domenico da San Gimignano, commentary on Sext (Florence, s. xv<sup>2/4</sup>)—written on paper (griffin?) by three Germanic scribes (I: fol. 1–60<sup>v</sup> and 151–251<sup>v</sup>; II: fol. 61–126<sup>v</sup>; III: fol. 127–150<sup>v</sup>), working in Florence, to judge from the illumination at fol. 1, which provides a border on two sides, with Holes’s coat-of-arms at bottom centre. He himself, however, does not annotate this manuscript. Instead, there are additions and corrections throughout by Baerts (e.g. fol. 1, 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 27<sup>v</sup>, 28, 39<sup>v</sup>, 40, 41, 44–45<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>, 66, 138 [supply leaf], 148<sup>v</sup>, 200, 215, 245, 247 etc); he was writing after the pen-flourished initials had been added (see fol. 55<sup>v</sup>). Baerts is also responsible for a set of running headers at top right of each folio, which have been partially lost by cropping; an English hand makes up the loss by providing another set slightly lower on the page but only in the first 52 folios.

DH&EH, no. 31; A&T, no. 921; Harvey, p. 31.

[17] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 209—commentary on the *Decretum*, distinctions (first three leaves lost and damaged at end), written on partially polished paper (griffin) by the same scribe as NEW COLLEGE, MS 218 & 224. Harvey notes that the text mentions the Council of Pisa (1409); the absence of references to Constance, suggests the text was compiled in the early 1410s, so twenty years or so before copying. A few interventions by Holes, including a at fol. 75, and a large version of his *manicula* at fol. 127<sup>v</sup>. A few other notes in a thin, rapidly written cursive (s. xv<sup>2</sup>) appear at fol. 25–27. Harvey, p. 31.

[18] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 218—commentary on the *Decretum*, part I (for part II see MS 224)—on paper, written by the same scribe as NEW COLLEGE, MSS. 209 & 224. One instance of a note by Holes (fol. 61) and a few of his *manicula*: fol. 196, 219<sup>v</sup>, 234. Signs of three other readers: a trefoil with a long stem drawn at fol. 46; a couple of notes and a flag nota-mark at fol. 125, and secretary-influenced script at fol. 299, this last s. xv/xvi so after donation to the college. Harvey, p. 31.

[19] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 219—?Domenico da San Gimignano, lectures on the Sext—written by Baerts, 1439, on paper. The scribe himself annotates the text copiously, sometimes adding a *manicula* with sharply pointed forefinger (e.g. fol. 22, 29, 34<sup>v</sup> etc). Some of these have been mistaken for Holes himself; his interventions are separate and consist here solely of his *manicula*, frequent but concentrated into fol. 2–61. There is also a later stage of annotation, in a thin cursive with tall ascenders (s. xv ex.) at e.g. fol. 67, 83, 92, 93, 97<sup>v</sup>, 101–102, 103, 106, 153, 154<sup>v</sup>, 161, 175<sup>v</sup>; it is possibly this hand that inserts a large, roughly drawn *manicula* at, e.g., fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, 6, 8<sup>v</sup>, 13, 19, 20, 25, 65<sup>v</sup>, 178<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>. Watson, *Dc&DOx*, no. 854; Harvey, pp. 31–2.

[20] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 224—commentary on the *Decretum*, part II (for part I, see MS 218; first and last folios lost)—written on polished paper (griffin) by a single gothic scribe, in brown ink and with a compact presentation; this scribe also appears in NEW COLLEGE, MSS. 209, 218. Holes's vertical *manicula* appears at fol. 51<sup>v</sup>. Harvey, p. 31.

[21] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 249—Cicero, orations (Florence, s. xv<sup>2/4</sup>)—s: two Florentine scribes of *littera antiqua*, identifiable as Ser Antonio di Mario (fol. 1–69) and Dominicus Cassii de Narnia (fol. 69 – 378), with a table of contents in red by Dominicus Cassii (fol. iii) which relates to the rubricated folio numbers he provides at top right of each folio; i: *bianchi girari* initials attributed to Bartolomeo Varnucci. At front. The evidence for Holes' ownership of this manuscript comes from two inscriptions at fol. ii<sup>v</sup>, the first of which was removed by scratching but in such a way that the outlines of most letters are still decipherable: 'Liber Collegii ex dono venerabili patre magistro Andree Holes quondam Socii | ac Ecclesie cathedralis Sarum cancellarii'. The second inscription, just beneath the first, and written in an outsize gothic script opens: 'Liber Collegij assignatus collegio per magistrum Johannem | Bakar sacri theologie professorem executorem testamenti / venerabilis viri magistri Andree Holes qui Andreas possessor et dominus libri fuit. Oretis | |'. Below this, the rest of the folio has been removed, presumably as an act of Reformation cleansing of a reference to praying for the soul of the dead. There are several layers of correction to the text: one of those appears to be Holes (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, 12, 54<sup>v</sup>) There are marginal notes which appear to be by Holes (fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, 49 ['Qui vult studere eloquentie'], 161<sup>v</sup>), and a few occasions when he inserts a trefoils (fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, 44, 103<sup>v</sup>). There are also occasional interlinear textual corrections by Burgh (e.g. fol. 56, 58, 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>). Most interventions are presumably from after it arrived in New College, including a thick-set gothic script which emulates humanist letter-forms when writing over them (s. xv<sup>2</sup>: fol. 127 & 128, ?147<sup>v</sup>, 156–7, 159<sup>v</sup>–160, 161<sup>v</sup>, 188) and a lightly written *littera antiqua*: fol. 163, 164, 171<sup>r-v</sup>, 188, 232. Bennett, p. 324; *DH&EH*, no. 29; A&T, no. 925; Harvey, p. 32; de la Mare, 'New Research', app. 5/50 & 15/18.

[22] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 265—Boethius, *De Consolatione philosophiae*—in textualis rotunda (?Florence, s. xiv ex.)—de la Mare noted that there are annotations by Andrew Holes, referring in particular to ‘characteristic pointing hands, fol. 24r, 32r, etc; other notes *passim*’. He appears to have annotated at two sittings: one set of annotations appears at e.g. fol. 16, 17, 18, 24 (and notes), 32, 34, 37<sup>v</sup>, 38, 39<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>, 44 (note only), 49<sup>v</sup> (note only), 52, 54 (note only), 56<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>, 58, with another, thicker script at fol. 8, 9, 11<sup>v</sup>, ?47<sup>v</sup>. De la Mare also drew attention to notes by the English humanist scribe, Thomas Candour; they appear at fol. 1, 2–5, 6<sup>v</sup>, ?10, 20, 20<sup>v</sup> (with long-fingered *manicula*), 26<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>. [Bodleian Library Record], *Manuscripts at Oxford* (Oxford, 1980), no. XXII/4; A&T, no. 912; Harvey, p. 30.

[23] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 268—Petrarch, *Libri rerum familiarum*—this manuscript is now imperfect. There are scribal annotations through the manuscript, including an attractive *manicula* with hanging cuff: fol. 20<sup>v</sup> [hand], 28<sup>v</sup> [al], 57<sup>v</sup> [al], 89, 105, 108<sup>v</sup>, 111 [nota hic optimama epistulam contra avariciam et specialiter contra Clericos], 113 [Contra principes nostri seculi querentes libros etc], 152 (with flag), 158 (with flag) [annum domini in quo magna pestilencia], 169<sup>v</sup>, 183<sup>v</sup> (with flag) [Insignia urbis Rome], 184 [Urbes Italie], 206 [Nota epigrama metricum]. Besides these, there are several signs of Holes’s interventions: his *manicula* appears thrice (fol. 19, 65, 207<sup>v</sup>); the impressionistic trefoil at fol. 13<sup>v</sup> is possibly his. The tall running headers (fol. 30<sup>v</sup>–35, 42<sup>v</sup>–45, 56<sup>v</sup>–58, 67) are in a style also found in [26] and so are likely also to date from his ownership. There is one further intervention, from after its arrival in New College (fol. 104: ‘luxurie vitium’; s. xvi<sup>2</sup>).

N. Mann, ‘Petrarch MSS. in the British Isles’, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 18 (1975), 139–527 as no. 246; Harvey, p. 34.

[24] PARIS: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MS lat. 8572—Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolae*; Francesco Barbaro, *De re uxoria* and Walter Map, *Dissuasio Valerii*—the main part, the Salutati, written in an Italian late gothic cursive bookhand with some consciousness of humanist reforms (tall final s), while the Barbaro and Map are in another gothic cursive bookhand, signed by John Burgh. Throughout, the parchment is prepared in the Italian style, and so Burgh’s fascicule is datable to between 1441, when Burgh joined Holes in Florence, and 1444, when Holes returned to England. Burgh himself annotates the whole manuscript, providing textual corrections usually in the margin (p. 7, 46, 99) and once between the lines (p. 5). He also adds ‘Nota’ on occasion in the outer margin (p. 24, 37, 40, 44, 45, 51, 64), and provides an elegant *manicula* with billowing sleeves and crooked forefinger (p. 50, 58, 59, 60, 63, 126, 127). Holes is also present in the margins: notes by him appear at: p. 68 (‘de senatu romano’), 88, 92, 94, 97 (‘de hectore’), 100, 104, 116, 119, 121, 122 (‘de nobilitate sanguinis’), 125, 130, 132, 133, 139?, 144 (‘de poggio’), 147, 150 (‘de morte herculis’), 158 (textual addition), 163 (‘de libris factis per collucium’), 168 (‘quis fuit auctor Ianue’), 174 (textual addition), 177 (‘contra gallos’), 190, 191, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202 (‘plato’; also textual correction), 203, 204, 205, 206 (‘de nobilitate sponse’), 209, 210 (‘de diuicijs desponsande’), 211, 212 (flag), 215 (‘demostenes’, with *manicula* pointing to it too), 216 (‘themistodes’), 218, 219 (‘Theophrastus’ with tapering final s), 220, 221, 222 (‘de caritate coniugali’), 226 (‘de moderacione uxoria et quibus in rebus consistit’, with *manicula* below, towards penultimate line of page), 227 (‘demostenes’), 228 (‘de verbis uxoris’), 229, 231 (‘de victu uxorio’), 233 (‘de congressu uxorio’), 235 (‘de cura uxoria’), 236, 237, 238 (‘de seruis’), 239 (‘de cane Zantippi’; ‘de educacione liberorum’), 241, 246 (‘de antere romano’), 247, 248, 249, 250; other notes are in a shakier script, and so may have been added later in life: pp. 16, 17, 24, 32, 33, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57, 64, 65, 83, 97, 110, 175, 179. The manuscript then followed the same descent to its present location as [25].

Association with Holes previously unnoticed.

[25] PARIS: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MS lat. 8573—Coluccio Salutati, *De verecundia*, *Contra maledictum et obiurgatorem*, letters and *De tyranno* (imperfect) (Florence, s. xv<sup>im</sup>)—written throughout by one Italian gothic cursive bookhand, in the style seen in Salutati’s own circle. There are only a few annotations by Holes (e.g. fol. 23<sup>v</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>), and an elegant *manicula* possibly by Holes at fol. 91. It certainly reached New College and then followed the same descent as [24]: they

were both owned in the 1670s by Richard Smith, sold at the auction in 1682 following his death and reaching the collection of Colbert, from which they entered the French royal library.

De Robertis et al., *Salutati e l'invenzione*, no. 44 (pp. 168–9). Association with Holes previously unnoticed.

[26] CITTÀ DEL VATICANO: BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS Urb. lat. 694—Coluccio Salutati, *De laboribus Herculis* (Florence, s. xv<sup>in</sup>)—written by a scribe responsible for an ‘official set’ of Salutati works, with six other volumes extant, including Città del Vaticano: BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1391. Holes’s coat-of-arms is added at foot of fol. 1. His ownership is corroborated not only by the presence of his annotations (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2, 3<sup>v</sup>, 5, 6, 6<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 25) and one by Burgh (fol. 121) but also by the *ex libris* provided by Humfrey, duke of Gloucester: though it is erased, it has been deciphered as recording that he received it ‘du don du maistre Andreu Holes’. It was given by the duke to the University of Oxford, whose library it left in the mid-sixteenth century, reaching the hands of Francis Babington (d. 1569), master of Balliol (1559); rector of Lincoln College (1560–1563); he presumably took this manuscript to the Continent when he went into exile in 1565.

The manuscript’s history was first recorded by B. L. Ullman, ‘Manuscripts of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester’ *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), 670–72, corrected and expanded in id., *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* [Storia e Letteratura, 51] [2nd edition] (Rome, 1973), pp. 345–356. For the ‘official set’, see id., *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padua, 1963), pp. 270–80 & pl. xvi–xix. For its donation to Oxford, see D. Rundle, ‘The Playpen: reform, experimentation and the memory of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester in the Registry of the University of Oxford’ in J. Willoughby and J. Catto ed., *Books and Bookmen in Early-Modern England* (Toronto, 2018), pp. 17–39. Harvey, p. 32; T. De Robertis et al., *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo* (Florence, 2008), no. 31 (pp. 124–5).

[27] PRIVATE HANDS—Jerome, *Epistolae*—written in one humanist cursive bookhand, identified by de la Mare as Ser Niccolò Berti de Sancto Geminiano, leaving spaces for the Greek (e.g. fol. 33<sup>v</sup>, 85, 93, 127<sup>v</sup>, 169, 169<sup>v</sup>, 185<sup>v</sup>), and often providing rubricated marginalia and nota monograms, as well as drawing an eye as a nota mark (fol. 96, 115<sup>v</sup>, 139, 261<sup>v</sup>). The manuscript is corrected throughout by Burgh, starting in the opening contents list (fol. [iii]), including in the inner margin (e.g. fol. 2, 25, 29, 44<sup>v</sup>, 104<sup>v</sup>, 192, 248<sup>v</sup>, 272 so before binding), and interlinear (e.g. fol. 12, 18, 113<sup>v</sup>), and sometimes being extensive (fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, 215–6), and clearly using another manuscript (e.g. fol. 133: for ‘decem’ reading ‘nouem’). There are also maniculae by Holes: fol. 174, 175, 175<sup>v</sup>, 177, and an annotation by him at fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. Erased note recording Holes’s donation of it to New College. It presumably left the College in the sixteenth century; its history cannot be traced from then until its appearance at auction at Christie’s, London, on 18 December 1964 as lot 161. It was sold to Bernard Rosenthal and from him to the present owner.

The plate in the Christie’s *Catalogue* shows interlinear and marginal annotations in Burgh’s hand (de la Mare is in error, then, in stating this plate presents Holes’ script [‘Vespasiano as Producer’, p. 175n]. On the scribe, see de la Mare, ‘New Research’, app. 50/17.

#### POSSIBLE MANUSCRIPT

[28] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MS 272—Letters of Symmachus (owned by Salutati)

Harvey commented that Holes ‘probably’ owned this manuscript. The lack of certainty is explained by a note in de la Mare’s papers, where she says: ‘there are no annotations by Holes, but given his known ownership of other MSS from Salutati, it would be and was tempting to ascribe it to Holes’s collection. This is probably ruled out, however, by the presence at the end of the MS of the erased *ex libris* of Luca Cantarelli of Reggio (fl. 1399–1430), who almost certainly owned the MS *after* Salutati.’ While this is true, it raises the question of how else a manuscript owned by Salutati might have reached New College.

Harvey, p. 33; de la Mare papers, box LXXVII. Salutati’s ownership of this volume is noted by de la Mare, *Handwriting*, pp. 42–3.



REJECTED MANUSCRIPTS

[i] OXFORD: MAGDALEN, MS Lat. 141—Petrarch, *de vita solitaria*, etc (England, s. xv<sup>2/4</sup> [fol. 1–39: 1433], s: J.F.[Mann]).

Harvey, pp. 32 and 34, but for the rejection of the association with Holes, see Rundle, 'Imperfect Knowledge'. In her notes held in the Bodleian, de la Mare writes: 'notes on fol. 5 and 4 which I formerly thought to be by Holes; I now think this attribution doubtful.'

[ii] OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE, MSS 277–79—in 'Florentine Manuscripts of Livy', p. 178, de la Mare suggested that this set might have been owned by Holes; however, the name of Say at the top of MS 277, fol. 1 demonstrates that this was owned by William Say (d. 1468), dean of the King's Chapel, who bequeathed it to his old college. The manuscripts are annotated by Thomas Candour, who is present in [22], and it is not impossible that Holes gave the set to Say, but as Say predeceased Holes this seems unlikely.

A. C. de la Mare, 'Florentine Manuscripts of Livy in the Fifteenth Century' in T. A. Dorey ed., *Livy* (London, 1971), pp. 177–99 at p. 178.