

## Chapter 24

# PHILLIPPS MS 24275 AND THE NINETEENTH- AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY HISTORIOGRAPHY OF BEDE'S MARTYROLOGY

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OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (Italy; late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century) contains texts suited for the daily meeting in chapter after Prime, including the *Regula S. Benedicti*, a chapter homiliary, a martyrology, and an obituary.<sup>1</sup> The incomplete martyrology within this manuscript is attributed to Bede: on folio 49r, the rubric reads “Incipit martirologium expositum a uenerabili Beda presbytero.” Henri Quentin posited that this text was perhaps related to an Italian group of manuscript copies of Bede’s Martyrology, although it does not seem that he had been able to examine the manuscript himself.<sup>2</sup> The text of the manuscript is indeed largely congruent with Bede’s, although it has been abbreviated and supplemented with material from other martyrologies.<sup>3</sup> Bede’s Martyrology is, at its most fundamental level, a calendrical list of martyrs with historical information concerning when, where, and by what means the martyrdoms took place. It is the earliest surviving example of an historical martyrology. Emphasizing his innovative contribution to the martyrological genre, Bede described his Martyrology as an historical text in the bibliography of his own works in his *Historia*

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1 Peter Kidd and Bodleian Library Staff, “MS. Lat. liturg. d. 43,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: A Catalogue of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and Selected Oxford Colleges*, January 7, 2017, [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_6477](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6477), accessed May 15, 2023.

2 Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge: Étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris: Gabalda, 2nd edn. 1908), 45, n. 5.

3 Although there is no critical edition, see Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, 47–111; Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède de l’Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus*, ed. Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud (Paris: CNRS, 1976). For an English translation, see Felice Lifshitz, trans., “Bede, Martyrology,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), 179–98.

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*ecclesiastica* (ca. 731).<sup>4</sup> Although the text of the Martyrology dates to the first quarter of the eighth century, only manuscript copies produced between the ninth and thirteenth centuries survive.

Despite this evidence of continued, if not overwhelming, medieval interest in and/or use of Bede's text, the majority of modern scholarship on the historical import of martyrologies has looked to other works.<sup>5</sup> The eventual liturgical dominance of Usuard's Martyrology, an historical martyrology written over a century later that drew upon Bede and others, is no doubt partially responsible. Crucially, however, the questions investigated by scholars of medieval liturgy and of medieval manuscripts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries play a prominent role in the discussion, or the lack thereof, of Bede's Martyrology today. When Quentin referred to the martyrology of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 in the first decade of the twentieth century, the manuscript was part of the enormous collection created by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the nineteenth century. The ways in which this particular copy of Bede's Martyrology was catalogued, valued, and examined between 1890 and 1945 illustrate contemporary assessments of the significance of Bede's Martyrology.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Phillipps MS 24275, as it was then known, provides an opportunity to think through the effects the trade in medieval manuscripts had upon scholarship on the martyrological genre and on Bede's text more specifically during this period. The relationship between economic exchange, connoisseurship, and scholarly assessments of the cultural and/or historical value of manuscripts was often a reciprocal one. The aesthetic and academic import of Phillipps MS 24275 was, as now, socially and culturally constructed. Assessments of Bede's Martyrology show the same processes of construction, on a larger scale. As the essays in this collection illustrate, these processes can, and should, be examined historically. Although the faith-driven research questions underpinning scholarship on martyrologies between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would not seem to have much in common with current studies, their conceptions of the significance of Bede's Martyrology remain influential.

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**4** Alan Thacker, "Bede and His Martyrology," in *Listen, O Isles, Unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), 126–41 at 127; Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 570–71.

**5** Exceptions include Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*; Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*; Thacker, "Bede and His Martyrology." For overviews of the text and its influence, see Lifshitz, "Bede, Martyrology," 169–78; George Hardin Brown and Frederick M. Biggs, "Martyrology," in *Bede: Part 2, Fascicles 1–4* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 279–92. For analysis of Bede's Martyrology in relation to other martyrologies, see Michael Lapidge, "Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the Old English Martyrology," *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005): 29–78; Frederick M. Biggs, "Bede's Martyrologium and the Martyrologium Hieronymianum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 134 (2016): 241–78.

**6** For recent analysis of the value of catalogues as historical sources in their own right, see Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp, ed., *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

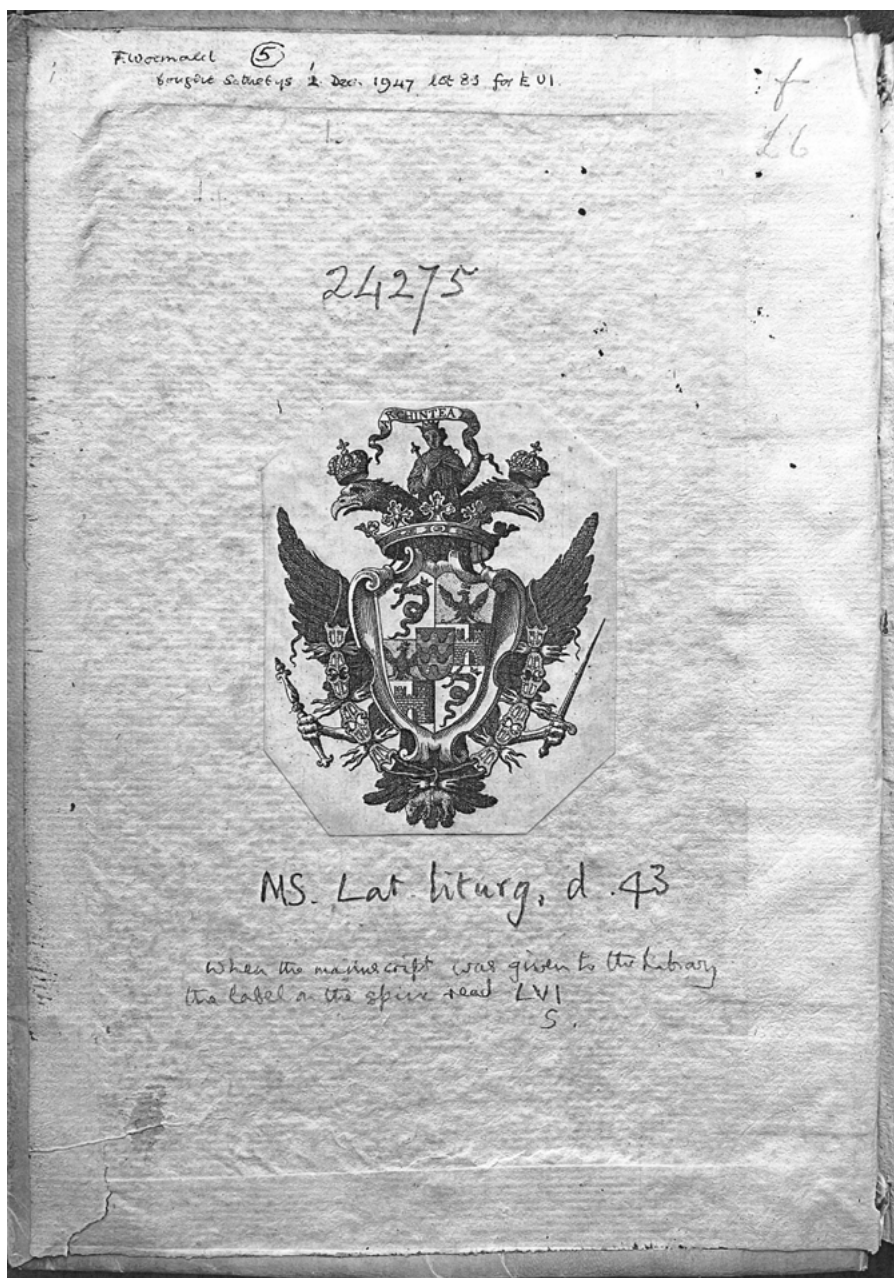


Figure 24.1. Front pastedown of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43. With permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

An overview of the provenance of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 provides an understanding of its life as a commodity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Arjun Appadurai, “the commodity situation in the social life of any ‘thing’ [is] defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other things is its socially relevant feature.”<sup>7</sup> Under this framework, the manuscript was not a commodity in its medieval context; once at the monastery of San Saba, its “socially relevant feature” was use in the morning meeting in chapter, based on its contents.<sup>8</sup> After the post-medieval dispersal of the libraries of many continental religious institutions, the “socially relevant feature” of liturgical manuscripts such as MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 became exchangeability. The widening temporal and cultural distance between, for instance, the monks of San Saba and the later owners of this particular manuscript encouraged the proliferation of narratives about Western European religiosity and its relationship to contemporary life—narratives that were intimately related to the growing market for medieval manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> The “commodity situation” in the “social life” of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 encompasses shifts from collector to collector, accumulating different value judgments and cultural baggage before finally arriving at the Bodleian Library in 1973, where it remains today.

I focus on the provenance of the manuscript following its acquisition by Phillipps. Prior to 1863, however, the manuscript was part of the library of Count Carlo Archinto as MS LVI 5 (or S?).<sup>10</sup> The front pastedown of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 includes a bookplate reading “ARCHINTEA LAVS” (Figure 24.1). It is probable that Archinto had the manuscript rebound sometime following the last decade of the seventeenth century. The watermark found on its paper flyleaves consists of a crown, a star, and the letters “G” and “B.” This is almost identical to an example from Rome dated to 1691.<sup>11</sup> The library of Count Archinto was sold in Paris on March 21, 1863, although the catalogue from this occasion does not include this manuscript.<sup>12</sup> It was presumably not amongst the most

**7** Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63 at 13.

**8** On the morning chapter assembly, see Michel Huglo, “L’Office de Prime au chapitre,” in *L’Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale*, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaître (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986), 11–18; P. Schepens, “L’Office du chapitre à Prime,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 11 (1921): 222–27.

**9** See Appadurai, “Introduction,” 48.

**10** According to a note written on the lower front pastedown of the manuscript. I am indebted to the summarized provenance information in Kidd and Bodleian Library Staff, “MS. Lat. liturg. d. 43.” For further information on Archinto, see Carlo Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili Italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Florence: Olschki, 1933), 32–33; Marino Parenti, *Aggiunte al dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili Italiani di Carlo Frati*, 3 vols. (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1952–1960), 1:46, 49.

**11** Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950), 88 (reproduced pl. 152).

**12** See *Catalogue d’une petite collection de livres rares et précieux imprimés et manuscrits provenant de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Comte Archinto de Milan, dont la vente aura lieu le samedi, 21 mars 1863* (Paris: Potier, 1863).

rare or striking examples available for purchase. Nevertheless, it was acquired by the London booksellers Messrs. Boone at this sale.<sup>13</sup> Their price-code is written in pencil on the lower left corner of the back pastedown.<sup>14</sup> The manuscript then entered Phillipps's collection.

What reasons may Phillipps have had for purchasing this particular manuscript? In the preface to the ca. 1828 printing of his catalogue, Phillipps gives some idea of his broader motivations and preferences: "In amassing my Collection of MSS. I commenced with purchasing everything that lay within my reach, to which I was instigated by reading various accounts of the destruction of valuable MSS...My principal search has been for Historical & particularly unpublished MSS., whether good or bad, and more particularly those on Vellum."<sup>15</sup> Like many other contemporary collectors, Phillipps saw his collecting activities as preserving the past; undoubtedly, the status and taste a gentleman was able to display through his library was also a factor.<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely that Phillipps acquired MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 because of the martyrology that it contains. As I discuss below, Bede's Martyrology had been printed and/or edited numerous times by the late nineteenth century and therefore would not have reflected Phillipps's interest in unpublished works. Any work by Bede, however, would have been valuable to the English collector due to his status as a venerable English author, practically a Church Father of his age. It is possible that Phillipps would have felt a particular need to preserve a manuscript containing a text by such an esteemed author who had lived and worked in his own country, and whose writing could be seen to have had considerable influence upon the development of the nation's culture and intellectual life.

This would not have been out of step with other book collectors during this period. In his assessment of English book collectors between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries, Seymour de Ricci equated their activities with patriotism: "Personal vanity,

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**13** On the business, see George Smith and Frank Benger, *The Oldest London Bookshop: A History of Two Hundred Years* (London: Ellis, 1928).

**14** Messrs. Boone bought a number of manuscripts from the Archinto sale. See Peter Kidd, *Medieval Manuscripts from the Collection of T. R. Buchanan in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library and University of Oxford, 2001), xxi, n. 30. On price-codes, see Peter Kidd, "The Use of Price-Codes (and Associated Marks) in Provenance Research," in *Chamberpot & Motherfuck: The Price-Codes of the Book Trade*, edited by EXHUMATION [Ian Jackson] (Narberth: Bruce McKittrick, 2018), 61–90.

**15** A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies in Two Volumes*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1971), 1.1:18. A recent assessment of Phillipps's collecting is Toby Burrows, "'There Never Was Such a Collector since the World Began': A New Look at Sir Thomas Phillipps," in *Collecting the Past: British Collectors and Their Collections from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. Toby Burrows and Cynthia Johnston (London: Routledge, 2018), 45–62.

**16** Toby Burrows and Cynthia Johnston, "Collecting the Past: Manuscript and Book Collecting in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Collecting the Past*, ed. Burrows and Johnston, 1–7 at 5–6; on the latter point, Annika Bautz and James Gregory, "Introduction," in *Libraries, Books, and Collectors of Texts, 1600–1900*, ed. Annika Bautz and James Gregory (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1–8 at 3.

the mainspring of collecting, has continually given way to local and national pride.”<sup>17</sup> In 1919 M. R. James made explicit the nationalism, then particularly pressing, that often underlay the collecting of pre-modern manuscripts, writing in religious tones:

Our concern is what exists to-day, or what did exist until the nation, which has contributed so largely to learning and history in the past, turned apostate, and to its lasting shame destroyed and dispersed what more ignorant men had spared. The mischief Germany has done—and it will be long before we learn the full extent of it—she has done with open eyes.<sup>18</sup>

James also remarked upon the early nineteenth-century fascination with copies of classical texts.<sup>19</sup> As a portion of the historiography of Bede’s Martyrology demonstrates (discussed below), Bede could certainly be considered a classical author at the time, and as such, relevant to contemporary understandings of the makeup of the cultural patrimony of England. Perhaps indicative of this viewpoint, in an article published shortly after the end of the Second World War, Charles Beeson remarked that not one of the surviving manuscript copies of Bede’s Martyrology is English.<sup>20</sup> One gets the impression that this would have been somewhat disappointing for English scholars and book collectors who felt national pride in Bede and his work.

Catalogues of the Phillipps library reveal a greater interest in Bede as an author than in martyrologies as a genre. Phillipps MS 24275 was not included in Phillipps’s printed catalogue, which only extends to 23,837 items. This catalogue, however, does name fourteen martyrologies, including: MSS 1844 (“Hieronymi Martyrologium”), 6651 (“Martyrologium Regula & Obituarium Abbatiae de Bigardis”), and 6774 (“Bedæ Martyrologium. transcript”).<sup>21</sup> The latter is an early modern copy of a ninth-century, Frankish example of Bede’s text.<sup>22</sup> This manuscript is probably representative of Phillipps’s collecting of Bede’s works as important cultural and historical artifacts, rather than a particular interest in the Martyrology. The same catalogue names thirty-four works attributed to Bede, including the Martyrology transcript, ranging from biblical commentaries, to the

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**17** Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 193.

**18** M. R. James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge/Macmillan, 1919), 12.

**19** James, *Wanderings*, 89.

**20** Charles H. Beeson, “The Manuscripts of Bede,” *Classical Philology* 42.2 (1947): 73–87 at 75.

**21** Thomas Phillipps, *The Phillipps Manuscripts: Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomæ Phillipps, Bt., Impressum Typis Medio-Montanis 1837–1871* (London: Holland Press, 1968), 3–4 (nos. 305, 345, 364), 15 (no. 1338), 20–21 (nos. 1844, 1913), 26–27 (nos. 2189, 2270), 33 (no. 2934), 39 (no. 3335), 58 (no. 4070), 70 (no. 4402), 99 (no. 6651), 101 (no. 6774).

**22** Hermann Degering and Emil Jacobs, *Neue Erwerbungen der Handschriftenabteilung, I. Lateinische und Deutsche Handschriftenerworben 1911* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914), 1. The transcript, now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. lat. fol. 722, is a copy of Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410.

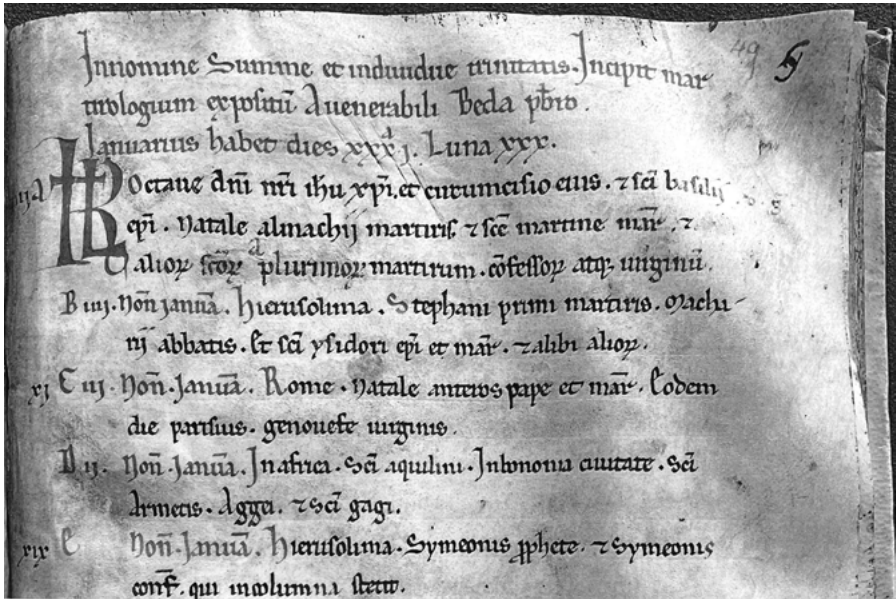


Figure 24.2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43, fol. 49.  
With permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

*Historia ecclesiastica*, to scientific works.<sup>23</sup> After Phillipps's death in 1872, Sir Edward A. Bond was contacted to conduct a valuation of the library as part of the probate process.<sup>24</sup> Correspondence between Samuel Higgs Gael, a trustee of the estate, and Bond reveals the difficulty of the task.<sup>25</sup> In a letter dated June 25, 1873, Gael wrote,

There are 3 facts which I should also think right to be stated in your valuation:

1. Many of the MSS were not found in their places in the catalogue; 2. Many MSS are enlisted twice, Thus it appears that several in the list are also in the additional catalogue; 3. That a more complete catalogue & list could not be prepared (a) for want of time as it would take years to do this, (b) for lack of

<sup>23</sup> Phillipps, *Phillipps Manuscripts*, 3 (nos. 255 and 256), 5–6 (nos. 460, 467), 9 (no. 816), 11–15 (nos. 902, 1022, 1056, 1089, 1092, 1159), 19–21 (nos. 1661, 1664, 1750, 1832, 1873, 1895), 26 (nos. 2166, 2225), 31 (nos. 2651, 2701), 35 (no. 3069), 75–76 (nos. 4605, 4642), 101 (no. 6774), 147 (no. 9310), 150 (no. 9428), 172 (no. 10614), 202 (no. 11727), 204 (no. 11825), 206 (no. 11902), 214–16 (nos. 12200, 12262, 12298).

<sup>24</sup> On the dispersal of the collection, see Munby, *Phillipps Studies in Two Volumes*, 2.5; Anthony Hobson, "The Phillipps Sales," in *Out of Print & into Profit: A History of the Rare and Secondhand Book Trade in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote (London: British Library, 2006), 157–64.

<sup>25</sup> See New York, Grolier Club, Manuscripts and documents relating to the Bibliotheca Phillipppica, 1794–1886 (bulk 1800–1864), RLIN ID No.: NYGG03-A12.

means. It would cost 20 per cent on the value of the MSS to catalogue them properly.<sup>26</sup>

Bond, did, however, manage to catalogue a portion of the uncatalogued and/or duplicated material. A copy of this catalogue now in the Bodleian Library describes Phillipps MS 24275 as “Regula de S. Benedict Saec XIII. Martyrologia &c.”<sup>27</sup> Despite the rubric attributing the martyrology to Bede in the manuscript, it is unattributed in this catalogue (Figure 24.2). Moreover, this catalogue does not name any other martyrologies; it does, however, contain another three works attributed to Bede.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the volume of Heinrich Schenkl’s *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* dedicated to the Phillipps library, published in 1892, lists the contents of MS 24275 as “Regula S. Benedicti,” “Lectionarium,” “Capitula conventus Aquisgranensis,” “Martyrologium Bedae,” and “Obituarium,” contrasting with previous catalogues’ lack of attribution of the martyrology.<sup>29</sup> Including MS 24275, this catalogue identifies forty-seven works by Bede in the Phillipps collection, up to MS 30499.<sup>30</sup> The discrepancy in the quantity of works by Bede between the catalogues reveals that for Phillipps, and subsequently Bond on behalf of the trustees, the attribution of a text to Bede was not always worthy of note, or perhaps was not known. The *Regula S. Benedicti* was the patristic text of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 that was considered noteworthy or was perhaps more easily identified, according to the catalogues, which mention it whenever the manuscript is described.

Although not amongst the last Phillipps manuscripts to be sold, MS 24275 was certainly not the first to find a new owner. Not included in the first twenty-two sales after Phillipps’s death, the manuscript was part of the sale of the majority of the remainder of the collection to the Robinson brothers in 1946.<sup>31</sup> From there, it was included in one of nine sales allocated to Sotheby’s.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript was purchased by Quaritch for £48 on December 1, 1947, and then became part of the collection of Francis Wormald.<sup>33</sup> The catalogue for this sale described the manuscript as:

**26** Grolier Club, Manuscripts and documents relating to the Bibliotheca Phillipica, RLIN ID No.: NYGG03-A12.

**27** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Phillipps-Robinson e. 466, fol. 40r.

**28** MS Phillipps-Robinson e. 466, fols. 44r, 76r, 77r.

**29** Heinrich Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, 3 vols. (Vienna: C. Gerold’s Sohn, 1891–1908), 1.2:150.

**30** Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum*, 1.2:2–3 (nos. 163, 255–56), 16 (no. 407), 19 (nos. 460, 467), 20 (no. 474), 26–28 (nos. 816, 902), 32 (no. 1022), 34 (nos. 1056, 1089, 1092), 36 (no. 1159), 42–43 (nos. 1347, 2068), 45 (no. 2166), 48 (no. 2225), 51 (nos. 2651, 2701), 55 (no. 3069), 57 (no. 3131), 61 (no. 3615), 69 (no. 4240), 74 (no. 4605), 76–77 (nos. 4642, 4654), 81 (no. 4725), 87–88 (no. 6659), 107 (no. 9428), 111–13 (nos. 10614, 11727, 11825, 12200), 115 (no. 12262), 128 (no. 15601), 131 (nos. 16249, 16250), 143 (nos. 20680, 20713), 149–50 (nos. 23033, 23062, 24232, 24275), 152–53 (nos. 25137, 25402, 26075).

**31** Hobson, “Phillipps Sales,” 157.

**32** Hobson, “Phillipps Sales,” 157–58.

**33** *Bibliotheca Phillipica. Catalogue of a Further Portion of the Renowned Library Formed by the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps...Which will be Sold by Auction...1st of December, 1947* (London: Sotheby

LECTIONARY. Regula S. P. Benedicæ. Lectionarium Sanctorum, et de Tempore Capitula Comentis ... pro reformatione Status Monastici, Italian MS. on vellum of the 13th Century, with calendar, 85 [leaves] (*measuring 8 1/2in. by 6in.*), numerous large initials in red, some with marginal pen ornamentation, 4to, vellum.<sup>34</sup>

This list of contents is copied from, but does not reproduce in full, an early modern contents list on a front flyleaf of the manuscript. Although the "lectionary" would be classified as a chapter book today, this term was not developed until the late twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Suggestively, neither "Bede" nor "martyrology" appears in the description. The relatively poor condition and number of similar manuscripts on the market were more influential upon its perceived valuation than the author or genre of its texts. Two leaves from a ninth-century martyrology appeared in the same sale, purchased by Bond for £42; the catalogue notes that, "leaves of such an early date in fine preservation are rare."<sup>36</sup> Another instance of this viewpoint is lot 109, a Psalter in a "remarkably clean state," "bright and clean," with illuminated miniatures.<sup>37</sup> By comparison, MS 24275 is neither of early date nor clean, and does not contain illuminations; the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscript includes traces of use such as marginal annotations, repairs to the parchment, and areas where parchment has been trimmed for other uses.<sup>38</sup> Some portions of the martyrology are damaged and difficult to read.<sup>39</sup> The dominant perspective at the time of what qualities make a manuscript valuable differs substantially from my perspective as an historian, in which material indications of use are some of the most important evidence for the purposes and significance of the manuscript during the Middle Ages. A well-known anecdote about A. N. L. Munby's early collecting of medieval manuscripts in which he repaired an automobile using "a thick leaf from a water stained and ruined Antiphonal" perfectly illustrates the discrepancy.<sup>40</sup> It is perhaps not coincidental that the leaf used to patch up the Bugatti was from a liturgical manuscript, pieces of which are commonly found as waste in late and post-medieval bindings.<sup>41</sup>

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& Co., 1947), lot 83, p. 15; MS Lat. liturg. d. 43, front pastedown. On Wormald as a book collector, see Julian Brown, "Francis Wormald, 1904–1972," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 61 (1975): 522–60 at 532–59; A. S. G. Edwards, "A. N. L. Munby's Collecting of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 15.3 (2014): 57–72 at 65 notes that "collecting manuscripts was as an extension of [Wormald's] academic concerns."

**34** *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, lot 83, p. 15.

**35** Jean-Loup Lemaître, "Liber Capituli, Le Livre du chapitre, des origines au XVIe siècle: L'Exemple français," in *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: Fink, 1984), 625–48.

**36** *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, lot 88, p. 16.

**37** *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, lot 109, p. 20 (a miniature from which is reproduced as pl. 3).

**38** For instance, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43, fol. 53v.

**39** See, for example, the lower portion of MS Lat. liturg. d. 43, fol. 69v.

**40** Edwards, "Munby's Collecting," 59.

**41** See, for instance, the ninth-century sacramentary now dispersed within the bindings of a

As a liturgical text superseded in most places by Usuard's Martyrology and later by the Roman Martyrology, a manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology would not have been of practical, liturgical interest to nineteenth- and twentieth-century Christians, even those in religious orders.

Bede's Martyrology was, however, set apart from other historical martyrologies by virtue of the early scholarly attention granted to its author. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries saw editions of the Martyrology created out of a desire to identify and reproduce the complete works of Bede.<sup>42</sup> In a similar vein, a number of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars discussed Bede's Martyrology in relation to his larger body of work, largely due to his perceived status as a patristic author. The Martyrology was included in reconstructions of the library holdings of the Middle Ages by Gustav Becker in 1885, the *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* series from 1918, and Max Manitius in 1935.<sup>43</sup> The presence of texts by Bede in such lists reveal his perceived place in church and intellectual history, inevitably part of a larger progress narrative culminating in the present. Additionally, contemporary listings of medieval libraries and manuscripts reflected current geopolitics. Manitius remarked, "incidentally, with today's uncertain demarcation of borders between different countries in Europe, Germany is not only thought of in its great medieval extent, but the states of the north and east, which were dependent on its church and its culture, are also included (Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Scandinavia with Iceland)"—uncertain indeed in 1935.<sup>44</sup> As an "Anglo-Saxon [sic]," Bede would have been claimed as a Germanic thinker as well as an English one in nationalistic assessments of medieval scholarly and religious culture.<sup>45</sup> Further reflecting interest in Bede as a quasi-classical author, Charles Jones published on scientific texts falsely attributed to Bede in 1939, and M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King published a list of extant manuscripts of his works in 1943, including a list of twenty-one copies of his Martyrology.<sup>46</sup> As discussed, in the case of Phillipps MS

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number of manuscripts in the holdings of the Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg: Hans Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970–1984), 3.1:84.

**42** See Bede, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis Presbyteri, Anglosaxonis*, ed. Johannes Hervagius, 8 vols. (Basel: Ioannem Heruagium, 1563), 3:cols. 380–486; Bede, *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis Viri Sua Aetate Doctissimi Opera Quotquot Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia*, ed. Antonius Hieratus and Ioannes Gymnicus, 8 vols. (Cologne: Sumptibus Antonij Hierai and Ioannis Gymnici, 1568–1630), 3:cols. 277–362; Bede, *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum: Libri Quinque*, ed. John Smith (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1722).

**43** See Gustav Heinrich Becker, ed., *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen et Filium [Fr. Cohen], 1885); Paul Lehmann et al. eds., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 4 vols. and supplement (Munich: Beck, 1918–2009); Max Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalog*, ed. Karl Manitius (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1935).

**44** Manitius, *Handschriften*, vii–viii (my translation).

**45** An example of the equation of Germanic and "Anglo-Saxon" culture, is, for instance, Manitius, *Handschriften*, 1.

**46** Charles Williams Jones, *Bedaes Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede*

24275, understandings of Bede's importance as an author probably affected the perceived monetary and cultural value of manuscripts of his works.

Conversely, Bede's Martyrology first caught the attention of the liturgists in the late seventeenth century. The aim of these scholars—to trace the development of the monastic traditions and Roman liturgy of their time—and the editions produced through their efforts came to dominate scholarship on medieval liturgy.<sup>47</sup> Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, earlier editions of Bede's text were consulted, re-edited, and reprinted; of particular note is the 1668 edition by the Bollandists.<sup>48</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century there was still, however, no critical examination of Bede's text. One probable reason for this was that, as Laistner and King would later note, "extant MSS professing to contain Bede's Martyrology are very numerous, but the majority do not offer his original and uninterpolated work; for this type of hagiographical composition was added to and worked over in different localities, until the Bedan core was scarcely recognizable under the mass of later accretions."<sup>49</sup> Early scholarship on martyrologies was also not overly favourable towards Bede's text. In his book on martyrologies published in 1900, Hans Achelis identified the Hieronymian Martyrology as the richest source of information about the early Christian church, and therefore the most important example of the genre.<sup>50</sup> He declared, "church history is interested in the MH, not in the later works," although he did acknowledge that, "Bede tried to make a fresh start, and his work was prominent for a time."<sup>51</sup> Quentin, however, did not agree with Achelis's poor assessment of historical martyrologies and even attempted to create a full edition of the various examples for the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>52</sup> In a letter to Albert Poncet dated June 12, 1901, Quentin wrote, "I have received and copied or collated all the manuscripts of Bede which served your elders and many others still (about 30, just for Bede)."<sup>53</sup> On June 15, Poncet replied enthusiastically, "for years I

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(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1939); M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1943).

**47** Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), 20.

**48** See Bede, "Martyrologium Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Ex Octo Antiquis MSS. Acceptum, Cum Auctario Flori Ex Trium Codicum Collatione Discreto," in *Acta Sanctorum: Martii Tomus Secundus*, ed. Godefroid Henskens and Daniel Papebroch, 60 vols. (Paris: Palmé, 1863–1870), 8:v–xl; Bede, "Martyrologium, cum auctario, notis et appendicibus," in *Venerabilis Bedæ Anglosaxonis Presbyteri Opera Omnia. Tomus Quintus*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus Series Latina* 94 (Paris: Apud editorem, 1850), cols. 797–1148.

**49** Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, 90–91.

**50** Hans Achelis, *Die Martyrologien: Ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1900).

**51** Achelis, *Martyrologien*, 239, 233 (my translation).

**52** See Bernard Joassart, ed., *Éditer les martyrologes, Henri Quentin et les Bollandistes, Correspondance* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009), 16–23.

**53** Joassart, ed., *Éditer les martyrologes*, 53 (my translation). "Elders" here refers to the seventeenth-century edition of Bede's text by the Bollandists.

have regretted not having on hand a sure text of Ado...and moreover an authentic text of Bede."<sup>54</sup> Although Quentin did not complete the edition, his book on historical martyrologies, published early in the twentieth century, remains useful today. The study of this text would not seriously resume until the work of Jacques Dubois in the mid and late twentieth century.<sup>55</sup>

How, then, might the pre-1945 trade in medieval manuscripts have affected and been affected by scholarship on Bede and his Martyrology? There were some divergences. Scholars of Bede's text at the time did not examine the material and codicological contexts of the manuscripts they studied. Booksellers and book-buyers, conversely, explicitly valued manuscripts with certain material characteristics. Many of the broad facets, however, are similar. Both groups did not view traces of use as significant. Certain scholars and collectors felt a national or even ethnic affiliation with Bede as an author that inflected their activities. It is probable that the authenticity of the text, and how difficult it was to determine, was central to both scholarly and economic assessments of Bede's Martyrology. Both collectors and scholars viewed the Martyrology as peripheral to contemporary religious practice. The emphasis on the Roman Martyrology in the work of Quentin, Dubois, and their contemporaries partially explains the attention given to Usuard's Martyrology, assessed as the later martyrology's direct ancestor.<sup>56</sup> Conversely, Bede himself was much more important than his Martyrology for most academics and collectors.

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**54** Joassart, ed., *Éditer les martyrologes*, 55 (my translation).

**55** See Jacques Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); Jacques Dubois, "Obituaires et martyrologes," in *L'Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986), 119–32; Jacques Dubois, *Martyrologes d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain: Articles réédités pour son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Abbeville: Paillart, 1990); Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993).

**56** Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, 4.