

THOMAS WOLSEY AND THE BOOKS OF CARDINAL COLLEGE, OXFORD

By JAMES WILLOUGHBY

The last great collegiate foundations of the Middle Ages were two sister-houses established at Ipswich and Oxford by Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey (1470/1–1530), both of them ostentatiously named ‘Cardinal College’ and both raised to a level of grandeur as to make it plain that the magnificent Wolsey was intending to dwarf in scale all existing models. Cardinal College, Oxford, is the focus of this paper. It was a foundation for a dean and subdean, sixty canons (the graduate fellows), forty petty-canons (undergraduates following the arts course) and six public lecturers, along with a grand collegiate establishment of thirteen priests, twelve clerks, sixteen choristers and a music master.¹ The college’s career, like that of its founder, was magnificent but brief. First steps towards foundation had been taken in April 1524, when a papal bull authorized the suppression of the Augustinian priory of St Frideswide in Oxford. The foundation stone was laid on 15 July 1525, and Wolsey wasted no time in erecting on the site what has been called England’s ‘last mediaeval building of first-class rank’.² As is well known, Christ Church’s hall with the kitchen below

This article has been improved in many points in discussion with Dr David Rundle, whose introduction to his new descriptive catalogue of manuscripts from Christ Church, co-authored with Ralph Hanna, will be the new port of first call for historians of the three colleges that have existed on the site.

¹ The most detailed history of the Oxford college was given by M. Maclagan in VCH *Oxon* iii (1954), pp. 228–31 (the history of the building works) and 233–5 (institutional history); it is outlined again in a new history of Christ Church, J. Curthoys, *The Cardinal’s College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse* (London, 2012), pp. 4–15. A list of the records of Cardinal College, including those kept in the Public Records, was assembled by N. Denholm-Young, *Cartulary of the Mediaeval Archives of Christ Church*, OHS 92 (1931), pp. 182–215. Cardinal College, Ipswich, was almost as princely: it was founded for a dean, twelve priest-fellows, eight clerks and eight choristers, and for the support of thirteen poor men; see further ed. J.M.W. Willoughby, *The Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 15 (London, 2013), pp. 252–68.

² John Harvey’s opinion, in J.G. Milne and J.H. Harvey, ‘The Building of Cardinal College, Oxford’, *Oxoniensia*, 8–9 (1943–4), 137–53, at 145. For further discussion of the building of the college, see John Newman, ‘The Physical Setting: New Building and Adaptation’, in *The History of the University of Oxford, III: The Collegiate University*, ed. J. McConica (Oxford, 1986), pp. 597–644, at 611–15; and J. Newman, ‘Cardinal Wolsey’s

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is the great piece of Wolsey's fabric to survive, along with Tom Quad, unfinished at Wolsey's fall and still awaiting the vault to its cloister walk. Facing the hall on the northern side of the quadrangle was to have been a collegiate chapel to rival the one then being built at King's College in Cambridge. Only some of the footings of this building survive, in the cellar range of what would become canons' lodgings.

The building works were halted at the time of Wolsey's fall. His confession of guilt to a charge of *praemunire* in October 1529 stripped him of position and property and placed his colleges' continuing lives in peril, for they had not yet been established as independent corporate bodies; they were therefore private property, and as such were sequestered by the king. Cardinal College, Ipswich, was dissolved entirely.³ The Oxford college persisted until its formal suppression in January 1531, after which it was refounded as King Henry VIII's College (July 1532), and ultimately as Christ Church (4 November 1546), for which buildings were finally completed on a different scale over a century later.⁴

Wolsey was proud of his colleges and had been ambitious for them. Their confiscation hit him hard. He wrote at the time to Thomas Cromwell claiming to be much indisposed and put from his sleep and meat in consequence of the news of the dissolution of his colleges; he could not write for weeping and sorrow.⁵ His intention had been for a grand educational scheme encompassing closely allied colleges, to provide an education from first letters to university undergraduate study. In his statutes for Cardinal College, Oxford, the Founder stated that 'we have it in mind to build and endow schools in several regions of this kingdom in order to train up youth in the study of grammar.'⁶ He wished to see able boys from these schools competing for places at the senior institution in Oxford.⁷

Collegiate Foundations', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 103–15, at 110–11. A conjectural drawing by Daphne Hart of the college as it might have looked if finished is illustrated in Howard Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford* (London, 1983), p. 6.

³ The college was formally dissolved in September 1530, although it had been clearly moribund since Wolsey's fall. Of the fine complex of buildings, the only surviving fabric is a postern gate of brick and terracotta.

⁴ For a summary account of King Henry VIII's College, see VCH *Oxon*, iii, 234–5; and Curthoys, *Christ Church*, pp. 15–21.

⁵ H. Ellis, *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, 2nd series, 4 vols. (London, 1827), ii, pp. 35–6, no. 104; *L&P* 4/3, 2936, no. 6524.

⁶ Ed. E.A. Bond, *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1853), ii, § 11, p. 21.

⁷ The question of Wolsey's model for the dual foundation is explored by Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', who suggested that the closest exemplar was

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Wolsey, who had himself been a brilliant scholar and then a successful teacher, remained a keenly interested and committed pedagogue. For his school at Ipswich he dispatched a grammarbook ‘ex aedibus nostris’.⁸ This book, sent on 1 September 1528, must have been a manuscript copy of the Cardinal’s own *Rudimenta grammatices et docendi methodus*, or curriculum, drawn up for Ipswich school and first printed in 1529 as a preface to Dean Colet’s *Aeditio* (STC 5542.3). The liberal humanistic curriculum the Ipswich boys were to follow was of Wolsey’s own devising and is touchingly humane, including a caution against severity in the master – not only in regard to thrashings but even in sour or threatening looks, which were apt to discourage tender youth. The schoolmaster, William Goldwin, could boast in a letter to Wolsey dated 10 January 1528/9 – written in a fine humanistic hand – that the school was attracting so many boys that the school-house was becoming too small.⁹ He sent specimens of his young scholars’ handwriting (‘cirographa discipulorum’) and reported that they were learning to speak Latin in the ‘Italian’ (i.e. modern) style. Three months later the dean wrote of the need to enlarge the school.¹⁰

At the senior institution in Oxford, the Founder did not stint in ensuring that his men were equipped with the necessary equipment for higher study. Curiously, it has often been asserted that Wolsey failed to make provision for any sort of common library at his Oxford college.¹¹ This was not the case. The true situation, which it is the object of this essay to explore, was that he had intended to build in Oxford what would have been – had it come into being – the most advanced library in England, one to rank among the very greatest collections of Europe.

The assertion that Wolsey had overlooked the provision of a library is implausible even without the plain evidence of his statutes of 1527, in which the care of books is a preoccupation. The regulations follow the normal template for the management of a collegiate library (and laid under contribution of Bishop Richard Foxe’s statutes for Corpus Christi College), but they are unusually detailed. Each canon and chaplain was to have a key to the library (*bibliotheca*) and free access, but was to bring

provided by an earlier bishop of Winchester, William Waynflete (c.1400–86), who had founded Magdalen College in Oxford and two associated schools, one on an adjoining site in Oxford and another (a more modest affair) at his birthplace of Wainfleet in Lincolnshire. Wolsey had himself been a fellow at Magdalen College.

⁸ *L&P* 4/2. 2037, no. 4691.

⁹ TNA, PRO, State Papers, Henry VIII, SP 1/52, no. 123; calendared in *L&P* 4/3. 2269, no. 5159.

¹⁰ *L&P* 4/3. 2402–3, no. 5458.

¹¹ See further below, n. 32.

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no stranger in. Readers were urged towards those small acts of mercy for which librarians are grateful: to close books which they might find left open; to pay attention to the windows, lest the east wind damage either the glass or the books; and always to lock the door on the way out. No book could be added to the collection or chained in the library unless it were of sufficient value or utility, or unless that had been the special wish of the donor. No book could be deaccessioned unless there were already a surfeit of such material, or unless a better or more valuable copy had been donated. Spare copies could be given on loan to fellows on an exchange of indentures with the dean, or the subdean in his absence. Such indentures were to record the *secundo folio* of the copy (so as to ensure that the book that was returned was the same as that issued and not a substitute of lower value). There were to be two catalogues (*registrum duplex in membranis*), one kept in the library and the other in the hands of the dean. Whenever a book was donated to the library, its details were to be entered in the catalogue, while the book itself was to receive the particular inscription 'Liber collegii Cardinalis, ex dono N.', the donor's name being added. Books were to be available to the fellowship in election on the strict term of a year's lease, with the distribution to be held at the start of the Michaelmas term. The *magistri* were to have the pick in election of the theology books, while the bachelors were to have the books of philosophy, mathematics and Greek, a stipulation showing that Wolsey intended from the start that his men should know Greek, a matter we shall return to. Unwanted or superfluous books were permitted to be sold for the college's benefit.¹² According to a draft list, drawn up by Thomas Cromwell, of the annual charges that might be expected once the foundation was fully staffed, there was to be a 'keper of the lybrarie' among the servants.¹³ His stipend of £3 6s. 8d. was low – equivalent to the college barber – so his position would have been akin to that of a room janitor, ensuring that the library was kept clean and tidy. It says something of Wolsey's concern for books that the room, unusually, was intended to have had a dedicated servant.

¹² *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, ii, § 11, pp. 112–13. For the custom of keeping, alongside a reference collection, a circulating stock of books for loan to fellows, available 'in election' (*electio*), see P.J. Lucas, 'Borrowing and Reference: Access to Libraries in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland 1 To 1640*, ed. E. Leedham-Green and M.T.J. Webber (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 242–62; also Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. xlvii–xlviii, lxii–lxvii.

¹³ TNA, PRO, Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Miscellaneous Books, E 36/102, fol. 6v; calendared at *L&P* 4/1. 671, no. 1499/12, but omitting this reference, which I owe to Dr David Rundle.

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The trend in the universities in the early sixteenth century was somewhat against the establishment of common libraries. The arrival of print had put private libraries within the reach of all but the most impecunious of scholars, to an extent that would have been marvellous to the preceding generation; it seems even to have threatened the continuance of some libraries of common resort.¹⁴ But in the colleges established at this time a library was still held to be one of the focal points of communal life, and founders provided books handsomely for their fellows. Bishop Richard Foxe did not stint in finding volumes for his 'trilingual' college of Corpus Christi, founded in 1517, and John Claymond, the first President, made a superb gift, in part with books he had bought from the estate of the humanist, William Grocyn (d. 1519).¹⁵ At Brasenose College, founded in 1509, the founder William Smyth and his successor as Bishop of Lincoln, John Longlond, established by donation a decent, if slightly more old-fashioned library, of which many books survive *in situ* with the donors' *ex libris* inscriptions. In these newly founded libraries print predominated.

Cardinal College was to have eclipsed all these. Its library would have been, for England, quite exceptional, a collection to match Wolsey's aspirations for his fellowship. It was a priority of his plan, and as early as October 1525 the collection was substantial enough to draw the praise of another learned prelate, Robert Sherborne (c.1454–1536), Bishop of Chichester. He wrote to thank Wolsey for his kind invitation to show him over the magnificent new buildings, which he would have accepted were he not so burdened by cares, and explained that on his return to Chichester he had straightaway looked to see if he had any books worthy of the 'immortal library' of St Frideswide's. He had some which he thought fit and had entrusted those to the dean, which he begged Wolsey

¹⁴ See further N.R. Ker, 'The Provision of Books', in *History of the University of Oxford*, iii, pp. 441–519; and J.M.W. Willoughby, 'Universities, Colleges and Chantries', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. V.A. Gillespie and S. Powell (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 207–24.

¹⁵ M. Burrows in *Collectanea, second series*, OHS 16 (1890), 319–24, 328–9; J.R. Liddell, 'The Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, 4th ser. 18 (1938), 385–416. On Foxe's books, many of which were taken over from the estate of his predecessor in the see of Durham, the humanist John Shirwood (d. 1493), see R.J. Schoeck, 'The Humanistic Books of Bishop Richard Fox given to Corpus Christi College in 1528', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis*, ed. R. Schnur and others (Tempe, AZ, 1998), pp. 533–9. Claymond gave at least 136 books to the college, of which twenty-three are in manuscript; R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Western Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2011), p. xx. All the books owned by Grocyn were listed conveniently by A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–9), pp. 828–30, and those owned by Shirwood at p. 1693.

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to accept, sending an accompanying deed of gift (*chirographum*).¹⁶ Wolsey had shown tact in extending the invitation, but the visit would not have been without its moments of awkwardness, for in the 1490s Sherborne, then dean of St Paul's, had given most generously towards the fabric of St Frideswide's priory. He had paid for the main part of the church to be repaved, the cloister to be vaulted in stone, and had provided for the total reconstruction of the refectory.¹⁷ It will be suggested that the former refectory was taken over for the college's library. Sherborne's comment on the 'immortal library' of St Frideswide might therefore have been intended to resonate satirically. But there is also the possibility, which I will return to below, that Sherborne wielded the phrase quite precisely, that the library was 'immortal' because his work had provided for a library at St Frideswide's in part of the canons' old refectory, and this room was continuing in use.

Sherborne was not the only ecclesiastic whose benevolence Wolsey was able to stir up. In January 1528 William Fell, Archdeacon of Nottingham, bequeathed to the library all his Greek, Latin and Hebrew books.¹⁸ It was already clear that Cardinal College would offer a suitable trilingual home for such a collection. But the main part in provisioning the library

¹⁶ The letter is in Sherborne's own hand, signed and dated on the Feast of St Frideswide (19 October) [1525]: 'splendidissimas illas ac magnificentissimas edes suas humanitate tali que omnem humanitatem exsuperat. ... Ad mea reuersus exacte statim scrutatus sum si quos libros habere[m] immortal[i] illa sancte frideswide bibliotheca vel in parte dignos et quos interlegendum meo tenui iudicio competentes existimaui cirographo inscripsi ac ecclesie cicestrensis decano consignau[i] Dignetur illos (ut solet) comi fronte ac generosa sua humanitate excipere'; TNA, PRO, State Papers, Henry VIII, SP 1/36, fol. 95^v; calendared in *L&P* 4/1. 759, no. 1708. His use of the name 'St Frideswide' is fanciful – perhaps pointed – since the priory had been suppressed the previous year; the papal bull authorizing the suppression is dated April 1524. The indenture (taking *chirographum* literally) would have offered Wolsey the security that the gift had arrived intact. At this date the college had not been formally incorporated, so a legal nicety as well as a long-standing friendship required that Sherborne make his arrangements directly with the Founder.

¹⁷ Sherborne's gifts to St Frideswide's and arrangements for obits for Thomas Chaudler and John Halman, *quondam* of Oxford, and his other benefactors, are in Oxford, New College, MS. 313, fols. 51^v–53^r. See also D. Sturdy, 'Excavations in the Latin Chapel and Outside the East End of Oxford Cathedral, 1962/3', in *Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford. Archaeological and Architectural Studies*, ed. J. Blair (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 75–102, at 97–8; and for a detailed discussion of the refectory, see D. Sturdy, E. C. Rouse and J. C. Cole, 'The Painted Roof of the Old Library, Christ Church', *Oxoniensia*, 26–7 (1961–2), 215–43.

¹⁸ 'Item do et lego Reuerendissimo patri et eius Collegio nominato the Cardinalis College omnes libros meos tam latinus quam grecos et hebreos eorum quosdam pauci vero habent etc.'; TNA, PRO, PCC Will Registers, PROB 11/22 (PCC F. 38 Porch), fols. 300^v–301^r, at 301^r. The testament is dated 8 January 1527/8, proved at St Paul's on 20 October 1528. There is no evidence for its successful implementation. For Fell's career, see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 223–4.

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was taken by Wolsey himself. His ambitious plan was to bring to Oxford the best of what was available on the continent. As a sincere follower of the humanistic approach to learning (enjoying the inevitable friendship of Erasmus), the Cardinal very properly cast his eye towards Italy in search of books. As early as December 1525, the Venetian ambassador reported that during a meeting with Wolsey, the Cardinal had discussed his new college at Oxford and his wish to obtain books from Rome and Venice.¹⁹ In particular, he wanted to have ‘copies made on good paper of the Greek manuscripts which had belonged to the late Cardinal of Nicaea’, and he mentioned also the books of ‘the late Cardinal Grimani, which are in the monastery of St Antonio’. Wolsey requested the signory to oblige him, considering it to be a very great favour. This ambitious request was focused on two of Europe’s most celebrated collections. The late Cardinal of Nicaea was Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72), the great promoter of Greek learning in Italy, whose library derived its fame from its extraordinary collection of around 660 Greek manuscripts, rescued after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. With his Latin manuscripts and incunabula, his library is thought to have held some 1,160 choice books.²⁰ Bessarion had presented them in 1468 to the Venetian Republic, his ‘second Byzantium’, and they form the core of the modern Biblioteca Marciana. Wolsey’s other target was Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), Patriarch of Aquileia and Cardinal of San Pietro di Castello, another celebrated humanist and theologian and a prodigious collector of books and paintings and antiquities.²¹ Part of his library had come by purchase from Pico della Mirandola after the latter’s death in 1494. In 1517 it was being hoped that Grimani would present his Latin, Greek and Hebrew books to join Cardinal Bessarion’s in the Marciana.²² In fact, the insufficiencies of the state’s arrangements for Bessarion’s books encouraged Grimani to change his plan in favour of the priory of Sant’Antonio di Castello in Venice, where his father, the Doge Antonio Grimani, was

¹⁹ *Cal. State Papers Venice III: 1520–1526*, p. 515, no. 1187.

²⁰ See further J. Monfasani, ‘Bessarion Scholasticus’: *A Study of Cardinal Bessarion’s Latin Library* (Turnhout, 2011), esp. pp. 1–7; Marino Zorzi, ‘Il Cardinale Bessarione e la sua biblioteca’, in *I luoghi della memoria scritta: Manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa di Biblioteche Statali Italiane*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome, 1994), pp. 391–410. Six inventories of Bessarion’s collection (none of them attributable to Wolsey’s interest in the library) were printed and discussed by Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, Sussidi eruditi, 31 (Rome, 1979).

²¹ His career is conveniently summarized by L. Bortolotti in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 59 (Rome, 2002), pp. 599–609.

²² According to a letter by Archbishop Marco Musuro; ed. Labowsky, *Bessarion’s Library*, pp. 78, 139–42, at 141.

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buried. He set up the library at his own expense, giving the canons regular the care of the books but not the ownership of them. The church was demolished in the Napoleonic era.²³

There are a number of surviving inventories of these two collections. Two of them, found in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, were written at the same time on the same paper by the same sixteenth-century hand. The volume in which they occur, BAV MS. Vat. lat. 3960, is a composite manuscript containing a diverse collection of book inventories by different hands. These first two inventories in the book happen to report the collections of Grimani and Bessarion: first, an 'Index Graecorum voluminum reverendissimi domini domini Dominici Grimani' (fols. 1^r–19^f), and second, a 'Tabula librorum tam graecorum quam latinorum quos Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Dominus Cardinalis Nicenus ac Episcopus Albiensis (*recte* Sabinensis) dono dedit Serenissimo ac Excellentissimo Ducali Venetiarum Dominio' (fols. 19^f–46^v, a copy of an original of date 1474). While, in truth, it can only be speculation to connect the booklists to Wolsey, the observation is worth making that these two collections, linked by his request, were reported at the same time by the same hand.

Bessarion's collection of Greek manuscripts has been described as 'the second largest collection of its kind in the Latin West since antiquity'.²⁴ The library to which Bessarion would have ceded the laurels was that of the Vatican, which held 879 Greek manuscripts at the time of an inventory of 1481.²⁵ Wolsey set his sights on that collection too. In a letter dated 4 May 1526, the scholarly Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), Bishop of Verona, replied to the Cardinal in a friendly vein, offering to send an inventory of the papal library from which Wolsey might choose what he wished to have transcribed.²⁶ In making his original request, Wolsey

²³ Theobald Freudenberger, 'Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 56 (1936), 15–45, at 19–21, and n. 28 for the text of the Cardinal's testamentary directions. The most famous of Grimani's books is the illuminated breviary that bears his name, published in facsimile by Mario Salmi and Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *The Grimani Breviary Reproduced from the Illuminated Manuscript Belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice* (London 1972); it is further discussed in *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. T. Kren and S. McKendrick (London, 2003), pp. 420–4.

²⁴ Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus*, pp. 1–2.

²⁵ Robert Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, *Studi e testi*, 244 (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 81–120.

²⁶ 'Librorum qui in hac S^{mi} D. N. bibliotheca sunt, quoniam magna copia est, mittam cum aliis literis indicem ad D^{ne} V. R^{ma} ut deligat ipsa quos velit eosque describi curabo'; BL, MS. Cotton Vitellius B. VIII, fols. 33^r–34^r (old foliation), 40^r–41^r (new foliation); calendared in *LSP* 4/1. 963, no. 2149.

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had asked for Greek texts, since Giberti went on to apologize that there were but few transcribers available, especially Greeks. The bishop also confirmed that he would help find some learned man to teach Latin and Greek at Cardinal College but confessed that it would not be an easy task, for some who could undertake it were content where they were and did not enjoy the labour of teaching; others had wives and families they did not wish to leave; and, it had to be admitted, England 'is looked upon as another world'. The bishop hoped that Wolsey's name might be a sufficient lure to someone.

In a letter dated two days later at Rome, reference to the papal library was made by another of Wolsey's correspondents, his old ally Girolamo Ghinucci (1480–1541), absentee Bishop of Worcester.²⁷ Ghinucci affirmed that he would arrange for copies to be made of books not only from the papal library but also from the library in Venice, where he thought some could be found which were not in Rome. On the 16th he wrote again to say that he had now received from the datary a copy of the Venetian library catalogue, which he would send to Wolsey.²⁸ The inventory of the papal library was thought to be very inaccurate with many omissions, so the datary would have a new one made. Ghinucci sent the Venetian catalogue on the 19th, adding that if Wolsey wanted anything from it, the datary would supply him.²⁹ That Wolsey's chief interest was in collecting texts in Greek is confirmed by another letter from Ghinucci dated at Rome on 11 June 1526, by which Wolsey was sent a copy of a fourth or fifth part of the catalogue of Greek books in the pope's library that was then being drawn up in answer to his request.³⁰ So eager was Ghinucci to get this list into the Cardinal's hands that he was sending it in instalments: another quire of the catalogue of Greek books followed on 3 July.³¹

There is nothing in Wolsey's temperament or achievement that would suggest he would have had the least hesitation in making the largest and most splendid of requests for copies. And yet, given the level of this activity, it is curious that so little should be known of the outcome. It is lost information as to whether any of the books that Wolsey thought worth the having were ever commissioned and received in Oxford before his fall. The period between his request in the summer of 1526 and his

²⁷ BL, MS. Cotton Vitellius B. VIII, fols. 40^r–41^r (old foliation), 50^r–51^r (new foliation); calendared in *L&P* 4/1. 967, no. 2158.

²⁸ BL, MS. Cotton Vitellius B. VIII, fol. 44^{*r} (old foliation), 55^r (new foliation); calendared in *L&P* 4/1. 974, no. 2181.

²⁹ *L&P* 4/1. 977, no. 2188.

³⁰ *L&P* 4/1. 1001, no. 2240; also 1018, no. 2272.

³¹ *L&P* 4/1. 1031, no. 2296.

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arrest in October 1529 is sufficiently spacious to beg the question whether any copies were ever made and dispatched. There are no known survivors in England. It would be plausible to think that these Italian commissions would have been prepared together and then shipped to England in bulk, and that Wolsey's fall would have halted further production and left the books without a patron. That being the case, we might accept the possibility that some of his books may be lying unsignalled in an Italian library today.

The location of the college's library-room is not certain. Wolsey's new ranges are not known to have included a library, so it has usually been presumed that the books were housed in some part of the old buildings of St Frideswide's. The most plausible candidate for such a room would be the old refectory on the south side of the cloister, as was suggested by Walter Hiscock, noting that Christ Church's first library was in precisely that place.³² The refectory had been rebuilt in about 1500 and was an airy space of six bays, well-lit on an east-west axis, entered from the cloister on the north. It would have been obsolete as a refectory as soon as Wolsey's great hall was brought into use, but that was not until the autumn of 1529. Until then, the canons would presumably have continued to gather in the old refectory at mealtimes. Yet it would seem that the library was also a going concern at that early date. That Bishop Sherborne should have referred to the 'immortal library' using the word *bibliotheca* suggests that he had in mind a furnished room rather than a collection of books.³³ The fact that his letter is dated in October 1525 strengthens the suggestion

³² W.G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church Miscellany: New Chapters on the Architects, Craftsmen, Statuary, Plate, Bells, Furniture, Clocks, Plays, the Library and Other Buildings* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 2–3. There has been some confusion on this point. Curthoys, *Christ Church*, p. 12, stated that there was no library in Wolsey's college, citing Newman, 'Physical Setting', pp. 614–15. Newman in turn had observed that while it was inconceivable that Wolsey had not intended a library, it would appear to have been an omission of the project, for 'it was not until 1563 (*sic*) that second-hand stalls and desks from the library of the theology school were acquired and placed in the former monastic refectory'; he cited for this information Hiscock, as above. Maclagan, in *VCH Oxon* iii, 232, also cited Hiscock for the statement that 'it may have been about 1563 that the former refectory of St Frideswide's was equipped as a college library', as did Sturdy et al., 'Painted Roof of the Old Library', p. 217. Maclagan, Sturdy and Newman have mistaken their source: it was never Hiscock's suggestion that the library of Cardinal College did not exist; indeed, he identified a plausible location for it in the old cloister. The evidence of Sherborne's letter and Fell's bequest cited above, not to say Wolsey's own efforts to acquire the books to furnish such a room, makes the case that a library-room was part of the original complex and at the heart of the project.

³³ The fact that Sherborne's letter is dated in October 1525 operates against the suggestion of Newman ('Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', p. 111) that the library-room was intended for an upper storey of the eastern range of the main quadrangle, for that had not even been begun at the end of 1526 (see the following note).

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that the library was occupying some part of the former monastic ranges, for Wolsey's own buildings were still only partially built over a year later, in December 1526. That was when a progress report was drawn up by John London, warden of New College. At that time the lodgings on the western side of the quad were almost ready for habitation, the gatehouse was standing to about the same level and the lodgings on the southern side were up as far as the second storey; the great hall was begun and the foundations of the cloister and the new chapel to the north were up as far as ground level; however, the kitchen was finished and the dean and canons had had their Christmas feast prepared in it.³⁴ There is no mention in this description of the works of a library-room, so it is plausible to think that it was already inhabiting some part of the former monastic ranges, already open to support the work of the fellows who, in London's opinion, 'in their learning they be the flower of my Lord's University'. David Rundle has made a very plausible suggestion that satisfies all the competing data: that the reconstruction of the old refectory paid for by Bishop Sherborne in the 1490s involved the room's partition. There were only around ten canons at the priory by then, who would not have needed so great a room in which to eat.³⁵ The building, of six bays, could have been comfortably divided to produce a refectory and a library for such a small community. Sherborne was therefore able to describe the library as 'immortal' because he knew that it was continuing in the way he had provided for.

There is no evidence for how the room might have been furnished. In January 1556 the congregation of the university had voted to sell the furnishings of Duke Humfrey's library on its closure, and these were purchased for the recently established community of Christ Church.³⁶ If the community stood in need of library furniture then the conclusion must be that Wolsey's library had been stripped at the time of Cardinal College's closure, or else, perhaps, on the subsequent closure of King Henry VIII's College; but this latter seems to have subsisted in no great estate in Wolsey's half-built ranges.

All this being the case, it is a matter of regret but not, perhaps, of surprise that Christ Church has not come into any great inheritance

³⁴ *L&P* 4/2. 1219–20, no. 2734; a précis is also given in *VCH Oxon* iii, p. 230; see also Milne and Harvey, 'The Building of Cardinal College, Oxford', p. 147.

³⁵ R. Hanna and D.G. Rundle, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Manuscripts of Christ Church, Oxford, up to c. 1600*, forthcoming.

³⁶ The furniture—the 'subsellia librorum in publica academiae bibliotheca'—was bought by Richard Marshall, first Dean of Christ Church; Ker, 'Provision of Books', pp. 465–6; K. Jensen, 'Universities and Colleges', in *Cambridge History of Libraries*, pp. 345–62, at 347.

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of books from Wolsey's foundation.³⁷ It is, however, a mystery that a library described as 'immortal' by Bishop Sherborne in 1525, and on whose behalf Wolsey was working his diplomatic contacts so energetically, should have left no trace at all in books or, indeed, in the memory. It would be beyond the normal reach of hope to think that Wolsey's cache of copies remains to be found among the manuscripts in Venice or Rome, but it is an enigma, as mentioned above, that potentially four years' worth of work on the commissioning and transcribing of Greek books in Italy should have left no trace at all in Oxford. The Cardinal's property came forfeit to the Crown at the time of Wolsey's fall, and the king certainly sequestered from Wolsey the two *de-luxe* liturgical books discussed below, which appear to be reported in an inventory of Greenwich palace in 1547.³⁸ On that basis, the Royal Library might be a place in which some of the college's books might be expected to show themselves. But if they are there, then they lie hidden without visible traces of provenance. It seems, in fact, that they are not there. If any books exist from the library of Cardinal College then the point must be conceded that they were not marked with *ex libris* or *ex dono* inscriptions as the statutes required them to be.

It has been suggested that two volumes survive not from the library but from the chapel of Cardinal College. They are a *de-luxe* pair of liturgical books, a gospel lectionary and an epistle lectionary commissioned from the scribe Pieter Meghen in the late 1520s and decorated by an artist now known as the Master of Cardinal Wolsey.³⁹ The gospel lectionary, now Oxford, Magdalen College, MS. lat. 223, contains the arms of the

³⁷ Four surviving books may be connected with the priory: BL, MS. Arundel 157 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), containing psalter materials; BnF, MS. fr. 24766 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), a copy of the Dialogues of St Gregory the Great in Anglo-Norman translation; and a late thirteenth-century psalter now in private hands, and perhaps a printed *Catholicon* (Venice, 1497/8) also in private hands. The Dean and Chapter of Oxford cathedral possess a copy of the statutes of Wolsey's Ipswich college (MS. 338, kept in the archives under the double-mark D&C vi. c.2); but this book was given to Christ Church in later times, by Robert Clay (d. 1628), vicar of Halifax and nephew to Sir Henry Savile (as David Rundle tells me).

³⁸ Evidence for the books' receipt in the king's library after the college's dissolution, and their subsequent use at the wedding of Philip and Mary in Winchester, is assembled by J.P. Carley, 'Thomas Wolsey's Epistle and Gospel Lectionaries: Unanswered Questions and New Hypotheses', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28/2 (2015), 146–50. See also his *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 7 (London, 2000), p. 267 (H5. 4–5).

³⁹ The artist, formerly thought to be Gerard Horenbout of Ghent, was renamed by Elizabeth Morrison in *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. T. Kren and S. McKendrick (London, 2003), pp. 504–7. See also J.B. Trapp, 'Notes on Manuscripts Written by Peter Meghen', *Book Collector*, 24 (1975), 80–96, at 92, no. 15; also 'Pieter Meghen 1466/7–1540 Scribe and Courier', *Erasmus in English*, 11

see of Winchester alongside the arms of the see of York and the initials T and W for 'Thomas Wintoniensis' ('Wolsey' was never employed in these monograms). Wolsey, Archbishop of York since 1514 and Cardinal since 1515, received the grant of the temporalities of the opulent see of Winchester in February 1529, so there is a tight dating-band for the book between then and the point of Wolsey's fall in October of that year.⁴⁰ The epistle lectionary, now Oxford, Christ Church, MS. lat. 101, lacks the arms of Winchester and has only initials referring to 'Thomas Cardinalis' rather than 'Thomas Wintoniensis', so it must have been made first.⁴¹ It has been thought that these companion volumes were intended for use at Cardinal College, Oxford, by dint of the beautiful miniature of St Frideswide in the epistle-lectionary on fol. 12^r, the saint standing in fields next to an ox with a recognisable vignette of the convent in the background. But the image, one of many in the book, offers, in fact, rather scanty ground for the attribution to Oxford. The volumes might have belonged to any of the chapels associated with Wolsey, and, indeed, because they offer only certain lections for saints that Wolsey personally cultivated, they would have been frustrating books for use in a collegiate church. James Carley has proposed reasons for preferring Wolsey's London residence of York Place for the books.⁴² The quality of these volumes stands, none the less, as an ample witness to Wolsey's cult of magnificence, represented by the buildings he raised at Oxford even if the college's books have failed to survive.

There do exist certain sources of documentary information for the keeping of books at Cardinal College. The principal source is a list of chapel books, which is printed and discussed in the appendix below. Some small evidence also emerges from the college's surviving account of receipts and expenses for the year 1530.⁴³ From this we learn that an

(1981–2), 28–35; and 'Pieter Meghen, Yet Again', in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, ed. J.B. Trapp (London, 1983), pp. 23–8.

⁴⁰ James Carley makes it clear that Wolsey was anticipating the bishopric days after the death of Bishop Foxe: 'Wolsey's Epistle and Gospel Lectionaries', p. 139.

⁴¹ The royal arms appear (fol. 20^r) with the lion and the griffin as supporters, a heraldic change in Henry's reign that is generally thought to have taken place in about 1528. The date '1528' is worked into the marginal illumination on fol. 32^r, against the lection for the feasts of St Peter and St Paul, which may be intended to commemorate the former Augustinian priory of St Peter and St Paul, which was dissolved on 14 May 1528 to provide the site and church for Wolsey's Ipswich college.

⁴² Carley, 'Wolsey's Epistle and Gospel Lectionaries', pp. 143–6.

⁴³ PRO, Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Miscellaneous Books, E 36/104; calendared in *L&P* 4/3. 3064–9, no. 6788. This account is a fair copy contained in a large, parchment volume. There is no rubric, but an endorsement on fol. ii^v (the original, thick parchment wrapper) reads 'Expenc' Collegii Cardinalis Oxon'.

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annual sum of 3s. 4½d. was paid in tips ‘for the reading of the bible in the hall’.⁴⁴ The practice of listening during mealtimes to a reading from scripture or some other edifying text was commonplace in the institutions of the secular clergy, as it was in the monasteries.⁴⁵ At choral institutions such as Winchester College, Eton College, St Mary’s College at Mettingham (Suffolk) and St George’s Chapel, Windsor this job was normally given to one of the choristers.⁴⁶ At Cardinal College, according to statute, the provision related to dinnertime, when the Bible was to be read with an exposition afterwards of the particular passage.⁴⁷ (At lunchtime, conversation in Latin or Greek was permitted.)

The same account reports the outlay in May of eight pence for the binding of books for Masters Leighton and Tresham, to be taken to the king; payments for paper for making these books and to a scribe called Shirrey for fair-copying them had been made over the previous three months.⁴⁸ These books were dossiers of material on the struggling college, part of the legal haggling over its future. Edward Leighton and William Tresham seem to have been particularly involved in the administration of the college’s affairs after Wolsey’s fall. On 29 April 1530 Tresham delivered his book to the king and was granted an interview in which he begged the king’s favour for the college. On 11 May Leighton delivered his book ‘with letters supplicatory for the college’, and had his own audience. He was told that Council had shown the king that none of the college’s lands were held except by the king’s sufferance.⁴⁹ If they were going to make suit for the college then they were advised to appoint a proxy under the seal. Tresham retailed all of this in a letter to Wolsey, in which he also explained that he, Leighton and the sub-dean had been seconded to a university commission to examine new heretical

⁴⁴ E 36/104, fol. 14^r, *Solutio forinseca*.

⁴⁵ Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. lxxii–lxxiii.

⁴⁶ Winchester College, Statutes, rubric 14 specified for lections the Bible, *Vitas patrum* or ‘dicta doctorum’, to be read by a scholar as deputed by their master; statutes, ed. T.F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College from its Foundations in the Year 1382 to the Present Time* (London, 1892), pp. 455–523, at 488. Making use of this model, the statutes for Eton College (rubric 16) also specified the Bible, *Vitas patrum*, or ‘dicta doctorum vel aliquod sacre scripture’; ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, *The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King’s College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College* (London, 1850), pp. 531–2. For Mettingham, where a bible was purchased for use in the hall, and Windsor, where a ‘byble or deuote and holy scripture’ was to be read by one of the choristers ‘distyntly with a audible voys’, see Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. 360 and 937.

⁴⁷ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, ii, § 11, pp. 69–70.

⁴⁸ TNA, PRO, E 36/104, fol. 12^r, *Solutio forinseca*: ‘Solutum pro ligatura librorum Magistrorum Laighton et Tresham ad Regem 13 maii, viij d.’

⁴⁹ *LSP* 4/3. 2864–5, no. 6377.

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books and to decide whether it was necessary to have the Bible in English, which was going to make it less easy to attend to the college's business. Edward Leighton (d. by November 1549) was *Censor theologicae* at the college and a canon of the successor institution, while William Tresham (d. 1569) – who in later life would be a commissioner for the examination of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley – was the only man to have been a fellow of all three colleges on the site.⁵⁰

One more entry in the account refers to books, under the heading of chapel expenses. Master Burgess, 'formerly the precentor', was paid six pounds for books of polyphony, by order of the dean.⁵¹ The dean in making such a heavy investment in music books was conforming perfectly with Wolsey's intention that Cardinal College should be one of the foremost choral foundations of its day.⁵² The statutory complement of the choir was enormous: a precentor, twelve chaplains and twelve lay clerks, a master of the choristers and sixteen boys. The college statutes required the master of the choir to be 'exceptionally skilled in music' (*musicus peritissimus*).⁵³ In April '1528' Thomas Cromwell reported to Wolsey that liturgical service was kept up daily in Cardinal College chapel, 'so deuoute, solempne, and full of armony, that in myne opynyon it hathe fewe peres'.⁵⁴

The first master of the choristers (*informator choristarum*) was the famous composer John Taverner (c.1490–1545), who was recruited to Wolsey's new foundation in the spring of 1526 from Holy Trinity College, Tattershall. Some of Taverner's surviving settings date from his Oxford years.⁵⁵ Two years after his arrival he was arrested for having permitted forbidden books to be hidden under the floorboards of the choir-school.

⁵⁰ For their careers, see A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501–1540* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 349, 576–7.

⁵¹ TNA, PRO, E 36/104, fol. 15^r, *Custus Capelle*: 'Solutum pro Magistro Burgis olim cantori pro libris in torto cantu factis ad mandatum domini decani vt patet acqui et antiam 4^o Maii, vj li.'; 'Solutum Magistro Burgis cantori pro libris infracti cantus vt patet billam predictam, vj li. v s.'

⁵² See further the full exploration offered by R. Bowers, 'The Cultivation and Promotion of Music in the Household and Orbit of Thomas Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 178–218, at 196–202; repr. in his *English Church Polyphony* (Aldershot, 1999), ch. 7.

⁵³ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, ii, § 11, p. 13.

⁵⁴ H. Ellis, *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, 3rd series, 4 vols. (London, 1846), ii, pp. 138–40, no. 169. He also reported that the buildings of the college were going up in such style that 'to euery mannes iudgement the lyke thereof neuer sene ne ymagedn hauing consederacyon to the largenes, beautie, sumptuous, curyous, and most substauncy-all buylding of the same'.

⁵⁵ Bowers, 'The Cultivation and Promotion of Music', pp. 200–2; also his article on Taverner in *ODNB*.

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They belonged to John Clarke (d. 1528), one of the first canons of Cardinal College and a Cambridge graduate, said to be ‘princeps atque dux’ of this Lutheran coterie.⁵⁶ Also exposed were John Radley and Thomas Lawney, respectively lay clerk and chaplain of the choir, whom Taverner had recruited from St Botolph’s in Boston. It must have been these two who had introduced to an Oxford clientele the reformer Thomas Garrard (1498–1540), the clandestine purveyor of these heretical books: Garrard had been schoolmaster at Boston between 1524 and 1526. The discovery of a Lutheran cell in the Cardinal’s own college was a serious embarrassment to Wolsey. But whereas those arrested who were in clerical orders were dealt with harshly – four of them died in prison – Wolsey forgave the laymen Taverner and Radley, viewing them as ‘unlearned and nott to be regarded’.⁵⁷

It is Taverner’s milieu and the life of the chapel that emerges most fully in any survey of the provision of books at the college, thanks to the survival of an inventory of liturgical books that were taken from Hampton Court to the college on 18 October 1525 (printed in the appendix below). The date is significant, being the eve of the feast of St Frideswide in the first year of the college’s life.⁵⁸ This list occurs as part of a larger inventory of the chapel goods. The books are grouped by type: antiphoners, legends, graduals, missals, processionals, a diurnal, a venite and an epistoler, manuals, a martyrology (or necrology) and an ordinal. They are further subdivided by whether they were in print or manuscript. In fact, most of the books were in manuscript (‘in vellem written’), but some were printed copies (‘in papire printed’).⁵⁹ From the *dicta probatoria* cited in the document it has been possible to identify some of the editions in question.⁶⁰

The document bears comparison with a similar list of service books that survives from Wolsey’s other foundation of Cardinal College, Ipswich, datable between 22 February and 29 October 1529.⁶¹ At Ipswich, a group of service books, twenty-three in number, had been taken over from the

⁵⁶ For his career, see Emden, *Biographical Register 1501–1540*, pp. 118–19.

⁵⁷ TNA, PRO, State Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, General Series, SP 1/47, fol. 111^r.

⁵⁸ TNA, PRO, State Papers, Henry VIII, SP 1/36, fols. 89^r–94^r; calendared in *L&P* 4/1. 759, no. 1707.

⁵⁹ The use of ‘paper’ and ‘parchment’ to signify the distinction between manuscript or printed format is by no means idiolectal but is found quite widely during the incunabular phase, as I hope to outline in a future paper.

⁶⁰ On the value of the *secundo folio* in this respect, see J.M.W. Willoughby, ‘The *Secundo Folio* and its Uses, Medieval and Modern’, *The Library*, 7th series, 12 (2011), 237–58.

⁶¹ TNA, PRO, State Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, General Series, SP 1/236, fols. 96v–112v; Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. 260–8.

suppressed priory of St Peter and St Paul, which had provided the site of the new college. Four more, described as old, together with 'olde coopes and vestements', were brought to the college from the small priory of Bromehill, another of the suppressed houses that had been given up for the college's endowment. It is likewise a possibility that some of the books at the Oxford college had once been among the possessions of St Frideswide's priory. But at Ipswich the founder also provided handsome quantities of books in addition to whatever remnant was judged worthy to retain from the confiscated goods of the earlier foundation. Wolsey's cult of magnificence extended naturally to his books, and he had no qualms about using his authority to sequester them from even the highest in the land.⁶² Some of the Ipswich books, the printed editions, had probably been bought new from London stationers, others came from his own shelves: mostly these were chapel books, some from his London residence of York Place and others delivered in September 1528 by Thomas Cromwell.⁶³ For the Oxford college, the document transcribed below shows that the agent for the delivery was Laurence Stubbes and the books were brought from Hampton Court. As at Ipswich, where Cromwell had brought the books in time for the patronal festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin on 8 September, at Oxford Stubbes arrived in time for St Frideswide's Day. Stubbes was one of Wolsey's household chaplains, who had been much involved in overseeing the works at Oxford; he was also named as surveyor of the Cardinal's works at Westminster, Hampton Court and Battersea.⁶⁴ Books were valuable objects deserving of careful transport, but it is also a reflex of Wolsey's own feeling for them that he should have entrusted their carriage to men of standing in his own entourage. Perhaps some of them are visible in an inventory of property at Wolsey's archiepiscopal residence of Cawood Castle (West Yorkshire), drawn up by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, at the time of Wolsey's arrest for treason in November 1530. Service books were listed among 'Oxford stuff bilongyng to the chappell'.⁶⁵ Those thirteen books may have been

⁶² Wolsey had demanded service books from the household chapel of Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland (d. 1527). The sixth earl acceded to Wolsey's demand for the books and described them in a letter to Wolsey's gentleman Thomas Arundel as 'iiij Anteffonars, such as I thynk wher nat seen a gret wyll; v Gralls; an Ordeorly; a Manual; viij Processioners. And ffor all the ressidew, they are not worth the sending, nor ever was occuppyed in my Lords Chapel'; *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland* (London, 1770), p. 430.

⁶³ Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, pp. 262, 263.

⁶⁴ TNA, PRO, Exchequer, E 36/235 and E 101/474/6.

⁶⁵ TNA, PRO, Exchequer, Court of Augmentations, E 36/171, fol. 18^v, which is calendared as *L&P* 4/3. 3045, no. 6748/12; cited from Hanna and Rundle, *Descriptive Catalogue of Western Manuscripts of Christ Church*, forthcoming (with further discussion).

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intended for dispatch to Cardinal College, or, more probably, they had been evacuated from there to a place of greater, albeit unavailing, safety.

In the present document, the entries are too laconic to admit of much descriptive finesse, but one suspects that the martyrology ‘lymned with my lordes armes and badge covered with blewe clothe of bawdekyn’ was a fine object. Certainly, the likely quality of at least some of the books is suggested by the paired survivors of the gospel-lectionary and epistle-lectionary. Those volumes provide the clearest sight of how opulent the provision of books at Cardinal College might have been. Wolsey’s lofty designs for his college are visible in the scale of the standing buildings, which set in stone the scale of his ambitions – but loftier still were the Cardinal’s intentions for the books. The library, had its founder been spared to tend it, would have flowered into one of the choicest and most famous libraries of Renaissance Europe.

Appendix: A List of Chapel Books from Cardinal College, Oxford

The booklist transcribed below occurs as part of a longer inventory of chapel goods at Cardinal College, dated 18 October 1525. It is not the record of an ordinary audit: rather, it reports books and other chapel stuff taken from Hampton Court to Oxford on the eve of the feast of St Frideswide. (The statutory requirement was for an annual audit of the chapel property to be conducted within eight days either side of the feast of Holy Trinity.) The document survives among Wolsey’s papers, doubtless the counterpart of an indenture of which the other part was kept by the college. Like the similar list that survives for Ipswich, which has been mentioned above, it was copied in a stylish and regular hand that would appear to be that of a clerk, presumably one of Wolsey’s own. It occurs on a damaged paper quire of fourteen pages now bound into a volume of State Papers (TNA, PRO, State Papers, Henry VIII, SP 1/36, fols. 89^r–94^r). The inventory begins on what is now fol. 89^r. The first objects to be reported are the vestments, a list of brilliant objects subdivided by colour (red, blue and white), with copes and other textiles and a long list of cushions (to fol. 91^r). There follows (fol. 91^v) a list of ‘Stuffe Receyvid from my lordes grace’, being costly vestments, some of cloth of gold. The books are then listed, as follows. The numbering these entries is editorial.

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TNA, PRO, State Papers, Henry VIII, SP 1/36, fol. 89^r]

An' Inventory made the xvijth day of Octobre anno xvij^{mo} Regis H. viii^{ui}
of all suche Stuffe as Maister Laurence Stubbes hathe with hym from
Hampton Courte to Oxforde to the vse of my lordes newe college there.

fol. 92^r]

Chapell' Bookys

Antypheneres in vellem written

1	An antyphanere	ij ^{do} folio <i>et spiritus sancto</i>
2	A nother	ij ^{do} fo. <i>per eundem dominum.</i>
3	The ij ^{de}	ij ^{do} fo. <i>tum annum</i>
4	The iiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>gentes chorus</i>
5	The v th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>in hac continentur</i>
6	The vj th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>dicium et iusticiam</i>
7	The vij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>filius dabit</i>
8	The viij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>vit et reg'</i>
9	The ix th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>p'es in ipso</i>
10	The x th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>rum non cognosco (sic)</i>
11	The xj th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>non deum</i>
12	The xij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>in magno tonale</i>
13	The xiiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>tres pueri simul</i>
14	The xiiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>honor et omnis</i>
15	The xv th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>tercio puero</i>
16	The xvj th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>Rector versum</i>
17	The xvij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>men quod vocabunt</i>
18	The xviii th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>tres pueri accepta</i>

fol. 92^v]

Legentes in vellem written

19	A legent	ij ^{do} fo. <i>propriis abiret</i>
20	A nother	ij ^{do} fo. <i>in singulis quibusque</i>
21	The ij ^{de}	ij ^{do} fo. <i>eciam accipe</i>

Grayles in vellem written

22	A grayle	ij ^{do} fo. <i>mundi vita</i>
23	A nother	ij ^{do} fo. <i>vt possideas</i>
24	The ij ^{de}	ij ^{do} fo. <i>ostende nobis</i>
25	The iiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>in secundo</i>
26	The v th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>non erubescam</i>

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27	The vj th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>michaelis et in missis</i>
28	The vij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>Sancti Siluestri</i>
29	The viij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>perdite omnium</i>
30	The ix th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>ti scola</i>

Grayles in papire printed

31	A grayle	ij ^{do} fo. <i>concede quesumus omnipotens deus</i>
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The *secundo folio* corresponds to the edition printed Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for William Bretton, 1508 (*STC* 15862). (There are correspondences with other editions but all are later than the date of this inventory.)

Graduale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis: pr. Paris 1508 (*STC* 15862), &c.

fol. 93^r]

Missalles in vellem written

32	A Missalle	ij ^{do} fo. <i>filio et spiritui</i>
33	A nother	ij ^{do} fo. <i>mis palmarum</i>
34	The iij ^{de}	ij ^{do} fo. <i>et in secula seculorum</i>
35	The iiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>genitum tuum</i>
36	The v th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>supradictum</i>
37	The vj th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>estote et vos</i>
38	The vij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>intencie et ne</i>

Missalles in papire printed

39	A Missalle	ij ^{do} fo. <i>quencie scilicet</i>
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Missale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis: pr. Paris 1487 (*STC* 16164; *Bod-inc.* M-271), &c. It has not proved possible to identify this edition.

Precessionalles in vellem written

40	A precessionalle	\ij ^{do} fo. / <i>post aspationem</i>
41	A nother	ij ^{do} fo. <i>vestris oprecibus</i>
42	The iij ^{de}	ij ^{do} fo. <i>cani Spiritus</i>
43	The iiij th	ij ^{do} fo. <i>hec antiphena dicitur</i>

fol. 93^v]

Precessionalles in papire printed

44	Of the same xvij of oon printe	ij ^{do} fo. <i>bus vel in locis</i>
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The *secundo folio* corresponds to the editions printed London: Richard Pynson, 1502 (*STC* 16232.8); Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Francis Birkmann [in London], 1519 (*STC* 16235); Antwerp: Christopher Ruremond for Peter Kaetz, 1523 (*STC* 16236.3); and Antwerp: Christopher Ruremond for Peter Kaetz, 1525 (*STC* 16236.3).

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16236.7). This last was printed probably too late to be at issue here. A processional printed on vellum with this *secundo folio* was delivered by Thomas Cromwell to Cardinal College, Ipswich, on 7 September 1529 (Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, p. 265 (SC255.17)); that copy plausibly belonged to one of Christopher Ruremond's two editions, and seems to have been intended for the dean's particular use.

Processionale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis: pr. London 1501 (STC 16232.6), &c.

Iunialles in papire printed

- 45 Of the same ij ij^{do} fo. of either of them *excionis(?) qui natus*

It is not possible to identify the edition. The *secundo folio* does not correspond to the edition printed Paris: [Wolfgang Hopyl], for Henry Jacobi [and Franz Birckman] in London, 1512 (STC 15861.7). The only other edition known was printed too late to be considered here (Paris: François Regnault, 1528 (STC 15861.8)).

Diurnale ad usum Sarum : pr. Paris 1512 (STC 15861.7), &c.

- 46 A booke of venitis in vellem written and covered with parchemente, ij^{do} fo. *et ipse fecit*
47 A pistell booke in vellem written, ij^{do} fol. *sicut et cristus*

Wolsey's famous epistle-lectionary, now Oxford, Christ Church, MS. lat. 101 (discussed above), was created in 1528, too late to be in consideration here. (Its *secundo folio* is 'sed dico'.) An epistolar in a precious binding is known to have belonged to Cardinal College, Ipswich; it was given clasps in October 1528 (Willoughby, *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, p. 259 (SC254.2)). It is just possible that the Ipswich epistolar and the one named here were the same book, taken from Oxford to Ipswich when the surviving epistle-lectionary was brought into the choir at Oxford. But there are better reasons to assign both books to some other one of Wolsey's chapels.

Maunuelles in vellem written

- 48 A Maunuelle in vellem written ij^{do} fo. *nostri et in*
49 A nother Maunuelle ij^{do} fo. *tamen gracie*
50 A Martulage lymned with my lordes armes and badge covered with blewe clothe of bawdekyn, ij^{do} fo. *dia macerata*

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- 51 An ordinalle in vellem written ij^{do} fo. *excita quesumus*