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Scholarly Pursuit or *Sammelwut*? (Re-)Framing Medieval Manuscripts in Two Nineteenth-Century Albums (Bristol Archives, 08153/1 and Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/28–67)

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Given the aim and scope of this *Gedenkschrift*, it seems apt to open my contribution with a personal note. Of the great many who remember Christoph Houswitschka (1961–2022) and his work with fondness and admiration, not everyone may think of him first and foremost as a scholar of the Middle Ages. A medievalist by training who gained his doctorate with a prize-winning study of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, Christoph devoted his earliest publications to the literature and culture of the period pre-1500 before expanding and recalibrating his research interests by focussing on the (early) modern era, though never without awareness and acknowledgement of modernity's medieval heritage. By the time I met him in the early 2000s following my matriculation at the University of Bamberg, his interest had begun to shift from the medieval to medievalism, and yet he would continue to publish the occasional – and authoritative – study on Malory, Chaucer, and Boethius. Having taught and mentored me through both an undergraduate and a postgraduate degree, Christoph agreed to supervise my doctoral project on the medieval manuscript tradition of Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Historia Normannorum*, a subject that – by his own frank admission – lay outside his main field of expertise. Such caveats notwithstanding, Christoph's broad knowledge, specifically his understanding of cultural memory and commemoration, turned out to be transformative by providing the project with a framework for studying medieval manuscript culture unlike anything I could have conceptualised without him. It is fitting, therefore, for me to honour Christoph's legacy and memory with a case study of medieval documents (re-)framed – literally speaking – in nineteenth-century albums just as he enabled me to (re-)frame – figuratively speaking – the manuscripts that formed the subject of my doctoral research. My vehicle for this will be two little-studied albums assembled by two bibliophile (and in one case truly bibliomanic) antiquarians, one in Bristol (Bristol Archives, 08153/1, hereafter **B**) and the other in Manchester (Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/28–67, hereafter **M**).

Calling these nineteenth-century albums 'little-studied' is no overstatement. Acquired at auction in 1929/30 by Bristol Archives (then Bristol Record Office), **B** remained virtually unknown to scholarship until its 'rediscovery' in 2022 by two Bristol-based colleagues who have since published a short introduction and descriptive list via the Bristol Record Society (Condon and Jones). **M**, whilst known

to scholars since the mid-1920s when some of its contents were inventoried in the first instalment of the *Handlist of Charters, Deeds, and Similar Documents in the Possession of the John Rylands Library* (Fawtier), has never been made the subject of a dedicated study. In fact, the same could be said – *mutatis mutandis* – of the broader 'genre' to which **B** and **M** belong. As noted by Margaret Connolly in her pioneering study of medieval manuscript fragments fixed temporarily or (semi-)permanently into blank books in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "[m]uch scholarly energy has been spent on reuniting detached manuscript fragments with their original medieval codices, but far less attention has been paid to the pre-twentieth-century albums . . . which were these fragments' transitory homes" (31). As Connolly demonstrates, this relative dearth of dedicated scholarship stands in sharp contrast to the "ubiquity of the nineteenth-century practice of presenting and preserving manuscript fragments in such contexts" (33), a ubiquity that is underscored by no fewer than twenty-two intact and seventeen dismantled (or presumed dismantled) such albums from England and Scotland helpfully gathered by Connolly in a preliminary handlist (48-51). Neither **B** nor **M** features in Connolly's list, and singling them out here for comparison, contrast, and contextualisation provides an opportunity to engage with, build on, and expand recent conversations in the field.

Before we can do so, however, we must a) briefly define what we mean – and, by exclusion, what we do *not* mean – when talking about an 'album', and b) provide a basic description of **B** and **M** to establish the extent to which they fit this model. Beginning with the former, the working definition used by Connolly offers a useful starting point. As she notes, the term 'album' since the nineteenth century has been, and still sometimes is, used interchangeably with cognate yet distinct terms such as 'scrapbook' or 'portfolio'. Aiming to establish a more precise and specific taxonomy, Connolly points out that portfolios are typically assemblages of loose or unbound items, whereas albums and scrapbooks are both bound collections whose formerly independent contents have been "fixed in some way . . . most usually by pasting" (33), with scrapbooks usually containing fragments or cuttings whereas albums tend to include whole manuscript leaves, dissected book pages (*membra disiecta*), or – as is the case with most items in **B** and **M** – single-page documents such as deeds and charters. The larger of the two albums under consideration here, **B**, contains 125 documents arranged in various layouts over sixty-three pages, usually with several documents to a page.[1] At less than a third of **B**'s length, **M** comprises a mere forty documents, again with a *mise-en-page* that

[1] The internal numbering system inscribed on the recto and verso of each document contains an error due to which the sequence is out of sync by one up until no. 33, meaning that the overall number is 125, rather than 126 (Condon and Jones 8-22). The flyleaves apart, the most common *mise-en-page* in **B** is two documents per page (46%), followed by a single document (29%), three documents (22%), and four documents (3%) per page, respectively.

habitually combines multiple items per page, though it has a 'sister volume' of similar size and format that holds a further sixty-one items (Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/68–125), taking the total to 101.[2] The chronology of the documents gathered in **B** and **M** spans several centuries. The earliest of these date from the first half of the thirteenth century and are included, in translation, in the Appendix of this study, whilst the latest are from the end of the fifteenth (**M**) and seventeenth (**B**) centuries, respectively.[3] In both cases, we are dealing not with an accidentally created corpus but with a manufactured and confected collection, one whose present arrangement and presentation on the pages of **B** and **M** are the consequence of personal choice and preference on the part of the nineteenth-century collector(s).

This can be seen particularly well in **B**, where we can be relatively sure, thanks to recent research by Evan Jones and Margaret Condon, about both the identity of the person assembling the album and the likely date of its compilation. As for the former, credit for the creation and physical assemblage of **B** in its present form must go to nineteenth-century Anglican priest (and later Catholic convert), episcopal chaplain, and ecclesiastical antiquary, William Maskell (1814-90) (Condon and Jones 2-3). Born in Somerset and educated at Oxford, Maskell, during a chequered yet prolific career, amassed considerable wealth – a probate issued upon his death in 1890 lists £2,986 19*s* 5*d* (Rigg and Maskell) – that he spent, amongst other things, on a large and well-stocked private library, the contents of which, including a fair number of historical documents, he purchased from various sources both alive and dead. The items found in **B** he bought in 1851, possibly alongside others not included in the album, from the estate of his late fellow antiquary, William Tyson (1785-1851), who was himself an avid collector and armchair historian based in Bristol (Gray 99-100). When the bundle of documents reached Maskell, its contents were still unbound. In fact, a handwritten note at the opening of **B** records that it was Maskell himself who sent "a selection" of the "original documents" he had purchased from Tyson's estate "up to the British Museum, where they were arranged, mounted and bound in this book" (flyleaf; transcribed in Condon and Jones 1). No date is given for Maskell's commission to the British Museum's bindery workshop. In any case, it must have been before

[2] In the absence of detailed printed catalogues, the most accessible content summaries of **M** and its sister volume remain https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-phc/phc/28-67 and https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-phc/phc/68-125, both accessed 15 May 2023.

[3] Both albums open with visual items that post-date most of the written documents they contain. **B** thus has an uncoloured printed map of Bristol cut and pasted from Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (c. 1581) alongside a topographical description from the same work's French edition (c. 1600) (Condon and Jones 8); **M** has a series of coloured etchings signed "Rabelli" (dated 1792/93) (*French Ecclesiastical Documents, c. 1200–1492*). A fuller study and edition of the earliest documents in **M** is being prepared for publication by myself and Richard Allen (Magdalen College, Oxford; Allen and Pohl).

Maskell subsequently sold on the album to yet another Bristol-based antiquary, Francis Frederick Fox (1833-1915) (Condon and Jones 3-4; Gray 124). We do not know when Fox purchased **B** from Maskell, nor for how much, but we do know that Fox turned to the British Museum himself in the spring of 1878 to have the album's contents transcribed – for a fee of £20 – by the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, Edward Maunde Thompson (1840-1929), who in December of that year would be promoted to the position of Keeper of Manuscripts (Borrie; "Library Notes" 215). Thompson's transcriptions survive alongside **B** in the collections of Bristol Archives (08153/4), and they include a note in Fox's hand recalling that he had acquired the transcribed documents from Maskell in bound form (flyleaf; Condon and Jones 4).

There is one piece of evidence that might just enable us to narrow down the time window for the binding of **B** a little further than between 1851 and 1878 (date ranges that hereafter will be indicated by use of the multiplication sign, e.g., 1851 × 78). As noted by Condon and Jones (3), the album – or rather one of its constituent documents – was still in Maskell's possession in June 1855, when one A. W. Franks "brought . . . a document from the collections in possession of Mr. W. Maskell" (Neville 292) to a members' meeting of the Archaeological Institute. The item in question – a sealed letter by a knight named Sir Humphrey dated 1478 that now constitutes item no. 30 in **B** – is transcribed and, of main interest here, partially depicted (Fig. 1) in the meeting's published proceedings.

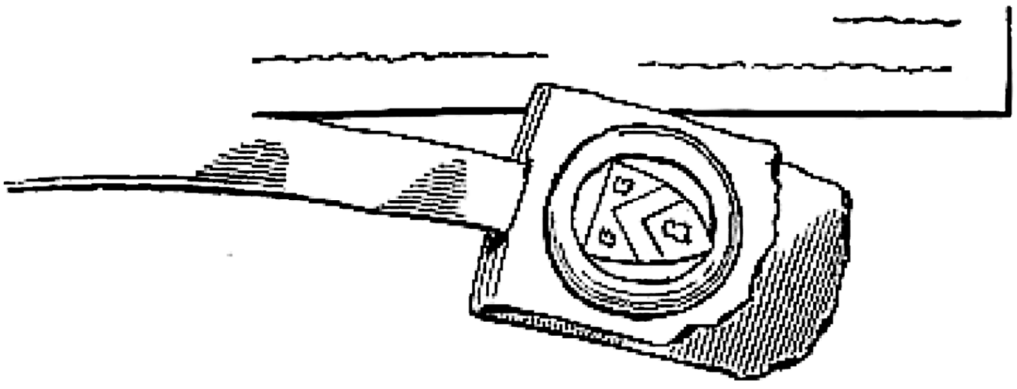


*Fig. 1: Partial drawing of **B** no. 30 in the proceedings of the Archaeological Institute (1855). Out of copyright.*

The brief description that accompanies this drawing in the proceedings reads:

> A seal on paper over red wax, the paper passing round to, and covering also the back of, the wax, where it remains almost square in form, is attached to a slip cut half-way along the bottom of the parchment. It bears an escutcheon, on which is a chevron ensigned with a cross (?) between three human heads . . . (? heads of children, *enfans*) looking sinister in hoods of mail, or helmets. Of the legend the name NANFAN only remains. (Neville 293)

It seems difficult to imagine how this description – let alone the matching drawing – could have been produced *after* the document was pasted into **B**, a process which firmly and irrevocably fixed the seal and parchment slip in place and obscured much of the iconography (Fig. 2).

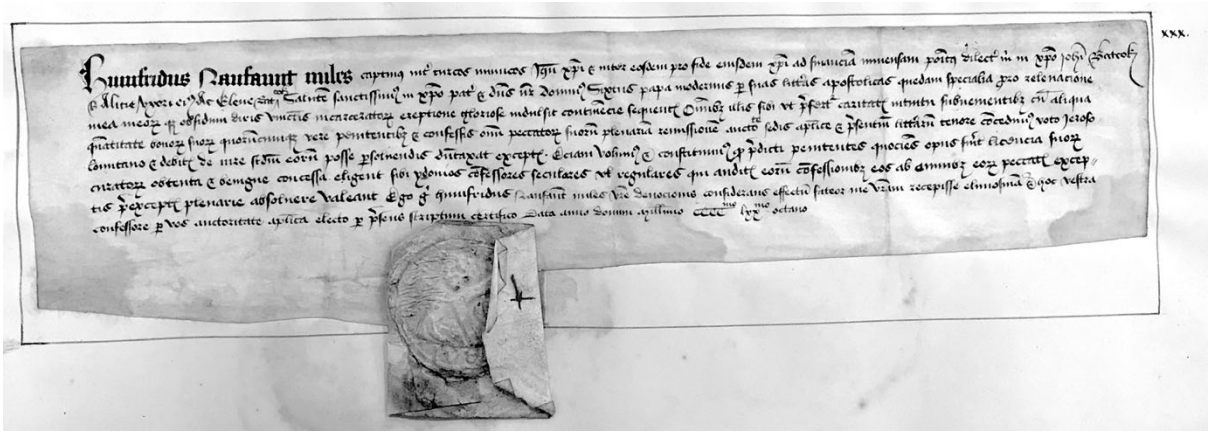


*Fig. 2: Present state of **B** no. 30. Photo: Evan Jones, 2022. Reproduced with permission.*

At no point do the proceedings mention the album or the other items it contains alongside this letter despite the fact that two of them (nos. 28 and 29) are pasted on the self-same page. The most likely interpretation, therefore, is that when Maskell loaned the letter to Mr Franks in June 1855 for presentation at the Archaeological Institute, it – and, by extension, the other documents now contained in **B** – were still unbound, which would mean that Maskell waited for at least four years after he purchased the documents from Tyson's estate, and perhaps longer, before he had them bound at the British Museum, whose domestic book-binding workshop from 1844-85 was located in the old Bedford Office building on Montague Street prior to the construction of the first purpose-built, on-site bindery in 1898 (Roethe 5). If the recently expressed suspicion that Maskell may even have sold **B** to Fox on the assumption and expectation that Fox would publish a version of it as he had done previously with other histories rooted in collected historical manuscripts is correct (Condon and Jones 5), then perhaps the album's binding took place not long before this sale and Fox's subsequent payment for Thompson's transcription services in 1878. I return to this below, but for the time being the most plausible date therefore remains c. 1855 × 78.

If narrowing down the time frame for the binding of **B** to less than twenty-three years has proven impossible at this point, then trying to establish a precise – or even a vague – date for the binding of **M** reveals itself to be even more frustrating. This is not the place to try and unravel the complex, highly fragmentary, and barely documented evidence of **M**'s origins, provenance, and acquisition history.[4] What is known with certainty, meanwhile, is that this album, along with its sister

[4] For further discussion, I once again refer the reader to my forthcoming co-authored study (Allen and Pohl).

volume (see above), reached its current home in Manchester from the estate of England's single most (in)famous nineteenth-century antiquary and book collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872). The two-volume set was purchased at auction on 6 June 1910 via bookseller Bernard Quaritch, fetching £101 (Sotheby's lot 186) excluding Quaritch's commission. The auction catalogue refers to it as "Chartæ Antiquæ ad Monasteria Diversa Spectantes, mounted, and with a large number of water-colour drawings and prints of monks in the habit of their different orders" (*Bibliotheca Phillippica* 34). Unlike Maskell's binding of **B** at the British Museum, however, there is – to my knowledge – no extant record of when, where, and at whose initiative **M** acquired its present form, nor do we know for certain whence, when, and in what format the documents it contains reached Phillipps' legendary "dragon's hoard of manuscripts at Middle Hill" (De Hamel 341). This uncertainty is due partly to the lack of scholarly interest **M** and its contents have garnered beyond cursory references and summary descriptions (Fawtier, "Hand-List" 470-78; Vincent 78) and partly to the sheer size of Phillipps' book collection and the labyrinth that is its piecemeal – and ultimately incomplete – cataloguing history. In excess of 140 catalogues of this collection (or parts thereof) have been produced since 1819 by Phillipps himself and others (Folter 356-65), not to mention Phillipps' extensive bibliographical notes, bills and accounts, and personal correspondence that today are scattered just about as widely as the remains of his famous library.[5] A lifelong bibliophile and bibliomaniac, Phillipps had accumulated by the time of his death "the biggest private manuscript collection ever assembled" (Burrows 45) in England or elsewhere with as many as 60,000 or so individual items, plus a similar number of printed works, barely half of which have been catalogued (Munby, vol. IV 165-66; De Hamel 342). As noted by Roland Folter, "in the very exclusive club of pre-1900 collectors whose holdings surpassed the six-digit threshold, [Phillipps] was the only one whose collection was far from being fully documented . . . around the time of his passing" (355), with the 'living text' that is the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps* printed in-house and reissued multiple times under Phillipps' personal supervision terminating with item no. 23,837 – nearly 10,000 fewer than the number 32,288 inscribed prominently, in characteristic Phillipps fashion, in the front of **M** (Munby, vol. I 1-17). To cut a long story short, there is – at the time of writing – no conclusive evidence to ascertain whether the assemblage and binding of **M** and its twin were undertaken at Phillipps' behest or by a

[5] For example, the various corpora of documents left behind by Phillipp and/or relating to his collections now housed at the Grolier Club in New York City that are listed on their website (https://www.grolierclub.org/) under 'Finding Aids', especially those entitled *Manuscripts and Documents Relating to the Bibliotheca Phillippica, 1794–1886* (NYGG03-A12; *c.* 80 items), *Letters and Bills, ca. 1820–1870* (NYGG04-A13; *c.* 75 items), and *Maps, Plans and Bills Relating to the Phillipps Estates, 1795–1858* (NYGG04-A12; 6 items).

possible previous owner,[6] which is why for the remainder of this discussion both possibilities will be acknowledged and explored.

What can be ascertained, though, is that the documents contained in **B** and **M** were assembled neither haphazardly nor randomly, much less accidentally, but selectively according to 'themes'. This is true of the internal sequencing of items within these albums and their particular arrangement and juxtaposition on the page, with individual pages or page sequences sometimes representing different 'sub-themes' – the three closely-related charters from the Norman abbey of Mont Saint-Michel included in the Appendix regarding a dispute and settlement over a local mill are an instructive case in point – but also of the two albums as a whole, both of which seem to follow an 'overall theme'. **B**'s overall theme is somewhat more apparent than **M**'s, as most of its contents – except for nos. 118-26 (Condon and Jones 22) – relate to the history of Bristol with a particular emphasis on ecclesiastical institutions, their benefactors, and endowments. This chimes well with what we know about the career and personal and professional interests of the album's first owner and intellectual architect, Maskell, as well as, to some degree, with the respective backgrounds of the two Bristol-based individuals who had owned the unbound documents before Maskell (Tyson) and/or subsequently purchased the bound album from him (Fox). As we will recall, Maskell, according to **B**'s inscription, only included "a selection" of the items he had procured from Tyson's estate in the album, which may well suggest that their selection and thematic arrangement followed his design, not Tyson's. As a man of the Church, published liturgical scholar, and theological polemicist, Maskell's interests can easily account for **B**'s ecclesiastical focus but perhaps less so for its emphasis on Bristol. Born in Shepton Mallet (Somerset) before relocating to Bath and thence to Oxford, Corscombe (Dorset), and later Penzance (Cornwall), where he lies buried, Maskell's relationship with Bristol was a tangential one. **B**'s next owner, Fox, by contrast, was very much a Bristol-man at heart. Born and buried in what today is the south-eastern suburb of Brislington (Fig. 3), Fox served as his native city's alderman, justice of the peace, high sheriff, and master of its Society of Merchant Venturers (Gray 124).

[6] There is some evidence of Phillipps' acquisition of other pre-bound charter albums in, for example, the draft descriptions of his manuscripts and printed books kept in the Bodleian Libraries, including a record of the purchase of a certain collection of "Cartae antiquae (86) pasted into a vol." (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Phillipps-Robinson d. 297, fol. 33). I owe this information to Richard Allen.

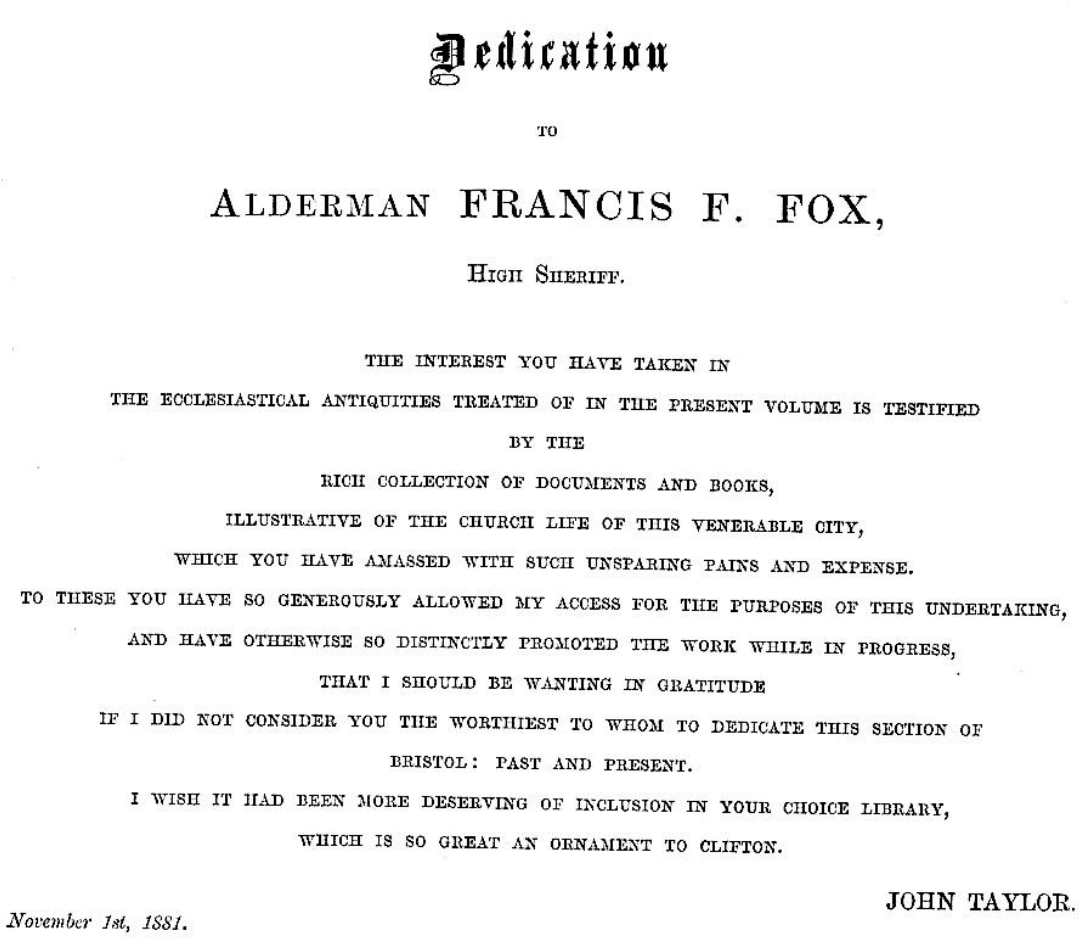
Fig. 3: Francis F. Fox's tombstone in Arnos Vale Cemetery, Brislington. Photo: Dave Napier, 2023. Reproduced with permission.

If **B** was indeed bound closer to its purchase by Fox at some point before 1878 than to Maskell's procurement of its contents from Tyson in 1851 and the loan of item no. 30 to Franks in 1855 (see above), then it is not impossible – and perhaps plausible – that Fox played a part in its design, especially if the ensuing sale had already been agreed between him and Maskell with a view towards publishing a history based on its contents as proposed by Jones and Condon. In fact, it is tempting to imagine that Fox's choice to approach Thompson in 1878 for the transcription of **B**'s contents was no coincidence, but that he simply – and conveniently – went back to the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts at the very institution that had recently assembled the same album in its own bindery workshop at the commis-

sion of Maskell and, conceivably, with the knowledge of Fox himself. This ultimately must remain conjecture, but there is further, if circumstantial, evidence that once Fox had procured **B**, he soon, and frequently, used it in ways that may well suggest he had had something to do with its production and design. Though Fox never actually published a history based on **B** himself – intriguingly, there are documents from the final years of Fox's life in Bristol Archives (08280) confirming that he had in fact intended to issue a complete printed translation of **B** and even produced a typescript for presentation to a London-based publisher but then "was taken ill at the hotel and returned to Bristol, the manuscript being forgotten and lost" (Bristol Archives online catalogue), leaving the project unaccomplished upon Fox's death in 1915 – he readily and regularly made the album available to others for similar kinds of purposes.[7] References to **B** and/or documents pasted therein appear with some frequency in historical and antiquarian publications from about 1881, just three years after the completion of Thompson's transcript, usually taking the form "Fox MSS" followed, on occasion, by numerals corresponding to those assigned to individual items within the album itself (Condon and Jones 5).[8] One contemporary, John Taylor, even used the preface of his *Ecclesiastical History* of Bristol to celebrate Fox for his generosity in granting Taylor access to "the rich collection of documents and books, illustrative of the church life this venerable city [i.e., Bristol], which you [i.e., Fox] have amassed with such unsparing pains and expense" – a statement that, as the subsequent notes in Taylor's book show beyond doubt, refers to none other than **B** (Fig. 4).

[7] According to the Bristol Archives online catalogue, the files contained in 08280 – "The gift of Mr Thomas Williams: A translation of the whole of 'Bristol Charters Wills Inventories etc.'" – preserve "the rough notes and draft translations from which the lost finished version was compiled"; https://archives.bristol.gov.uk/records/08280. I owe this information to Evan Jones.

[8] Not to be confused with the collection of papers by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-77) kept in the British Library under the shelfmark Add MS 88942, which is sometimes referenced by the same moniker;
http://hviewer.bl.uk/IamsHViewer/FindingAidHandler.ashx?recordid=032-002188938.



Dedication

TO

ALDERMAN FRANCIS F. FOX,

HIGH SHERIFF.

THE INTEREST YOU HAVE TAKEN IN
THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES TREATED OF IN THE PRESENT VOLUME IS TESTIFIED
BY THE
RICH COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHURCH LIFE OF THIS VENERABLE CITY,
WHICH YOU HAVE AMASSED WITH SUCH UNSPARING PAINS AND EXPENSE.
TO THESE YOU HAVE SO GENEROUSLY ALLOWED MY ACCESS FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS UNDERTAKING,
AND HAVE OTHERWISE SO DISTINCTLY PROMOTED THE WORK WHILE IN PROGRESS,
THAT I SHOULD BE WANTING IN GRATITUDE
IF I DID NOT CONSIDER YOU THE WORTHIEST TO WHOM TO DEDICATE THIS SECTION OF
BRISTOL: PAST AND PRESENT.
I WISH IT HAD BEEN MORE DESERVING OF INCLUSION IN YOUR CHOICE LIBRARY,
WHICH IS SO GREAT AN ORNAMENT TO CLIFTON.

JOHN TAYLOR.

November 1st, 1881.

Fig. 4: Taylor's dedication to Fox in the second volume of Bristol Past and Present *(1881). Out of copyright.*

Taylor was not the only one whose scholarship benefited from access to **B**. Others included Charles E. Boucher and Cuthbert F. Atchley, both of whom wrote in the first decade of the twentieth century about the history of local parish churches in Bristol (Condon and Jones 5). In Fox's possession, the album therefore served less as a collectible or curiosity item, much less as a vanity project or status symbol shelved away for display in a private library, than it did as a scholarly resource and finding aid that was shared liberally with likeminded individuals. In fact, Connolly's observation that albums similar to **B** were often kept not on the shelves of libraries but rather in social spaces such as drawing rooms (39-41) is pertinent here, as it allows for the possibility that Taylor, Boucher, Atchley, and others may not just have borrowed the album from Fox, but perhaps consulted it in Fox's home and, quite possibly, in his presence.

The same might well have been the case with **M** whilst in Phillipps' possession, regardless of whether he was indeed the one who first had it bound in its present format. As is well documented, Phillipps regularly entertained visitors at Middle Hill, many of whom were themselves historians or antiquarians who came specifically to consult his collection that over time "grew from a merely vast private

library into the absurd, with thousands upon thousands of volumes crammed into every room, including corridors, staircases and bedrooms" (De Hamel 341).[9] Phillipps' regulars included Sir Frederic Madden (1801-73), who famously considered his host's book hoarding as verging on insanity and once noted that "We all say he must be mad" (De Hamel 341; Munby, vol. III 138-42; vol. IV 29-42 and 86-93). Voracious and indiscriminate though Phillipps' notorious *Sammelwut* may have been, it was not an obsession he kept to himself. Writing in 1956, Alan Munby in the fourth volume of his *Phillipps Studies* found such "ample evidence of Phillipps's cordial reception of scholars from all over the world" (29) that he was left to wonder whether there had "ever been a collector more eager to make his library accessible to scholars than this self-confessed 'vello-maniac'" (171). It is perfectly conceivable, therefore, that Phillipps might have done with **M** what his contemporary and fellow-collector Fox did with **B** by using the album – and, crucially, letting others use it – not so much as a 'coffee-table book' for idle delectation and passive display but rather as an active vehicle for preserving historical documents at risk of being lost or destroyed,[10] arranging them thematically (with **M**'s 'overall theme' being the ecclesiastical institutions of medieval France) to facilitate easy use and navigation, and making them accessible for scholarly pursuits and, potentially, publication. Unlike some documents in his possession that were left "in tottering piles . . . or filling wooden boxes stacked to the ceilings . . . from precious codices of late Antiquity right through to worthless manuscript papers of his own time" (De Hamel 341),[11] when it came to **M** there may well have been method to Phillipps' madness.

Likely produced around the same time and following a remarkably similar concept, structure, and material configuration, the two nineteenth-century albums discussed in this study offer instructive insights into the cultural and literary contexts in which they were fashioned and used by individual collectors and, perhaps more importantly, the wider scholarly profession and emerging academy. By (re-)framing – in the literal as well as the figurative sense – old documents for

[9] De Hamel's words evoke fond memories of the time I helped Christoph move house and, unloading box upon box of books, first set foot into the old Poliermühle in Bärnau (Bavaria) that served as his private library, every last room of which had shelving to accommodate an amazingly large and diverse collection.

[10] In fact, it is due to the very existence of **M** that the three charters from Mont Saint-Michel included in the Appendix escaped the fate of most documents from the abbey's medieval archives once kept in the Archives départementales de la Manche in Saint-Lô that were destroyed by fire during the bombing raids on 6 June 1944 (Allen 45), meaning that we owe our access to them to Phillipps or whomever was responsible for **M**'s confection.

[11] Some of these boxes containing hundreds of randomly and carelessly stashed parchment documents were acquired by the Grolier Club where they now form the so-called 'Phillipps' Closet', a photograph of which formed the centrepiece of an exhibition called *Bibliomania* on display at the Beinecke Library in New Haven in 2019 (Clemens; Morand).

new use(r)s, **B** and **M** transgress the boundaries between the medieval and modern, between the private and public, and between bibliophilia and scholarship. At once static and dynamic, they are vehicles of tradition and conservation as much as they are instruments of innovation and reinvention. As Connolly notes, "[s]ince the early seventeenth century an album had been a book of poems where occasional verses were personally inscribed" (38-39), though in later periods the term was "gradually applied to other contexts until such volumes became the repositories of other non-literary items including prints, photographs, flowers, and stamps" (39), and eventually mass-produced collectibles. Both formats are still familiar and easily recognisable to those born in the twentieth century who remember owning what in Germany became known as *Poesiealben* – personalised friendship books (*alba amicorum*) passed around family and friends to be filled with handwritten poems, mottos, and decorative souvenirs such as paper cuttings, lithographic prints (*Glanzbilder*), and photographs – and, at the other end of the spectrum, *Stickeralben* – commercialised blank books with spaces for collecting mass-produced, self-adhesive images themed around licensed global brands from television to sporting events like the FIFA World Cup that saw Italian company Panini launch the first such album in 1970.[12] Aspects of both these incarnations of the long (early) modern album tradition are present and discernible in **B** and **M**. On the one hand, there is the deeply personal and intimate character of the *Poesiealbum* that reflects the interests and personalities of the collector him-/herself and those contributing content to his/her album by request; on the other hand, there is the depersonalised (or at best pseudo-personalised) approach of the *Stickeralbum* that sacrifices individualisation and customisation to be able to speak to broader themes and accommodate (and help influence) wider interests and tastes, thereby remaining commercially viable.

Situated between scholarly pursuit and *Sammelwut*, **B** and **M** were, as I hope to have shown, labours of love and antiquarian passion, but they were also commodities that changed hands repeatedly and for considerable sums of money. With their journeys completed – at least for the foreseeable future – and scholarly access secure once again courtesy of their respective institutional owners, twenty-first-century users can continue where Maskell, Fox, Phillipps, and their contemporaries left off. I would like to end this study by remembering not these nineteenth-century antiquarians and their works, however, but Christoph and his scholarly legacy. In his long – yet much too short – service to scholarship, Christoph did not limit his interest and contribution to knowledge to any one historical period. Transgressing boundaries of chronology with great ease and insight, his

[12] The origins of the *album amicorum* tradition in Europe reach back as far as the sixteenth century, and medievalists and early modernists have shed light on a wide range of related document types collected and curated by both men and women during these early periods (Kloyer-Hess; Schwarz; Wilson; Erler; Balsamo).

work serves to direct our attention to modern "artefacts picking up on ancient and/or medieval concepts" (De Rentiis and Houswitschka 3). The two artefacts studied here would, I believe and hope, have pleased him greatly.

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Appendix:
Bristol Archives, 08153/1 no. 1 and Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/32–34[13]

1. Bristol Archives, 08153/1 no. 1

Act of William Malherbe de Lega, donating two crofts of three and a half acres total to Robert, son of Bernard of Temple Street, Bristol.

[*c.* 1200 × 1225]

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Will(elmu)s Malherbe de *Lega* dedi, concessi, et hac mea carta con|1|firmavi, Rob(erto) filio Bernardi de vico templi illas duas croftas meas qui sunt in occidentali par|2|te domus ipsius Roberti apud Hale, unde in una crofta fuit due acre, in altera vero acra et dimidia |3|, habendas et tenendas ipsi Rob(erto), pro homagio et servitio suo, et heredibus suis, de me et heredibus me|4|is libere et quiete, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus in perpetuum, reddendo inde singulis |5| annis mei et heredibus meis unum numum argenti, ad festum omnium sanctorum, pro omnibus servitiis, sectis, |6| querelis, et demandis ad nos pertinentibus. Pro hac autem donatione et

[13] As noted above, critical editions of PHC/32–34 will be published elsewhere, which is why they are only provided in translation here. The text of 08153/1 no. 1, by contrast, has never been published, which is why the Latin is provided here in diplomatic transcription alongside the English translation.

concessione mea dedit mihi predictus |7| Rob(ertus) decem soli(dos) argenti de gerssume, et Ade filio et heredi meo vi d(enarios) de recognitione. |8| Quare ego Will(elmu)s et heredes mei warentizabimus predictas duas croftas integre et plenarie predicto |9| R(oberto) et heredibus suis contra omnis homines et feminas, quod vero affidavi et hac sigilli mei impressione corro|10|boravi. His testibus: Walterio de *Budic'*, Roberto filio suo, Henrico filio suo, Galfrido filio Sabine.

May all present and future know that I, William Malherbe of *Lega*, have given, conceded, and confirmed with this my charter to Robert, son of Bernard of Temple Street, those two crofts of mine that are in the western direction of the same Robert's house near [the] Hale[s], whence there are two acres in one croft and one acre and a half in the other, to have and to hold by the same Robert, for his homage and service, and [by] his heirs, from me and my heirs free and quit, with all freedoms and frank customs, in perpetuity, thence returning to me and my heirs one coin of silver each year at the feast of All Saints for all services, obligations, grievances, and demands pertaining to us. For this my donation and concession, the aforesaid Robert gave me 10 *solidi* of silver as payment in kind, and [to] Ade, my son and heir, 6 *denarii* of recognition. Therefore I, William, and my heirs will warrant to the aforesaid Robert and his heirs the aforesaid two crofts wholly and fully against all men and women, which I have pledged truthfully and corroborated with the impression of my seal. These [are the] witnesses: Walter de *Budic'*, his son Robert, his son Henry, [and] Geoffrey, son of Sabina.

2. Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/32

Act recording the settlement of a dispute between Abbot Jordan (1191–1212) of Mont Saint-Michel, Nicholas de Verdun, and various others concerning a mill and fishpond near Carolles (dép. Manche, cant. Avranches).

[1191 × 1212]

Let all those whom this present document may reach know that when a lengthy dispute arose between Abbot Jordan and the convent of Mont Saint-Michel in peril of the sea, on the one side, and Nicholas de Verdun, Radulf de Carolles, John le Hungre, Roger Jolif, Philip Heudeart, Robert de Granville, Ansketil Malnori, W. Malnori, Robert Malnori, Robert de Mota, Nicholas son of Philip, and Richard de Beslum, on the other, with regards to a certain mill and a fishpond that the aforesaid abbot and Nicholas de Verdun had built near Carolles, and about which the aforesaid men were making a claim, as well as with regards to the pasture that the same Nicholas and his men were claiming against the same abbot, they have at last come to an agreement in this form: indeed, in that mill which the abbot and Nicholas had built, and in the other mill that was originally that of the aforenamed men, the abbot and convent will receive a third part, in full, the aforesaid

Nicholas a third part, and the aforesaid men a third part. And likewise [shall be shared] all the repairs made by them in common with regards to that water [i.e., the fishpond], nor will any of them be quit from multure in those mills. The aforenamed fishpond, however, along with all its fish and produce, will remain to the aforementioned abbot and Nicholas de Verdun. The aforenamed men and Nicholas de Verdun will take all the multure of the parish of Carolles to those mills, and the aforementioned abbot and convent will take [there] all the multure that they have between the stream of Le Crapeux and the adjacent sea. On the other hand, the pasture that the aforenamed men and Nicholas de Verdun were claiming against the abbot and convent will remain to them on the cliffs and banks where a plough cannot furrow, or where no shelter can be made, and likewise the pasture on the cliffs and banks of the aforementioned Nicholas and his men shall remain to the abbot and convent and their men. In repairs and expenses, however, it will be required for each to contribute a third part just as they receive a third part. Each [party] is also held to compel their multure to come to the aforesaid mills. And if any one of them falls short in this regard, he shall make amends to the other parties by legitimate proof. Moreover, the millers will be established or removed in these mills by the common consent and counsel of the three parties. These [are the] witnesses: W. de Lézeaux, Oliver de Lézeaux, Richard de Lézeaux, Warin Tirel, Fulk du Bois, John Malherbe, Rannulf de Gatigny, W. du Vaugrente, W. de Saint-Pierre, Thomas de Lézeaux, Thomas du Bois, Fulk de Gatigny, Robert du Mesnil, Hugh de Bouillon, and many others.

3. Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/33

Notification about an agreement between Abbot Jordan (1191–1212) of Mont Saint-Michel and Nicholas de Verdun concerning a mill and fishpond they built together near Carolles (dép. Manche, cant. Avranches).

[1191 × 1212]

With this present document notice is entrusted to the memory of those present and future that when Abbot Jordan and the monks of Mont Saint-Michel in peril of the sea, on the one side, and lord Nicholas de Verdun and his heirs, on the other, [have] had a suitable place in their demesnes for the construction of a pond and a mill, namely between the vill of Carolles and Saint-Clément, they together built in mutually concurring agreement a pond and a mill, on condition that the said abbot and monks immediately attorned to the multure of the same mill all the men they so have and will have from the stream of Le Crapeux up to the sea, and have conceded [this] in perpetuity. The said Nicholas and his heirs have likewise attorned to the multure of the same mill all the men they so have and will have in these fiefs: the fief of Gellin de Carolles, the fief of Ansgot Brient, the

Escollant fief, the fief of John de Platea, the fief of Peter Ansgot, the fief of William Picoul, where he lives, [and] the fief of Hugh de Capella, and have conceded [this] in perpetuity, as if they were of their own multure. And if the abbot, monks, and the said Nicholas and his heirs are able reasonably to have more men of their multure in the neighbouring territory, they will make [them] go to the same mill. The pond and mill are therefore common to both, and all the proceeds that come forth from the pond and mill are to be shared between them in half. But of the works and needs of the pond and mill the abbot and monks will provide [one] half, and the aforesaid Nicholas and his heirs the other half. Moreover, the miller will be placed in the mill by the common choice and consent of both parties. If, however, the mill is in any way made unable to grind by the abbot and monks or by Nicholas and his heirs, he through whom the defective mill is inactive will be held to make amends to the other through the mill revenues that pertain to him. The abbot said he would keep the tenor of this agreement for himself and the monks, in the word of the Lord and of a priest, by touching and kissing the holy gospels, and the oft-mentioned Nicholas swore this thing on the same gospels. Fulk the clerk, brother of the said Nicholas, also swore that he would faithfully keep this agreement to the best of his ability.

4. Manchester, University Library–John Rylands Research Library, 133 PHC/34

Act of Reginald de Carolles confirming the donation of his father, Radulf de Carolles, to the monastery of Mont Saint-Michel.

[after 1216 / after September 1225]

Reginald de Carolles [sends his] greeting to all whom this present document may reach. May you all know that I have given and conceded and confirmed, for the salvation of my soul and [the souls] of my ancestors, to the church of blessed Michael in peril of the sea and the monks who serve God there, in pure and perpetual alms, everything that my father Radulf gave to the same church when he accepted the monastic habit, namely, whatever he had in the mills of Carolles, retaining nothing for myself or my heirs, except the church's prayers. Those mills are now divided in three parts, another one of which belongs to the aforesaid church [and] the remaining [one] to my lord, Nicholas de Verdun, and his heirs. The third part [is] divided into four smaller parts, however. Half of three smaller parts pertained to my aforementioned father, which he conceded to the [afore]mentioned church to be held wholly, in perpetuity. And he also conceded to the same church the site of the pond at La Cage, insofar as it extended in his land. Nicholas de Verdun, who is the chief lord of the fief, has since conceded and endorsed this my father's donation and my concession in the lord king's assizes at Avranches. And so that this my donation and concession remain valid and irreversible in the future, I

have reinforced the present document with the strength of my seal. Witnesses: Radulf Herloin, Philip de la Rochelle, William du Vaugrente, Warin Tirel, William de Lézeaux, his son Oliver, Hugh de Bouillon, Fulk de Gatigny, John Malherbe, and many others.

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