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End of Fellowship Report

I want to begin by expressing my deep gratitude for the opportunity to spend this rich research time in Durham. The presence of so much of the Benedictine Priory library, now held by the Cathedral, University, and Ushaw College is truly remarkable. With the Priory digitisation project getting underway, it was an exciting time to be in this very hospitable community of scholars and librarians actively discussing books, marginalia, libraries, and monasteries. I am especially grateful to Richard Gameson, Sheila Hingley, Margaret Harvey, Jon Purcell, Alec Ryrie, Richard Higgins, Ian Doyle, and Geoffrey Scarre. They shared their expertise and wisdom with me, asked me provocative questions, and invited my input on their ongoing endeavors. I also thank Elizabeth Alpass in the IMEMS office for her competent and friendly attention to my arrangements.

I came to Durham to continue my ongoing examination of the marginalia of Thomas Swalwell, monk of Durham (d. 1539). I focused primarily on books held by the Cathedral and University libraries, examining over 20 different volumes annotated by Swalwell over the course of his monastic career. As I broadened my study of Swalwell's volumes, I was hoping to find the hermeneutical key that drew together the themes that I had come to recognize as Swalwell favorites in works with pastoral import. Because of the nature of the books I examined this summer, what emerged were two themes characteristic of Swalwell's learning and administrative tasks. The first is that of conversation among theologians and biblical commentators; the second is guidance for practical issues.

Conversation is an overarching theme for the interpretation of Swalwell's annotations, and indeed for medieval theology and religious life in general. One of Swalwell's most heavily edited volumes is Duns Scotus' *Quaestiones* on Book 4 of Peter Lombard's Sentences (ChapterLib Inc 21b). Scotus writes in conversation with Lombard and other theologians, and further conversation takes place in the margins. Swalwell was at least the third annotator of this complex volume. His notes are written in around those in other hands. He also seems to have been the rubricator of the volume, adding red highlights to both the printed text and to some of the marginalia. Swalwell records the ideas of additional theologians in his notes, as well as offering some comments in the first person. He is likely to have begun his annotations while a student at Oxford; notes in the deteriorating handwriting characteristic of his later years testify to his continuing practice of annotation. This very complex book gives the impression of ongoing engagement in theological conversation rather than settled conclusions.

A very interesting example of textual conversation is Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (Ushaw XVIII.C.2.9) into which Swalwell copied long extracts from Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla super totam Bibliam*. Lyra occasionally cites Comestor as his source; Swalwell may have taken this as his clue to making his own Comestor volume into a richer reference work. The Priory owned the *Postilla* in manuscript (MSS A.1.3-5, covering portions of the Old and New Testaments); Swalwell provided each of these volumes with a contents list at the front. William Law, another Durham monk, owned an early printed edition (ChapterLib Inc 1a, b, c, e, covering portions of the Old Testament and all of the New). A further printed copy (ChapterLib Inc 1f, covering a small portion of the Old Testament), belonged to monk John Manby, and later to

monks Robert Weardale and William Cawthorne. I spent a good bit of time on this volume trying to work out how Swalwell was working. Unusually, Swalwell did not annotate these copies of the *Postilla*. Perhaps the monks holding these volumes asked him not to! Some of the passages that Swalwell copied come from material not in the Priory's manuscripts, but included in Law's printed volumes, i.e., from the standard additional material by Paul of Burgos and Mattias Doring discussing Lyra's interpretations. Yet when Swalwell's wording differs from the printed version of Lyra's own text, it often matches that of the manuscripts. Occasionally Swalwell simply provides a cross-reference to Lyra. While Swalwell copied excerpts from the gospel postils, his use of Lyra is most intense in the Old Testament, especially in Genesis and Exodus. Lyra was very interested in and open to Jewish exegesis. Swalwell himself shows considerable interest in Jewish beliefs across his various annotations here and in other books. (He is interested in Muslims as well.)

Turning now to the theme of practical guidance, a number of the books I examined during my fellowship were works of canon law. Such books guided Swalwell's work as a Priory official in many ways, but represent a genre of his annotations I had not previously pursued. During his lifetime, Swalwell served as the Priory's chancellor, proctor, terrar, guest master, almoner, and prior's commissary, offices which required him to follow specific procedures, give advice, and adjudicate various contentious issues. Lyndwood's *Provinciale* commented on the decrees of English provincial councils; Swalwell annotated two copies of it. ChapterLib Inc 62 contains annotations on a wide range of topics, including some pastorally useful sections, such as ways in which God is present and various types of prayer. ChapterLib Inc 47b was purchased by Swalwell at a cost of 6 shillings 8 pence. Various issues of practical consequence for the monastic community are annotated in both, such as mortuaries, canonical purgation, calculating tithes on sheep and wool, and the rules for gaining permission to confess to someone other than one's own parish priest.

Swalwell annotated several volumes of Nicolò de' Tudeschi's *Lectura super V libris Decretalium* (ChapterLib Inc 20a, 20b, 43) covering books 3-5 of the Decretals. Topics that received extended annotation included payment to priests for various tasks, tithes, distinctions between lay and clerical privileges, essentials vs. customary practices of the monastic life, indulgences, confession, fasting, and ecclesiastical immunity. Many brief annotations convey the sense that Swalwell dipped into the book when he had specific questions, e.g., what to do if you can't come to an ecclesiastical court when you are summoned or what to do with worn out vestments. Certain marginal notes would surely have had quite personal application such as the permission to use revenues of property under a monk's administration for the purchase of books.

In 1519, Thomas Farne, vicar of St. Oswald's parish, gave nine volumes of canon law to the Priory (ChapterLib Inc 32/1, 32/2, 33/1, 33/2, 34/1, 34/2, 43, 47a, 53). Swalwell duly recorded the gift in each volume and added running heads throughout. He also annotated the text in Inc 43, as noted above. Although ChapterLib Inc 53 is clean, the other donated volumes are annotated in a hand very similar to Swalwell's, perhaps that of Farne himself. In the course of discussing this paleographical challenge, I was reminded of the close ties between the Priory and some of the local secular clergy, as well as of their shared concerns.

As I now turn my attention to interpreting the notes I took in Durham and telling the story of Thomas Swalwell and his books, I am delighted that further resources for engaging the copy-specific facets of the Durham collections are coming on line. The Priory digitisation project will not only allow me to revisit Swalwell's annotated books, but also allow other scholars to see and perhaps recognize his hand, as well as those of other Durham monks, in books in their libraries. The electronic records for many Durham incunables and other early printed books are currently being expanded with careful attention to features such as marginalia and bindings indicating origin and usage. The forthcoming catalogue of Durham manuscripts will provide a treasury of valuable information on the volumes monks like Swalwell had available to them. It is a heady time for the libraries of Durham. I am so grateful for the IMEMS fellowship that allowed me to further mine its riches.