Chapter 30

A REFERENCE BOOK FOR SCHOLARS AND COLLECTORS

ERIC MILLAR'S *ENGLISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS* (1926–1928)

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AS PART OF our collective study of the international trade in pre-modern manuscripts 1890–1945 and the making of the Middle Ages this chapter seeks to understand the relationship between the private collecting of manuscripts and the public scholarship based on them by investigating Eric Millar's fundamental study of English illuminated manuscripts. Millar's two-volume survey of English illuminated manuscripts from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries (1926, 1928) was followed in 1945 by his "Fresh Materials for the Study of English Illumination."[1] This chapter seeks to determine whether the ownership of a pre-modern manuscript played a role in its use in scholarship. How could references to such manuscripts contribute to scholarship at a time when photographic reproduction and digitization were not as widespread as they are now? Could manuscripts that were physically inaccessible in private collections contribute effectively to a scholarly discourse like Millar's?

Millar's work has been largely superseded by the six-part *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, published between 1976 and 1996 under the general editorship of J. J. G. Alexander. Millar's work is most frequently cited in documentary lists of previous citations of manuscript studies, but now rarely consulted for its actual content. Alexander himself, along with Elżbieta Temple, Michael Kauffmann, Nigel Morgan, Lucy Freeman Sandler, and Kathleen Scott, in their combined efforts, more than doubled the corpus of Millar, who worked alone.[2] Collectively they created a total of 775 manuscript

1 Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (Paris: Van Oest, 1926); Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Paris: Van Oest, 1928); Eric G. Millar, "Fresh Materials for the Study of English Illumination," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 286–94.

2 J. J. G Alexander, ed., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 6 vols. (London: Harvey Millar, 1976–1996): J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century*

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entries compared to Millar's 342, but it is revealing with respect to changing interest in and understanding of individual manuscripts and their role in a scholarly survey that a Millar record does not automatically lead to inclusion in one of the volumes of the collective survey. Some of these manuscripts are no longer considered English, but others are apparently not considered as essential to the scholarly narrative as they once were.[3]

Eric George Millar was educated at Charterhouse and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After graduation he entered the British Museum's Department of Manuscripts in 1912 where he spent his entire career except for interruptions for national service in both the First and Second World Wars. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1921 and received a D. Litt. from Oxford University in 1931. He was Sandars Reader in Bibliography at Cambridge University in 1934. He was made Deputy Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum in 1932, made Keeper in 1944, and he retired in 1947.[4]

Millar was both a distinguished scholar and a perceptive collector; he became a member of the Roxburghe Club in 1932 and its Secretary in 1936. After his death he was the subject of a double issue of the *British Museum Quarterly* in 1968, prepared by his departmental colleagues and also separately published as book.[5] This reflected his role as a scholar and collector by including both a bibliography of his publications by Janet Backhouse and a list of the sixty-seven medieval manuscripts he had collected over his lifetime compiled by Derek Turner.[6]

The photograph used as the frontispiece in the volume in honour of Millar shows him with two of his greatest manuscripts; these were among the twenty medieval manuscripts he bequeathed to the British Museum Library. The uppermost manuscript is the York Psalter, no. 28 in Turner's list of Millar's collection and now British Library, Add. MS 54179. Millar holds in his hands a copy of *La Somme le Roy*, decorated by the Parisian illuminator Honoré, no. 33 in the list of his collection and now British Library, Add. MS 54180. Surely this gives a sense of how he wished to be remembered, as a collector as much as a scholar; he is not holding copies of any of his numerous scholarly works. In this memorial prepared by his colleagues, Francis Wormald concluded his introductory

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(1978), vol. 1; Elżbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066* (1976), vol. 2; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (1975), vol. 3; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1285* (1982 and 1988), vol. 4; Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385* (1986), vol. 5; Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490* (1996), vol. 6.

3 Among these are Millar no. 82 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717: Jerome on Isaiah), Millar no. 245 (Cambridge, Christ's College Library, MS 8: Book of Hours), Millar no. 247 (BL, Harley MS 2356: Psalter), and Millar no. 259 (Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.I.3: Nicholas de Lyra on Pentateuch).

4 "Dr. E. G. Millar: Expert on Medieval Manuscripts," *The Times*, January 15, 1966, 10; supplemented on January 19, 1966, 14. Another anonymous obituary appeared in *The Book Collector* 15.1 (1966): 65–66.

5 *BMQ* 33.1–2 (1968); *The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings, 1967: A Commemorative Volume* (London: British Museum, 1968).

6 Janet Backhouse, "A Bibliography of Eric Millar," *BMQ* 33.1–2 (1968): 7–9; and D. H. Turner, "List of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts owned by Eric Millar," *BMQ* 33.1–2 (1968): 9–16.

remarks by writing that: "there can be little doubt that Millar's scholarship enhanced his collections, but it is equally true that his collecting enhanced and sharpened his scholarship. In both he served his beloved Museum well."[7]

Some sense of Millar's personal network of collectors and scholars can be recreated by the fact that he wrote the entry for Henry Yates Thompson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*;[8] it was Yates Thompson who had invited him as a student to breakfast in order to meet Sydney Cockerell. Millar wrote anonymous obituaries for Cockerell and for Charles Dyson Perrins.[9] Millar also wrote an obituary for Wilfred Merton.[10] Millar was the compiler of the two-volume descriptive catalogue of the western manuscripts in the collection of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1927, 1930).[11] The third volume of this catalogue was used as a reference in the second volume of Millar's *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1928) where it was described as forthcoming, but it never appeared. Backhouse observed that: "it was a source of lifelong regret that the sale of the collection prevented the completion of this ambitious project." Backhouse is also worth quoting in her general description of Millar's scholarly achievements: "His work, meticulous in detail, and economic in words, broke new ground and laid solid foundations for later scholars, particularly those who followed him in the investigation of illumination, an area not well served by previous generations."[12]

In addition to Cockerell, Millar followed in the footsteps of another great English manuscript scholar, Montague Rhodes James.[13] James's catalogues, especially those of the Cambridge college libraries and Pierpont Morgan's collection, and Cockerell's achievements in collecting and curating, provided both subjects and models that Millar pursued. Cockerell's work on the 1908 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illu-

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7 Francis Wormald, "Eric George Millar," *BMQ* 33.1–2 (1968): 6.

8 Eric G. Millar, "Yates Thompson, Henry," *Dictionary of National Biography, 1922–1930* (1937), 836–37.

9 "Commentary," *The Book Collector* 11.3 (1962): 283–86; "Commentary," *The Book Collector* 7.2 (1958): 118–20.

10 Eric G. Millar, "Mr. Wilfred Merton: Book Production at Its Best," *The Times*, November 8, 1957, 13.

11 Eric G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927–1930).

12 Janet Backhouse, "Millar, Eric George (1887–1966)," *ODNB* version: 23 September 2004.

13 On James, see Richard William Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James* (London: Scolar, 1980); and Lynda Dennison, ed., *The Legacy of M. R. James: Papers from the 1995 Cambridge Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2001). On Cockerell, see Wilfrid Blunt, *Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, Friend of Ruskin and William Morris, and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: Hamilton, 1964); Christopher de Hamel's 2004 Sandars Lectures: "Cockerell as Entrepreneur," *The Book Collector* 55 (2006): 49–72; "Cockerell as Museum Director," *The Book Collector* 55.2 (2006): 201–23; and "Cockerell as Collector," *The Book Collector* 55 (2006): 339–66; Stella Panayotova, *I Turned It Into a Palace: Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2008); and most recently Stella Panayotova, "Sydney Cockerell: A Bibliophile Director-Collector," in *Collecting the Past: British Collectors and their Collections from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. Toby Burrows and Cynthia Johnston (London: Routledge, 2019), 79–97.

minated Manuscripts was critical in this regard. There are fifty-nine names in the List of Contributors to the exhibition: twenty-six institutions and thirty-three individuals.[14] The twenty-six institutions accounted for seventy-three manuscripts. More than half of that number of manuscripts (forty-one) came from eight Oxford (thirteen manuscripts) and seven Cambridge (twenty-eight manuscripts) colleges; given the availability of several of James's recently published catalogues of college collections, it is not surprising that Cambridge outnumbered Oxford. Also included in the List of Contributors were the Royal Collection (listed first) and the Society of Antiquaries of London, Lambeth Palace, Advocates Library of Edinburgh, Eton College, University of Glasgow, Hereford Cathedral, Oscott College, the Royal College of Physicians, Sion College, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Winchester Cathedral. The British Museum Library and the Bodleian Library were not then permitted to loan material by the terms of their constitutions.[15] These two institutions were thus major additions by Millar to the corpus of English manuscripts surveyed by Cockerell.

Thirty-three individuals exhibited 197 manuscripts at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, but of these thirty-three private owners only nineteen were actually members of the Club. Cockerell himself, for example, was not a member and never became one. This reliance on non-members is most probably a result of Cockerell's knowledge and influence; he knew many of them personally. Thus 197 of the 270 manuscripts exhibited, a full 73 percent of the 1908 exhibition, was private property. This is indicative of the number and quality of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts then still in private ownership, but what is almost even more remarkable is that 119 of 270, nearly 44 percent of the entire exhibition, was owned by only five individuals. The lender of the largest number of manuscripts was Perrins (fifty), followed by Morgan (eighteen), Yates Thompson (seventeen), Major George Lindsay Holford (seventeen), and Cockerell himself (seventeen). Yates Thompson would, in fact, have surpassed Pierpont Morgan if we were to consider the five manuscripts which were formerly his and which were included in the exhibition from the collections of other owners;[16] although it is also worth noting that Yates Thompson had really stopped acquiring by the date of the exhibition.

In the introduction to the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogue Cockerell was explicit about the impetus for his exhibition in 1908:

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14 [Sydney Cockerell], *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908); Janet Backhouse, "Manuscripts on Display: Some Landmarks in the Exhibition and Popular Publication of Illuminated Books," in *The Legacy of M. R. James*, ed. Dennison, 37–52. Backhouse also records that "a special illustrated edition was published after the exhibition had taken place" (47), but she mistakenly gives the number of contributors as fifty-eight; she has apparently failed to count "His Majesty the King" whose name heads the list, but is separated discreetly from the other contributors.

15 Backhouse, "Manuscripts on Display," 50.

16 See William P. Stoneman, "Henry Yates Thompson, Gentleman: 'An Unusual Collector With Commercial Motives Just a Shade Larger Than Was Common,'" in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal and William Noel ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2010), 344–54.

> It is true that in the last few years there have twice been temporary exhibitions of the greatest importance at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. But these have been confined to the art of France of the outstanding nobility of which, at its best periods, the present exhibition gives sufficient evidence. While, however, France, Italy, and the Netherlands are well and typically represented, a special effort has now been made to bring together the finest examples of English workmanship. Private collectors and public institutions, among which must be specially named the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, whose manuscript treasures are scarcely known even to their owners, have responded generously to the appeal. Over eighty of the manuscripts here collected were written in this island, and all the stages of the national style, from the rise of the Winchester school in the tenth century to the wane in the middle of the fifteenth, of an equally characteristic school, may be readily followed…What that supremacy [of English miniature-painting] meant is well illustrated by such books as the Benedictional of St. Æthlwold, the Hereford Gospels, the Bury St. Edmunds New Testament and Life of St. Edmund, the two Durham Lives of St. Cuthbert, and the outline drawings in the Waltham St. Aldhelm, the Bede from Ramsey, and the Hereford St. Chrysotom. All these show a mastery of technique and an energy of imagination which cannot be too much admired…Nevertheless the skill of hand and power of design which are seen to such advantage in the English books of the ninth to the twelfth century, which comprise the majority in Case A, show no falling off in Case B, which contains an incomparable series of Psalters, mainly of the thirteenth century, from Canterbury, York, St. Albans, Peterborough, Salisbury, and other great monastic centres.

And Cockerell went on in considerable detail up to Case L ending with "a remarkably beautiful volume written and illustrated by Thomas Chaundler, Chancellor of the University of Oxford."[17]

In 1904 Cockerell had visited the first of the French temporary exhibitions of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts which had been arranged at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris to supplement an exhibition of "Primitifs" at the Louvre.[18] His diaries, now in the British Library, document that he was there in June with Emery Walker and in April and July for the opening and the closing of the exhibition with the Yates Thompsons.[19] Cockerell was working part time for Yates Thompson and nine of his manuscripts

17 Cockerell, *Burlington*, ix–xi.

18 Henri Bouchot et al., *Exposition des primitifs français au Palais du Louvre et à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Palais du Louvre et Bibliothèque nationale, 1904).

19 His diary for 1904 is BL, Add. MS 52641 and records visits to the exhibition on June 5–6 and July 10–14. In his annual summary Cockerell wrote: "I had stayed in Paris with the Yates Thompsons for a night on my way out, & in the hour or so at my disposal when I was returning I looked in at the Exhibition of manuscripts which had been arranged at the Bib. Nationale to supplement the very interesting collection of 'Primitifs' at the Louvre. This showed me that I should have to cross again to study them more closely, and I was able to do this twice, in June and July, with much satisfaction."

were in the Paris exhibition in a vitrine all by themselves.[20] In 1907 Cockerell returned to Paris for the *Exposition de portraits, peints et dessinés du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle* which took place between April and June of that year.[21]

Cockerell's 1908 exhibition is key to understanding Millar's work and Millar used Cockerell's catalogue of the exhibition frequently as a reference. Millar's survey twenty years later still relied on manuscripts from the libraries of many of the same institutions and private collectors. However, it was focused solely on English manuscripts and, of course, it was never conceived as an exhibition (with the accompanying challenges of loans and display) so Millar was able to include manuscripts in both the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. This had a huge impact. The British Museum contributed 109 manuscript entries to Millar's survey and the Bodleian Library thirty-three. There are 317 numbered entries in Millar's two volumes and twenty-five more in "Further Materials" for 342 in total. Thus, the British Museum was the owner of a third of all the manuscripts covered. Forty-three of the 342 manuscripts were in private ownership when they were recorded by Millar and all but five are now in public institutions. The slow but steady movement of manuscripts out of private collections into public repositories has marched on.

The five Millar entries not now in public institutions include a Bible that was the property of the Lord Aldenham (Millar no. 153), and presumably is still with his descendants; a Book of Hours, decorated by Herman Scherre and which belonged to Chester Beatty and was purchased at his sale by the Earl of Berkeley (Millar no. 279);[22] a Psalter owned by the Earl of Leicester (Millar no. 256), still at Holkham Hall; the Becket leaves now in the Wormsley Library of Sir Mark Getty (Millar no. 169); and a Bible which was formerly owned by Emery Walker and until recently on deposit at the Holy Land Experience theme park in Orlando, Florida (Millar no. 151).

Perhaps more surprising is the fact that nineteen manuscripts, close to half of the forty-three manuscripts then in private ownership and used by Millar, are now in UK institutions: British Library (thirteen), Fitzwilliam Museum (three), Bodleian Library (one), National Library of Scotland (one), and the National Library of Wales (one). Fifteen are in the United States: Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum (seven), the Getty (two), Huntington Library (two), the Beinecke Library at Yale University (one), the Walters Art Museum (one), the New York Public Library (one), and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (one). And there are one each in public institutions in Dublin, Stockholm, Paris, and Lisbon. Millar was at the British Museum Library while all this material was moving around, and it is probably no coincidence that thirteen of the forty-three manuscripts then in private hands and now institutionalized are in the British Library. That

20 In a letter to George Dunn, dated April 21, 1904, Cockerell wrote: "I am back from my wanderings, & have had the best of times. I hope that all is well with you. So far as I can judge I have not missed seeing many fine books by being away. There is a stunning exhibition in Paris now—but *miniatures*, & perhaps not specially in your line." BL, Add. MS 52714, fol. 88.

21 *Bibliothèque Nationale, exposition de portraits, peints et dessinés du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle, Avril–Juin 1907, Catalogue* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1907).

22 See also Kim in this volume.

is almost one third of the manuscripts then in private hands are now in the institution from which he operated.

Millar does not make it easy to keep track of these movements, however. It is telling that the 1945 supplement, published in a probably not easily accessible festschrift, makes no effort to update the previous 317 entries, or even the forty-three manuscripts recorded as in private ownership, and only discusses the twenty-five manuscripts that have come to his attention since he completed the earlier volumes.

More than half of these forty-three manuscripts then in private ownership were, or had been, in the collections of three men. The largest number (twelve) belonged to Perrins,[23] the catalogue of whose collection was written by Millar's British Museum colleague, George Warner, and published in 1920. Beatty owned six,[24] and Millar was at work on Beatty's catalogue which appeared in 1927 and 1930. Ten manuscripts had formerly been in the collection of Yates Thompson.[25]

Millar knew of the then location of all but five of his 342 entries; one was the fragmentary leaves from a life of Thomas of Canterbury in the collection of a family in France and not seen since 1885.[26] Four had formerly been in the collection of Yates Thompson. It is interesting that Millar gives the Yates Thompson sale date (Sotheby's, London, March 23, 1920) and lot numbers for manuscripts when he knew the current private owners (Thomas H. Riches, Perrins, and Beatty), but for three of the four where the current owner was unknown to him, he did not include the sales catalogue reference, nor did he include it for the one manuscript the British Museum acquired at the Yates Thompson sale.[27] To assert that he is suppressing the most recent information may be too strong a verb, but one wonders if he is still hoping that these four manuscripts might come back on the market and be gathered in by the British Museum? It is also certainly possible that he did not know "officially" where these four manuscripts were, or were headed, and thus could not say publicly. The manuscripts are now at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, and the New York Public Library.[28] Another alternative explanation is that Millar was making it comparatively easy for anyone interested to find out how Riches, Perrins, and Beatty had acquired the manuscripts they then owned. With sale date and lot number it is also only one small step away to discover what they paid for them.[29]

In his review of the first volume of Millar's survey, Otto Homburger quoted H. P. Mitchell who had expressed "his surprise 'that since Westwood's pioneer work of fifty-five years ago no English scholar, with the resources of photographic reproduction at command, should have attempted a comprehensive and adequately illustrated survey

23 Millar nos. 110, 129, 140, 144, 147, 180, 197, 212, 224, 280, 281, 287.

24 Millar nos. 70, 93, 142, 201, 309, 310.

25 Millar nos. 97, 133, 183, 201, 217, 227, 242, 260, 280, and 316.

26 Millar no. 169.

27 Millar no. 97 (BL, Add. MS 39943, now Yates Thompson MS 26).

28 Millar nos. 133, 183, 227, and 316.

29 Millar nos. 201, 260, and 280.

of this subject.'" [30] Homburger went on to observe that the plates deserved the highest praise and that "the choice of manuscripts to be illustrated shows a complete mastery of the material. From several copies of foremost importance pages are here reproduced for the first time." Mitchell was, of course, referring to *Fac-similes of the Miniatures & Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon & Irish Manuscripts executed by J. O. Westwood, M. A., drawn on stone by W. R. Tymms, chromolithographed by Day and Sons, Limited* (1868). In addition to Westwood, Millar also frequently used, where applicable, the facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society (465 plates with transcriptions in two series) published between 1873 and 1894 and the New Palaeographical Society (452 plates with transcriptions in two series) published between 1903 and 1930.[31] He also referenced unpublished photographs at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for example for manuscripts at Durham Cathedral Library.[32]

It is also deeply revealing that the last column for each manuscript he listed, Millar tellingly labelled "Bibliographical References," though they are, in fact, not primarily bibliographical at all, but photographic. He did not always refer to earlier catalogue descriptions of the manuscripts except if they had plates. Examples include his no. 186 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Bib. Lat 62: Apocalypse) which includes no reference to the earlier "Quarto" catalogue description of 1854.[33] Even more telling are three British Museum Library manuscripts which include no reference to earlier descriptions published by Millar's own Department.[34] This may reflect Millar's bias as an art historian. Text, language, and provenance were of interest, but mostly for their impact on the art.

It is also worth noting that the column labelled "Remarks" provided a brief description of the decoration. Millar assumed that British Museum catalogues, gallery guides and sets of postcards, Roxburghe Club publications, and other private publications were readily available for access to descriptions and images. He cited the volumes of plates that accompanied the Yates Thompson catalogues and also the privately published and heavily illustrated monographs on individual manuscripts in the Yates Thompson and Perrins collections.

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30 Otto Homburger, "Review of Millar (1926)," *The Art Bulletin* 10.4 (June 1928): 399–402.

31 Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*. First Series. 260 facsimiles in 3 vols. in 13 parts (London: Clowes and Son, 1873–1883); Second Series. 205 facsimiles in 2 vols. in 10 parts (London: Clowes and Sons, 1884–1894); New Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*. First Series. 250 facsimiles in 2 vols. in 10 parts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903–1912); Second Series. 202 facsimiles in 2 vols. in 13 parts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913–1930).

32 Millar nos. 234 and 235.

33 H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ pars tertia codices Græcos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1854).

34 Millar no. 198 (BL, Egerton MS 1551: Book of Hours) which does not include a reference to *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1848–1853* (London: British Museum, 1868); and Millar no. 199 (BL, Harley MS 3487: Aristotle) and Millar no. 200 (BL, Egerton MS 928: Hours) both of which do not include references to *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London: Printed by command of His Majesty King George III, 1808–1812).

Again Millar was well aware of Cockerell's thoughts on this matter. In his "Postscript to the Illustrated Catalogue" of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, published in 1909, Cockerell wrote about the importance of illustration in catalogues.

> It would be well if a rule were made that in all but ephemeral catalogues of manuscripts there should be an illustration of every book described, as a single illustration will usually convey more than many pages of description…[The photographs in this catalogue] are approximately of the scale of the originals except a very few plates in which the size of the volumes necessitated a reduction of scale. As often as possible the open book is shown, and not only an isolated page. All students and lovers of manuscripts will appreciate the importance, which is nevertheless usually ignored, of thus reproducing the book as a whole, and of showing the relation of the miniatures to the text which they adorn, but which is often itself so beautiful as scarcely to need such adornment.[35]

Millar only partially responded to Cockerell in his "Introductory" remarks to the first volume.

> It has obviously been impossible to give a general ensemble of the collection as was successfully done by Mr. S. C. Cockerell in the first eight plates of his Catalogue of the great exhibition of illuminated MSS held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908. This would have been the only way of showing the MSS in their relative proportions to one another, for the taking of all the plates on a uniform scale would have meant the reduction of some of the smaller examples to an almost microscopic size, and the main object of the whole series, which is to demonstrate the great and at some periods the unique position held by English manuscripts, would have been defeated.[36]

The primary component of each of the two volumes of Millar's survey was the one hundred plates in each volume. These must have been produced at considerable expense and it is clear that Millar was trying to use new images when he could. The centrality of the photographs is telling revealed, for example, by the fact that nos. 309 through 317 are not illustrated with plates. These are, to be sure, manuscripts of lesser art-historical importance or much worn, but it means that the second volume can end on no. 308's plate 100, a high spot, the Abingdon Abbey Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 227).

It is also worth noting two examples of the influence of contemporary events on Millar's work; they may seem to be minor, but they are telling. In a discussion of bestiaries, Millar observes:

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35 Cockerell, *Burlington*, [xxix].

36 Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1926), xxii.

> This resemblance in the compositions makes it safe to assume that the various books were produced in the same atelier, a matter that is in fact beyond dispute; but the number of artists employed in this atelier and the actual share taken by them in the different productions must always remain an open question. Anyone who has studied a product of a modern atelier, in which several artists have collaborated in a uniform style,—such as for example the exquisite Roll of Honour of the R. A. M. C. executed by Mr. Graily Hewitt and his assistants and now in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey—will realise the extreme difficulty in distinguishing mediaeval artists apart.[37]

The topic continues, of course, to be of interest to art historians and palaeographers as we try to distinguish similar hands at work in the same manuscript, or in different manuscripts, but the work of Hewitt and the commission to write and decorate a manuscript to honour the members of the Royal Army Military Corps who died in the First World War has probably not been used to illustrate this point since. In fact, Millar knew that Hewitt was assisted by two unnamed women: Madelyn Walker in 1922–1924 and afterwards primarily by her pupil, Ida Henstock.[38]

Contemporary events also come out in another revealing way in Millar's second volume in a discussion of the Douai psalter (Millar no. 213). It is described in the Handlist as: "Formerly [the] masterpiece of [the] East Anglian School. Completely ruined by damp, 1914–1918." Elaboration is provided in an earlier discussion.

> Unhappily it was buried at the time of the German invasion, instead of being removed to a place of safety, and when recovered it was found to have been entirely destroyed by damp…The New Palaeographical Society has the honour of preserving in reproduction six pages of this great book; the Beatus page and the Crucifixion on the scale of the original and four others on a reduced scale, but I do not know of any other published reproductions, and the tragic fate of this masterpiece emphasises more than ever the necessity for complete facsimiles of the more important manuscripts. It is particularly galling that no such facsimile should exist in the case of the Douai Psalter, in spite of the full resources of photography and modern processes which had been available for so many years.[39]

Millar appears to feel the loss by the French of this masterpiece of English art not only as a scholar, but as an Englishman. Why is it "particularly galling that no such facsimile should exist in the case of the Douai Psalter" and why does the English- and mostly British Museum-based New Palaeographical Society have "the honour of preserving in reproduction six pages"?

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37 Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1928), 12.

38 Janet Backhouse, "Pioneers of Modern Calligraphy and Illumination," *BMQ* 33.1–2 (1968), 71–79 at 77.

39 Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1928), 8–9.

In a probably not unrelated discussion Millar also appears to struggle with the concept of what makes a manuscript English.

> During the course of the fifteenth century foreigners were introduced into England in increasing numbers, and it becomes a matter of very great difficulty to decide exactly what manuscripts may be regarded as English for our present purpose. It is frequently the case that books were written by English scribes and ornamented with penwork or illuminated initials of a distinctly English type, while the miniatures are markedly foreign in character, often having a Flemish or Dutch appearance, and are no doubt the work of some of these resident foreigners. I leave out altogether the large number of Sarum Horae which were produced abroad for the English market; these are seldom more than mediocre quality, and are merely "shop" copies.[40]

To sum up, as we look at the international trade in pre-modern manuscripts between 1890 and 1945, scholarly works like Millar's provide an opportunity to see the outsized and long-lived role played by a handful of collectors such as Yates Thompson, Perrins, Morgan, Beatty, and institutions like the British Museum. Millar's survey also reminds us of the impact of reproductive technologies, especially photography. Works such as Millar's were written against a backdrop of economic and political events, including two world wars; they can also serve to remind us of changes in scholarly interest looming on the horizon. Art history will be impacted by the rise in the study of Old and Middle English.[41] By linking the Millar entries to other records in the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, and to records that will be created in the future, it will also be possible to see the coming interest in dated and datable manuscripts, for example, where the work of Andrew Watson on manuscripts at the British Library and in Oxford libraries and Pamela Robinson on manuscripts in Cambridge libraries, has been so transformative;[42] the work of Neil Ker in his five-volume *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*;[43] and of other catalogues like Roger Mynors on *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, and Mynors and Rodney Thomson on the *Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, to choose a few

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40 Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1928), 38.

41 See for example, Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, reprinted 1990); Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins eds., *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); and its *Supplement*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1965) has spawned Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards eds., *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005), and the Digital Index of Middle English Verse www.dimev.net/, accessed May 16, 2023.

42 Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (London: British Library, 1979); Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Pamela R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1988).

43 Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–2002).

examples.[44] Ker's work, supplemented by that of Watson, on *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* and especially in its electronic successor, MLGB3,[45] which now has images, will also have an impact we are only beginning to appreciate. Textual tools such as Richard Sharpe's *Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*,[46] which includes manuscript and textual references is an important model that deserves to be imitated and developed further. The work begun by Ker, Mynors, and Richard Hunt on the Corpus of Medieval British Library Catalogues,[47] now hopefully nearing completion, was in the future for Millar and his users.

This study of Millar's work suggests that manuscripts owned by private collectors did play an important role in contemporary scholarship made increasingly possible by reproduction, especially photography, but this same photography would also appear to have facilitated the movement of these same manuscripts from private ownership into public collections as their importance was more completely understood and appreciated.

44 Roger A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939); Roger A. B. Mynors and Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 1993).

45 Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1941, 2nd edn. 1964, repr. 1987); Andrew G. Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books: Supplement to the Second Edition* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987); and Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (MLGB3) http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/, accessed May 16, 2023.

46 Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997) and *Additions and Corrections, 1997–2001* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

47 Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 16 vols. (London: British Library/British Academy, 1990–).

Conclusion

CONSEQUENCES

LAURA CLEAVER

THE ESSAYS COLLECTED here do not pretend to be a perfect or complete set. Each case study is informed by the interests and disciplinary perspectives of its authors, examining aspects of the trade in pre-modern manuscripts in Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, and the US and its impact. Yet although each tackles a focused topic, the recurrence of names across different essays testifies to the international networks within which books moved, demonstrating that together the case studies shed light on parts of an eco-system. Collectively, the case studies suggest a general picture of manuscripts as objects of increasing financial value allied to ideas of their potential political and cultural significance. The varied nature and condition of the material can also be associated with different levels of demand. The essays suggest that the early twentieth-century book trade had important consequences for the formation of collections and the development of scholarship, and informed popular ideas about the Middle Ages and its culture. In this they provide a basis for an agenda for future research.

Mapping the Network

The transfers of manuscripts described in these essays, supplemented by information from the Schoenberg Database of manuscripts, can be used to produce a network graph.[1] In Figure 31.1 edges (lines) represent the movement of manuscripts between seventy firms or individuals, marked as nodes (dots), selected from those mentioned frequently in this volume. No attempt has been made to weight elements of the diagram to show the number of manuscripts passing between the collectors and dealers, and the diagram does not attempt to map the entire network within which manuscripts moved in this period: many more connections may yet be identified. In the period of this study, some manuscripts only travelled along one edge, between two individuals, while others moved multiple times, sometimes returning repeatedly to a dealer's stock. Unsurprisingly, the London-based dealer Bernard Quaritch Ltd. is well-connected in the diagram, both because of the firm's leading role in the trade in manuscripts, but

1 See John Hinks and Catherine Feely eds., *Historical Networks in the Book Trade* (London: Routledge, 2017).

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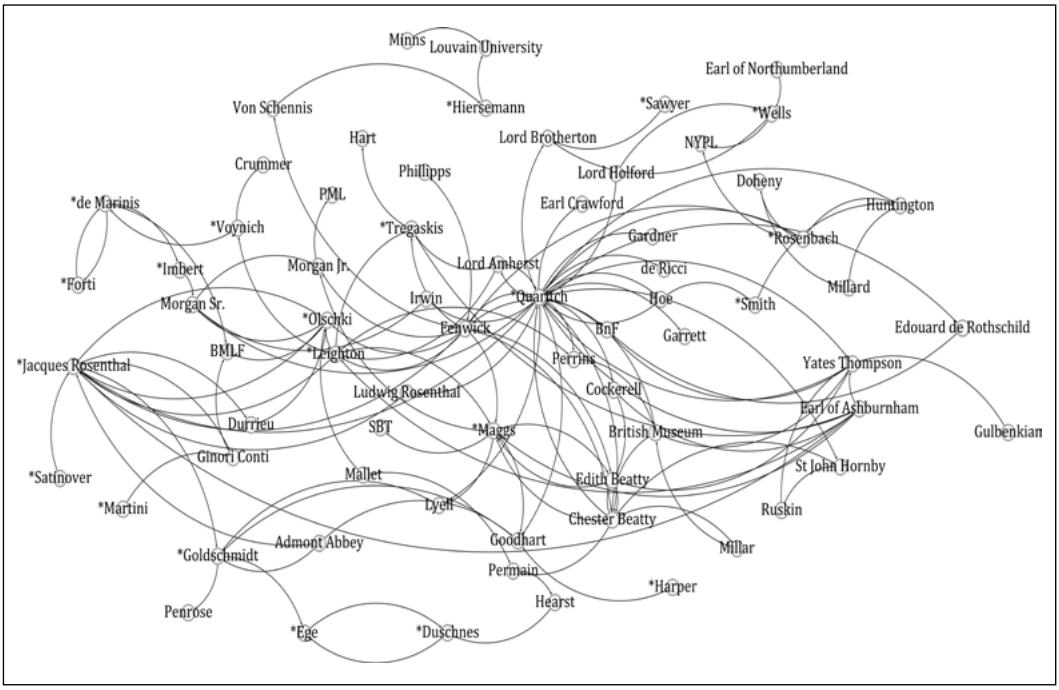

Figure 31.1. Transfers of manuscripts between seventy individuals and institutions mentioned in this volume. Dealers are identified with *. Author diagram.

also thanks to its rich archives, to which many of the authors of these studies have had access.

The diagram demonstrates how museums and libraries, large and small, depended on the same dealers as the richest private collectors, as well as receiving manuscripts as gifts from some of those collectors. It serves as a reminder that the movement of manuscripts was not solely dependent on financial resources, but also on contacts, and access to collections. I have opted not to include auction houses in the diagram, on the grounds that they did not own manuscripts, but the many connections to Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (Sir Thomas Phillipps's heir) document both sales at auction and private transactions. These connections are among those that mark the movement of manuscripts between countries, as Phillipps's books are now widely dispersed. Some of the collections represented in the diagram were later returned to the market, but others, including the Biblioteca Medicae Laurenziana, Bibliothèque nationale de France, British Museum, Huntington Library, Morgan Library, and Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, remain locations where manuscripts acquired in this era are to be found today.

Collections

As many of the essays in this volume have shown, the activities of the trade in pre-modern manuscripts shaped the collections in which we now encounter books. The taste and interests of the wealthiest collectors drove up prices, particularly for extensively illuminated manuscripts in an excellent state of preservation. This meant that those with smaller resources could only obtain what was left. However, despite rhetoric about

voracious American buyers, large quantities of manuscript material continued to be available on the market throughout the period. Indeed, the market for Middle English material was sluggish. In addition, both individual and institutional collectors found ways to obtain material without involving auctions or dealers, by arranging private purchases and facilitating gifts. Even here, however, individual curators pursued strategies that determined the nature of the collections they managed, often focusing on material from a particular region, defined by its language, contents, provenance, or a combination of these factors. Such areas of collecting "strength" then provided a rationale for further development.

Manuscripts often provided valuable clues about the circumstances of their production and early use, which were used to inform assessments of a book's region of origin. More recent provenance also played a significant role in a book's appeal to some collectors. Sydney Cockerell appears to have tracked the movements of manuscripts associated with William Morris, borrowing some from J. P. Morgan for the 1908 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition.[2] Later in his career, Cockerell deployed a range of strategies to try to determine the fates of manuscripts owned by Henry Yates Thompson, including personal pleading, arranging loans from donors, and writing articles for the press. Similarly, in the aftermath of the auction of part of Yates Thompson's collection in 1920, Julius Gilson of the British Museum observed that

> the modern collector has also done much himself to make his possessions more valuable. He has catalogued them and reproduced them by photography, and has employed competent scholars to elucidate their meaning and point out their relationships to similar work elsewhere. [Sir Thomas] Phillipps, after all, had little active appreciation, and what he did to make public his manuscripts was ill-directed and of little use to scholars or the public.[3]

Research on Yates Thompson's collection and those of some other well-known collectors of the period has been facilitated by the extensive catalogues they sponsored (and sometimes authored). However, Yates Thompson and other prominent collectors also disposed of manuscripts anonymously, most of which have received far less attention.[4] Knowledge about collections and the manuscripts they contain requires cataloguing and management. In large collections the volume of material often presents a challenge, while smaller libraries typically struggle for resources. It is not uncommon for the most recent catalogue description of a manuscript to be an accession record produced in the period covered by this volume, which may, in turn, be partially or wholly derived from

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2 [Sydney Cockerell], *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908).

3 Julius P. Gilson, "Illuminated Manuscripts," *The Observer*, March 28, 1920, 8.

4 Christopher de Hamel, "Was Henry Yates Thompson a Gentleman?" in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620–1920*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), 77–87; Laura Cleaver, "Charles William Dyson Perrins as a Collector of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts c. 1900–1920," *Perspectives médiévales* 41 (2020), https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.19776, accessed November 1, 2022.

a sales catalogue record. In the drive to make metadata available online, some of these records are now being transposed to a new format without much, if any, reflection on the circumstances of their creation.

Some of the libraries founded in the period of this study had funds to support scholarship, both in-house and by welcoming researchers pursuing a wide range of inquiries. Private collectors sometimes sponsored publications on individual manuscripts in their collections, and it was a rule of the Roxburghe Club that members must present a book to the group. Access to many private collections (including the remains of the Phillipps library) was possible, though it required the co-operation of the owner. Institutional libraries were usually more accessible, and some private libraries, for example those of Morgan and Henry Huntington, became research institutions in this period. Through their publications and exhibitions, institutional libraries not only shaped perceptions of their collections, but also contributed to a growing field of scholarship. Strikingly some books that had a very high profile on the market, received less publicity following their purchase. For example, the Golden Gospels of Henry VIII, an early medieval gospel book on purple parchment later owned by Henry VIII, was widely advertised by Quaritch in his bid to sell it for £2,500/$12,500. Eventually bought by the American collector Theodore Irwin, the manuscript was later purchased by Morgan, but was not typically cited as a highlight of his collection. While being in a famous collection could raise the profile and value of a book, therefore, it could also diminish an individual volume's "star quality."

Scholarship

A recurring theme in this volume has been the importance of the trade in manuscripts as a driver of new scholarship. Here the lines between scholar, collector, and dealer often become blurred. High-profile dealers across Europe employed specialists to study and describe the manuscripts in their stock, and in this context it is worth noting that some books spent more time in a dealer's stock in this period than they did in a private collection. In addition, dealers published journals with research pertaining to items they had in stock, as well as about books and collecting in general, thereby raising the profile of their professional activities. These included Leo S. Olschki's *La Bibliofilía*, Jacques Rosenthal's *Beiträge zur Forschung*, and A. J. Bowden and George D. Smith's *American Athenaeum*. In addition, some scholars were also collectors (albeit usually limited by an institutional salary). These included Cockerell, Paul Durrieu and Eric Millar.

The membership of the Bibliographical Society in Britain highlights the challenge of distinguishing between trade and scholarly expertise, as although dealers were only allowed to join in a personal capacity, the membership list features many people who worked in the trade, including Martin Breslauer, Percy Dobell, E. H. Dring, F. S. Ellis, Maurice Ettinghausen, F. S. Ferguson, Herbert Garland, E. P. Goldschmidt, Benjamin and Ernest Maggs, Bernard Alfred Quaritch, James and Hugh Tregaskis, and Wilfrid Voynich.[5]

5 *The Bibliographical Society 1892–1942: Studies in Retrospect* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1949).

Further dealers were to be found among the Society's overseas members, including Lathrop Harper, A. S. W. Rosenbach, and Jacques and Ludwig Rosenthal. The value of organizations, such as the Bibliographical Society or the American Grolier Club, which facilitated the movement of information and books among their networks, is hinted at in a letter from A. W. Pollard at the British Museum to the American collector Beverley Chew, introducing Voynich, who was attempting to expand his business into America. Writing on Bibliographical Society notepaper, Pollard declared that Voynich had "done good work for the British Museum during the last twenty years, & I have come to regard him not only as a dealer but as a friend."[6]

Pollard's letter noted that Chew would probably be familiar with Voynich's catalogues, serving as a reminder that dealers' catalogues, as well as collectors', were recognized as significant resources and markers of status. The survival of so many catalogues is partly a result of their production quality: even smaller firms sometimes included images of manuscripts in their catalogues and some of the most luxurious resemble collectors' catalogues. By comparing catalogue entries, we can see the extent to which descriptions were copied verbatim between dealers and auction houses and when changes occurred. In addition, catalogues help trace the movement of manuscripts, sometimes allowing relatively precise assessments of when dealers bought and sold books.

While dealer and collection catalogues were primarily aimed at a specialist audience, exhibitions (whether organized by dealers, clubs, or libraries) introduced a wider public to manuscripts. Exhibitions also provide insights into the use of pre-modern books in creating wider cultural narratives. In particular, manuscripts were identified as evidence for the cultural, textual, linguistic, and particularly artistic, origins of modern nation states. These arguments were developed despite abundant evidence of monastic provenance that demonstrated the importance of pan-European networks, and the problem of texts originally written in one location that survived in copies produced elsewhere. The 1902 Flemish exhibition's claims about the region's place in the history of art prompted the 1904 exhibition of French manuscripts, which in turn helped to inform other exhibitions in this period.[7] Yet while exhibitions in different regions made slightly different claims about the nature and significance of their medieval past, and the objects associated with it, informed by the surviving material, the state of scholarship, and the availability of loans, the idea of books as literary and artistic patrimony became increasingly entrenched throughout Europe. In contrast to European institutions circumscribed by national politics and funding, American collectors could choose manuscripts to create a particular version of European heritage. While collectors such as Huntington and Henry Folger invested in early English printed material, with some associated manuscripts, Isabella Stewart Gardner, Huntington, and Morgan acquired

6 New York, The Grolier Club, Beverly Chew Papers, Miscellaneous correspondents: Letter from A. W. Pollard to Beverley Chew, November 18, 1914.

7 *Exposition des Primitifs flamands: Section des manuscrits, miniatures, archives, sceaux, méreaux, monnaies et médailles* (Bruges: de Brouwer, 1902); Henri Bouchot et al., *Exposition des primitifs français au Palais du Louvre et à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Palais du Louvre et Bibliothèque nationale, 1904).

illuminated manuscripts from across Europe, apparently selecting for what they considered to be artistic merit, and demonstrating less concern for place of origin. Similarly, in Britain Yates Thompson declared that he sought to own manuscripts from throughout the Middle Ages and across Europe (although the most common place of origin of manuscripts in his published catalogues was France).[8]

Selling the Middle Ages

The question remains of the impact of all this activity on popular ideas about the Middle Ages. This is complicated by the wealth of nineteenth-century medievalism. While the publications of the Sette of Odd Volumes satirized works by poets such as Alfred Lord Tennyson, damsels in distress rescued by knights in shining armour remained popular in literature and illustrations that owed as much, if not more, to the nineteenth century as they did to the Middle Ages. Similarly, the cover illustrations for Tregaskis's catalogues included a range of allusions to pre-modern books in imagery that played with stereotypes of the Middle Ages. An image by Paul Hardy shows a woman in a tall, pointed hat, accompanied by a young man holding a dagger, being shown a large book, apparently with illuminated initials, by a figure probably representing William Caxton, the first English printer. The figures are set in an interior containing a printing press with a man in the background at work on a book. Above the scene, the words "The Caxton Head Catalogue" are depicted as if handwritten and with initials reminiscent of medieval designs (Figure 31.2). Other covers explicitly celebrated manuscripts, including one by Walter Crane of a monk at a desk illuminating a manuscript, accompanied by a cat. Details such as the familiar domestic cat helped to bridge the gulf between medieval production and modern consumption, while the other image emphasized that such books had always been items to be bought, sold, and admired, locating their new owners in a venerable, idealized tradition. In this, the images resonate with Yates Thompson's belief that in the Middle Ages "the greatest potentates…vied with one another for the possession of these treasures."[9]

In the late nineteenth century, illuminated manuscripts provided aesthetic inspiration for artists like Anna Traquair and William Morris and his circle. While Traquair and others aimed to make accurate copies, Morris justified his collection of manuscripts, in part, on the grounds that they informed his creation of new books, notably at the Kelmscott Press.[10] Similarly, Cockerell's wife, Florence Kate née Kingsford, illuminated books produced by other private presses, using medieval works as inspiration for modern creations, just as M. R. James and J. R. R. Tolkien did in their fiction. In an inter-

8 Henry Yates Thompson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Fourteen Illuminated Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), xiv.

9 Henry Yates Thompson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), vii.

10 "The William Morris Library," *The Times*, November 3, 1898, 13; see also Paul Needham ed., *William Morris and the Art of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Michaela Braesel, *William Morris und die Buchmalerei* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2019).

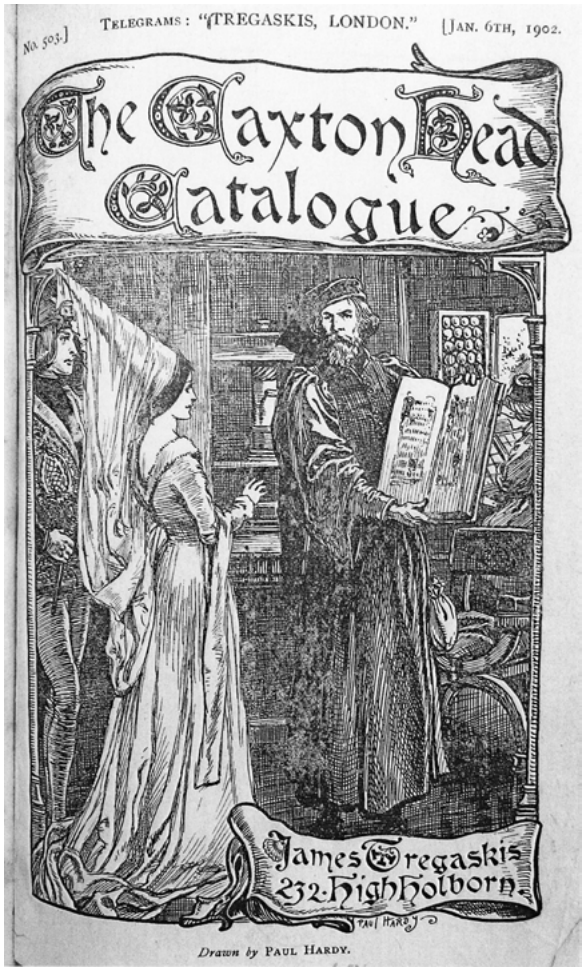

Figure 31.2. Paul Hardy, cover image used on James Tregaskis's catalogues ca. 1902. Copy in the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, reproduced with permission.

view about early printed books in 1891, Morris argued for wider access to early books, claiming that under socialism "We should have a public library at each street corner…I should not then have to buy all these old books, but they would be common property, and I could go and look at them whenever I wanted them, as would everybody else," an important reminder that although pre-modern manuscripts were much cheaper than they are today, they were still beyond the reach of most of the population, for whom even the costs (in time and money) of attending exhibitions were prohibitive.[11]

Nevertheless, medievalism, like the trade in manuscripts, was an international phenomenon with wide appeal. During the First World War all sides produced propaganda with images of medieval knights, to encourage investment in war loans or recruitment.[12] One poster declared "Joan of Arc saved France, Women of Britain Save Your Country, Buy War Savings Certificates," while a French poster showed the American army accompanied by the ghosts of medieval knights.[13] (This kind of imagery has been embraced by white supremacists.[14]) Yet while such images might ultimately trace their origins to depictions

11 "The Poet as Printer: An Interview with Mr. William Morris," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, November 12, 1891, 1–2.

12 See Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 276–93.

13 London, Imperial War Museum PST 10296; PST 7030.

14 Andrew Albin et al. eds., *Whose Middle Ages? Teachable Moments for an Ill-Used Past* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019).

in illuminated manuscripts, they were both modernized and sanitized, with no hint of blood (often included in medieval imagery), let alone the destruction of machine-gun warfare.

An article in 1916 identified "chivalry" as a motivation for the decline in book purchases in Britain the early months of the war, on the grounds that it was unsporting to buy items when those serving in the army could not.[15] In the wake of the catastrophic loss of life during the First World War ideas about chivalry were radically redefined. The destruction of manuscripts, including, but not limited to, the library at Louvain, helped to entrench the idea of these holdings, as well as individual books, as national patrimony and as a vulnerable resource. In 1941, a sale of books "for the Distress Fund in Aid of Booksellers who have suffered loss from Bombing" included a fifteenth-century manuscript Book of Hours, repurposing a medieval book in the context of modern warfare.[16] Yet the trade weathered both world wars and the intervening economic turbulence, and throughout the period there continued to be enough material available to allow new collectors to begin to build libraries.

Towards a Research Agenda

An incomplete set of books can be a prompt for further research. Similarly, the essays collected here highlight several areas that would benefit from further study. The role of women has been a recurring theme. The existing literature over-represents the contributions of rich, white men. There is scope both to write detailed studies of individual female collectors, but also to explore how gender, race, and class intersected with opportunities to be involved in the book trade, moving beyond "exceptional" cases. In addition, women's place in the networks that connected the trade could be a fruitful area for further study. For example, women were admitted to the Bibliographical Society in Britain, and dominated the library training classes at the Pratt Institute in New York (and therefore its alumni network). Such work might facilitate an account of the contributions of a more diverse community on its own terms, rather than following the model of heroic biographies associated with white men.

The formal and informal networks that connected those involved in the collecting, trade, and scholarship of manuscripts would also benefit from further research. These can be reconstructed from the membership of clubs and societies, but also from dealers' lists of clients, correspondence, staff, and sales-records. Indeed, dealers' and collectors' archives have proved rich sources of information and further cataloguing to make them more accessible is desirable. In this context, in particular, the expertise of those working in libraries and archives is invaluable. The development of reproductions of manuscripts, circulation of images, and creation and knowledge of facsimiles would also benefit from further investigation.

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15 W. M., "Bookworms in War," *The Times*, January 4, 1916, 11.

16 *A Catalogue of Books and MSS...July 3rd, 1941* (London: Hodgson & Co., 1941), lot 56.

The growing body of research on the book trade provides a foundation for a more in-depth analysis of its relationship to wider medievalism. Medievalism is a rich field of study, but the use (or lack of it) of the primary sources for medieval culture by those writing about or depicting medieval themes and subjects would benefit from further work. Similarly, more consideration might productively be given to the ways in which nineteenth-century medievalism shaped the buying and selling of medieval books in the early twentieth century.

Manuscript collections were very rarely formed in isolation. The research collected here therefore provides a basis for a comparative study of the market for other book sales, and in particular for the creation of collections of early printed books and incunabula. It was not unusual for collectors to begin by collecting early printed books and then progress to manuscripts, seeing them, as Morris did, as part of the history of book technology. Tregaskis's shop, "the Caxton's Head" referenced the first English printer, while the Gutenberg Bible and other incunabula fetched higher prices than manuscript material throughout this period.

To counteract the legacies of ideas about manuscripts as items of national patrimony, which has resulted in large bodies of scholarship developed on national lines, this research showcases the value of a connected, international research community. Collaborative research illuminates the importance of the international trade, the movement of people and books, common expectations and practices, and regional forces and differences within the trade. This work has the potential to go beyond questions of repatriation (though this is still an important area of work) to explore patterns in the movement of books, the driving factors of the international trade (legal and illicit), and the consequences for the creation of collections. In addition, multidisciplinary perspectives from historians, art historians, book historians, manuscript specialists, librarians, archivists, and provenance experts allow for rich insights into the manuscripts and their trade, the people involved, their sometimes-complex contributions, and the consequences for our understanding of pre-modern books. This volume is therefore not intended to be the last of any set.